

**The Identity of the Spirit in Paul:
Did the Spirit Come to Possess a Distinct Identity Within Paul's Christian Monotheism?**

**Submitted by
Christopher Thomas Baker**

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Philosophy**

**School of Theology (NSW)
Faculty of Theology and Philosophy**

**Australian Catholic University
Graduate Research Office (NSW)**

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Declaration

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No parts of this thesis have been submitted towards the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics Committee (where required) or a relevant safety committee if the matter is referred to such a committee.

C Baker

23.12.13

Thesis Abstract

This thesis examines the identity of the Holy Spirit within the thought and experience of the Apostle Paul. Using the methodologies of Richard Bauckham (the framework of The Unique Divine Identity) and Larry Hurtado (Religious Experience), this thesis argues that the structure of Paul's thought and his religious experience contributed to the emergence of a distinct identity of the Spirit within his Christian monotheism which developed beyond his Jewish roots.

This conclusion is reached by demonstrating that within the Hebrew Scriptures, the literature of Second Temple Judaism, and Paul's letters, the Spirit is understood to participate in those divine functions that characterise God's own unique identity as ruler and creator of all things, and to participate in cultic devotion towards God. Furthermore, in these same three bodies of literature, the Spirit is presented as an experiential reality and was identified by its effects. How Paul's thought and experience develops beyond and is distinguished from his Jewish context is observed in the subtle differentiation that Paul perceives between the Spirit and God – most clearly observed in the Spirit's unique activity which is distinguished from the activity of God – and in the novel formation of the relation between the Spirit and Jesus Christ, a formation that distinguishes the Spirit from Christ. Consequently, the Spirit is viewed by Paul as *both* the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ.

The contribution of this thesis is observed in a) the distinctive presentation of the Spirit within the framework of Bauckham's 'Unique Divine Identity' in the literature of the Hebrew Scriptures, Second Temple Judaism, and in the letters of Paul which has not been achieved previously in any study on the Holy Spirit; b) the impact of Paul's religious experience of the Spirit upon his perception of the identity of the Spirit, a point much neglected in Pauline studies, and c) a focused study that addresses the question of the identity of the Spirit through a fresh approach.

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Faithful fathers; Fathers of the faith.

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
An. Bib.	Analecta biblica
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Danker, F.W. ed. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3 rd ed. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary of the New Testament
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BCOT	Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentary
BZAW	Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Fur Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Fur Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	The Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBNTS	Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CJAS	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CTL	Crown Theological Library
<i>DPL</i>	<i>Dictionary of Paul and his Letters</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
<i>ERT</i>	<i>Evangelical Review of Theology</i>
ESW	Ecumenical Studies in Worship
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephem. Theol. Lovan.</i>
EUST	Europäische Hochschulschriften Publications Universitaires Européennes
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen Zum Alten Testament
<i>GUOS</i>	<i>Glasgow University Oriental Society</i>
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUTH	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen Zur Theologie
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IJT</i>	<i>Indian Journal of Theology</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBPR</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical and Pneumatological Research</i>
<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
<i>JEPTA</i>	<i>Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JSOTSupS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JPT</i>	<i>Journal of Pentecostal Theology</i>
JSNTSupS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series

<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSPSupS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
LAI	Library of Ancient Israel
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OBS	Oxford Bible Series
OTL	Old Testament Library
NAC	New American Commentary
NCBC	The New Century Bible Commentary
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	The New International Greek Text Commentary
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTL	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBEC	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
<i>SBJT</i>	<i>Southern Baptist Journal of Theology</i>
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>
<i>SJTh</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
SPM	Studia Philonica Monographs
SNT/NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SOTS	Society for Old Testament Study
<i>SPA</i>	<i>Studia Philonica Annual</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
SWBAS	The Social World of Biblical Antiquity
<i>USQ</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly</i>
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TMSJ</i>	<i>The Master's Seminary Journal</i>
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TGST	Tesi Gregoriana Serie Teologia
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
UBS	United Bible Society
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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At the start of the journey what looms before us may be the brook we cross or the crest immediately before us. We would never pretend we could judge the whole lay of the mountainous area on the basis of the limited view at the beginning. But each stage is enjoyable in its own right. As we climb, new vistas appear and the old ones, while never completely lost from view, recede into a broader perspective, our earlier impressions being corrected by what we later see. When finally we reach the top, we find that nothing of what we saw along the way has been lost, but it is now only part of a vast panorama in which we see the parts in terms of the whole. To climb the mountain may take effort, but it is rewarded by the surprise of new discovery at every step, and at the summit a splendid vision.

George T. Montague, *The Holy Spirit*, viii.

Chapter One: Introduction

The Question of the Identity of the Spirit

Retrospect

1. Research Question

A prominent feature of the landscape of recent Pauline discussion is the expansive mountain of Christological research. Standing at the apex is the lively debate over whether the Apostle Paul professed the 'divine' status of Jesus Christ, and if such a profession is affirmed, how it related to his Jewish monotheistic confession (Gal 3:20; 1 Cor 8:6; Rom 3:30). The search for appropriate antecedents within Jewish monotheism to account for the innovative Christological developments by the early Pauline communities remains a curious and fruitful discussion by scholars on all sides of the well-worn summit in their quest for a comprehensive vista. Yet also rising prominently in the landscape of Pauline discussion is a mountain that symbolises research on the Holy Spirit. While recent Christological discussion on Jewish monotheism in relation to Paul's Christology has demonstrated the popularity of the dominating mountain by highlighting a vast array of paths reaching to the summit, it is of interest that particular approaches to this summit may be valid when applied to navigating a pathway which, as Montague describes it, offers 'a splendid vision.' Such imagery provides a creative picture of the intent of this thesis. In the interest of forging new trails, this study aims to offer a fresh approach to the study of the Holy Spirit in the thought and experience of Paul by following an innovative path effective in Christological discussions. Such success in discussion of Jewish monotheism and Paul's Christology in particular promises a more fruitful approach to Paul's perspective of the Spirit on the basis that the two mountains comprise a single landscape and represent Jewish monotheism as a whole. If one particular path is successful at reaching the summit, then it is viable that the same path should be followed to explore the terrain that comprises discussion on the Spirit and the promise of a splendid vision.

The recent Christological discussions have been interested in explaining whether or not Jesus Christ was considered 'divine' by a self-professed monotheistic faith claiming

continuity with Judaism.¹ Interest in antecedents plays a significant role in this discussion, as it should, for in order to explain developments it is necessary to note where the path originated.² The subsequent ‘binitarian’ framework of Christian monotheism, created by the affirmation of Christ’s ‘divine’ and exalted status, provides an intriguing discussion on the processes, if such developments are affirmed. But this discussion has caused no small amount of controversy. It is not unlike individual travellers promising the reward of an unmatched summit view for those who choose to follow their distinctive path. It is precisely this question, to quote Larry Hurtado’s apt title, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?* that focuses the issue of the identity of Christ in Paul.³

The parallel question could be asked of the Spirit: *How on earth did the Spirit become a God?* Surprisingly, this question is overshadowed by Christological challenges to monotheism. This may be due to the fact that the Spirit is so obviously to be considered divine in Paul’s thought that research into the question is assumed to be better spent on creating other paths. Alternatively, it is possible that the question is not specific enough. A more accurate question would be to take a logical step back and ask: *Did the Spirit come to possess a distinct identity within Paul’s Christian monotheism?* There are a number of aspects that form this question. Firstly, Paul’s ‘Christian’ monotheism (however this is conceived) presumes a distinction from Paul’s ‘Jewish’ monotheism, and by proximity, ‘Hebrew’ monotheism. Secondly, this question asks whether the Spirit is included in Paul’s Christian monotheism in the first place. Thirdly, it asks if the Spirit is distinct in some way in relation to ‘another,’ which, within the context of Christian monotheism, questions whether the Spirit possesses an identity which is distinct from the identities of God and Christ, or whether the

¹ I note here by way of example the diversity in Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila and Gladys S. Lewis, eds., *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers From the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, JSJS 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999). See also recently, Chris Tilling, *Paul’s Divine Christology*, WUNT 2.323 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

² See Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963); Richard N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity*, SBT 17 (London: SCM, 1970); I. Howard Marshall, *The Origins of New Testament Christology*, 2nd ed. (Leicester: Apollos, 1990); Martin Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion*, trans. John Bowden (London, UK: SCM, 1976); Charles F.D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); James D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM Press, 1989); Maurice Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co/Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991); Margaret Barker, *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel’s Second God* (London: SPCK, 1992); Newman, Davila and Lewis, eds., *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*; Larry Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, rev. ed. (London: T&T Clark International, 2003); Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament’s Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2008). Gordon D. Fee minimises Paul’s Jewish antecedents, *Pauline Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007).

³ *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God? Historical Questions about Earliest Devotion to Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), cf. ‘The real challenge in historical understanding is to figure out not only what happened, but also how it happened and why,’ *idem*, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), 27.

Spirit is simply the mode of God and Christ's activity. Fourthly, it includes the question of the development of the Spirit's identity, a reference to a change or a possession that once was previously not characteristic of the Spirit.

If travellers on the Christological mountain are grappling with the complexity of Paul's Christian monotheism if the identification of Christ as divine is affirmed, it also seems necessary to examine the question of the distinct identity of the Spirit and the difficulties such developments (if affirmed) create for Paul's monotheism. The same potential threat to monotheism created by the divine status of Jesus is created when approaching discussions of the Spirit.⁴ I contend that this question is in need of fresh attention.⁵ It is thus this question of the developments (if any) in the identity of the Spirit and its relationship to Jewish

⁴ The issue of ascribing divine status to a man is clearly of a different nature to discussions on the Spirit, but it must be borne in mind that the end result is much the same – an expanded understanding of monotheism that needs explanation.

⁵ For a broad examination which demonstrates the difficulty facing exegetes when attempting to resolve the question of the identity of the Spirit from the biblical material, see Garrett C. Kenney, *Translating H/holy S/spirit: 4 Models: Unitarian, Binitarian, Trinitarian, and Non-Sectarian* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007). James Dunn has noted recently, 'As with the later confessional debates of the fourth century, the primary concern was to clarify how the Son related to the Father, with the relationship of the Spirit more in the nature of a tidying-up operation in order to secure a rounded Trinitarian doctrine,' James D.G. Dunn, 'Towards the Spirit of Christ: The Emergence of the Distinctive Features of Christian Pneumatology,' in *The Work of the Spirit – Pneumatology and Pentecostalism*, ed. Michael Welker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 11. So too Gordon D. Fee, 'Paul and the Trinity: The Experience of Christ and the Spirit for Paul's Understanding of God,' in *The Trinity: An Interdisciplinary Symposium on the Trinity*, eds. Stephen T. Davis, Daniel Kendall and Gerald O'Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 51, the Spirit is 'a kind of divine stepchild'; Arthur W. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1962), 'The Spirit seems to have been included in the doctrine of God almost as an afterthought about which men had no strong feelings, either favourable or hostile,' 199; 'In the New Testament there is no development of the doctrine of the Spirit parallel to the development which has been traced in Christology,' (234), cf. 'The problem of the Spirit was not the main problem for New Testament writers any more than for later theologians. The main issues at stake in the doctrine of the Trinity are the unity of God and the deity of Christ,' (249); John Webster, 'The Identity of the Holy Spirit: A Problem in Trinitarian Theology,' *Themelios* 9:1 (1983): 4-7, 'Christian theologians have frequently experienced great difficulty in specifying exactly how the Spirit is to be differentiated from the other two divine persons. It has, moreover, often proved very difficult to mark out areas of the divine work which are the Spirit's special preserve. A very precise account of the identity of the Spirit has, in other words, not uncommonly eluded Christian thinkers. It has, furthermore, often been remarked that the development of the doctrine of the Spirit's divinity seems little more than a "tidying-up" process which brought Christian beliefs about the Spirit into line with Christian beliefs about the Son or Word,' (4); Graham McFarlane remarks similarly of the early history of the Christian church: 'What is so remarkable...is the degree to which [the] pneumatic element, essential to the Christian story, lay undeveloped. Perhaps the priority given to christology in early doctrinal development obscured the person and place of the Spirit,' 'The Strange Tongue of a Long Lost Christianity: The Spirit and the Trinity,' *Vox Evangelica* 22 (1992): 63-70 (here 65); see also Alan F. Segal, 'Though Christianity's theology is trinitarian, it may not have appeared so in its original context. For one thing, Christian mention of the "Holy Spirit" would neither have been considered unique nor heretical by the rabbis. For another thing, Christianity of the period was much more concerned with the relationship between the Father and the Son. The concept of the "Holy Spirit" was not a source for the same kind of speculation,' "'Two Powers in Heaven" and Early Christian Trinitarian Thinking,' in *The Trinity: An Interdisciplinary Symposium*, 79. Bernd Oberdorfer has recently addressed a similar vacuum in scholarship but is only interested in a systematic presentation of the Spirit's identity within Trinitarian theology. He correctly notes that the development of the Spirit's identity, by default, followed that of the Christological developments and states, 'Quite characteristically, the arguments for the Spirit's full Godhead then were analogous to the arguments brought forward in favor of the Son's,' 'The Holy Spirit – A Person? Reflections on the Spirit's Trinitarian Identity,' in *The Work of the Spirit*, 29, emphasis original. But his article does not even begin to address the contribution of the New Testament *in nuce* and whether such theological developments were consistent with the Biblical witness.

monotheism that ultimately provides the grounds for a Pauline Christian monotheism, which remains the focus of this study. In order to proceed, it is necessary to revisit some of the paths that currently exist in leading travellers to the summit and to examine whether such approaches are altogether the best routes before an alternative path with promise is offered.

2. The Identity of the Spirit in Paul: Present Paths

Because of the specific focus on whether the Spirit is understood to possess a distinct identity, the following literature review will focus on the particular characteristics of the Spirit that have emerged in previous Pauline scholarship, with a particular focus on the nature of the Spirit's relation to both God and Christ, the general consensus that the Spirit is an experiential reality in Paul, and those attempts at explaining developments in the identity of the Spirit.⁶

2.1 H. Gunkel

The influence of H. Gunkel and the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (cf. Deissmann and Bousset below) is well known with regards to the experiential reality of the spirit.⁷ Gunkel comments that

in the apostolic period...the primitive community was not at all concerned with a doctrine of the Holy Spirit and his activities. What is involved here is not a creedal statement...Rather, at issue are quite concrete facts, obvious to all, *which were the object of daily experience and without further reflection were directly experienced as effected by the Spirit.*⁸

⁶ From this point forward, until it is deemed either appropriate or inappropriate, I shall use the nomenclature of 'spirit' with a lower case 's' to avoid any confusing inferences or presumptions concerning the spirit's identity. For popularist and general presentations of the Spirit beyond Paul that make statements concerning the Spirit's 'divine' identity, see e.g. Albert B. Simpson, *The Holy Spirit: Or, Power From on High. An Unfolding of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testaments*, 2 Vols. (Harrisburg: Christian Publications, 1895/1896); Abraham Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1900); David Ewert, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (Harrisburg: Herald, 1983); John Rea, *The Holy Spirit in the Bible: All the Major Passages About the Spirit: A Commentary* (Lake Mary: Creation House, 1990); Ray Pritchard, *Names of the Holy Spirit* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1995); John, F. Walvoord, *The Holy Spirit: A Comprehensive Study of the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991); Charles C. Ryrie, *The Holy Spirit*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Moody, 1997); William Barclay, *The Promise of the Spirit* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); Michael Green, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004); Stanley Horton, *What the Bible Says About the Holy Spirit*, rev. ed. (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 2007).

⁷ Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2008). Gunkel reacted against the approach exemplified by F.C. Baur that understood the Spirit to be equated with Christian consciousness, cf. Ferdinand C. Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Works, His Epistles and Teachings*, 2 Vols. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003) 2:126.

⁸ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 13-14, emphasis mine. Such a perspective, it seems, must be held in balance with Gunkel's acknowledgement that 'Belief in the Spirit is...for the purpose of explaining the presence of certain, above all inexplicable, phenomena by means of the transcendent,' Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 32-33, emphasis mine.

This method of understanding the early Christian writers, specifically Paul, ‘from out of their own views and experiences’⁹ is particularly of importance when Paul’s ‘primary concern is not at all theoretical and dialectic but rather practical and religious.’¹⁰ This insight leads Gunkel to affirm Paul himself as ‘a pneumatic to an exceptionally high degree’¹¹ who ‘had a most vivid view of the πνεῦμα, which he daily felt at work within him,’¹² and he is confident that Paul is not so much dependent upon other sources (i.e. Judaism) for his original conception of the spirit as he is upon his personal religious experience.¹³ Gunkel defines the experiential reality of the spirit as an absolutely supernatural, divine power that operates in a person’s heart.¹⁴

Importantly, Gunkel paves a popular path that conceives of an equation between the spirit and Christ due to a ‘noteworthy parallel’ between Christ and the spirit whereby ‘all sorts of activities of the πνεῦμα appear as the activities of Christ himself.’¹⁵ Gunkel does acknowledge that ‘there is no doubt that in some passages Paul alternates the two sequences of ideas in such fashion that he conceives the Spirit as proceeding from Christ,’¹⁶ which infers that ‘the union of the individual Christian with Christ would not be direct but would be mediated through the Spirit,’¹⁷ but ultimately assumes that Paul identifies Christ and the spirit on the grounds of 1 Cor 15:45; 6:17; and 2 Cor 3:17.¹⁸ This identification demonstrates that ‘the Spirit does not come through Christ; rather, Christ is himself this Spirit.’¹⁹ Gunkel finds the cause of this identification in Paul’s conversion since Christ ‘appeared to him in his divine glory’ and therefore his ‘first pneumatic experience was an experience of Christ. From then on Christ was for him τὸ πνεῦμα.’²⁰

⁹ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 75.

¹⁰ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 76.

¹¹ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 77.

¹² Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 79.

¹³ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 102-103.

¹⁴ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 79; 93-94. Claims such as ‘the root of the apostle’s teaching concerning the πνεῦμα lies in his experience,’ (95), ‘the theology of the great apostle is the expression of his experience, not of his reading,’ (100), and ‘Paul believes in the divine Spirit because he has experienced it,’ (100; cf. 75) illustrate such an emphasis.

¹⁵ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 111. See his discussion on these activities, 111-112, and more broadly, 111-116.

¹⁶ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 112.

¹⁷ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 113.

¹⁸ He continues, ‘But (in response to this quote) it is still very much a question whether this statement plumbs the entire depth of the Pauline idea, and whether this explanation really does justice to everything the apostle has to say,’ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 113.

¹⁹ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 113.

²⁰ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 114.

2.2 A. Deissmann

A. Deissmann also affirms the experiential reality of the spirit and a ‘Pauline Christ-mysticism’ influenced by Hellenistic religion. Paul’s religious experience is Christo-centric and is ‘not first of all the product of a number of convictions and elevated doctrines about Christ; it is “fellowship” with Christ, Christ-intimacy.’²¹ Deissmann recognises two ‘tendencies’ in Paul’s ‘Christ mysticism.’ Firstly, reflecting his Jewish influence, Christ is “highly exalted” to the Father, who dwells in Heaven above “at the right hand” of God in glory.’²² Secondly, reflecting his ‘Hellenistic-mystical tendency of the experience of Christ,’²³ ‘the living Christ is the Pneuma.’²⁴ Deissmann considers the spirit to be the immanent presence of Christ on earth: for ‘Christ is Spirit’²⁵ and ‘As Pneuma, as Spirit the living Christ is not far off, above clouds and stars, but near, present on our poor earth he dwells and rules in His own.’²⁶ Such a reading of Paul follows the same path set by Gunkel and is grounded in an interpretation of 1 Cor 15:45, 6:17 and 2 Cor 3:17.²⁷ Deissmann also finds support for this identification in the ‘number of places Paul makes precisely similar statements of Christ and of the Spirit,’²⁸ in the overlap of activity credited to both Christ and the spirit,²⁹ and ‘the mystical formulae “in Christ” and “in the (Holy) Spirit”’³⁰ such that the activity of Christ and the spirit is experienced summarily as ‘in Christ who is the Spirit.’³¹ Consequently, ‘it always refers to the same experience whether Paul says that Christ lives in him, or that the Spirit dwells in us.’³² Finally, Deissmann infrequently addresses the spirit’s relation to God but does

²¹ Adolf Deissmann, *St. Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History*, 2nd ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1926), 135.

²² Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 137.

²³ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 138.

²⁴ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 138.

²⁵ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 140.

²⁶ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 138. Deissmann asks, ‘What was Paul’s conception of the spiritual Christ?’ (142). In response to this question, Deissmann contrasts *pneuma*, spirit, with *sarx*, flesh, and defines *pneuma* as ‘something not *sarkic*, not earthly, not material...the Spirit-Christ has a *soma*, a body, but a spiritual body, that is a heavenly body, a body consisting of divine effulgence,’ (142). Though Paul does not give a [s]harp, philosophically pointed definition of the concept of “spiritual,” he ‘probably thought of some light, ethereal form of existence, such as he doubtless attributed to God,’ (142). Cf. ‘The Spirit has nothing of the fleshly, nothing of the earthly; *it is divine*, heavenly, eternal, holy, living, and life-giving,’ (143, emphasis mine).

²⁷ Deissmann immediately adds, ‘and others like them,’ (*St. Paul*, 138) without any particular sense of direction as to which texts he has in mind.

²⁸ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 138.

²⁹ See the list, and supporting footnotes, at Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 139.

³⁰ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 138.

³¹ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 139, cf. ‘For *it always refers to the same experience* whether Paul says that Christ lives in him, or that the Spirit dwells in us, and whether he speaks of Christ making intercession for us with the Father, or of the Spirit how helps us in prayer,’ (139, emphasis mine); ‘Christ is Spirit; therefore He can live in Paul and Paul in Him,’ (140).

³² Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 139. For Deissmann’s full discussion on Christ-mysticism, see 135-183.

comment that '[t]o Paul the Spirit, God, the living Christ is a reality, the reality of all realities; therefore he does not puzzle about definitions.'³³

2.3 W. Bousset

Similarly to Deissmann, W. Bousset argues that Paul's religious experience was identified as 'Christ piety' which is 'summed up for him in the one great ever recurring formula ἐν κυρίῳ (Χριστῷ) εἶναι.'³⁴ He argues 'Here we have to do not at all with a notion, an idea which is thought up then propagated by one individual, but rather with something that lies much deeper, with a conviction which stems from the immediacy of the religious feeling.'³⁵ Bousset argues that Paul's Christ piety began 'at the powerful reality of the Kyrios as Paul experienced it in the first Hellenistic communities.'³⁶ Bousset argues that the same experience of the powerful presence of Christ experienced in the community also provides the same starting point for Paul's 'doctrine of the Pneuma,' the spirit who is 'the completely supernatural regarded divine power.'³⁷ For Bousset, Paul's 'doctrine of the Pneuma emerged through a grand reworking of a popular view which has its roots essentially in the living experience of the community, especially its experience of worship.'³⁸ Like Gunkel and Deissmann before him,³⁹ Bousset identifies Christ and the spirit due to the parallel formula 'in Christ' and 'in the spirit.' For Bousset, '[t]he two formulas coincide so completely that they can be interchanged at will. The Christian is ἐν Χριστῷ as he is ἐν πνεύματι.'⁴⁰ The pneumatic experiences of the early Hellenistic Christian communities thus experientially equated Christ and the spirit, so much so, that in the thought of Paul 'the two entities κύριος and πνεύμα, though not everywhere and not completely, begin to merge.'⁴¹ Thus Bousset argues that 'the Christ could be sublimated into the *abstract* entity of the Pneuma.'⁴²

³³ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 142-143.

³⁴ Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, 5th ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970), 154.

³⁵ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 136.

³⁶ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 156.

³⁷ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 160.

³⁸ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 161. Cf. 'It is of course true that Paul often represents himself as a pneumatic who knows no tradition at all, whose certainty rests upon personally experienced revelation received in a state of ecstasy,' (120); Just as 'behind Paul's mysticism...there stands the living experience of the Kyrios Christos present in worship and in the practical life of the community,' (156) so too 'in earliest Christianity the Spirit most powerfully and effectively blazed up in the community gathered for worship,' (162).

³⁹ Note Bousset's explicit reference to Gunkel and Deissmann, *Kyrios Christos*, 161, fn. 12.

⁴⁰ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 160, cf. Bousset's reading of Gal 2:20: 'for I no longer live, but Christ (the Spirit) lives in me,' (175).

⁴¹ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 163. Bousset refers here to 2 Cor 3:18 (*sic*, 3:17), ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν.

⁴² Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 155, emphasis mine. Cf. 172. Bousset reduces the 'Pauline pneuma doctrine' to two basic features: 1) 'the stark, supernatural basic outlook' and 2) 'the strong natural trait with its intermingling of the spiritual and the sensual,' (172ff). Such sources for Paul's outlook, according to Bousset, exclude 'the religion of the Old Testament and the gospel of Jesus,' (182). Added to this is the 'spirit of Greek philosophy' and exclusive dependence upon the work of Philo, which leads Bousset to conclude that 'the Pauline doctrine of

2.4 H. B. Swete

H.B. Swete follows a different path to Gunkel, Deissmann and Bousset. In contrast to their emphasis on the spirit's relation to Christ, Swete examines the spirit's relation to God: 'As seen in the New Testament the Spirit of God is the very life and energy of God, issuing from the fountain-head of Deity; the selfconsciousness of God, "exploring the depths" of the Divine heart and mind...'⁴³ He acknowledges that 'the question of the Spirit's relation to God is never formally raised, and receives only a partial answer.'⁴⁴ Nevertheless, he argues that the spirit is differentiated from God Himself by identifying those functions of the spirit that are distinct from God⁴⁵ and ultimately argues for the personal identity of the spirit: '[w]e seem to be forced to admit a threefold personality in God, and a personal life of the Holy Spirit which is its own.'⁴⁶ This 'threefold personality' also connotes the activity of Christ for in Paul 'The Spirit in its working was found to be in effect the equivalent of Jesus Christ (Rom 8:9ff; 2 Cor 3:17).'⁴⁷ Though the effects of the spirit and Christ appear identical, Swete clearly maintains a distinction between the spirit, God and Christ, for 'The Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son, although He is God.'⁴⁸ Swete does not explore how such a progression took place apart from the passing comment that the shift in the NT language of the spirit 'reveal a change in the point of view from which the Divine Spirit is regarded by writers who lived after the incarnation [of Christ].'⁴⁹

2.5 H. Wheeler Robinson

H. Wheeler Robinson also gives priority to religious experience of the spirit when he observes, 'we may say that the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit was reached by a simple transference of the victorious doctrine of the Son to the Third Person, without any adequate discussion of the new problems, least of all any discussion of them *on the basis of Christian experience, the only true basis of a doctrine of the Spirit.*'⁵⁰ For Wheeler Robinson, 'The

the Pneuma with all its consequences stands in a broad context...Paul follows a contemporary mood which had already at that time seized many minds,' (187).

⁴³ Henry B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1998, 293.

⁴⁴ Swete, *The Holy Spirit*, 288.

⁴⁵ Swete, *The Holy Spirit*, 289-290, 'This [Rom 8:27] is but one instance of many in which the Spirit of God is distinguished from God in regard to the offices which it fulfils,' (290).

⁴⁶ Swete, *The Holy Spirit*, 290. Swete continues: 'But the New Testament does not pursue this line of thought; the ideas of personality and of tripersonality are foreign to its intensely practical purpose, and in its nearest approaches to a metaphysical theology it stops short at such a revelation of God – Father, Son, and Spirit – as answers to the needs and corresponds with the facts of the spiritual life in man.'

⁴⁷ Swete, *The Holy Spirit*, 301.

⁴⁸ Swete, *The Holy Spirit*, 293.

⁴⁹ Swete, *The Holy Spirit*, 286.

⁵⁰ H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit* (London: Nisbet & Co, 1947), 65, emphasis mine.

contribution of the New Testament towards a doctrine of the Godhead is thus seen to be historical and experiential, rather than theological.⁵¹ His broad focus on the New Testament material concludes that ‘Within the period covered by the New Testament, the new fact of history – Jesus Christ – created a new order of experience of the Holy Spirit, viz. a personal relation to God through Christ.’⁵² Paul’s initial experience of the risen Lord ‘had the most important consequences for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit’⁵³ such that he possessed a mystical union with the risen Lord through the spirit and understood this relation as one of identification. Wheeler Robinson argues that ‘The Spirit of God has become so blended with the person of Christ that there is no practical difference for Paul between the indwelling Spirit and the indwelling Christ, and he can indeed speak of the Lord the Spirit.’⁵⁴ Importantly, the concept of the spirit was ‘profoundly modified by the *new* union.’⁵⁵ Because of this identification, the spirit for Wheeler Robinson is naturally personal since the spirit manifests the personality of Christ,⁵⁶ and such identification has far reaching consequences for Christian monotheism. For Wheeler Robinson, ‘God Who is present with men is present as Spirit, and the Holy Spirit Who is God’s presence active with the fullness of Christ’s personality cannot Himself be less than personal.’⁵⁷ In sum, ‘God (the Father) is Spirit, the Lord (Jesus Christ) is Spirit, and the Holy Spirit of God and of Christ is the historically specialized activity of Spirit in the largest sense.’⁵⁸

2.6 W. D. Davies

Like the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, William D. Davies, in his comparative study *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, notes a ‘parallelism between the concept of the Spirit in Paul with...that of “being in Christ.”’⁵⁹ Davies views the spirit as now identified with the resurrected Christ (1 Cor 15:45) such that to be ἐν Χριστῷ is to be ἐν πνεύματι.⁶⁰ Davies

⁵¹ Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 234.

⁵² Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 132.

⁵³ Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 134.

⁵⁴ Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 135.

⁵⁵ Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 135, emphasis mine.

⁵⁶ Cf. Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 137.

⁵⁷ Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 278.

⁵⁸ Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 235. Cf. ‘if we interpret the Christian experience of God as already a unity of Spirit, in which divine Fatherhood, Sonship and Spirithood are inseparably commingled, then we may and ought to begin with that experienced unity, and our endeavour should be to state what degree of differentiation may be necessary within that unity,’ (272).

⁵⁹ William D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*, 3rd ed. (London: SPCK, 1970) 177. Unlike the history of religions approach, Davies argues that Paul’s concept of the Spirit was drawn from his Jewish heritage, rather than from Stoicism and Hellenistic Mysticism. See the discussion at 178-226, cf. ‘We are on much safer ground, therefore, when we seek to relate Paul’s teaching on the communal aspect of the Spirit to Old Testament and Judaistic antecedents,’ (202-203).

⁶⁰ Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 177.

outlines the similar functions of Christ and the spirit,⁶¹ which leads him to assert ‘the closest possible relation’ between them, though refraining from decisively affirming a complete identification.⁶² It seems clear that for Davies the relation between the spirit and Christ has implications for the identity of the spirit, most notably through the functional identification of Christ and the spirit with the figure of wisdom.⁶³ He follows the work of Büchsel in affirming that ‘the Spirit is so closely related to Christ and to God and the relation of the Christian to Christ, “in the Spirit” is so thoroughly of the “I-thou type” based upon a personal act of faith that we must throughout think of the Spirit in personal terms.’⁶⁴ Davies also comments that the spirit’s ‘essence is power not substance,’⁶⁵ and is qualitatively different from the spirit of humanity. The spirit thus remains the spirit of God.⁶⁶

2.7 N. Q. Hamilton

N. Hamilton explicitly affirms that ‘the common opinion is correct which sees the key to the doctrine of the Spirit in the doctrine of Christ.’⁶⁷ Essentially, Hamilton argues that in Paul’s reflection the identity of the spirit has undergone a development as a result of the resurrection of Christ whereby Christ and the spirit exist in an intimate relationship which now determines the Christocentric nature of all spirit activity. Such a conclusion is reached by engaging with those key texts in Paul which relate the spirit to Christ. Hamilton views 2 Cor 3:17 as ‘in some sense’ an equation between Christ and the spirit, but recognises that ‘it is not a simple statement of absolute identity.’⁶⁸ He argues that ‘The identity here posited is not ontological, an identity of being, but dynamic, an identity which occurs in redemptive action.’⁶⁹ Because the spirit mediates the redemptive action of Christ, every action of the spirit is therefore

⁶¹ Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 177-178.

⁶² Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 196. Davies refers to 2 Cor 3:17 in support, cf. 185, fn. 1.

⁶³ Davies argues that Christ is identified by Paul as the Wisdom of God. He concludes, ‘In view of the evidence... we may assume that Paul has pictured Jesus in terms of the Wisdom of the Old Testament and contemporary Judaism,’ (*Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 155). Since in Col 1:15-18, 1 Cor 10:1-4 and 1 Cor 1:24, 30 Paul identifies Christ with Wisdom, and the creative function of Wisdom is also paralleled in the work of Christ, Davies finds an important link with the Spirit through wisdom’s creative activity: ‘The Spirit is essentially creative, life-giving, and it is a familiar fact that for Paul the whole of the Christian life in its ethical no less than in its ‘ecstatic’ aspect is the expression of the activity of the Holy Spirit,’ (217).

⁶⁴ Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 182-183, Friedrich Büchsel, *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament*, (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1926), 396-401.

⁶⁵ Davies *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 183.

⁶⁶ Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 186.

⁶⁷ Neil Q. Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul*, SJTOP 6 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 3.

⁶⁸ Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, 4.

⁶⁹ Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, 6. Hamilton likens the relationship of the Spirit to Christ much like that of an actor ‘who becomes so absorbed in his role and plays it so skilfully that we forget the actor himself and he becomes for us the person he is portraying... The Spirit portrays the Lord so well that we lose sight of the Spirit and are conscious of the Lord only,’ (6). The key for Hamilton is ‘the pattern of redemptive action: from the Lord – through the Spirit – to the believer,’ where the Spirit mediates the presence and benefits of Christ’s work, (6-7), cf. ‘For the purposes of communicating redemption the Lord and the Spirit are one,’ (8).

Christocentric.⁷⁰ From Rom 1:4 Hamilton views the spirit as ‘the vehicle, the mode, the manner of His [Christ’s] status as Lord... This *new relationship* of the Spirit to the Lord occurred “since” or “on the basis of” the resurrection.’⁷¹ From 1 Cor 15:45 Hamilton sees support for a more intimate connection than a mere ‘dynamic’ equation, arguing ‘we see the Spirit and Christ identified in a remarkably intimate way which goes beyond all dynamic explanations. The Spirit *is* the resurrection and exaltation of the Lord.’⁷² The dynamic distinction between Christ and the spirit, at least phenomenologically, cannot be discerned in the believer’s experience for ‘Christ has no access to men outside of His Spirit.’⁷³

2.8 I. Hermann

I. Hermann’s substantial monograph *Kyrios und Pneuma* clearly joins those studies which view the identity of the spirit in Christocentric terms. Hermann’s study is structured in two parts. Part one is an exegetical examination of the relation between Kyrios and Pneuma in 2 Cor 3:17a which concludes that the κύριος in Paul’s statement (ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν) is a reference to Christ and demonstrates Paul’s identification of Christ and the spirit. Part two applies the way the identification of Kyrios and Pneuma in 2 Cor 3:17a is applied in Paul’s broader theological thought.⁷⁴ Hermann understands 2 Cor 3:17a not only as the ‘end point’ (*Endpunkt*)⁷⁵ or summation of all of Paul’s theological statements about Christ and the spirit, but also its beginning: ‘Eine Theologie der paulinischen Pneuma-Aussagen muß von hierher interpretieren,’⁷⁶ and ‘ist Vers 17a der locus classicus, der das Verhältnis von Kyrios und Pneuma beleuchtet.’⁷⁷

A fundamental point of inquiry is Hermann’s desire to critique a hypostatic or Trinitarian conception of the spirit which would posit the spirit as a distinct person or in some sense distinguishable from God or Christ. Hermann asks the explicit question, ‘Gibt es bei Paulus ein selbständiges, von Gott oder Christus getrennt gedachtes Pneuma?’ and answers this negatively.⁷⁸

Hermann makes the argument that Paul’s conception of the spirit’s relation to Christ is after the analogy of the spirit’s relation to God in the Hebrew Scriptures and in Judaism.⁷⁹ The

⁷⁰ Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, 8-9.

⁷¹ Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, 13, emphasis mine.

⁷² Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, 15, emphasis original.

⁷³ Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, 11.

⁷⁴ Ingo Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma: Studien zur Christologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe*, Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 2 (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1961). Part one (17-66); Part two (69-145).

⁷⁵ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 144.

⁷⁶ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 144.

⁷⁷ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 50.

⁷⁸ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 132ff.

⁷⁹ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 123-131.

spirit is defined in relation to God as ‘göttliche Kraft’⁸⁰ and ‘göttlichen Pneuma.’⁸¹ In order to substantiate this definition in Paul, Hermann examines 1 Cor 2:10-12; 3:16; 12:4-11; and 2 Cor 13:13 and argues that Pneuma should not be ‘von Gott abgelöst und verselbständigt werden darf,’⁸² for ‘das Pneuma jene in der Gemeinde wirkende Kraft Gottes ist, durch die Gott selbst in ihr gegenwärtig ist. Gott wohnt *als das Pneuma* in der Gemeinde.’⁸³ It follows then ‘Für ein hypostatisches Pneuma-Verständnis bleibt hier kein Platz.’⁸⁴

The primary emphasis in Hermann’s inquiry is the spirit’s relation to Christ which is understood after the analogy of the spirit’s relation to God. 2 Cor 3:17a provides the justification for the identification between Christ and the spirit, but this is not a *logical* identity, but an *experiential* identity for ‘»Der Herr ist der Geist« ist also eine existentielle Aussage.’⁸⁵ For Hermann, ‘Christus wird *erfahrbar als Pneuma*’⁸⁶ and the ‘Seinsweise als Pneuma.’⁸⁷ The experiential reality of the spirit confirms the sovereignty of the exalted Christ as present and active to the believer for ‘Dieses Wechselverhältnis von dynamischer Präsenz (des Kyrios als Pneuma) und Repräsentanz (des Pneuma für den Kyrios) erwies sich als Schlüssel für das Verständnis der pneumatischen Seinsweise des Erhöhten.’⁸⁸ Of interest is Hermann’s rejection of a ‘logischen Identität’⁸⁹ but his affirmation of a ‘»gedanklichen Einheit«’⁹⁰ between Christ and the spirit which sits somewhat in tension with his claims that ‘Ihr erfahrt das Pneuma als in euch wirksam; aber was ihr als Pneuma erfahrt, ist in Wirklichkeit der erhöhte und pneumamächtige Herr Jesus Christus.’⁹¹

The consequence of Hermann’s affirmation of the spirit as the mode of Christ’s presence is that ‘Der Begriff Pneuma gehört also in den *Bereich der christologischen Aussagen*.’⁹² The identity of the spirit is now defined exclusively by Christ, so much so, that Hermann uses language of ‘»Herrengeist«,’ (51), ‘pneumamächtige Herr Jesus Christus’ (52), ‘pneuma-mächtigen Kyrios’ (141) and ‘Christus-Pneuma’ (141) to demonstrate such Christological ‘definition’ (‘christologisch geprägt’; ‘christusbezogen’; ‘Eigenart’;

⁸⁰ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 57, 138.

⁸¹ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 142, 144.

⁸² Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 134.

⁸³ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 133, emphasis original. Cf. ‘Diese eine Wirklichkeit aber ist Gott selbst, insofern er als Pneuma »begreifbar« wird, sich dem Menschen gewährt,’ (134).

⁸⁴ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 133.

⁸⁵ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 50.

⁸⁶ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 49, emphasis original. ‘Denn nur da, wo dieser als Pneuma erfahrbare Christus gegenwärtig ist,’ (50).

⁸⁷ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 144.

⁸⁸ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 140. Cf. 51.

⁸⁹ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 140.

⁹⁰ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 51.

⁹¹ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 52. Hermann uses the analogy of the sun (i.e. Christ) and its emitting rays (i.e. spirit) to describe the spirit’s relation to Christ (50).

⁹² Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 52, emphasis original.

‘Christusbezug’; ‘Pneuma-Christologie’).⁹³ The identity of the spirit is now defined so exclusively by Christ that all statements concerning Christ are statements concerning the spirit. There is no room for unique functions of the spirit which can be distinguished from the activity of Christ. Thus Hermann rejects Gunkel’s description of a ‘»teilweisen Identifikation«’ in favour of a seemingly complete identification in function, for ‘jede Aussage über Christus als Aussage über den Pneuma-Christus verstanden werden muß, und daß jedes Wirken des Kyrios als ein Wirken mittels des Pneuma vorgestellt werden muß.’⁹⁴ Thus both the identity and the function of the spirit are Christologically defined and the spirit ‘nicht mehr als selbständig Vorhandenes begreifbar.’⁹⁵ How did such a transformation take place that the spirit of God is now conceived as the spirit of Christ? It is on the basis of Christ’s resurrection from the dead and exaltation that the spirit is now Christ himself experienced by believers: ‘ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ist Christus der pneuma-mächtige erhöhte Kyrios (Röm 1, 4), ihm ist die Verfügung über das Pneuma gegeben, über jene Kraft Gottes, die jetzt so sehr »in ihm« ist, daß er selbst als Pneuma verstanden werden kann.’⁹⁶

The end result is that Hermann denies any distinct personhood to the spirit understood in a ‘trinitarian’ sense, for the spirit is simply the mode, presence and power of God and Christ’s being in the believer’s experience.⁹⁷ Hermann denies any scheme that wishes to impose a ‘personal’ or ‘apersonal’ conception of the spirit, including Bultmann’s ‘animistic’ or ‘dynamistic’ conceptions.⁹⁸ Such dichotomies are resolved if it is recognised that the spirit’s personality is the personality of God and Christ in their activity:

Weil der »eigentliche«, theologisch prägnante Sprachgebrauch des Paulus im Pneuma eine Gott und Christus eigene Potenz sieht, verbietet sich für eine Paulusinterpretation jede Hypostasierung des Pneuma in Richtung auf eine selbständige 3. trinitarische Person, andererseits aber auch jede Verdinglichung. Das Pneuma ist von Paulus nicht als Person

⁹³ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 144.

⁹⁴ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 141, emphasis original.

⁹⁵ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 140. Cf. the title of Chapter 13, ‘Die Identität von Kyrios und Pneuma als Grundlage aller paulinischen Aussagen über das göttliche Pneuma,’ (132, emphasis original).

⁹⁶ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 143, cf. 57, 144.

⁹⁷ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 66, ‘selbständige Größe,’; 53-54; 132ff. ‘Die Versuche, Pneuma hypostatisch-trinitarisch, formal-hermeneutisch und substanzhaft zu verstehen, haben sich als der paulinischen Denkweise unangemessen erwiesen,’ (48).

⁹⁸ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 132-145. ‘Weiterhin ergab sich die Notwendigkeit, die zentralen theologischen Gedankenkreise des Paulus von der Wirklichkeit des Pneuma-Christus beziehungsweise des Christus-Pneuma her zu interpretieren: Die Eschatologie des Apostels, seine Ekklesiologie, sein Verständnis der christlichen Existenz und seine Paränese sind weder in ihrer Dynamik noch in ihrer Konkretheit ohne die in 2 Kor 3, 17a ausgesprochene Identität von Kyrios und Pneuma verständlich zu machen. Das damit von Einzelaussagen des Paulus und von der Gesamtheit seines theologischen Denkens her nahegelegte Verständnis des Verhältnisses von Kyrios und Pneuma gab die Möglichkeit, sowohl systematisch-trinitarische Interpretationen als historisch unrichtig abzuwehren, als auch das religionsgeschichtliche Verständnis vom Pneuma als unpersönlicher, dinghafter und selbsttätiger Kraft oder als Fluidum einzuschränken,’ (140).

gedacht, wohl aber als personal im Sinn einer von der Personalität Gottes beziehungsweise Christi durchdrungenen Ausstrahlungskraft des göttlichen Wesens und Handelns.⁹⁹

2.9 K. Stalder

K. Stalder provides an alternative path to Hermann and the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*'s Christological conception of the spirit. Stalder agreed with German scholarship that 'der Heilige Geist etwas Übernatürliches, Jenseitiges, Göttliches sei' and 'Ist der Geist aber kein Geschöpf, so gehört er in einer entscheidenden Weise auf die Seite Gottes.'¹⁰⁰ The question for Stalder is how the spirit is related to God and he identifies three possibilities, 'der Heilige Geist könnte eine Hypostasierung einer göttlichen Eigenschaft oder Wirkung sein, es könnte sich auch um eine Personifikation einer göttlichen Eigenschaft oder Wirkung handeln, und endlich könnte das Wort «pneuma» als der prägnante Name eines bestimmten, besonderen göttlichen Handelns verstanden werden.'¹⁰¹ He rejects the hypostatic conception of the spirit on the basis that the spirit is not separable from God.¹⁰² He also rejects the conception of the spirit as a personification of a divine attribute (Eigenschaft) or activity (Wirkung) on the basis that Paul does not explicitly equate 'Pneuma' with 'Dynamis' which is a characteristic of God and denotes his divine activity.¹⁰³ The key question for Stalder is whether the spirit is a 'ganz spezielles göttliches Tun.'¹⁰⁴

This leads Stalder to examine those particular parallel (Parallelen) activities between God, Christ and the spirit. He argues that Paul identifies God, Christ and the spirit with parallel activities but also credits the spirit with exclusive activities that are differentiated from God and Christ.¹⁰⁵ Though Stalder asks whether various Pauline statements could characterise the spirit as 'der Name für eine besondere Machtentfaltung, für ein besonderes Tun Gottes wäre?,' he argues that the spirit is 'ein besonderes göttliches Sein.'¹⁰⁶ It is because the spirit can confront (gegenüber) God in unique activities that the spirit is a real being (e.g. Gal 4:6; 1 Cor 2:11-12; Rom 8:26-27).¹⁰⁷ The spirit 'ist für Paulus Gott selbst, sofern er aus sich heraustritt'¹⁰⁸ and 'an ein besonderes göttliches Sein, das sogar bei Gott für uns eintreten

⁹⁹ Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 140-141.

¹⁰⁰ Kurt Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus* (Zürich: EVZ-Verlag, 1962), 24.

¹⁰¹ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 26.

¹⁰² Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 26-27.

¹⁰³ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 27-35.

¹⁰⁴ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 35.

¹⁰⁵ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 35-40.

¹⁰⁶ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 41-49, here 41.

¹⁰⁷ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 'Das alles heißt aber: der Heilige Geist tritt Gott mit einem bestimmten Tun gegenüber. Kann man solche Sätze formulieren, wenn der Heilige Geist als göttliche Machtentfaltung verstanden wäre? Die Frage beantwortet sich selbst. Der Heilige Geist kann Gott nur in dieser bestimmten Weise gegenübertreten, wenn er ein wirkliches Sein ist,' (46).

¹⁰⁸ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 47.

kann',¹⁰⁹ but Paul 'denkt nicht an ein Gottwesen außerhalb und neben Gott.'¹¹⁰ Such exclusive activities of the spirit also define the spirit's relation to Christ. Against the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, Stalder rejects an ontological identification between Christ and the spirit from 2 Cor 3:16-18 and 1 Cor 15:45¹¹¹ and denies a Stoic conception of the spirit as substance.¹¹² The logic of Stalder's thesis points to the conclusion that 'der Heilige Geist bei Paulus tatsächlich nicht nur ein Gedanke, nicht nur eine Funktion und auch nicht nur ein Tun Gottes ist, sondern sein eigenes Sein hat, das göttliche Sein, aber das göttliche Sein in der Besonderung als Geist.'¹¹³

2.10 A. W. Wainwright

The thesis of A.W. Wainwright begins 'with an account of the names and title of Father, Son, and Spirit, and their divine functions and mutual relationships'¹¹⁴ which leads to his conclusion that 'Paul...speaks of the Spirit as if he were a person.'¹¹⁵ Wainwright understands that Christ and the spirit 'are closely associated.'¹¹⁶ While Wainwright notes that 'In some passages Paul writes as if they were almost identical,' (e.g. 2 Cor 3:17), he eventually denies any identification.¹¹⁷ Wainwright also recognises the similarity of functions between Christ and the spirit (Rom 8:9ff, 26, 34), but concludes that this does not assume 'that the two persons are identical.'¹¹⁸ The expressions 'in Christ' and 'in the spirit' are similar descriptions of the Christian life but are nonetheless 'not interchangeable in the writings of Paul.'¹¹⁹ These observations lead Wainwright to make the statement that 'Paul's language about the Spirit can be understood only when we realize that he had not truly isolated the Spirit as a distinct person.'¹²⁰

Wainwright also addresses the spirit's relation to God and follows the three-fold methodology utilised in his discussion on the person and function of Christ: 1) was the spirit called God? 2) was the spirit an object of worship and prayer? 3) was the spirit believed to perform the unique functions of deity (judgement, creation and salvation)? Wainwright

¹⁰⁹ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 50.

¹¹⁰ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 50.

¹¹¹ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 50-61.

¹¹² Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 64-69.

¹¹³ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 68; cf. 'den Geist als die besondere Seinsweise Gottes zu erkennen,' (69).

¹¹⁴ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 266.

¹¹⁵ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 201. While noting Bultmann's differentiation between the animistic and dynamic interpretations of the spirit, Wainwright nonetheless argues that the 'dynamic descriptions of the Spirit do not actually imply that the Spirit is impersonal,' (203).

¹¹⁶ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 215.

¹¹⁷ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 215-217.

¹¹⁸ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 218.

¹¹⁹ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 219.

¹²⁰ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 220.

responds negatively to these questions and concludes that Paul's 'mind was *not yet prepared for the acknowledgement that the Spirit was God*. His thought about the Spirit was moving in the same direction as his thought about Christ, but it had not advanced so far.'¹²¹

Nevertheless, a brief discussion of the threefold formulae in Paul (2 Thess 3:13-14; 1 Cor 12:4-6; 2 Cor 13:14)¹²² leads Wainwright to comment 'that the Christians believed in the Father and the Son and the Spirit.'¹²³ But he argues that Paul 'does not show any clear awareness of a problem about the relationship of the Spirit either to Father or to Son'¹²⁴ and 'Although he never identifies Christ with the Spirit, he has not clarified the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son.'¹²⁵

Wainwright briefly references the role of experience by claiming 'the Christian experience of the Spirit was so full and remarkable that the Spirit was regarded not as an idea which could explain the nature of Christ but as a further manifestation of the nature of God which itself required explanation.'¹²⁶ A crucial point is made by Wainwright in his later discussion when he recognises that 'The more the Christians meditated about the Spirit, and the more they experienced his activity in their own lives and in the life of the community, the more they were conscious of his personal nature.'¹²⁷ Thus, according to Wainwright, experience of the spirit plays a significant role in the development of a 'trinitarian' understanding of God.¹²⁸

2.11 M. E. Isaacs

In her study of Hellenistic Judaism and its consequential impact on the NT, M.E. Isaacs understands a development in the understanding of the spirit to have occurred directly as a result of the person of Christ and the concept of Wisdom. Isaacs argues that 'there are occasions when Paul does not distinguish between the spirit of God and Christ.'¹²⁹ Such lack of differentiation 'is because, for Paul, the experience of union with God has been mediated

¹²¹ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 227, emphasis mine.

¹²² Wainwright also references Gal 3:11-14, 4:6; 2 Cor 1:21-22, 3:3; Rom 14:17-18, 15:16, 15:30; Phil 3:3; Col 1:6-8; Eph 2:18, 2:20-22, 3:14-16, *The Trinity*, 242-243.

¹²³ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 246.

¹²⁴ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 249-250, 260-265.

¹²⁵ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 260.

¹²⁶ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 33.

¹²⁷ Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 204. In relation to Paul, the formulation of 1 Cor 12:4-6 demonstrates that 'In his experience, the Spirit, the Lord, and God are operative in the Christian life,' (241) while the expression in 2 Cor 13:14 'was made as a result of his own religious experience,' (241-242).

¹²⁸ 'The problem of the Trinity...arose because of the development of Christian experience, worship, and thought. It was rooted in experience, for men were conscious of the power of the Spirit and the presence and Lordship of the risen Christ. It was rooted in worship, because men worshipped in the Spirit, offered their prayers to God the Father through Christ, and sometimes worshipped Christ himself,' Wainwright, *The Trinity*, 266.

¹²⁹ Marie E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit: A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and its Bearing on the New Testament* (London: Heythrop College, 1976), 113.

through the person of Jesus. Therefore he makes no rigid distinction between the source and the agent of the spirit.¹³⁰ Despite an identification, Isaacs admits that in Paul ‘Jesus and the spirit are not simply equated.’¹³¹ From these brief references, Isaacs draws the conclusion that ‘So completely has the N.T. writers’ understanding of πνεῦμα been shaped by their beliefs about the person of Christ, that πνεῦμα θεοῦ can become πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ. Hence the pneumatology of the N.T. cannot be divorced from its Christology.’¹³²

2.12 G. Lampe

When searching for new paths on the spirit, one cannot miss the significant direction set by G. Lampe. Lampe begins his discussion on what can be described as a new interpretation of Christian Monotheism by responding to two Christological affirmations: that Jesus is Lord and Jesus is alive today.¹³³ These two affirmations raise the question of Jesus’ relationship to both God and to believers, which serves to focus Lampe’s study. He argues that a new path of interpretation will lead to a more fruitful understanding of the identity of God and the way God relates to humanity.

For Lampe, ‘Jesus is alive today wholly and without remainder in terms of God’s Spirit – God who was in Christ, re-creating us in his likeness, bringing us into a Christlike relationship with himself by making us his sons, and “forming Christ” in us.’¹³⁴ This same means of God’s active presence was also the experience of Paul: ‘Paul believed that Christ was a contemporary, personally existing being’ who, having been exalted to heaven, ‘is representative man: the “last Adam” who has become life-giving Spirit [1 Cor 15:45].’¹³⁵ The result of this claim is that the relationship between Christ and the spirit in Paul is difficult to

¹³⁰ Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 113. Isaacs finds support for this in Rom 8:9ff where πνεῦμα θεοῦ, πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, and Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν ‘are clearly synonymous expressions of the same reality,’ (113).

¹³¹ Isaacs cites 1 Cor 6:11, Rom 15:30 and ‘the Trinitarian formula’ in 2 Cor 13:14 for support, *The Concept of Spirit*, 113-114.

¹³² Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 114. Cf. ‘For all N.T. writers the power and presence of God, signified by πνεῦμα, is grounded exclusively in Jesus, the Christ. Therefore, pneumatology and christology are inextricably bound up with each other, since the church’s concept of the spirit of God has become conditioned by its beliefs about Jesus. Πνεῦμα θεοῦ has become Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ,’ (124). Such an identification can be maintained, according to Isaacs, on the basis of the synonymous concepts of πνεῦμα and σοφία within Hellenistic Judaism for ‘The fact that in Hellenistic Judaism πνεῦμα and σοφία could be used synonymously, may well explain the process whereby Christ and the spirit became identified in Pauline thought,’ (138). Like Davies, Isaacs argues that Paul identifies Christ with the personified figure of Wisdom. In this way, the identification between Χριστός and πνεῦμα exists because of the common identification of both concepts with σοφία (137); Cf. ‘For...Paul, therefore, Pneumatology and Christology are essentially connected, since both draw upon the Hellenistic Jewish wisdom tradition, in which σοφία, λόγος and πνεῦμα are inter-related concepts,’ (138).

¹³³ Geoffrey Lampe, *God as Spirit* (London: SCM, 1977), 1.

¹³⁴ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 158.

¹³⁵ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 4.

discern. Lampe shies away from any complete identification in the thought of Paul¹³⁶ on the basis that Paul's understanding of the pre-existence of the person of Jesus Christ, as Word and Wisdom, did not allow it.¹³⁷ But it would appear that Lampe wishes to go further than Paul to assert that Christ and the spirit are in fact the same reality, so much so that the believer's experience of 'Jesus alive today' is an experience of the spirit: 'Jesus himself as the archetypal Adam "has become life-giving Spirit" [1 Cor 15:45]. The Spirit, as the new life of believers, is Christ, and Christ is the Spirit, so that Paul can say of his life in faith which, even in the present age when the flesh is still active, is life in the Spirit.'¹³⁸

The significance of Lampe's argument rests, similarly as with Gunkel, Deissmann and Bousset, in the recognition that Christ is of significance for the development of the identity of the spirit. For Lampe,

Christian faith certainly involved a radical reinterpretation of the concept of Spirit. God's active presence in and with human beings was now understood in terms of Christ...For Christians there could no longer be 'Spirit of God' or 'Holy Spirit' except in 'Christ' terms, for to experience God as Spirit and to experience the presence of Christ were one and the same thing.

The concept of 'Spirit', the outreach of God's personal creative presence into the spirit of man [*sic*], has now been clearly defined by the historical Jesus; the person of Jesus is now the norm by reference to which the Spirit of God is recognized.¹³⁹

While 'the Spirit is the mode in which Christ becomes present to believers,'¹⁴⁰ the relationship of Christ to God is also of significance to Lampe. While he follows the path set by Gunkel in identifying Christ and the spirit, such an identification rests upon different assumptions of God's activity. Lampe questions the traditional understanding of the incarnation of God in Christ by understanding God's activity as the process of inspiration by the spirit on the human Jesus. The Hebrew Scriptures serve as Lampe's background where the spirit 'is one of those "bridge" words which express the idea of God's outreach towards, and contact with, the created world.'¹⁴¹ The concept of the human spirit is closely identified with the activity of the holy spirit,¹⁴² since the spirit operates in that dimension of human

¹³⁶ 'Paul does not go so far as to imply that the contemporary "Christ" experienced now by believers as an indwelling life-giving presence, and as the "ambit" within which they live as sons of God, is always and in all circumstances to be identified with the life-giving Spirit of God,' Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 6.

¹³⁷ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 116-119.

¹³⁸ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 79.

¹³⁹ First quotation, Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 62. Second quotation 79.

¹⁴⁰ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 145.

¹⁴¹ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 35.

¹⁴² 'There have thus been two very different traditions in the theological use of the concept of "Spirit", and it is often difficult to disentangle them,' Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 44.

existence.¹⁴³ ‘The two-fold concept of spirit, divine and human...points us further, to the truth that all personal communion between transcendent God and man involves God’s immanence within man – nothing less, in fact, than *an incarnation of God as Spirit in every man as a human spirit.*’¹⁴⁴ This model of ‘incarnation’ is the framework by which Lampe understands God’s activity in inspiring the man Jesus through the spirit, a model which dispenses with the traditional understanding of the incarnation as Jesus Christ come in the flesh.¹⁴⁵ Yet the key is in Lampe’s understanding of God’s activity through various modes, namely, Word, Wisdom and spirit, which are interchangeable concepts and ‘virtually synonymous expressions for God’s outreach towards man in Jesus.’¹⁴⁶ The identification of Christ as Word and Wisdom thus serves to refer to God’s action in inspiring the man Jesus and also, since the spirit is synonymous with Word and Wisdom, serves to underpin the identification of Christ and the spirit.¹⁴⁷

Such a modal construction allows Lampe to dispense with a ‘trinitarian’ understanding of God, since Christ and spirit are not distinct “hypostases” or “persons” but are simply the operations or activities of God. The consequence of this for the identity of the spirit is significant, for whereas Gunkel and those following him were interested in collapsing the spirit into Christ, Lampe collapses Christ into the spirit. For Lampe, there does not seem to be a distinct identity of the spirit at all, rather the spirit is synonymous for God’s activity. Lampe concludes that ‘In now speaking of God as Spirit we are not referring to an impersonal influence, an energy transmitted by God but distinct from himself. Nor are we indicating a divine entity of hypostasis which is a third person of the Godhead. We are speaking of God himself, his personal presence, as active and related.’¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ ‘In Hebrew and Greek, as in English, the same word can denote the human spirit, that is, man as a rational, feeling, willing, personality endowed with insight, wisdom, and moral sensitivity, capable of responding to God, and also the creative and life-renewing power of God which is nothing less than his personal presence,’ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 44.

¹⁴⁴ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 45, emphasis mine.

¹⁴⁵ See Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 144.

¹⁴⁶ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 122. See also, 115-117, 121.

¹⁴⁷ Lampe seems to argue in a syllogistic fashion: If the spirit is identified with Word and Wisdom, and Christ is identified with Word and Wisdom, therefore Christ and the spirit are identified.

¹⁴⁸ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 208. See also his comments on 11. Note the application to Paul: ‘Here [1 Cor 2:9-16] is Paul’s plainest affirmation, and he is by no means always clear on this central point of theology, that in the last resort the Spirit is not a third entity, a power or influence or even a personal being, mediating between God and Christ, between God and the believer, or between Christ and the believer, but rather that the Spirit is God: the inner personal being of God, self-conscious deity,’ (81).

2.13 E. Schweizer

E. Schweizer takes a somewhat different approach to previous paths and understands the spirit's relationship to Christ in terms of power.¹⁴⁹ This power is understood as a new sphere of existence that is lived 'in Christ,' and the spirit is 'the sphere of heavenly substance' into which the exalted Christ entered. On the basis of Christ's entrance into this sphere, Christ 'must Himself be called πνεῦμα, and, though this is formally a statement about his substance, materially it is a statement about His power.'¹⁵⁰ Thus πνεῦμα is defined as the mode of existence of the κύριος and Schweizer clearly equates Christ and the spirit (1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:17) and declares forthrightly that 'the exalted Christ is the πνεῦμα.'¹⁵¹ Though he recognises that in Rom 8:9-11 Paul alternates his descriptions of the indwelling of Christ and the spirit, he concludes that 'No material distinction can be discerned here' and recognises that 'The metaphysical question of the relation between God, Christ and the Spirit is hardly alluded to by Paul at all. For this reason it would be a mistake to think that Paul finds in the "third person of the Trinity" the original meaning of πνεῦμα.'¹⁵² Moreover, 'the question of the personality of the πνεῦμα is wrongly put since neither Hebrew nor Greek has this word.'¹⁵³ Neither is the spirit considered simply 'power' as opposed to 'person' for the πνεῦμα is the 'manner in which the κύριος is present to the community.'¹⁵⁴ Schweizer recognises the experiential reality of the spirit, for 'Long before the Spirit was a theme of doctrine, He was a fact in the experience of the community.'¹⁵⁵ On this experiential basis, Schweizer does affirm that 'Sometimes Paul can use θεός, κύριος and πνεῦμα together because their encounter with the believer is one and the same event.'¹⁵⁶

2.14 J. D. G. Dunn

A significant contribution to the discussion is J. Dunn's examination of the religious experience of Paul and the Pauline churches and the impact of this examination for the identity of the spirit. Dunn states, 'There can be little doubt that *Paul's whole conception and*

¹⁴⁹ Eduard Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα, πνευματικός' in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Vol. VI, ed. Gerhard F. Kittel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 416.

¹⁵⁰ Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα,' 417.

¹⁵¹ Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα,' 418-419.

¹⁵² Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα,' 433.

¹⁵³ Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα,' 433-434.

¹⁵⁴ Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα,' 434.

¹⁵⁵ Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα,' 396.

¹⁵⁶ Schweizer cites 1 Cor 12:4-6, 2 Cor 13:13, Rom 5:1-5 and Gal 4:4-6 for support, 'πνεῦμα,' 434.

*practise of Christianity sprang in a direct way from his own religious experience.*¹⁵⁷

Integrally related to Paul's experience is the reality of the spirit, for spirit 'is essentially an experiential concept' that is observable, not concealed, within the human heart.¹⁵⁸ Dunn's perspective on the spirit is twofold 1) the spirit is the spirit of God: 'for Paul, as much as for the earlier Jewish writers the Spirit is the dynamic power of God himself reaching out to and having its effect on men,'¹⁵⁹ 2) the identity of the spirit has developed as a result of the resurrection of Christ. It is this second aspect of Dunn's work that is given most attention.

For Dunn, 'definition' and 'equation' are two important keywords that summarise the relation between the spirit and the resurrected Christ in the believer's experience. Firstly, in view of 1 Cor 12:3; Rom 8:14ff (cf. Gal 4:6ff, Phil 1:19) and 2 Cor 3:18, the resurrected Christ has now become 'the definition of the Spirit';¹⁶⁰ so much so that any activity attributed to the spirit must possess the character of Christ.¹⁶¹ Thus the identity of the spirit is Christocentric, for 'Paul defines the Spirit as no more and no less than the Spirit of Jesus.'¹⁶² This definition occurs because Dunn makes the assumption that the spirit was 'a very plastic concept'¹⁶³ such that 'The personality and the role of Jesus expand and swallow up the less-well defined personality and more restricted role of the Spirit.'¹⁶⁴ In this way Jesus becomes the personality of the spirit.¹⁶⁵ Secondly, in view of 1 Cor 15:45; Rom 1:3-4, 8:9-11; 1 Cor 6:17 and 12:4-6; cf. 2 Cor 13:4, Dunn affirms an 'equation' between Christ and the spirit.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁷ James D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*, 3rd ed. (London: SCM Press/Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 2006), 205, emphasis original.

¹⁵⁸ James D.G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 201-202 (here 201, emphasis original). See more fully, 197-342, and Ch. IX 'Spirit and Experience,' in *Unity and Diversity*, 189-217. Dunn's aim is to 'demonstrate something of the fundamental role of experience, not least the experience of grace, in the shaping of Paul's theology,' *Jesus and the Spirit*, 200, emphasis original.

¹⁵⁹ Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 144, emphasis original; 'in the literature of pre-Christian Judaism, Wisdom, Word and Spirit were all near alternatives as ways of describing the active, immanent power of God,' (196), Cf. 'all three expressions are simply alternative ways of speaking about the effective power of God in his active relationship with his world and its inhabitants,' (219, emphasis original).

¹⁶⁰ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 145, emphasis original.

¹⁶¹ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 319-322.

¹⁶² Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 325, 'In Paul then the distinctive mark of the Spirit becomes his Christness. The charismatic Spirit is brought to the test of the Christ event...so Jesus becomes the personality of the Spirit,' 325, emphasis original.

¹⁶³ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 322-324. Dunn presumes that before Christ the concept of the spirit and subsequent charismatic phenomena was only provisionally developed: 'Paul was reflecting theologically on what had been hitherto an ill-defined and vague conceptuality of the Spirit – ill-defined and vague precisely because it embraced or lay behind a wide range of experience and existential phenomena. Paul's definition, therefore, gave the conception of the Spirit a sharpness and clarity which it had been lacking,' James D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (London: Eerdmans, 1998), 433.

¹⁶⁴ James D.G. Dunn, '1 Corinthians 15:45 – Last Adam, Life-Giving Spirit,' in his *The Christ and the Spirit*, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 144.

¹⁶⁵ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 324-326.

¹⁶⁶ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 322-324; *idem*, *Christology in the Making*, 144-149. See also the collection of articles now in *The Christ and the Spirit*, 2 Vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), specifically '1 Corinthians 15:45 – Last Adam, Life-Giving Spirit,' (154-166) and 'Jesus – Flesh and Spirit: An Exposition of Rom 1:3-4,'

Like his understanding of ‘definition,’ Dunn’s ‘equation’ rests upon an interpretive assumption. Dunn argues that Paul went to great pains *not* to imply that the spirit was the means (or power) by which Jesus was resurrected.¹⁶⁷ While the spirit is the agent by which all believers will be resurrected, no such activity is evidenced in relation to the risen Christ.¹⁶⁸ Paul ‘seems to shy away from the logical corollary (of the believer’s resurrection by the power of the Spirit) – that *Christ’s* resurrection was also effected by the power of the Spirit.’¹⁶⁹ This key assumption is essential for since the spirit was not the power of Christ’s resurrection, Paul can ‘equate’ Christ with the spirit at his resurrection: ‘he (the risen Christ) was brought to life *as Spirit*.’¹⁷⁰ 1 Cor 15:45 then becomes the central vacuum by which Dunn cuts to the heart of Paul’s convictions about the identity of the spirit, that at his resurrection, Christ *became* the life-giving spirit.¹⁷¹ Despite such assertions, Dunn is careful not to completely identify Christ and the spirit, ultimately resolving that the spirit remains distinct from Christ.¹⁷² Thirdly, despite admitting that there is not a complete identification, Dunn argues that *experientially* there is no distinction: ‘for Paul *no distinction can be detected in the believer’s experience between exalted Christ and Spirit of God*.’¹⁷³ So too, ‘*if Christ is now*

(126-153); *idem*, *The Parting of the Ways*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM Press, 2007), 263-266; *idem*, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 260-264, 433-434. Note that Dunn rejects an identification at 2 Cor 3:17, ‘2 Corinthians 3:17 – “The Lord is the Spirit,”’ in *The Christ and the Spirit* (115-125).

¹⁶⁷ See *Jesus and the Spirit*, 11-92 and *Christology in the Making*, 136-141. ‘[T]he explosive force within Christianity’s emerging distinctiveness was the conviction that something had happened to Jesus, that the Messiah, prophet and teacher of Nazareth, had been raised from the dead and exalted to God’s right hand. And at the heart of that conviction was the perception that this transition, as we might say, from prophet to Lord, involved a *transition in Jesus’ relation with the Spirit of God*. In a word, the one who had been *inspired* by the Spirit had now become *dispenser* of the Spirit,’ ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ 13-14, emphasis original.

¹⁶⁸ Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 144, ‘*Paul seems to go out of his way...to avoid attributing Jesus’ resurrection to the agency of the Spirit*,’; ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ 14, emphasis original.

¹⁶⁹ Dunn, ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ 14; *idem*, ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit: An Exposition of Rom 1:3-4,’ 149; *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 262.

¹⁷⁰ Dunn, ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ 150, emphasis mine.

¹⁷¹ Dunn therefore identifies Christ with Word, Wisdom and spirit. Like Davies and Isaacs, Dunn seems to argue for this identification between Christ and the spirit on the basis that the early Christian writers, particularly Paul, were ‘ransacking the vocabulary available to them in order that they might express as fully as possible the significance of Jesus,’ *Christology in the Making*, 196. But the sense of ‘identification’ is nuanced with regard to the spirit. Dunn has argued that Paul ‘could think of Christ as wholly identified with Wisdom, so that Christ absorbed the role of divine Wisdom without remainder; whereas in the case of the Spirit the identification was not so complete,’ *The Parting of the Ways*, 265.

¹⁷² ‘(I)n Paul’s understanding *the exalted Christ is not merely synonymous with the Spirit*, has not been wholly absorbed as it were by the Spirit, so that “exalted Christ” becomes merely a phrase to describe the Spirit,’ Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 146-147, emphasis original. See also Dunn’s comments which directly follow this reference, (147 and 149). His later work appears to make the distinction between Christ and the spirit much clearer: ‘*Whereas Wisdom and Word could be wholly identified with or as Christ, the Spirit remained distinct from Christ*,’ ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ 16, emphasis original.

¹⁷³ Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 146; Cf. ‘If Christ is the definition of the Spirit, then the Spirit is the medium for Christ in his relation to men. If the Spirit of God is now to be recognized only by the Jesus-character of the spiritual experience he engenders, then it is also true that for Paul Christ can be experienced now only in and through the Spirit, indeed only *as the Spirit*,’ (146, emphasis original); ‘Immanent christology is for Paul Pneumatology; in the believer’s experience there is *no distinction between Christ and the Spirit*,’ ‘1 Corinthians 15:45 – Last Adam, Life-Giving Spirit,’ 165, emphasis original; ‘*If Christ is now experienced as Spirit, Spirit is now experienced as Christ*,’ *Jesus and the Spirit*, 323, emphasis original. See the similarly phrased comments in *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 264.

*experienced as Spirit, Spirit is now experienced as Christ.*¹⁷⁴ Thus ‘It is clear that in presenting the relationship of Jesus and the Spirit in such dynamic terms Paul has taken a bold and decisive step forward in Judaeo-Christian thinking about the Spirit of God and religious experience.’¹⁷⁵

More broadly, this development not only affects the identity of the spirit, but leads Paul towards recognising ‘a “Trinitarian” element in the believer’s experience’¹⁷⁶ whereby the spirit becomes the means by which the believer cries ‘Abba! Father!’ (Rom 8:15) and confesses ‘Jesus is Lord’ (1 Cor 12:3).¹⁷⁷ The shape of Christian worship, mediated by an experience of the spirit, thus gives priority to experience as the key in developing the later trinitarian formulations.¹⁷⁸ Apart from the experiential basis, Dunn affirms an awareness in early Christian thought of the distinctive role of the spirit which paved the way for ‘trinitarian’ thinking: ‘the fact that Jesus and the Spirit were seen to *overlap* in function, but *not wholly to coincide*, implies that already among the first Christian theologians there was a *recognition that the Spirit still had a role distinct from that of Christ.*’¹⁷⁹

2.15 G. D. Fee

The title of G. Fee’s voluminous work on the spirit in Paul essentially captures his understanding of the spirit as *God’s Empowering Presence*.¹⁸⁰ Fee’s contribution to the discussion on the identity of the spirit has largely been seen in three particular arguments: 1) the spirit is person; 2) the spirit, as the spirit of God, is distinct from Christ; 3) the spirit was an experiential reality.¹⁸¹ These arguments lead Fee to a ‘trinitarian’ understanding of God within the thought of Paul which presuppositionally understands the spirit as ‘distinct.’ In summary, Fee argues ‘Paul’s own experience of God’s saving activity through Christ...and

¹⁷⁴ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 323, emphasis original; ‘[I]t is only because *the Spirit is now experienced as Christ* that the experience of the Spirit is valid and essential for Paul,’ (‘1 Corinthians 15:45,’ 166, emphasis original); ‘the religious experience spoken of is *experience of Spirit identified and distinguished as experience of Christ,*’ (*Jesus and the Spirit*, 324, emphasis original).

¹⁷⁵ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 325. See his own summary: ‘But it was precisely *in and by the resurrection* that Jesus fully “took over” the Spirit, ceased to be a man dependent on the Spirit, and became Lord of the Spirit,’ ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ 152, emphasis original. Also, ‘We also perceive how important the resurrection was for Christ’s relation with the Spirit and for shaping the first Christians’ perception of that relationship,’ ‘The Spirit of Jesus,’ in *The Christ and the Spirit*, Vol. 2, 342.

¹⁷⁶ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 326, emphasis original.

¹⁷⁷ Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 264.

¹⁷⁸ See Dunn’s comments in *Jesus and the Spirit*, 324-326. The place of Jesus within early Christian worship has been given focus in Dunn’s recent study, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?* (London: SPCK/Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), but the role of the spirit is heavily minimised.

¹⁷⁹ Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways*, 266, emphasis original.

¹⁸⁰ Gordon D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994).

¹⁸¹ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, xxi.

through the Spirit...meant for him, as for the early church before him an expanded understanding of the one God as Father, Son, and Spirit.’¹⁸²

The primary evidence for the ‘personhood’ of the spirit lies in the spirit’s activity reflected in Paul’s language and imagery.¹⁸³ While Fee acknowledges that the spirit is commonly identified as the agent of God’s activity, which he admits does not automatically presume personhood, this agency often ‘finds personal expression.’¹⁸⁴ The imagery and language used of the spirit therefore presupposes personhood in the same way that the identical imagery used of Christ also implies his own personhood.¹⁸⁵ Yet it is not so much the lexical data that Fee prioritises, rather it is the *interpretation* of the data in recent scholarship. His agenda is to combat the trend in scholarship to identify Christ and the spirit based upon a ‘handful of (mostly obscure) texts full of notorious exegetical difficulties.’¹⁸⁶ Fee recognises for Paul that ‘the coming of Christ forever marked his understanding of the Spirit’¹⁸⁷ and ‘Christ gives definition to the Spirit.’¹⁸⁸ But he refuses to extend this line of thinking towards a ‘Spirit Christology,’ by which he means an ‘ontological’ identification between Christ and the spirit, and instead argues that there exists only a ‘functional’ identification.¹⁸⁹ Fee engages with the disputed key texts to support this position (1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:17; Rom 8:9-11; cf. 1 Cor 6:17; Rom 1:4) and concludes, that while ‘Paul perceived the closest kind of ties between the exalted Christ and the Holy Spirit,’¹⁹⁰ the variety of texts in Paul indicate distinction in identity as opposed to identification. Fee admits that texts such as Rom 8:9-11 which support a ‘close relationship between the Spirit and Christ as with the Spirit and

¹⁸² Gordon D. Fee, ‘Toward a Theology of 1 Corinthians,’ in *Pauline Theology*, Vol. II, ed. David M. Hay (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 37-58, here 40.

¹⁸³ Fee understands that this language is not the language of Paul, but that of later Christian developments (*God’s Empowering Presence*, 827, fn. 1). Fee does not develop this language of ‘personhood’ further but argues that, while the spirit is referred to through impersonal images (e.g. wind, fire, water, etc), whatever is said of God and Christ must be said of the spirit (6). Fee seems to imply that ‘personhood,’ as he understands it, refers simply to personal identity rather than mere power.

¹⁸⁴ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 829.

¹⁸⁵ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 830.

¹⁸⁶ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 839.

¹⁸⁷ Gordon D. Fee, ‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11 – and Elsewhere: Some Reflections on Paul as Trinitarian,’ in *Jesus of Nazareth, Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, eds. Joel B. Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 313.

¹⁸⁸ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 837, ‘Thus it is fair to say with some that Christ and his work give definition to the Spirit and his work in the Christian life,’ 837. See the same statement in ‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,’ 314. These statements are clearly in response to the work of Dunn.

¹⁸⁹ But see Fee’s admission that Rom 8:34 (cf. 8:26-27) ‘negates altogether the idea that the Spirit in Paul’s mind could possibly be identified with the risen Christ, *either ontologically or functionally* – which means, of course, that there is no warrant of any kind that Paul had a “Spirit Christology,”’ (*God’s Empowering Presence*, 838, emphasis mine). Fee views ‘Spirit Christology’ rather pejoratively (837-838; *Pauline Christology*, 589-591; ‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,’ 312-331; ‘Paul and the Trinity,’ 49-72). Fee understands ‘Spirit Christology’ broadly as ‘some kind of loose identification between the Risen Lord and the Holy Spirit – that the Holy Spirit received “personality” by his identification with the Risen Lord,’ ‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,’ 314 (this quote in direct response to Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 324-325).

¹⁹⁰ Fee, ‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,’ 313, cf. *God’s Empowering Presence*, 838.

God'¹⁹¹ are nonetheless reflective of a 'fluid use of language' which 'most likely results from the fact that Paul's concern with both Christ and the Spirit is not ontological (= the nature of their *being* God), but soteriological (= their role in salvation) – and experiential.'¹⁹² Such reasoning is crucial for Fee, who understands Paul's language of God (Father), Christ and the spirit to be reflective of his presuppositional convictions about God which had become 'functionally trinitarian.'¹⁹³ By this, Fee conceives that the spirit is distinct from both God and Christ in their respective identities: 'The Spirit whom God "sent into our hearts" is thus "distinct from" God himself, just as is the Son whom God sent to redeem. At the same time the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ and is thus "distinct from" Christ, who now lives in us by means of "the Spirit of Christ."¹⁹⁴ This emphasis on distinction naturally leads towards a 'trinitarian' view of God where God's soteriological activity in Christ becomes the determinative development for the identity of the spirit 'by changing the designation "Spirit of God" to "Spirit of Christ."¹⁹⁵

Not only does God's activity in Christ develop Paul's perspective of the spirit, but Paul's *experience* of the spirit has developed his perspective also of God and ultimately reveals the spirit's personal nature, for 'it was surely only through the experience of the Spirit – coupled with his experience of Christ at his conversion and his former knowledge of God – that led him to express himself so often in Trinitarian ways. Likewise, it was that same experience of the Spirit, as the Spirit of God and of Christ, that best explains his thoroughly *personal* understanding of the Spirit.'¹⁹⁶

2.16 M. M. B. Turner

M. Turner has offered an innovative approach to the discussion on the identity of the spirit in Paul. Against Deissmann, Hamilton, Hermann and Dunn, Turner has concluded that 'Neither of the texts [2 Cor 3:17 and 1 Cor 15:45] which are claimed to make an explicit identification

¹⁹¹ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 838.

¹⁹² Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 838.

¹⁹³ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 839. See also the same statement in 'Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,' 327. Fee summarises the key Trinitarian ideas in Paul as follows: a) that God is one and personal, b) that the spirit is both the spirit of God and the spirit of Christ, and therefore personal, c) that the spirit and Christ are fully divine, and d) that the spirit is as distinct from Christ and the Father as they are from each other, Gordon D. Fee, 'Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit,' in *The Road From Damascus: The Impact of Paul's Conversion on His Life, Thought and Ministry*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 170. See too Fee's essay, 'On Being a Trinitarian Christian,' in his *Listening to the Spirit in the Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Vancouver: Regent, 2000), 24-32.

¹⁹⁴ Fee, 'Paul and the Trinity,' 69. Cf. 'There can be little question that Paul sees the Spirit as distinct from God,' Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 836.

¹⁹⁵ The full quotation is: 'by changing the designation 'Spirit of God' to 'Spirit of Christ' (in Rom 8:9-11) Paul not only makes a considerably important point about his *new* understanding of the Spirit, but also makes the closest possible ties between the clearly distinct, but inseparably joined, activities of the three divine persons in bringing about our salvation,' Fee, 'Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,' 326, emphasis mine.

¹⁹⁶ Fee, 'Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit,' 181; Cf. Fee, 'Paul and the Trinity,' 69.

of Christ with Spirit can bear the weight that proponents of such a view place upon them.’¹⁹⁷ Despite this conclusion, Turner asserted that ‘Paul’s pneumatology is essentially Christocentric’¹⁹⁸ which, along with his modified apocalyptic, is his ‘essential contribution’ to pneumatology.¹⁹⁹ While this earlier argument emphasised the Christocentric nature of the spirit, his later work emphasises the converse – that the relation between Christ and the spirit has impacted the identity of Christ. Turner argues, despite Dunn’s later rejection,²⁰⁰ that Paul presents ‘Jesus as in some fundamental sense “lord” of the Spirit... Paul believes that the Spirit relates the presence and actions of the exalted Christ to the believer in ways that immediately evoke the analogy of the Spirit’s extension of *God’s* person and activity to humankind.’²⁰¹ Since Christ possesses this power, and since the spirit is God’s own life and vitality, that is, the extension of God’s own personality and a synecdoche for his activity, then to claim that Christ has the authority to send the spirit is evidence of a divine claim.²⁰² Turner

¹⁹⁷ Max Turner, ‘The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,’ *Vox Evangelica* 9 (1975): 56-69, here 63. With Dunn, Turner argues that 2 Cor 3:17 is not to be used as support for a functional identification but rather reflects Paul’s *midrashic* interpretation of the Exodus 34:34 text as reference to the ‘Lord’ who is the spirit. But against Dunn, Turner argues that the identification in 1 Cor 15:45 does not mean that Christ is the spirit but that ‘he is πνεῦμα by which Paul means an eschatological “being” vitalised by πνεῦμα which is the life-giving principle of the age to come,’ ‘The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,’ 63. With regards to Rom 8:9-11, Turner concedes that Paul ‘does not rigidly distinguish’ between the various expressions ‘Christ in you,’ and ‘The Spirit of God...in you’ nor between ‘the Spirit of Christ’ and being ‘in the Spirit.’ Nevertheless, he notes that in verse 11 Christ and the spirit are clearly distinguished, ‘the Spirit *raised* Jesus’ (this contra Dunn), and ‘Paul’s usage makes it clear that we have two opposite tendencies in his writings... Paul much more commonly asserts that we are “in Christ” than that “Christ is in us” and conversely he tends to say “the Spirit...in us” rather than “we...in the Spirit,”’ ‘The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,’ 64.

¹⁹⁸ Turner, ‘The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,’ 64.

¹⁹⁹ Turner, ‘The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,’ 66.

²⁰⁰ Later denied in Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 143 (‘In Paul Christ is Lord, but never explicitly in relation to the Spirit’) but earlier affirmed in ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit: An Exposition of Rom 1:3-4,’ 152. Turner notes a development here in Dunn’s thought, Max Turner, ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology,’ in *Jesus of Nazareth, Lord and Christ*, 429-430.

²⁰¹ Turner, ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology,’ 434, emphasis original. Note that Dunn – in explicit response to Turner – has recently softened his tone in this direction: ‘where *God* was so uniformly understood to be the one who gives the Spirit, the reattribution of the gift of the Spirit to *Christ* was a significant development, much more so than the thought of exalted humans sharing in final judgement... It is after all, *the Spirit of God* that we are talking about. And for the giving of *God’s* Spirit to be attributed to *Christ* is a major development,’ ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ 12-13. Though Dunn has taken a step in this direction and concedes that Acts 2 and the Gospel of John demonstrate precisely this development in regard to Christ sending the spirit at a very early date, he does not extend this to the Pauline material.

²⁰² Turner understands ‘divine’ ‘in a restricted sense to mean a christology which appears to push the unity between Jesus and the Father beyond anything Judaism could envisage of any (mere) creature, *however exalted*, and thus potentially even to breach exclusive monotheism as Judaism understood it,’ ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology,’ 414, emphasis original. This paper is a revised and expanded version of his previous article, ‘The Spirit of Christ and Christology,’ in *Christ the Lord: Studies in Christology Presented to Donald Guthrie*, ed. Harold H. Rowdon (Leicester: Inter-varsity Press, 1982), 168-190. Turner has contributed further to this discussion by extending his views on the Spirit in Paul to the Gospel of John and the Johannine letters in two articles, ‘“Trinitarian” Pneumatology in the New Testament? – Towards an Explanation of the Worship of Jesus,’ *The Asbury Theological Journal* 57/58 (2002-2003): 167-186. Essentially, both articles extend the arguments outlined in ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology’ and ‘The Spirit of Christ and Christology’ to the Johannines, while ‘“Trinitarian” Pneumatology in the New Testament?’ offers a brief summary of the Lukan and Pauline material. On the spirit in the Johannine letters see Turner, ‘The Churches of the Johannine Letters as Communities of “Trinitarian” *Koinonia*,’ in *The Spirit and Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Russel P. Spittler*, eds. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (London/New York: T&T Clark/Continuum Imprint, 2004),

demonstrates this through reference to Paul's use of 'the Spirit of Christ,' 'the Spirit of his son,' and 'the Spirit of Jesus Christ' genitive constructions. In Turner's view, these constructions do not, as for Dunn, imply that the spirit has been 'stamped with' the character of Christ or 'functionally identified' with Christ; rather, 'Paul thinks of the Father and the exalted Christ as dynamically sharing in lordship through the Spirit.'²⁰³

While Turner's claim that Jesus' lordship over the spirit has developed the 'divine' identity of Christ, his framework has also developed the identity of the spirit by 1) differentiating the spirit from Christ (since Christ sends the spirit of God), and 2) differentiating the spirit from God (since Christ sends the spirit, and not God himself). These two conclusions infer the distinct identity of the spirit. Turner's argument is worth quoting in full in order to clarify the bluntness of my summary:

It would be natural enough for Jewish Christians to maintain their pre-Christian commitment to the full divine nature of the Spirit. In the light of Jesus' exaltation-lordship over the Spirit, however, they would need to distance the Spirit from the Father in some way, in order to avoid speaking of the Son sending the Father. In all this it would also be natural for them to continue to affirm the divine personhood of the Spirit. Judaism, of course, had understood this experience of personhood in the Spirit simply as the extension of the Father's own personhood. *But as the Spirit became theologically differentiated* from the Father, by Christ's commissioning of the Spirit, it may have become natural to assume the Spirit too shared in divine personhood.²⁰⁴

For Turner, the process by which the spirit became 'theologically differentiated' from God and Christ resulted in a more emphatic understanding of the spirit's personhood.²⁰⁵

53-61. See the development of this framework by Turner's research student, Mehrdad Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul: An Examination of its Christological Implications*, WUNT 2.128 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

²⁰³ Turner, 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 432. Further, '*the Spirit is now also thought to act as the dynamic extension of the risen Christ's personality, and activity, as formerly he had been thought to act as God's,*' (432, emphasis original).

²⁰⁴ Max Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts: Then and Now*, rev. ed. (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), 174, emphasis mine. The affirmation that the spirit in the Old Testament and in the Intertestamental Period was considered to be a synecdoche for God, much like the 'arm' or 'word' of the Lord, has clearly developed as a result of the distancing between God and the spirit. 'The conception of the precise relationship of the one God to the Spirit he sends had been hazy in the Old Testament and ITP literature, but the relationship of Christ to the Spirit would have made it difficult for Paul to think in terms of synecdoche [*sic*]. The answer... appears to be that he understands all the personal language used of the Spirit to mean the Spirit had some kind of distinct personhood in *union* with Christ and the Father, and "sent" jointly by them,' Turner, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament?,' 182.

²⁰⁵ 'We suggest that Jesus' exaltation-lordship over the Spirit also probably implies a distinct divine personhood of the Spirit,' Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 172, also earlier argued in 'The Spirit of Christ and Christology.' Turner finds further support for this in the Pauline material through reference to 1 Cor 2:10-11; 12:5-7; 2 Cor 3:17-18; 13:13; Rom 8:26-27 and 'the whole trinitarian "shape" of the rest of Paul's pneumatology,' Turner, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament?' 174. Turner references the work of Fee with approval, 174, fn. 19 ('Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11' and *God's Empowering Presence*).

Turner's closing remarks on the Pauline worship of Jesus, though brief, are insightful. Turner concludes, 'It would seem...that *experience* of the Spirit drives the worship of Jesus at every level – in understanding *who* he is (he is "Lord of the Spirit"), in bringing his presence and activity which evoke the response of prayer and worship, and in direct inspiration of that worship.'²⁰⁶ Though Turner does not develop the point, it appears that he views the experience of the spirit of Christ as the key dynamic which resulted in the 'theological differentiation' between the spirit and God.

2.17 J. Maleparampil

Following a similar approach to Fee, J. Maleparampil examines the 'trinitarian' formulae in Paul.²⁰⁷ Maleparampil follows a four-fold methodology²⁰⁸ and essentially argues that the 'trinitarian' formulae demonstrate a dynamic redefinition of God in a 'trinitarian' direction that is authentically Pauline: 'Maintaining his faith in one God, Paul presents the Lord Jesus Christ as the divine Son in distinction from God (the Father), and the Holy Spirit as a divine person distinct from both. Paul's own experience of God's saving activity through Christ as saviour and risen Lord...and through the Spirit...meant for him, as for the early Church before him, an expanded understanding of the one God as Father, Son and the Holy Spirit.'²⁰⁹

An explicit interest is given to the 'relationship between God the Father, Christ (various titles) and the Holy Spirit in the content of each formula and the implications for

²⁰⁶ Turner, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament?' 184, emphasis mine.

²⁰⁷ Joseph Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul: An Exegetical Investigation into the Meaning and Function of those Pauline Sayings which Compositely make Mention of God, Christ and the Holy Spirit*, EUST Series 23; Theology 546 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995). The Pauline formulae are 1 Cor 12:4-6; 2 Cor 1:21-22, 13:13; Gal 4:6; Rom 8:11, 15:15-16, 15:30. While Maleparampil's approach is in the same vein as Fee, it seems that due to the rare references to and lack of engagement with *God's Empowering Presence* in his study, that Fee's volume appeared too late for him to engage thoroughly with. Maleparampil is aware of the danger of anachronism in his use of 'trinitarian' categories, which may account for the subject's lacuna in Pauline studies: 'Most probably the danger of reading too much into these texts from the perspective of later Christian dogmatic controversy and piety may have made it an unattractive subject for exegetical study. However, it is vital that the Pauline texts we study are to be heard in its own terms, and that the later doctrines are not to be read back into Pauline and NT texts,' Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 12.

²⁰⁸ This methodology involves four steps: 1) an analysis of the syntactical characteristics of the formulae 2) an analysis of the meaning of the formulae in their context and in relation to their parallel texts in Paul 3) the functions the formulae assume in each context or argument in which they appear 4) the 'trinitarian' implications which most probably set in train a dynamic redefinition of God in the 'trinitarian' direction, Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 13, cf. 13-15.

²⁰⁹ Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 238-239. 'Our study gains its significance also on the ground that Paul is the first witness to the faith of early Christians in one God as God (the Father), the Son (Lord Jesus Christ) and the Holy Spirit developing the understanding of God in [a] "trinitarian" direction,' Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 15. Cf. among other references, 'The indications of a variety of literary forms speaks for Paul's skilful ability to adapt material from OT, Judaism, and the worship and faith of the early Church, thus presenting to his readers an expanded understanding of the one God as God (the Father), the Son (Lord Jesus Christ) and the Holy Spirit,' Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 238.

understanding the Holy Spirit as person.²¹⁰ Maleparampil's exegesis of the Pauline formulae argues towards the conclusion that 'the Holy Spirit has a name and identity which is given expression in these designations. [That] Paul calls the Spirit with a name suggests "distinction from" Christ and God.'²¹¹ Maleparampil asserts that 'the Holy Spirit is a reality that belongs to God, and has an identity as a reality of divine origin and nature. Since the Spirit is divine in origin and nature, Paul can attribute qualifications and functions to the Spirit that are usually said of God.'²¹² Maleparampil recognises that Paul, more than other NT writers, attributes various actions to the spirit which 'gives the impression of a dynamic and stable personality of the Holy Spirit.'²¹³ Moreover, Maleparampil recognises that Christ has contributed to the development of the spirit's identity for 'The Spirit is now characterized by the mystery of Christ, the unique Son of God... The novelty is that Paul has attributed the Spirit of God to Christ and defined it by reference to his person.'²¹⁴ Such development is therefore significant for '*This reinterpretation of the Spirit (of God) as attributed to Jesus the Son of God set in train a dynamic redefinition of God in the "trinitarian" sense.*'²¹⁵

2.18 M. Fatehi

M. Fatehi has essentially extended and modified Turner's argument that the spirit relates to Christ in the same way as the spirit relates to YHWH in the Hebrew Scriptures and in Judaism as lord over the spirit.²¹⁶ Fatehi's distinctive agenda is to argue for an 'ontological' identification between Christ and the spirit in a cluster of key texts (1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:17; Rom 8:9; Phil 1:19 and Gal 4:6). Fatehi argues that an 'ontological' identification rather than a 'functional' identification is necessary if the affirmation that the spirit mediates the presence of Christ to believers is to make any logical sense.²¹⁷ Though arguing for this form of ontological, rather than merely 'functional,' identification, Fatehi maintains that some distinction still characterises the relationship between the spirit and the risen Lord.²¹⁸ Since

²¹⁰ Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 15.

²¹¹ Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 245.

²¹² Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 247, cf. 'Τὸ πνεῦμα is divine because it is the πνεῦμα θεοῦ and thereby its divinity and difference from God is indicated,' (31).

²¹³ Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 249.

²¹⁴ Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 242.

²¹⁵ Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 242, emphasis original.

²¹⁶ Note Turner's affirming inclusion of the work of Fatehi, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament?' 180-182, cf. '*Jesus relates to the Spirit in much the same way that Yahweh relates to Spirit in the Old Testament and ITP literature,*' 181, emphasis original.

²¹⁷ Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 275-308, specifically 305. 'The terms "ontic" and "ontological" are used here in contrast to "functional" in order simply to emphasise that there should be a connection or identification in "being" as well as in function,' (289, fn. 47). See also his comments at 321-322.

²¹⁸ Cf. 'One should conclude from all this that the dynamic identification between Christ and the Spirit, though including an ontological aspect, nevertheless is *not a personal or complete* identification,' Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 307, emphasis original.

the spirit remains the spirit of God, the implication for the identity of the spirit is that the spirit is not completely collapsed into the identity of Christ.²¹⁹ There is thus a ‘dynamic’ identification between the spirit and God, and the spirit and Christ since the spirit is understood simultaneously as the spirit of God *and* the spirit of Christ. Like Dunn, Fee, and Turner, Fatehi also understands that ‘This indeed might have been the dynamic behind his [Paul’s] move towards what later would be called a Trinitarian theology.’²²⁰ Fatehi also notes the role of religious experience in the development of Paul’s perspective of Christ, but this method is not applied to the spirit in significant detail.²²¹

3. The Limits of the Present Paths

This representative review highlights three foundational aspects to the discussion of the development of the identity of the spirit in Paul: 1) an undisputed consensus that the spirit remains the spirit of God and is included in Paul’s Christian monotheism; 2) a dominant consensus that the identity of the spirit is Christocentric in some form; 3) a general recognition of the experiential reality of the spirit. Each of these aspects needs individual attention.

3.1 The Relation Between the Spirit and God

This review demonstrates the undisputed consensus that the spirit is included in Christian monotheism, since the spirit is commonly understood as ‘supernatural divine power’ and the presence of God. But the spirit’s relation to God is understood in two contrasting ways: 1) the spirit is not differentiated from God but simply God in his activity, or 2) the spirit is distinct from God, and mediates his presence as a distinguishable agent. Even in those studies that do examine the spirit’s relation to God and affirm some sense of ‘distinction,’ the nature of the relation is still problematic. An ambiguous aspect of Fee’s thesis is his affirmation of the spirit as an experiential reality distinct from God which stands in parallel with his affirmation that the spirit is God’s personal presence. Fee never clarifies *how* the spirit is *both* God’s empowering presence and ‘distinct from God.’²²² So too, Stalder faces similar difficulties of

²¹⁹ ‘[T]here certainly remains in Paul’s pneumatology a place for an experience of the presence and activity of God the Father through the Spirit...And although for the believer this will still be in some sense an experience of Christ...it certainly is an experience of God the Father *in a different sense*,’ Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 306.

²²⁰ Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 307.

²²¹ ‘The main burden of the present study is that the early Christians’ *experience* of the risen Lord as present and active among them is one of the most important factors to be considered in any investigation into the origins and development of early Christology,’ Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 7, emphasis mine.

²²² Fee affirms that the spirit is ‘both the interior expression of the unseen God’s personality and the visible manifestation of God’s activity in the world,’ *God’s Empowering Presence*, 836.

clarification.²²³ Hermann, Turner and Fatehi's argument that Christ's relation to the spirit is after the analogy of the spirit's relation to God (in Hebrew Religion and Judaism) does not address the degree to which the spirit's relation to God has developed in Paul's Christian context, if at all. If Fatehi's claim, that 'Paul's understanding of the Spirit is fully in line with what we found in Judaism. The Spirit does not refer to an entity *distinct or separable from God* but to God himself in his presence and work among his people,' is true, then it is difficult to discern whether Paul's thought has developed such that the spirit's distinct identity is evident *in relation to God*.²²⁴ If the spirit is not distinct or separable from God (Fatehi), yet the spirit's Christocentric identity is the means by which the spirit became 'theologically differentiated' from God (Turner), then what is the precise nature of the spirit's relation to God?

Turner does recognise that both alternatives which his argument create are theologically inappropriate, either 1) Christians retained the Jewish idea of the spirit as God's own life and vitality, or 2) the spirit was hypostatized and became significantly demarcated from the identity of God, but his solution is to appeal, like Fee, Dunn and Fatehi, to the trinitarian 'shape' of Paul's pneumatology which resulted from the Christological development of the spirit's identity.²²⁵ Due to the ambiguity of such an anachronistic framework, a new approach to contextualizing the spirit's relation to God, beyond that defined in 'trinitarian' terms, is rightly demanded, but which takes seriously the spirit's relation to both God and Christ.

Finally, only a few studies – most notably those by Swete and Stalder – have recognised that the spirit can fulfil functions that are distinguished from the activity of God. This is an important recognition if the spirit's relation to God – particularly the question of the spirit as the mode of God's presence – is to be given further clarity.

3.2 The Relation Between the Spirit and Christ

The dominant consensus has emerged that Paul's experience of the risen Christ forever impacted and developed his pre-Christian understanding of the spirit, particularly in view of Paul's description of the spirit as the 'spirit of Christ' (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:9; Phil 1:19).²²⁶ It

²²³ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 19-69.

²²⁴ Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 168, emphasis mine.

²²⁵ See *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 172-174.

²²⁶ Paul W. Meyer, 'The Holy Spirit in the Pauline Letters: A Contextual Exploration,' *Int* 33 (1979): 3-18; 'While there is little, if anything, distinctively Christian about either the language about the Holy Spirit or the notions of Spirit found even in Paul, *these become distinctively Christian precisely when they are related, and by virtue of being related, to the figure of Jesus Christ*— in Paul's terms, to the pattern of death and resurrection that is central to his credo. This is *how* Paul relates the powerful presence of God in and to the experience and existence of Christians in their everyday life in the world,' 5, emphasis original.

becomes clear then, that the debate over the relation of Christ and the spirit becomes paramount, yet two divergent paths have emerged: one path argues for an identification, or an equation, and concludes that Christ and the spirit are ‘ontologically’ identified, i.e. the spirit *is* Christ. If this path is to be followed, there results a collapse of the spirit’s identity into that of Christ such that the question of the distinct identity of the spirit becomes acute since the spirit is simply the mode of Christ’s presence. A divergent path emphasises the differentiation of Christ and the spirit and concludes that they are distinguished with respect to their identities. If this path is followed, the spirit is understood to possess a distinct identity from Christ and functions as his agent (though this does not settle the question of the spirit’s relation to God). Yet there are three essential limitations to each of these paths that must be addressed before a way forward is offered.

Firstly, the debate concerns key passages in Paul where the relationship between the spirit and Christ seemingly coalesce (i.e., 1 Cor 15:45, 6:17; 2 Cor 3:17; Rom 8:9-11) and whether such passages argue for identification²²⁷ or distinction,²²⁸ particularly if they

²²⁷ Apart from the literature already reviewed, most notably followed by Geerhardus Vos, ‘The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit,’ in his *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation* (Phillipsburg: P&R Pub, 1980).

Hendrikus Berkhof, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (London: Epworth Press, 1964); Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 75-112; E. Earle Ellis, ‘Christ and Spirit in 1 Corinthians,’ in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, eds. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 269-277. More recently, Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*, AGJU 62 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 333-337; Richard B. Gaffin, Jr., ‘“Life-Giving Spirit”’: Probing the Center of Paul’s Pneumatology,’ *JETS* 41:4 (1998): 573-589; Ulrich Luz, ‘Paul as Mystic,’ in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honour of James D.G. Dunn*, eds. Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker and Stephen C. Barton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 131-143 and the exegesis of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, The Anchor Yale Bible (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 597-598.

²²⁸ See Frederick F. Bruce, ‘Christ and Spirit in Paul,’ in his *A Mind for What Matters: Collected Essays* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 122-126; Charles F.D. Moule, *The Holy Spirit* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000), 26; Alasdair I.C. Heron, *The Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit in the Bible, the History of Christian Thought, and Recent Theology* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), 46-48; Leonhard Goppelt, *Theology of the New Testament*, Vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 121-122; George E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 531-534; David N. Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 271-276; Charles K. Barrett, *Paul: An Introduction to His Thought* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994), 133-134. More recently, see I. Howard Marshall, *New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 430; Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 1281-1285; Emily Wong, ‘The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a),’ *ETL* 61 (1985): 48-72 (for a history of the discussion prior to this article, cf. 49-53); Ralph P. Martin, *2 Corinthians*, WBC 40 (Dallas: Word, 1986), 70-71, William J. Dumbrell, ‘Paul’s Use of Exodus 34 in 2 Corinthians 3,’ in *God Who is Rich in Mercy: Essays Presented to Dr. D.B. Knox*, eds. Peter T. O’Brien and David G. Peterson (Homebush West: Lancer, 1986), 179-194; Linda L. Belleville, *Reflections of Glory: Paul’s Polemical Use of the Moses-Doxa Tradition in 2 Corinthians 3.1-18*, JSNTSup 52 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 256-272, Neil Richardson, *Paul’s Language About God*, JSNTSup 99 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 156-159; Scott J. Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel: The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 396-407; Paul Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997), 199-203; Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 309-313; Andrew K. Gabriel, ‘Pauline Pneumatology and the Question of Trinitarian Presuppositions,’ in *Paul and his Theology*, Pauline Studies, Vol. 3, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 347-362. Gabriel’s article is a general reproduction and endorsement of Fee’s contribution

represent a merging of the concepts ἐν Χριστῷ and ἐν πνεύματι. As Fee has claimed of those who posit an identification, the method of beginning with a ‘handful of (mostly obscure) texts full of notorious exegetical difficulties’ (1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:17; Rom 8:9-11) remains an insightful warning for those wishing to follow a path with doubtful origins.²²⁹ The exegetical foundations for the ‘equation’ between Christ and the spirit are problematic, which the lack of consensus demonstrates.²³⁰ Merging such broad conceptual categories of ‘in Christ’ and ‘in the spirit’ cannot be substantiated on the basis of a specific method of proof texting for it is only the *a priori* assumption that there is an equation between the spirit and Christ at all which can make such a reading of an ‘under-developed’ identity of the spirit stand.

But conversely, and representative of those who emphasise distinctions between Christ and the spirit, Fee remains in danger of falling prey to his own critique by emphasizing those texts in Paul which are indicative of this distinction (i.e. 2 Cor 13:13[14]; 1 Cor 12:4-6). While Fee has argued for a methodology which begins with Paul’s monotheistic perspective, developed in light of his conversion to Christ and experience of the spirit, he is at risk of fighting on the same ground which he himself has labelled as a ‘handful of...texts full of notorious exegetical difficulties’ (i.e. 1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:17; Rom 8:9-11) by providing as his defence a different selection of texts. While these texts admittedly are not so much ‘full of notorious exegetical difficulties,’ the difficulty lies in the *a priori* emphasis upon distinctions. Fee seems to rely too heavily upon an anachronistic ‘trinitarian’ framework for his understanding of Paul’s ‘triadic’ texts²³¹ and does not argue from the basis of the structures

(Cf. Gabriel’s more systematic reflection on the spirit and the divine attributes, ‘The Spirit is God: A Pentecostal Perspective on the Doctrine of the Divine Attributes,’ in *Defining Issues in Pentecostalism: Classical and Emergent*, McMaster Theological Studies Series, ed. Steven M. Studebaker (Eugene: Pickwick Pub, an imprint of Wipf and Stock, 2008), 69-98, and his fuller work, *The Lord is the Spirit: The Holy Spirit and the Divine Attributes* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2011). In a similar vein, see the articles by Francis Watson, ‘The Triune Divine Identity: Reflections on Pauline God Language, in Disagreement with J.D.G. Dunn,’ *JSNT* 80 (2000): 99-124 and Ronald C. Fay, ‘Was Paul a Trinitarian? A Look at Romans 8,’ in *Paul and his Theology*, 327-345.

²²⁹ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 839.

²³⁰ Turner, ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology,’ 413-436 and Fee, ‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,’ 312-331 deny πνεῦμα is a reference to the holy spirit in 1 Cor 15:45. So too Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 50-61. Contra, Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 275-308. Dunn himself does not view an equation between Christ and the Spirit in 2 Cor 3:17, ‘2 Corinthians 3:17 – “The Lord is the Spirit.”’

²³¹ Note the similar critique by Finny Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology: The Eschatological Bestowal of the Spirit Upon Gentiles in Judaism and in the Early Development of Paul’s Theology*, WUNT 2.194 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), who observes that Fee ‘advocates a soteriological Trinitarianism that seems to be anachronistic in its emphasis,’ (23). Also Clint Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma: Communication with the Spirit World in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14*, WUNT 2.230 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), who notes that ‘Fee’s discussion...is rooted within a Christian orthodoxy that was not fully worked out until several centuries after Paul. The issue is whether the term “Trinity” adequately describes what Paul was saying. The idea that the spirit is something more than an impersonal force or power does not mean that an argument for a personal spirit should be cast in Trinitarian terms,’ (96). Further, ‘His vision of the spirit is inhibited by a Trinitarian perspective that yields theological commitments that do not reflect ideas of the first century C.E.’ (98).

which arguably informed Paul’s understanding of the spirit.²³² Thus both approaches are too reliant upon a handful of Pauline texts and are not satisfactorily critical of the method that defines their approach to Paul’s thought in general and these texts in particular.

Secondly, both approaches recognise the overlapping functions of Christ and the spirit that is evident in the Pauline material. The path that argues for identification more vocally recognise Paul’s parallel terminology of ‘in Christ’ and ‘in the spirit’ and understand that these reflect the identical functions of Christ and the spirit. On the basis of such overlapping functions, the spirit is understood to be ‘functionally’ *identified* with Christ (Gunkel; Deissmann; Bousset; Wheeler Robinson; Davies; Hermann; Fatehi). Conversely, the path that argues for differentiation recognise that such overlapping functions do characterise Paul’s religious experience, yet appeal to broader functions that are unique to the spirit so as to conclude that the spirit is ‘functionally’ *differentiated* from Christ (Stalder; Swete; Wainwright; Turner; Fee; Maleparampil; cf. Dunn). Furthermore, the relation of the categories of ‘ontology’ to ‘functionality’ are ambiguous, for a ‘functional’ identification is understood to be an ‘ontological’ *identification* (Gunkel; Deissmann; Bousset; Fatehi) or simply a ‘dynamic’ equation which still maintains an ‘ontological’ *differentiation* (Hamilton; Fee; Dunn; Turner). Finally, those who argue for a ‘functional’ *differentiation* never conclude that the spirit is ‘ontologically’ *identified* with Christ.²³³ Thus whether there exists a functional identification, a functional differentiation, an ontological identification, or an ontological differentiation in the spirit’s relation to Christ remains ambiguous and varies from writer to writer. What is needed is an adequate *criterion* by which function and identity are

²³² Fee states that ‘one is hard pressed to argue that with regard to his understanding of the Spirit Paul was greatly influenced by the literature of the Second Temple period,’ (Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 915) and so denies that Paul is dependent upon the Wisdom of Solomon (911-913). From denying any preceding influence on the thought of Paul, Fee seems overly indebted to later Creedal formulations which identified the Spirit as the third ‘person’ of the Trinity. Therefore Fee is in danger of reading Paul anachronistically through the conclusions of later Trinitarian theology without grappling with the influences on Paul’s thought which may have shaped and contributed to his perspective on the Spirit. This fact is more clearly seen when one observes Fee’s placement of the spirit within Hebrew Religion and Second Temple Judaism to a brief appendix in *God’s Empowering Presence* (904-915). The issue boils down to an adequate description of the *concept* of ‘God’ in Paul, for the word ‘trinitarian’ is far too theologically loaded. Whether the *concept* (diversity within Paul’s perception of God) which the *term* (‘trinitarian’) describes is correct is not settled here, rather, the problem is Fee’s use of systematic terminology *imposes* a developed framework rather than operating from the *intrinsic* structures of Paul’s First Century context. See his own comments in ‘Paul and the Trinity.’ Contrary to his claims of the importance of not reading the classical ‘trinitarian’ debates into the Pauline formulae, Maleparampil appears to still operate by these categories and therefore can be included in this critique (cf. his constant usage of language derived from the later debates – ‘person’ – and the nature of his discussion regarding the internal relationships of the ‘Son’ and the spirit finding their origin in God). This same critique can be applied to Wesley A. Hill, ‘Paul and the Triune Identity: Rereading Paul’s God-, Christ-, and Spirit-Language in Conversation with Trinitarian Theologies of Persons and Relations,’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis; Durham University, 2012).

²³³ The exception on this final point could be the position of Fatehi, though he appears to use the concept of ontology quite differently. The correlation between function and ontology can be diagrammed as follows:



related and determinative for either identification or distinction in order to clarify the question of the spirit's identity.²³⁴

Thirdly, there exists debate over how the spirit's identity is primarily defined according to its relation to Christ. Those who argue for identification emphasise Paul's description of the spirit as 'the spirit of Christ' and yet have not given adequate attention to the fact that Paul primarily conceives of the spirit as 'the spirit of God' (1 Cor 2:11, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Rom 8:9, 14; 15:19; Phil 3:3). What is not clarified in this approach is *how* such Christocentric claims have come to determine the identity of the spirit, particularly in view of the fact that πνεῦμα was, prior to Christ, already an established concept that attempted to articulate or suggest the action of God himself in the human sphere.²³⁵ Conversely, those who have argued for differentiation have posited that the Christocentric definition of the spirit's identity is precisely the means by which the distinct identity of the spirit is recognised since they have emphasised that the spirit's identity is still defined according to its relation to God (e.g. Fee; Turner; Fatehi). Yet the problem with the argument of Turner and Fatehi that Christ is 'lord' over the spirit is the difficulty of sustaining this reading in view of the fact that Paul understands that it is God who sends the spirit (Gal 3:5, 4:6; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 2 Cor 1:21-22, 5:5). Even the brief references to 'the spirit of Christ' in Paul do not warrant the complete framework that Turner and Fatehi construct.²³⁶

²³⁴ The most succinct and poignant approach in this regard is Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*. But what remains unexplained is the nature of the relation between identity and function, particularly in Paul's Jewish context.

²³⁵ Bousset and Dunn's (quite pejorative) argument that there existed an 'abstract,' 'ill-defined' and 'vague' conception of the spirit, which forms the basis of the argument that Christ gives definition to the identity of the spirit, does not do justice to the body of literature which demonstrates that the spirit was a familiar concept already established in the first Century and appears to be anachronistic reasoning. See the critique by Christopher Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and its Hellenistic Environment*, WUNT 2.75 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), and the demonstrable concept of spirit in John R. Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

²³⁶ Archie Hui, who extends the argument of Turner that Paul views the spirit's relation to Christ after the analogy of the spirit to YHWH in the Hebrew Scriptures, can be included in this critique (Archie W.D. Hui, 'The Concept of the Holy Spirit in Ephesians and its Relation to the Pneumatologies of Luke and Paul,' (unpublished PhD Thesis; University of Aberdeen, 1992). See also a later article which compares the spirit of Prophecy with the Pneumatology of Paul, Archie W.D. Hui, 'The Spirit of Prophecy and Pauline Pneumatology,' *TynBul* 50:1 (1999): 93-115). Hui argues against Dunn's claim that Paul does *not* present Christ as Lord of the spirit but rather views Christ as the definition and character of the spirit through an exegetical study of 1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:17; Rom 8:9-10 and other key texts (1 Cor 2:10-16; Phil 1:19; Rom 1:3-4; 1 Cor 12:4-6). His exegesis of these passages denies any 'ontological' identification between Christ and the spirit. Such exegetical conclusions provide the foundation for his understanding of the spirit's relationship to the exalted Christ: 'The believer's experience of the Spirit is not, first and foremost, an experience of the Spirit's own character and personality, but an experience of his revelatory and empowering work, i.e. his mediation of Christ's presence and activity,' ('The Concept of the Holy Spirit,' 67). While he admits that 'Paul does not explicitly speak of Christ's lordship and gift of the Spirit,' Hui argues that 'he assumes it and implies as much,' ('The Concept of the Holy Spirit,' 89). The interesting aspect of Hui's thesis is that he can deny an ontological identity between Christ and the spirit and yet is comfortable concluding that the believer's experience of the spirit is in essence an experience not of the spirit individually but an experience of Christ's own presence and activity. This tension signals that the discussion is not so clearly resolved.

Thus there is once again a tension in these arguments for either the identification or distinction of the spirit with Christ.

3.3 The Spirit and Experience

The experiential nature of the spirit is generally recognised.²³⁷ Experience of the spirit is frequently seen to be closely associated with the question of either the spirit's relation to God or Christ since God and Christ are present *as* spirit in the believer's experience. Yet what is striking is the degree to which the conception of the identity of the spirit varies between those who argue for identification and those who argue for distinction, even in view of the experiential nature of the spirit. Bousset, like Gunkel, Deissmann and Hermann, argues that the powerful experience of the spirit in the Pauline communities as the mode of Christ's presence has developed Paul's perception of the spirit for 'the two entities κύριος and πνεῦμα, though not everywhere and not completely, begin to merge.'²³⁸ Dunn follows this approach by arguing, with overtones of Hermann, that a common experience of the spirit is the beginning point for the identification of Christ and the spirit for 'it is only because *the Spirit is now experienced as Christ* that the experience of the Spirit is valid and essential for Paul.'²³⁹ Thus the spirit is the mode of God and Christ's presence in experience. Conversely, Fee argues, like Bousset, that Paul's understanding of the spirit was influenced by an experience of the spirit,

²³⁷ Gunkel stated 'Paul believes in the divine Spirit because he has experienced it,' (*The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 100). Schweizer commented 'Long before the Spirit was a theme of doctrine, He was a fact in the experience of the community,' ('πνεῦμα,' 396), and Fee noted that 'for Paul, the Spirit was an *experienced* reality,' (*God's Empowering Presence*, xxi, emphasis original). But Friedrich W. Horn provides a divergent path to this general recognition (*Das Angeld des Deistes: Studien zur paulinischen Pneumatologie*, FRLANT 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992)). Horn denies any experiential dimension to the concept of spirit, instead positing that Paul's spirit language is reflective of formal doctrinal statements. Horn argues Paul's Pneumatology is a combination of Palestinian Judaism – which conceived of the spirit as power, understood the spirit to have been withdrawn, yet looked forward to its return (25-40) – and Hellenistic Judaism – which conceived of the spirit as a substance, and (unlike Palestinian Judaism) participated in the divine spirit in the heavenly 'Pneumasphäre' (40-48). For Paul, the doctrinal formulae of the resurrection of Christ was the objective criterion that signalled the return of the spirit (89-115). So Paul's assertions concerning the spirit (e.g. at the beginning of the Christian life, 1 Thess 1:5 [122]; Gal 3:1-5 [114]) are not experiential realities but assertions of doctrine (cf. 'Der Blick auf die frühesten ntl. Quellen zeigt zweifelsfrei, daß an keiner Stelle charismatische Phänomene den Ausgangspunkt darstellen, um aus ihnen die Gegenwart des Geistes zu folgern,' 113). Essentially, this collapses experience into belief. Horn's scepticism and rejection of an experiential dimension to the spirit is in fact incompatible with his promotion of theory and doctrine. Rabens, in his helpful summary on Horn, makes the common sense argument that 'One only wonders whether – and if so, why – the different groups that Horn refers to were really so prone to put their trust in theories, especially if their theoretical claims had no (experiential) foundations,' (Volker Rabens, 'The Development of Pauline Pneumatology: A Response to F.W. Horn,' *BZ* 43:2 (1999): 161-179, here 173). As this thesis will demonstrate, building on the strong foundation of earlier studies, removing the experiential dimension to the spirit is to misunderstand the concept of spirit in both Hebrew and Jewish religion, and in Paul, and to misunderstand the dialectical relation between belief and experience.

²³⁸ Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 163.

²³⁹ Dunn, '1 Corinthians 15:45,' 166, emphasis original. The thesis of W. C. Wright comes to this conclusion and is of a piece with the position of Dunn, Walter C. Wright, 'The Use of Pneuma in the Pauline Corpus with Special Attention to the Relationship Between Pneuma and the Risen Christ,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis; Fuller Theological Seminary, 1977).

but from this experience Fee maintains, unlike Bousset, that Paul's understanding of God, Christ and the spirit was now cast in 'trinitarian' terms.²⁴⁰ Turner and Fatehi have argued that the Pauline communities experienced the presence of Christ as active Lord through their experience of the spirit, and yet this experience is used to support a 'theological differentiation' between Christ and the spirit.²⁴¹ Thus the spirit is the agent of God and Christ's presence in experience.

These alternative positions do not clarify how an experience of the spirit can *simultaneously* be God and Christ's presence *in* the believer. Such *contrasting* interpretations of Pauline experience, particularly in application to any development of the identity of the spirit, signals that it is necessary to re-examine the role of experience in Paul by looking for more fruitful paths that give clarity to what an experience of the spirit meant for an understanding of the identity of the spirit as opposed to simply viewing the spirit as an experience of God and Christ's presence in the believer. While experience of the spirit is crucial for Paul, experience possesses content and are still interpreted, which suggests that the influences on Paul's thinking on the spirit are necessary to recognise.²⁴² Therefore what is needed is a comfortable fit between supporting structures of thought which provide the comprehensible framework for any experience of the spirit.

3.4 Summary

My review of the Pauline literature presents no clear consensus concerning the identity of the spirit beyond the recognition that the spirit is the spirit of God, and Paul's identification of the spirit as the spirit of Christ has significantly developed the identity of the spirit. In order to respond to the question *Did the Spirit come to possess a distinct identity within Paul's Christian monotheism?*, it is necessary to provide an innovative and fresh framework that is able to incorporate the fundamental aspects that comprise current discussion on the identity of the spirit in Paul to bring about a satisfactory solution. Consequently, a new approach is needed in order to clarify the specific nature of the spirit's relation to both God and Christ

²⁴⁰ Note Fee's earlier comments, 'Only by Paul's having himself so experienced the Spirit at the beginning of his life in Christ can one easily explain how the Spirit came to play such a significant role in his theology. For it was surely only through the experience of the Spirit – coupled with his experience of Christ at his conversion and his former knowledge of God – that led him to express himself so often in Trinitarian ways,' 'Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit,' 181. Fee does not clarify how Paul's experience of the spirit is qualitatively differentiated from his experience of Christ at his conversion.

²⁴¹ Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 174, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament?,' 183-184; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord*.

²⁴² Cf. Robert P. Menzies: 'all experience, even profound religious experience, must be interpreted in language, concepts, and categories with which one is familiar,' *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*, JSNTSupS 54 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 284; Friedrich W. Horn: 'Experiences can only be interpreted in the context of a preexisting selfconsciousness or framework of expectation,' 'Holy Spirit,' in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 268.

(beyond ‘trinitarian,’ ‘ontological’ or ‘functional’ categories) and also clarify the impact of Paul’s religious experience of the spirit in the formation of his perception of the spirit. This new approach must therefore be on the basis of the structures of Paul’s thought which informed his contingent application and from his own experience of the spirit. As this thesis proposes, recent paths developed in the study of Christ can have a significant bearing upon those that concern the spirit. It is now necessary to examine such paths in order identify their developments and their significance for the identity of the spirit.

Prospect

It has been seen that there currently exist various paths that seek to explain whether or not Paul understands the spirit to possess a distinct identity within his Christian monotheism. This thesis will seek to develop fresh paths with promise by following the work of Richard Bauckham and Larry Hurtado on Christology and its relationship to monotheism, and apply their approach to the identity of the spirit. I shall now summarise their work and the validity of their approach for my study of the identity of the spirit, with particular attention to the fundamental structures of Paul’s thought (Bauckham) and the role of religious experience (Hurtado).

4.1 Richard Bauckham

4.1.1 Jewish Monotheism and the ‘Unique Divine Identity’ of God

Richard Bauckham has contributed to the discussion on Christology and Jewish monotheism by forming a new framework of conceiving Christ within Jewish monotheism and the one God of Israel.²⁴³ Bauckham is responding to two broad approaches which attempt to analyse the development of Christology in the NT and its relation to Jewish monotheism. The first

²⁴³ In Richard Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998) which has been re-published with additional essays defending his thesis in *Jesus and the God of Israel* (My following references will be from *God Crucified*, the earlier publication, so as to reflect the pagination that scholarship has used throughout the 10 years between publications). While he has written on the topic in various publications, such contributions only follow the methodology presented in *God Crucified*. See Richard Bauckham, ‘Monotheism and Christology in Hebrews 1,’ in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, eds. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E.S. North (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 167-185; *idem*, ‘Monotheism and Christology in the Gospel of John,’ in *Contours of Christology in the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 148-166. One can observe a shift in Bauckham’s emphasis with regards to Christology. In an earlier stage, he exclusively wrote on the central significance of worship of Jesus in Christological discussions and in the later stage evidences a broadening so as to include worship (monolatry) as inclusive of the much broader concept of the Unique Divine Identity. For his earlier views see ‘The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity,’ *NTS* 27 (1981): 322-341; ‘Jesus, Worship of,’ in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 3, 812-819, and ‘The Worship of Jesus’ in his *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 118-149. For the revised versions of these articles see *Jesus and the God of Israel* and Bauckham, ‘The Worship of Jesus in Philippians 2:9-11,’ in *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2*, eds. Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 128-139.

approach views the boundaries of Jewish monotheism as ‘strict’ such that it was impossible for any figure other than YHWH to be considered divine. For the early Church to attribute divinity to Christ was to constitute a decisive break with this ‘strict’ Jewish conception of God.²⁴⁴ The second approach views Jewish monotheism as ‘flexible’ such that semi-divine intermediary figures – principal angels or exalted patriarchs – were understood to stand within the divine parameters. For this approach, the appropriate category within Judaism that enabled the early Church to conceive of Christ as divine was to categorise Christ as an exalted intermediary figure through an evolutionary development.²⁴⁵ It is the argument of Bauckham that both these approaches need reassessing. He argues (with the first approach) that Second Temple Judaism was certainly monotheistic and had created ‘strict’ boundaries as to what characterised the uniqueness of God,²⁴⁶ and (against the second approach) that identifying intermediary figures as divine is misleading and results in confusion.

Firstly, Bauckham’s articulation of Jewish monotheism demonstrates his divergence from how it is traditionally conceived as ‘strict.’ Bauckham relies upon a designation which he terms ‘the Unique Divine Identity’ of God.²⁴⁷ The presupposition of Jewish monotheism, evidenced by belief and praxis, was that God possessed characteristics and engaged in activities that distinguished him as unique. God had acted in Israel’s history which formed the means by which they could understand who he was, and therefore his identity is informed by his actions: who God is is bound closely with what he does. The idea of ‘identity,’ though admittedly a modern term, follows closely, but not completely, to that of human personal identity, much like a character is known and identifiable in a story.²⁴⁸ This approach is contrasted to that of much of contemporary theology which discusses who God is with reference to the categories of ontology, divine essence, and nature. Bauckham argues that these are not primarily Jewish categories at all, but Greek, and have been mistakenly read into the NT texts. Thus his category of ‘identity’ arguably does more justice to the Jewish

²⁴⁴ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 2.

²⁴⁵ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 2-3.

²⁴⁶ For an expansion of this argument, see Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, chapters entitled ‘Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism,’ 60-106 and ‘The “Most High” God and the Nature of Early Jewish Monotheism,’ 107-126.

²⁴⁷ Bauckham’s notion of ‘identity’ is influenced by, among others, the work of Hans W. Frei, *The Identity of Jesus Christ* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975). See the other references in Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 7, fn. 5.

²⁴⁸ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 7-8. This point is supported by the work of narrative approaches to Pauline material. See Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11*, SBLDS 56 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983); Stephen E. Fowl, *The Story of Christ in the Ethics of Paul: An Analysis of the Function of the Hymnic Material in the Pauline Corpus*, JSNTSupS 36 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990); Nicholas Thomas Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992); Ben Witherington III, *Paul’s Narrative Thought World: The Tapestry of Tragedy and Triumph* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994); Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and his Story: (Re-)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition*, JSNTSupS 181 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

framework which does not so easily differentiate between ontological and functional categories.²⁴⁹

From this conception of the Unique Divine Identity, Bauckham constructs what he views as the two defining characteristics of Jewish monotheism that understand God as unique, and which therefore characterise Jewish monotheism as 'strict': 1) God's covenantal relationship to Israel; 2) God's relationship to all of reality.²⁵⁰ In his covenantal relationship to Israel, and in addition to the revelation of the divine name (YHWH), 'God's identity is known to Israel from the recital of his acts in history and from the revelation of his character to Israel.'²⁵¹ God's action in Israel's history demonstrates his gracious character.²⁵² In his relationship to the whole of reality, God is identified as being a) the sole Creator of all things²⁵³ and b) sovereign Ruler over all things.²⁵⁴ This conception of God was what 'distinguished God absolutely from all other reality'²⁵⁵ and characterised him as unique, since all other 'beings who might otherwise be thought divine are by these criteria God's creatures and subjects.'²⁵⁶ The consequence of this characterisation was that God was to be worshipped for his uniqueness.²⁵⁷ Since God alone was Creator²⁵⁸ and Ruler,²⁵⁹ he receives exclusive

²⁴⁹ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 8, cf. viii, 40-42.

²⁵⁰ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 9.

²⁵¹ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 9.

²⁵² This is seen particularly in the Exodus narrative - Exod 20:2; Deut 4:32-39; Isa 43:15-17 and Exod 34:6 (which is reflected in Num 4:18; Neh 9:17; Ps 103:8; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Sir 2:11; *Pr Man* 7; 4 Ezra 7:132-140; *Jos Asen* 11:10; 1QH 11:29-30). Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 9, fn. 7.

²⁵³ Bauckham cites as support, Isa 40:26, 28; 42:5; 44:24; 45:12, 18; 48:13; 51:16; Neh 9:6; Hos 13:4 LXX; 2 Macc 1:24; Sir 43:33; Bel 5; *Jub* 12:3-5; *Sib Or* 3:20-35; 8:375-376; Frag 1:5-6; Frag 3; Frag 5; 2 *Enoch* 47:3-4; 66:4; *Apoc Abr* 7:10; *Pseudo-Sophocles*; *Jos Asen* 12:1-2; *T. Job*. 2:4. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 10, fn. 8.

²⁵⁴ Bauckham cites as support, Dan 4:34-35; Bel 5; Add Est 13:9-11; 16:18, 21; 3 Macc 2:2-3; 6:2; Wis 12:13; Sir 18:1-3; *Sib Or* 3:10, 19; Frag 1:7, 15, 17, 35; 1 *Enoch* 9:5; 84:3; 2 *Enoch* 33:7; 2 *Bar* 54:13; Josephus, *Ant.* 1:155-156. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 11, fn. 9. For support for these dual characteristics of God held in contemporary studies of Jewish monotheism see Robert M. Grant, *Gods and the One God* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986), 84-85; Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 248-252; *idem*, 'Jesus and the Identity of God,' *Ex Auditu* 14 (1998): 42-56; Terrence L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 82; Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 27-50; Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 36.

²⁵⁵ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 11.

²⁵⁶ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 11.

²⁵⁷ This is reflected in the Jewish monotheistic formula, 'The Lord is God, and there is no god besides him.' See Deut 4:35, 39; 32:39; 1 Sam 2:2; 2 Sam 7:22; Isa 43:11; 44:6; 45:5, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22; 46:9; Hos 13:4; Joel 2:27; Wis 12:13; Jdt 8:20; 9:14; Bel 41; Sir 24:24; 36:5; 4Q504 [4QDibHam^a] 5:9; 1Q35 1:6; Bar 3:36; 2 *Enoch* 33:8; 36:1; 47:3; *Sib Or* 3:629, 760; 8:377; *T. Abr.* A8:7; *Orphica* 16; Philo, *Leg All* 3.4, 82. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 11, fn. 10.

²⁵⁸ Isa 44:24; 2 *Enoch* 33:4; 4 *Ezra* 3:4; Josephus (*C. Ap.* 2.192). Bauckham does not view Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26 (*De Opif. Mundi* 72-75; *De Conf. Ling.* 179) as voiding this point. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 12, fn. 12.

²⁵⁹ Bauckham insists that even though in the literature God employs intermediary figures (i.e. angels) to facilitate his sovereignty, their position is one of service. They never share in his rule and they reject worship; God alone sits on the throne and is to be worshipped. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 12, 17-20. For the literature on angels awaiting God's command to serve, see Dan 7:10; Tob 12:15; 4Q530 2.18; 1 *Enoch* 14:22; 39:12; 40:1; 47:3; 60:2 2 *Enoch* 21:1; *Qu. Ezra* A26, 30; 2 *Bar* 21:6; 48:10; 4 *Ezra* 8:21; *T. Abr.* A7:11; 8:1-4; 9:7-8; *T. Adam* 2:9. On the texts describing God's throne in the heavens, see Isa 57:15; 3 Macc 2:2; 4 *Ezra* 8:20-21; 2 *Enoch* 20:3J.

worship (monolatry) and this worship is ‘a recognition of and response to his unique identity.’²⁶⁰

Secondly, Bauckham inquires whether intermediary figures fall inside or outside this ‘strict’ conception of Jewish monotheism. Bauckham brings clarity to the confusion over the relevance of intermediary figures by dividing between those intermediary figures that exist as various aspects of God’s unique reality (e.g. Word and Wisdom) and those semi-divine figures that stand outside the clear boundaries which identified God as unique. Particular intermediary figures such as principal angels and exalted patriarchs²⁶¹ are excluded from the identity of God because they are created beings,²⁶² and because they do not participate in God’s rule.²⁶³ In contrast, intermediary figures such as Word, Wisdom (and spirit) are defined as ‘personifications or hypostatizations of aspects of God himself.’²⁶⁴ Word and Wisdom are seen to participate in the work of creation with God²⁶⁵ while Wisdom specifically is seen to participate in God’s sovereign rule.²⁶⁶ Their importance is seen in the fact that they are not created beings, and both Word and Wisdom express God in his relation to the world and therefore they ‘belong to the unique divine identity.’²⁶⁷

Bauckham has therefore redefined both approaches to Jewish monotheism by arguing for its ‘strictness’ according to the framework of the Unique Divine Identity, has argued for the inclusion of Word, Wisdom and spirit within God’s own identity, and excluded principal angels and exalted patriarchs since they stand outside the divine boundaries.

²⁶⁰ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 14, emphasis original.

²⁶¹ These terms are taken from Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 17.

²⁶² On angels being created, Bauckham refers to *Jub. 2:2; Bib. Ant. 60:2; 2 Bar 21:6; 2 Enoch 29:3; 33:7*. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 18, fn. 24.

²⁶³ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 17-20. The exception Bauckham sees is that of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch, but this ‘is one exception which proves the rule,’ (19). While Bauckham admits that the literature does ‘envisage a small group of very highly placed angels, who form a kind of council of chief ministers of state, each in charge of some major aspect of the divine government of the cosmos,’ (18), this picture does not lead to the commonly stated view that there existed *one* principal angel whom ‘God delegates the whole of his rule over the cosmos,’ (18). He contends that such a figure appears in only a few texts (*Jos Asen* 14:8-9, *1QS* 3:15-4:1, Philo, and *1 Enoch* 40:9; cf. *T. Mos.* 10:1; *1QM* 17:7-8) but that he (Michael) does not govern the work of other angels: he ‘ranks higher than the other principle angels, but he is not set in authority over their spheres of government,’ (19). For Bauckham, principal angels 1) serve God (Jewish literature: *Tob* 12:15; *T. Abr.* A7:11; 8:1-4; 9:7-8; cf. *Luke* 1:19) and 2) reject worship (*Tob* 12:16-22; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11-15; *3 Enoch* 16:1-5; *Cairo Genizah Hekhalot A/2*, 13-18; Christian literature: *Rev* 19:10; 22:8-9; *Ascen. Isa.* 7:18-23; 8:1-10; *Ap. Paul.* [Coptic ending]; *Apochryphal Gos.* *Matt.* 3:3; cf. *2 Enoch* 1:4-8; *3 Enoch* 1:7; *Lad. Jac.* 3:3-5; *Jos Asen* 14:9-12; 15:11-12), which demonstrates that in Jewish thought, God alone is ruler. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 18-19, see also fns. 28-31.

²⁶⁴ Bauckham briefly mentions the spirit as a third intermediary figure who stands as a personification or hypostatization of God, but deliberately only focuses on Word and Wisdom ‘(b)ecause of their relevance to Christology,’ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 17.

²⁶⁵ Bauckham differentiates between the distinguishable roles of Word and Wisdom (*Ps* 33:9; *4 Ezra* 6:38; *2 Bar* 56:3-4; *2 Enoch* 33:4) and the interchangeable roles (Wisdom: *Jer* 10:12; 51:15; *Ps* 104:24; *Prov* 3:19; 8:30; *Sir* 24:3b; *Wis* 7:22; 8:4-6; cf. *1QH* 9:7, 14, 20; *Wis* 9:2; Word: *Ps* 33:6; *Sir* 42:15; *Jub.* 12:4; *Sib. Or.* 3:20; *2 Bar* 14:17; 21:4; 48:8; *4 Ezra* 6:38; *T. Abr.* A9:6; *Wis.* 9:1. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 21, also fns. 35-36.

²⁶⁶ *1 Enoch* 84:2-3; *Wis* 9:4, 10. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 21.

²⁶⁷ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 21.

4.1.2 Christological Monotheism and the 'Unique Divine Identity' of God

As noted, Bauckham's larger agenda is to argue that the Unique Divine Identity of God was an already established 'strict' framework in Second Temple Judaism which did not include intermediary figures such as principal angels or exalted patriarchs. It is therefore more appropriate methodologically to approach the question of the divine status of Christ from the wider evidence of the clear boundaries of Jewish monotheism, and then work towards incorporating those figures that are clearly aspects of God's own character (i.e. those that clearly fit into the 'strict' framework), while rejecting from the discussion those figures that fall outside this framework.²⁶⁸ Because of the concrete nature of this 'strict' conception, it is Bauckham's argument that the NT deliberately includes Jesus within the framework of the Unique Divine Identity since Jesus fulfils the same functions that uniquely characterise the identity of God. On this basis the NT reflects a 'high Christology' as an early, rather than late, development. To demonstrate this conclusion, Bauckham begins with an analysis of the exalted Christ, before turning his attention to the earthly Jesus.

Following Jewish monotheism's claim that God is the sole Creator and Ruler of all things, Bauckham identifies the early Christian affirmation of the resurrected Christ exalted to the heavenly throne of God (emphasised through early Christian readings of Ps 110:1),²⁶⁹ as a concrete sign of Christ's participation in God's unique sovereignty over all things.²⁷⁰ Christ is also shown to participate in God's unique activity of creation.²⁷¹ This is achieved in the NT through identifying Christ with the intermediary figures of Word and Wisdom, and attributing to Christ the divine name (YHWH). Since Word and Wisdom, according to Jewish Monotheism, were already included within the divine identity of God, the identification of Christ with these figures was a deliberate means by which it became clear that Christ was understood in divine terms.²⁷² Thus, through his participation in God's ruling and creative

²⁶⁸ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 3-5.

²⁶⁹ Bauckham sees Ps 110:1 cited or alluded to in the NT at Matt 22:44; 26:64; Mark 12:36; 14:62; 16:19; Luke 20:42-43; 22:69; Acts 2:33-35; 5:31; 7:55-56; Rom 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25; Eph 1:20; 2:6; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12-13; 12:2; 1 Pet 3:22 and possibly Rev 3:21. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 29, fn. 1.

²⁷⁰ Through four points, Bauckham illustrates how the NT demonstrates this process: 1) Jesus is sovereign over 'all things' (Matt 11:27; Luke 10:22; John 3:35; 13:3; 16:15; Acts 10:36; 1 Cor 15:27-28; Eph 1:22; Phil 3:21; Heb 1:2; 2:8; cf. Eph 1:10, 23, 4:10; Col 1:20); 2) Jesus shares God's exaltation above all the angelic powers (Eph 1:21-22, cf. 4:10; Heb 1:1-14); 3) Jesus is given the divine name (Heb 1:4; Phil 2:9. Cf. also the phrase 'to call on the name of the Lord' [Acts 2:17-21, 28; 9:14; 22:16; Rom 10:9-13; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Tim 2:22] which is dependent upon the Hebrew Scriptures [Ps 80:18; Isa 12:4; Joel 2:32; Zeph 3:9; Zech 13:9]); and 4) Worship of Jesus is recognition of his exercise of the unique divine sovereignty (Phil 2:9-11; Rev 5; Matt 28:17, cf. Heb 1:6; John 5:21-23). Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 34-35.

²⁷¹ John 1:1-5; 1 Cor 8:6; Col 1:15-16; Heb 1:2-3, 10-12; Rev 3:14. Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 36, fn. 13. More broadly, 35-42.

²⁷² In his discussion on Paul's redefinition of the Shema in 1 Cor 8:6, Bauckham states, 'Implicit in the reformulation is an identification of Christ with either the Word or the Wisdom of God or both. It hardly matters which, since the Jewish habit of explaining God's sole creative work by saying that he created through his word

activities, Christ was understood to be included in the Unique Divine Identity. It is this inclusion which make comprehensible the devotion and worship accrued to Christ that is reflected in the early Christian communities (e.g. Phil 2:9-11) since worship was given as recognition of and response to Christ's divine status.²⁷³

Turning to the interpretation of the life and death of the earthly Jesus, Bauckham notes the importance of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 40-55) on early Christian thinking, not only of Jesus, but surprisingly, of God himself.²⁷⁴ Of importance to Bauckham, the recognition of the crucified Jesus within the Unique Divine Identity (interpreted in light of the suffering servant, Isa 52-53) not only impacted the early Church's understanding of Jesus, but also challenged and expanded their understanding of the identity of God, since suffering and humiliation now is included in and characterises this identity. Thus it is not just the exalted Christ, but also the humble, lowly and suffering Jesus who now is both included in God's identity, but also develops this identity by expanding it.²⁷⁵ Additionally, such a shift in the divine identity also pushes towards interpersonal relations within the Unique Divine Identity since 'the inclusion of Jesus in the identity of God means the inclusion in God of the interpersonal relationship between Jesus and his Father.'²⁷⁶ While Bauckham does not develop this further, he states that the divine name, formerly God of the patriarchs (Exod 3:6), now consists of 'the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit' (Matt 28:19).

4.1.3 Summary

Bauckham has sought to redefine the two approaches to Christological monotheism by arguing for the relevance of the category of 'identity.' It is through the category of 'identity' that Bauckham has characterised *who* God is – he is the sole Creator and Ruler over all things, aided only by the characterisations of Word and Wisdom which represent aspects of his own identity. As a result, he receives exclusive worship which is recognition of his uniqueness. From this framework, Bauckham demonstrates that Christ was included in this unique identity by participating in God's sovereign rule of all things and in his unique activity of creation

or through his wisdom merely gives Paul the opportunity for apportioning the work of creation in such a way as to include Christ in it. We can now see that in this and other New Testament passages where the pre-existent Christ is described in terms corresponding to Jewish language about the Word or the Wisdom of God, it is not the Jewish concepts of Word and Wisdom themselves which are driving the christological development. The purpose is to include Jesus completely in the unique divine identity of God, protologically as well as eschatologically,' Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 39-40.

²⁷³ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 34-35.

²⁷⁴ This is seen reflected in the divine name given to Christ, and his humiliation (i.e. death) read in light of his role as the suffering servant. See Phil 2:5-11, Revelation (on the divine name, Alpha and Omega, 1:8, 17; 21:6; 22:13, on humiliation, chaps. 4-5), and the Gospel of John (on the divine name, 'I Am,' 4:26; 6:20; 8:24, 28, 58; 13:19; 18:5, 6, 8, on humiliation, 3:14-15; 8:28; 12:32-34). Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 45-77.

²⁷⁵ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 68-69.

²⁷⁶ Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 74-75.

through the explicit identification with Word and Wisdom, and the divine name (YHWH).

This framework of Jewish monotheism can be schematised in the following way:

Creational Monotheism: God is Creator and Ruler over all;

Cultic Monotheism: Exclusive worship of God as Creator and Ruler;

Eschatological Monotheism: Fulfilment of the Kingdom; universal recognition as Creator and Ruler.

The first and second points have been clearly presented, but eschatological monotheism is further defined in light of God's universal rule, and therefore is an extension of creational monotheism.²⁷⁷ With this same framework in place, Bauckham applies this scheme to Christological monotheism:

Creational Monotheism: Christ participates in God's creative and sovereign activity

Cultic Monotheism: Christ receives exclusive worship

Eschatological Monotheism: Christ will return to fulfil the universal Kingdom of God; Christ is the eschatological manifestation of God's creative and sovereign activity

In this schematisation, it becomes clear that Bauckham has demonstrated a strict parallel between the framework of Jewish monotheism and those categories which the early Christians used to interpret the life, death and resurrection of Christ.

4.1.4 Fresh Paths: The Spirit and the Unique Divine Identity

Bauckham has developed a formulation of Christological monotheism that is consistent with Jewish monotheism and yet demonstrates the extent to which perceptions of the identity of God have been expanded. He has formed a new trail in dealing with monotheism in Hebrew religion, Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity,²⁷⁸ where views on the matter are as diverse as the many paths that claim to lead the traveller upward to splendid views.²⁷⁹ It is my

²⁷⁷ The addition of eschatological monotheism here is implicit in Bauckham's presentation (particularly on Isa 40-55), but is only schematised clearly in a later article, 'Paul's Christology of Divine Identity.'

²⁷⁸ I include here Hebrew monotheism since, due to contextualising the NT portrait of Jesus within Second Temple Judaism, Bauckham excludes it from his analysis. But see his reference to Hebrew material when establishing his methodology, as well as his chapter as a whole, 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism,' in his *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 60-106.

²⁷⁹ It remains yet to be seen whether Bauckham's footprints will be followed by other travellers. Bauckham's thesis is a concise work but is lacking the necessary detail and argumentation to forcefully sustain its premise (a point that he notes, Bauckham, *God Crucified*, ix). Not all are satisfied with the degree of light engagement with the literature of Second Temple Judaism (J. Scott Horrell, 'God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament,' *Bibliotheca sacra* 157:625 (2000) 113-114: 'Discerning readers... will await Bauckham's more substantial work for the ballast of what in this work floats rather lightly as more opinion than substance –

contention that the same method used to include Christ within the Unique Divine Identity of God is that which can be followed in regard *to the spirit*. It is necessary to acknowledge that a space was created when Bauckham intentionally restricted his discussion of intermediary figures to that only of Word and Wisdom who are part of the identity of God, without reference to the spirit and whether the spirit is a ‘personification’ or a ‘hypostatization’ of an aspect of God himself.²⁸⁰

The focus of my thesis will be upon the new path that Bauckham has forged in framing Jewish monotheism in relation to early Christian thought. The strength of this approach lie in its capacity to incorporate ‘identity’ as the framework which resolves the dichotomy between ‘ontological’ and ‘functional’ categories such that there is an emphasis upon function as determinative for identity, and provides a comprehensible context for framing relations that are conceived as existing within the Unique Divine Identity.²⁸¹

particularly regarding the nature of divine intermediaries in relation to the identity of God,’ here 114; David A. Tiessen, ‘God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament,’ *Didaskalia* 13:1 (2001) 104-107: ‘...there are points (such as the degree to which Wisdom and Word can be considered distinct personifications within God) that will need to be fleshed out more fully in Bauckham’s forthcoming treatment,’ 107). Neither are all satisfied with the lines of division between intermediary figures and the divine identity, e.g. the Son of Man in *Similitudes of Enoch* (Andrew Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation: Jewish Messianic and Visionary Traditions and New Testament Christology*, WUNT 207 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 20-27). Finally, not all are satisfied with the theological implications of the human Jesus including such experiences as weakness and suffering in the identity of God (which leans more towards patipassionism than most are comfortable with, cf. Christopher Seitz, review ‘God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament,’ *International Journal of Systematic Theology*, 2:1 (2000) 112-116). Importantly, particular aspects of Bauckham’s framework, notably his emphasis on relations within the Unique Divine Identity, have been appreciated, cf. Tilling, *Paul’s Divine Christology*, 19ff, 61-62. To some degree, Bauckham has developed his thesis in application to Hebrews 1, the Gospel of John and, in brief, to the Pauline letters. But these applications do not give added weight to his conceptual construction of divine identity, but rather, work out of this framework.

²⁸⁰ Bauckham’s acknowledged choice not to discuss the spirit, apart from the pragmatics of space and focus is still nonetheless a deliberate theological choice. He gives no theological reasoning per se, apart from the comment that he will only discuss Word and Wisdom, and not the spirit, ‘because of their relevance to Christology,’ (Bauckham, *God Crucified*, 17). While Bauckham does mention the spirit in relation to the newly conceived divine name (‘the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,’ Matt. 28:19), this assumed inclusion of the spirit is never defended nor expanded in detail, and the precise relationship of the spirit to God and to Christ is left open (69-77). Apart from the work of Turner (who himself notes this vacuum in Bauckham’s study, ‘The Churches of the Johannine Letters,’ 53-61) and Fatehi which I have already reviewed, this seems largely the case with Christological studies in general. For example, Aquila H.I. Lee, *From Messiah to Preexistent Son: Jesus’ Self-Consciousness and Early Christian Exegesis of Messianic Psalms*, WUNT 2.192 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 37-84, cf. 36, fn. 1; Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*, 78-96.

²⁸¹ See Wainwright’s preceding comments: ‘For many centuries the Christian Church has interpreted its doctrine of God in terms of Greek metaphysics. But the biblical writers presented the doctrine in terms of their own experience, interpreted by the Hebrew names of God and the Hebrew ideas of divine functions,’ *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 267. Note more recently the positive comments of David Capes regarding this approach: ‘The category of “divine identity” offers a refreshing way out of the functional/ontic cul-de-sac which provided few satisfying answers for understanding early Christian faith and practice,’ ‘God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament,’ *Review of Biblical Literature*, 2 (2000) 315-318, and the same point made in ‘YHWH Texts and Monotheism in Paul’s Christology,’ in Stuckenbruck, *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, 136. Fee is also sympathetic, *Pauline Christology*, 14-15.

My study will continue to use the framework of the Unique Divine Identity, despite two particular criticisms by James D.G. Dunn (*Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?*, 60-62, 141-144) and James F. McGrath (*The Only True God: Early Christian Monotheism in its Jewish Context* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 10-15, 118, fn. 8). Firstly, they criticise Bauckham’s distinction between the Unique Divine Identity and all other reality, a distinction which includes the intermediary figures of Word, Wisdom and spirit but which

Moreover, it includes the relevance of devotional experience as reflective of concrete beliefs and confessions.

In this way I will develop Bauckham's thesis by providing a fuller understanding of the Pauline view of the 'identity' of God with specific reference to the 'identity' of the spirit. Bauckham's path helps us to respond to the question *Did the Spirit come to possess a distinct identity within Paul's Christian monotheism?* by contextualizing the 'strict' relationship between the spirit and the complex relations of Hebrew, Jewish and Christian monotheism. In order to develop Bauckham's categories in relation to the spirit, it will be necessary to demonstrate that the spirit is included within the Unique Divine Identity of God because the spirit fulfils those same functions which identified God as unique. It will need to be shown that: 1) the spirit fulfils God's creative and ruling activities (Creational Monotheism), 2) the spirit participates in the cultic life of the church, inspiring worship of God and Christ (Cultic Monotheism), 3) the spirit will fulfil the universal Kingdom of God and will be the

excludes exalted patriarchs and angels from the Unique Divine Identity (see also the series of discussion in Newman, Davila and Lewis, eds., *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*). Secondly, both Dunn and McGrath take issue with Bauckham's use of the modern English term 'identity' and argue that it is too vague to be of use, particularly when it does not sufficiently distinguish between the 'identity' of God and the 'identity of Christ' and how they each share the divine identity. In response, Dunn prefers the sense of agency to denote the activity of God expressed through intermediary figures and which bridges the distinction between God and all other reality, and prefers the term 'equation' and its mathematical analogy (A equals B) rather than 'identity' (A is identical with B) to describe Christ's relation to God and (143-144). Dunn is playing semantics here (so too McGrath, 118, fn. 8), for he does not give adequate credit to Bauckham's recognition that there are very real distinctions between Jesus and the God of Israel, and so he appears unconvinced that the term 'identity' is the right term to define Christ's relation to God. The degree to which Dunn's problematic characterisation of the spirit's relation to Christ as one of 'equation' determines that this particular term does not add the value that Dunn seeks – at least concerning questions of the spirit.

This study will acknowledge these criticisms and will examine whether the relation between the spirit and God should be understood in terms of agency, particularly in view of those *specific* divine activities which are credited to God himself and which define who he is in distinction from all other reality. Even if this line was more blurred than Bauckham acknowledges, this distinction is not as essential (as it is for Christological discussion), for the interest is not the division between God and *all other* reality (inclusive of exalted patriarchs and angels) but the *restricted* question of the precise nature and character of the spirit's relation to God (and as a development, the spirit's relation to Christ, within Paul's Christian monotheism). McGrath's comment that 'in the mind of first-century Jews, what might be called a "hierarchy of being," with God on top, then his Word or Wisdom or powers, then angels and heavenly beings, and then humans...' (118, fn. 6) does not mention the spirit but presumably he would place the spirit alongside Word and Wisdom (cf. the passing reference to the spirit on 48). But as I will demonstrate, this hierarchical difference between God and the second tier of 'beings' (Word, Wisdom and spirit) is a false one if such 'beings' are personifications of God's own character and personality. McGrath comments that such figures are neither 'metaphors' (i.e. personifications) or 'persons' (i.e. hypostatisations) since such distinctions did not exist in the ancient mind and defaults to mystery and does not offer any resolution (48). But I question whether the ancient mind was as lacking such conceptual distinctions as McGrath implies. If the precise sense of the spirit's relation to God can be explained, then this would give clarity to the spirit's placement within such a 'hierarchy of beings' (cf. Turner, 'Whereas there is some evidence that intertestamental Judaism hypostatized Wisdom and Logos, this never convincingly happens with the Spirit,' 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 422).

The two problems – of correlating divine functions and the uniqueness of God, and multiple 'figures' sharing a divine identity – are overcome if the term 'identity' is used with two distinct senses: Identity₁ would denote the complete framework of the 'Unique Divine Identity' which distinguishes the *source* of the divine activity from all other reality (however this is defined). Identity₂ would denote the *agency* of a particular 'figure,' i.e. 'the God of Israel,' 'the Lord Jesus Christ,' or 'the holy spirit,' which identifies unique functions that distinguish each 'figure' from each other. This would appear to satisfy both Dunn's and McGrath's complaints.

eschatological manifestation of God's creative and sovereign activity (Eschatological Monotheism).

4.2 Larry Hurtado

4.2.1 Jewish Monotheism and Earliest Christian Devotion

Another path that has been influential in recent Christological discussion is that formed by Larry Hurtado. It has been Hurtado's claim that a necessary component to the development and recognition of the exalted status of Christ within early Christian monotheism was the function of early Christian devotion.²⁸² Earliest Christian devotion, according to Hurtado, was influenced by Second Temple Jewish monotheistic piety which provided a framework for the explosion of cultic veneration of Jesus as divine. In reaction to those models that understand worship of Jesus and its divine connotation as a late evolutionary development,²⁸³ the influence of the Jewish 'Cult' of messianic figures and martyrs in ancient Jewish tradition,²⁸⁴ or the consequence of prior theological convictions,²⁸⁵ Hurtado argues for 'a more adequate approach.'²⁸⁶ This approach identifies worship of Jesus as 'a more explosively quick phenomenon, a religious development that was more like a volcanic eruption'²⁸⁷ that originated within the milieu of Second Temple Jewish monotheistic practice rather than Gentile or pagan religion.²⁸⁸ Hurtado argues for two primary points which are the foundations

²⁸² Hurtado's primary publications defending this point are *One God, One Lord; Lord Jesus Christ; How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*; *idem, At the Origins of Christian Worship: The Context and Character of Earliest Christian Devotion* (Cambridge/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999). Most recently, see his 'Early Devotion to Jesus: A Report, Reflections and Implications,' *ExpT* 122:4 (2010): 167-176 and *God in New Testament Theology*, LBT (Nashville: Abingdon, 2010).

²⁸³ The work of Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*; Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*; *idem*, 'Monotheism, Worship and Christological Development in the Pauline Church,' in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, 214-233; and James D.G. Dunn, 'The Making of Christology – Evolution or Unfolding?' in *Jesus of Nazareth*, 437-452; *idem, The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 252-260.

²⁸⁴ Specifically, William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM Press, 1998).

²⁸⁵ Notably Timo Eskola, *Messiah and the Throne: Jewish Merkabah Mysticism and Early Christian Exaltation Discourse*, WUNT, 2.142 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001) and Bauckham, *God Crucified*.

²⁸⁶ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 25.

²⁸⁷ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 25.

²⁸⁸ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, Ch. 2, 'Devotion to Jesus and Second-Temple Jewish Monotheistic Piety.' This against Bousset, Casey and Dunn. For Hurtado's engagement with the significant work of Bousset, see *Lord Jesus Christ*, 11-26, cf. 'The weakening or undermining of a supposedly pure Old Testament monotheism in the Judaism of the period of Christian origins alleged by some previous scholars such as Bousset is directly the opposite of the actual historical movement in Judaism of the time toward a more emphatic monotheism,' (35). Hurtado insists that Jewish monotheism was neither loose so that worship was given to intermediary figures or angels nor so strict as to constitute a decisive break between Jewish and Christian monotheism if worship was given one other than YHWH (i.e. Jesus). Hurtado argues that a third possibility provides a better explanation of the data, an option which he labels a "third variant form of exclusivist monotheism," which displays itself in a binitarian shape. See *Lord Jesus Christ*, 32-46, quotation at 53. The 'loose' interpretation of Jewish monotheism is argued by Peter Hayman, 'Monotheism – a Misused Word in Jewish Studies?' *JJS* 42 (1991): 1-15; Barker, *The Great Angel* and Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, 'The Worship of Divine Humanity as God's Image and the Worship of Jesus,' in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, 112-128. The 'strict' interpretation of Jewish monotheism is argued by Anthony E. Harvey, *Jesus*

of his thesis: Early Christian monotheism consisted of 1) a strong affirmation of exclusivist monotheism in belief and practice 2) an inclusion of Christ along with God as rightful recipient of cultic devotion.²⁸⁹ Hurtado labels the phenomenon of worship accrued to Christ as ‘Christ-devotion,’ by which he means ‘the significance and role of the figure of Jesus Christ in both the religious life and thought of those forms of Christianity observable to us within the first two centuries.’²⁹⁰ Such an approach does not bifurcate between artificial distinctions and so ‘includes devotional practice as well as religious beliefs.’²⁹¹ For Hurtado, ‘devotion’ is his term used ‘to designate all that was involved in the place of Jesus in earliest Christian belief and religious life.’²⁹² The reality of religious practices causes Hurtado to ‘contend that these phenomena are properly understood as amounting to the “worship” of Jesus – that is, the unprecedented and unique inclusion of Jesus in the devotional life of Christian circles as recipient of the sort of reverence that they otherwise reserved for God.’²⁹³

4.2.2 Religious Experience and Early Christian Devotion

Hurtado’s interest also lies in developing a ‘conceptual model to use in trying to understand *how* such a remarkable pattern of devotion could have emerged in Second-Temple Jewish tradition.’²⁹⁴ Such interest provides the impetus for an analysis of the role of religious experience in relation to the development and formation of Christian belief.²⁹⁵ It is Hurtado’s observation that ‘among New Testament scholars there seems to be a continuing widespread reluctance to attribute much causative significance to religious experiences in the innovations that mark the development of early Christianity.’²⁹⁶ His analysis notes that earliest Christianity ‘was characterized by a rich and varied assortment of religious experiences,’

and the Constraints of History (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982); Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*; *idem*, ‘Monotheism, Worship and Christological Development in the Pauline Church,’; and Dunn, ‘Was Christianity a Monotheistic Faith from the Beginning?’ in *The Christ and the Spirit*, Vol. 1. 315-344; *idem*, ‘Forward to the Second Edition,’ in *Christology in the Making*; *idem*, *The Parting of the Ways*, chaps. 9-11; *idem*, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 28-38, 244-265.

²⁸⁹ Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 50.

²⁹⁰ Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 4.

²⁹¹ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 27.

²⁹² Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 27. Such early Christian devotion included such practice as hymns sung about Jesus; prayer ‘through’ Jesus and ‘in Jesus’ name’ and even to Jesus himself; ‘calling upon the name of Jesus’ in baptism, in healing and in exorcism; the Christian meal where Jesus presides as ‘Lord’; ritually confessing Jesus in Christian worship; Christian prophecy of the risen Jesus (28). See chap. 4, ‘A “Case Study” in Early Christian Devotion to Jesus: Philippians 2:6-11.’

²⁹³ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 28.

²⁹⁴ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 28.

²⁹⁵ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, chap. 8, ‘Religious Experience and Religious Innovation in the New Testament,’ (also published in *The Journal of Religion*, 80:2 (2000): 183-205).

²⁹⁶ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 184, cf. ‘I contend that it is either ideological bias or insufficiently examined assumptions that prevent some scholars from taking seriously the view that revelatory religious experiences can directly contribute to religious innovations,’ Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 70.

religious experiences that were attributed to the spirit of God.²⁹⁷ Hurtado is interested in assessing the relevance of religious experiences, understood by early Christianity as ‘revelations,’ for religious innovation.²⁹⁸ His agenda rests in demonstrating the validity of such experiences for informing and contributing to Christological developments.²⁹⁹ Hurtado concludes that ‘Through such revelatory experiences, Christological convictions and corresponding cultic practices were born that amounted to a unique “mutation” in what was acceptable Jewish monotheistic devotional practice of the Greco-Roman period.’³⁰⁰

4.2.3 Summary

The significance of such an argument for understanding early Christological developments is certainly profound, and is a sure help in comprehending the complex factors involved in a re-definition of Christian monotheism. A crucial point is made by Hurtado when he notes that ‘The early Christians...were more concerned to proclaim Jesus’ significance and to express their devotion to him than to provide explanations of how they came to the convictions that prompted them to do so.’³⁰¹ Religious experience is seen to shape and inspire beliefs so as to produce new religious innovations. In Hurtado’s case, religious experiences, or ‘revelations,’ inspired the early Christian practice of devotion accorded to Jesus, the same devotion reserved only for God. Such an innovation brought into focus a highly exalted view of Jesus as divine at a very early stage within the development of the Christian church.

4.2.4 Fresh Paths: The Spirit and Religious Experience

My thesis intends to follow the direction of Hurtado by examining the impact of religious experience in the formation of belief, and is particularly concerned with examining Paul and the Pauline communities’ experience of the spirit. As I have demonstrated, recognising the experiential nature of the spirit is not new. In fact, Hurtado himself has noted the experiential reality of the spirit as an impetus for religious innovation, and applied this method to the exalted identity of Christ and the concept of God. The merit of Hurtado’s method is the sense of innovation attached to religious experience, but this sense of innovation has not been adequately addressed in application to the *identity* of the *spirit* for experience is always

²⁹⁷ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 179.

²⁹⁸ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 180.

²⁹⁹ Such experiences of the resurrected Christ at Paul’s conversion, Stephen’s vision of Christ seated at the right of God (Acts 7), the ‘transfiguration’ account of Christ in the gospels (Mark 9:2-8; Matt 17:1-8; Luke 9:28-36) and the Revelation account of Jesus as ‘the lamb’ revered alongside God in heaven (Rev 4-5) all serve to illustrate the role of revelatory experiences in informing early Christian devotion to Christ.

³⁰⁰ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 203.

³⁰¹ Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 198-199.

applied to belief in God or Christ.³⁰² It is necessary to examine the significance of the idea of spirit, what value the experiential nature of the spirit added to Paul and the Pauline communities' religious life, belief and praxis, and whether or not powerful religious experiences of the spirit in the cultic setting of the Pauline communities reference a distinctive identification of the πνεῦμα.³⁰³

5. Remapping Paths of Promise: The Identity of the Spirit

We have seen with interest the work of Hurtado in emphasising the role of religious experience in relation to variant developments within Christian monotheism. We have also seen with interest the work of Bauckham in creating the framework of the Unique Divine Identity of God that offers a useful 'remapping' of our approach to the structures of Christian monotheism. Such paths that have developed new approaches in Christological studies offer themselves as one collective fruitful pathway in my inquiry into the identity of the spirit. A crucial point of recognition is that experience and structures of thought relate in a dialectical fashion, for experience shapes belief and belief informs and elucidates experience. It is for this reason that Hurtado's emphasis on religious experience must be merged with that of Bauckham's Unique Divine Identity.³⁰⁴ Thus, the question *Did the Spirit come to possess a*

³⁰² Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 179-180; *idem*, *God in New Testament Theology*. Though Hurtado does recognise that the spirit conveyed the divine presence of God and was powerfully experienced in their midst as God, there is no specific isolation of a distinct identity of the spirit (*God in New Testament Theology*, 73-94). Hurtado does note the earlier work of Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*; Deissmann, *Paul*; Percy Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, CTL Vol. 34 (London: Williams & Norgate, 1911); Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*; Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*; James D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today*, Studies in Biblical Theology, 2nd series (London: SCM, 1970), *idem*, *Jesus and the Spirit*; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, and importantly, Luke T. Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity: A Missing Dimension in New Testament Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998).

³⁰³ Necessarily, some may respond that this does not solve the broader theological issues which our literature review highlighted, namely, the possibility that an experience of the spirit may be an experience of Christ (I think here specifically of the arguments of Gunkel, Deissmann, Bousset and Dunn). Rightly so. It is the contention of this thesis that religious experience provides the entry point into the reality of the spirit, but must be accompanied by reference to broader structures of thought. In this way, belief (both *a priori* convictions and post-reflective 'doctrines') and experience remain interdependent. It is the necessity of a new and fresh approach not only to the role of experience but also to the overarching framework, or as I have labelled them, structures of thought, which inform and frame belief that ultimately drives this thesis.

³⁰⁴ Bauckham's inclusion of Cultic monotheism and devotion into the framework of monotheism is a helpful expansion to the somewhat restricted focus of Hurtado's contribution. While Hurtado has argued that devotional practice and religious belief should not be divorced from each other, Bauckham's framework encompasses a holistic perspective in a more comprehensive manner than it seems Hurtado has done himself. Hurtado appears to level such accusations of a dichotomy between belief and practice against Bauckham whom he regards as arguing for the divine status of Jesus using reverse logic. Hurtado is dissatisfied with Bauckham's argument that worship was accrued to Jesus as a recognition and response to a prior theological conviction. He argues that similar figures in Second Temple Judaism were portrayed in highly exalted terms (e.g. Word and Wisdom; principal angels and exalted ancestors/patriarchs) but were never consequently worshipped, and such a critique informs Hurtado's challenge to find *historical* analogies to the development of veneration that is dependent upon theological convictions, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 22-25. But I find Hurtado's critique misaimed. Bauckham has argued for a tight inclusion of those figures that exist within the Unique Divine

distinct identity within Paul's Christian monotheism? will ultimately be answered via two arguments. Firstly, by utilising Bauckham's path such that the spirit fulfils the same functions as God and Christ and consequently is included within the Unique Divine Identity and is constitutive of Paul's Christian monotheism. Secondly, by following the path of Hurtado and examining Paul's religious experience and the innovative impact Paul's distinguishable experience had on his perception of the identity of the spirit. The following study will be structured in two parts. Part I will examine the Pauline antecedents, specifically the identity of the spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures and in Second Temple Judaism. Part II will examine the identity of the spirit in Paul's Christian monotheism.

Identity that is inclusive of Word and Wisdom but exclusive of principal angels and exalted patriarchs. To argue that if Bauckham's logic is to work only if Word and Wisdom are to be worshipped as analogous examples of the worship given to Jesus, is to misunderstand the role of Word and Wisdom, as I see it, as personified figures within the Unique Divine Identity. Because they exist as personifications, worship is exclusively oriented towards God and his action through the personified figures of Word and Wisdom. I presume that Bauckham would agree firmly with Hurtado when he states 'The devotion given to Jesus was without true analogy,' (24) because the incarnation warrants such uniqueness. It is simply because Jesus fulfils the same functions as those figures which uniquely characterises the identity of God that Jesus is worshipped. Therefore there does not seem to be any material difference between Bauckham and Hurtado's arguments except that Bauckham's is much more broadly conceived and inclusive of veneration. Hurtado, I feel, narrows his scope in far too a reductionist manner by hinging his thesis on the fact that 'it is...in the area of worship that we find "the decisive criterion" by which Jews maintained the uniqueness of God over against both idols and God's own deputies,' (129). Bauckham himself makes such a critique of Hurtado (see 'The Worship of Jesus in Philippians 2:9-11,' 137, fn. 4. For Bauckham, monolatry 'cannot stand alone as a sufficient definition of the uniqueness of the one God of Jewish monotheism,' 129). If Bauckham's categories of those figures which are included within the divine identity are fixed, and if Word and Wisdom are included and yet exist simply as personifications, then worship loses its central significance. The 'decisive criterion' would rather be the whole package which Bauckham has helpfully put together. Interestingly, Hurtado agrees that one of the defining characteristics of Jewish monotheism was that God was uniquely the sole creator and the sole ruler over all (*Lord Jesus Christ*, 36). Bauckham's category of 'Cultic monotheism' is surely a positive response to the work of Hurtado, and merely incorporates his distinctive thesis into a much broader framework. Significantly, Hurtado cites Bauckham's earlier article and its thesis approvingly, 'The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity,' but laments that Bauckham's focus has broadened to a conceptual/doctrinal level (with the publication of *God Crucified*) and de-emphasised the significance of the giving and withholding of exclusive worship (*Lord Jesus Christ*, 47, fn. 66). Hurtado strongly disagrees with Bauckham's claims and argues 'the representation of Christ as participating in God's sovereignty (e.g. sitting on/sharing God's throne) is not unique,' *Lord Jesus Christ*, 47, fn. 66. But Hurtado, as we have noted, has identified one of the defining characteristics of God as uniquely the sole ruler over all. It would appear that Bauckham's primary purpose is to demonstrate the sovereignty that Christ possesses through the imagery of the throne. It is rather the *combination* of Creational monotheism (sole creator and ruler) and Cultic monotheism (exclusive worship) that is decisive. As I wish to argue, devotion and religious experience must coincide (logically, if not chronologically) since the *content* of devotion is the uniqueness of who God/Christ is (i.e. sovereign ruler). Hurtado's argument that there should be no dichotomy between religious belief and practice precisely supports Bauckham's construction here.

PART I

THE IDENTITY OF THE SPIRIT AND PAULINE ANTECEDENTS

The following two chapters comprise Part I of this study and are an examination of the identity of the spirit within the Hebrew Scriptures and the diverse literature of Second Temple Judaism. Both chapters are structured around the dual points of inquiry, namely, the relation of the spirit to the Unique Divine Identity, and the experiential reality of the spirit. Thus each chapter will 1) establish the sense and meaning of *ruach* (רוח) [in chapter 2 and 3] and *pneuma* (πνεῦμα) [chapter 3] most relevant to this study; 2) demonstrate the spirit's inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity on the basis of the spirit's creative and ruling activities, and participation in the cultic life of God's people; 3) examine the nature of the spirit's relation to God; 4) and confirm the experiential reality of the spirit.

Chapter Two: The Identity of the Spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures

1. Introduction

The focus of this inquiry is the development of the identity of the spirit within Paul's Christian monotheism. The path upwards which promises a splendid vision must now begin at the foundation of the mountain with an analysis of the identity of the spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures. The path will follow the methodologies of Bauckham (the Unique Divine Identity) and Hurtado (Religious Experience) and will enable us to more accurately articulate how Hebrew religion understood the identity of the spirit. I shall firstly define the meaning and sense of 'spirit,' *ruach* (רוּחַ) in the Hebrew Scriptures, develop a view of the functions of the spirit within the Unique Divine Identity, describe the nature of the relationship between the spirit and YHWH, and discuss the experiential reality of the spirit.

2. The Sense and Meaning of רוּחַ

The Hebrew word for 'spirit' is *ruach* (רוּחַ) and occurs on 378 occasions as well as 11 occurrences in Aramaic.¹ *Ruach* is identified as possessing a broad semantic range which

¹ For studies on the use of *ruach* and the concept of the spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures, see Charles A. Briggs, 'The Use of רוּחַ in the Old Testament,' *JBL* 19 (1900): 132-145; William R. Schoemaker, 'The Use of רוּחַ in the Old Testament, and of πνεῦμα in the New Testament,' *JBL* 23 (1904): 13-67; Carl Amerding, 'The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament,' *Bibliotheca Sacra* 92 (1935): 277-291, 433-441; John F. Walvoord, 'The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament,' *Bibliotheca Sacra* 97:387 (1940): 289-317, *idem*, 97:388 (1940): 410-434; G. Henton Davies, 'Holy Spirit in the Old Testament,' *Review and Expositor* 63 (1966): 129-134; Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, Vol. 2 (London: SCM Press, 1967), 46-68; David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*, SNTSMS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 205-217; Friedrich Baumgärtel, 'πνεῦμα,' in *TDNT*, Vol. 6, ed. Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 359-367; Lloyd R. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament* (Tokyo: Seibunsha, 1972); George T. Montague, *The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1976); Leon J. Wood, *The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976); M.R. Westall, 'Scope of the Term "Spirit of God" in the Old Testament,' *IJT* 26:1 (1977): 29-43; Claus Westermann, 'Geist im Alten Testament,' *Evangelische Theologie* 41:3 (1981): 223-230; Heron, *The Holy Spirit*; John Wright, 'Ruah: A Survey,' in *The Concept of Spirit: Papers from The Concept of Spirit Conference held at St Paul's College, University of Sydney, 21-24 May 1984*, Prudentia, Supplementary Number 1985, eds. David W. Dockrill and Ronald G. Tanner (Auckland: University of Auckland, 1985), 5-25; Benjamin B. Warfield, 'The Spirit of God in the Old Testament,' in his *Biblical Doctrines* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1988); Robert Koch, *Der Geist Gottes im Alten Testament* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991); Helen Schüngel-Straumann, *Rûach bewegt die Welt: Gottes schöpferische Lebenskraft in der Krisenzeit des Exils*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 151 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992); Manfred Dreytza, *Der theologische Gebrauch von RUAÓ im Alten Testament: Eine wort-und satzsemantische Studie* (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1992); Wilf Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995); R. Mark Shipp, 'The Spirit of God in the Old Testament,' *Christian Studies* 16 (1996-7): 5-15; Miles V. Van Pelt, Walter C. Kaiser, Jr and Daniel I. Block, 'רוּחַ,' in *NIDOTTE*, Vol. 3, ed. Willem VanGemeren (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1997), 1073-1078; Jannes Reiling, 'Holy Spirit,' in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed, eds. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. vander Horst (Leiden: Brill/Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999), 418-424; Sven Tengström, 'רוּחַ,' in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Vol. XIII, eds. G. Johannes

raises the difficulty of identifying which particular sense of *ruach* is being utilised in each context, and serves to heighten the necessity of clarifying the specific sense this study shall be following.² The first sense of רוח is ‘wind’ which denoted ‘air in motion.’³ This sense (רוח₁) was derived from the experiential phenomenon of the blowing wind (Exod 10:13,19; Jer 13:24; Hos 4:19; Prov 25:23).⁴ The Hebrew Scriptures also form an analogous relation between wind and YHWH (e.g. Exod 14:21; Jer 4:11-12; Hos 13:15⁵).⁶ The second sense of רוח is ‘breath’ (of the mouth). ‘Breath’ (רוח₂) is identified not only in humans (e.g. Job 9:18, 19:17; Isa 11:4, 25:4; Ps 104:29) and animals (Eccl 3:19; Jer 14:6) but also extended to God (e.g. Exod 15:8; 2 Sam 22:16; Job 4:9; Ps 18:15; 33:6; Isa 30:28) and idols (e.g. Ps 135:17; Jer 10:14; Hab 2:19).⁷ The third sense of רוח is ‘breath of life’ (רוח₃) which develops רוח₂ on a more cosmic scope. ‘Breath of life’ can be a representation of an immaterial dimension to physical life (cf. Job 27:3; Eccl 12:7; Isa 42:5) and in this sense, refers not to exhalation but to the dynamic principle of life given from YHWH to all animate life, with death as the antonym (Gen 6:17, 7:15, 7:22, Job 17:1, 27:3, Isa 42:5, 57:16, Ezek 37:5, Ps 104:29, 146:4).⁸ It is YHWH’s gift of life that sustains his creation (Gen 2:7; Eccl 12:7) and in this way there exists a dynamic dependency between creation and its creator (Job 12:10). The fourth sense of רוח is that of ‘the heart and mind’ (רוח₄) and functions as a multifaceted term that incorporates the whole human person, their personality, intellect and will – the human spirit. Included here are

Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004), 365-396; Christopher J.H. Wright, *Knowing the Holy Spirit Through the Old Testament* (Oxford: Monarch Books, 2006); John R. Levison, ‘Holy Spirit,’ in *The New Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 2, ed. Katharine D. Sakenfeld (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007), 859-879.

² I follow here the method supported by linguistic analysis that identifies the complex relationship between a word’s etymology and the concept being referenced. See James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961). It is increasingly clear that the semantic range of *ruach* must be determined first. See the linguistically sensitive survey by T. John Wright, ‘The Concept of Ruach in Ezekiel 37,’ in *Seeing Signals, Reading Signs: The Art of Exegesis – Studies in Honour of Antony F. Campbell, SJ for his Seventieth Birthday*, LHB/OTS, eds. Mark A. O’Brien and Howard N. Wallace (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 142-158. More broadly, Richard E. Averbeck, ‘Breath, wind, spirit and the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament,’ in *Presence, Power and Promise: The role of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, eds. David G. Firth and Paul D. Wegner (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2011), 25-37.

³ Wright, ‘Ruah: A Survey,’ 7.

⁴ In many cases this sense is enhanced in intensity and can be used as a reference to a storm (e.g. Isa 17:13 [cf. Job 21:18], 32:2, 41:16; Jon 1:4). See Baumgärtel, ‘πνεῦμα,’ 361. These references are only meant to be representative and illustrative, not exhaustive.

⁵ But cf. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 46-47, who opts for reading רוח as denoting the spirit of YHWH rather than wind.

⁶ As Wright has argued, ‘The interpretation of the wind as coming from God is not a monotheistic upgrading of an animistic or a sentient view of the universe, but springs from a monotheistic view of God as the one creator of the world, and controller of the winds,’ Wright, ‘Ruach: A Survey,’ 10.

⁷ Horn, *ABD*, 262, states that, “Its (*Ruach*) basic meaning is ‘wind, moving air,’ and ‘breath.’ Between the latter and the two former there is no strict distinction.” But such a statement does not take into account the necessary differentiation in senses that language, through development, creates. The references given here suffice to illustrate that there exists some form of development in the sense of רוח that speaks more of ‘distinction’ than Horn allows.

⁸ Without רוח, a body dies (Job 34:14-15). This use of רוח is in many ways synonymous with *nephesh* (Job 27:3, 34:14-15; Isa 42:5, cf. Gen 2:7, 7:22, 35:18, 37:21).

both positive (Exod 35:21; Job 32:8; Ps 51:12, 17; Prov 11:13, 17:27; Eccl 7:8; Isa 26:9), negative (Exod 3:14; 1 Sam 1:15; Prov 15:13; Isa 54:6; Dan 2:1) and neutral (Prov 16:32, Mal 2:15) human experiences. The final sense of רוח is the usage that most concerns the present study – as standing in relation to YHWH (רוח₅).⁹ This lies behind the expression ‘the spirit of YHWH’ (e.g. Judg 6:34; Isa 40:13; Mic 3:8) and particularly Isa 31:3 where God is identified as רוח and contrasted with flesh. What will emerge in the following examination is that רוח has a particular reference to the activity of YHWH in the experience of the religious life of Israel which is differentiated from רוח₁ (wind), רוח₂ (breath), רוח₃ (breath of life) and רוח₄ (heart and mind).¹⁰

3. The Spirit and the Unique Divine Identity

My task now is to demonstrate the precise activity credited to the spirit of YHWH within the framework of the Unique Divine Identity evidenced in the Hebrew Scriptures. I shall proceed using the threefold perspective, Creational monotheism, Cultic monotheism, and Eschatological monotheism, within which it is seen that YHWH is sole ruler and creator of

⁹ James M. Hamilton’s classification of *ruach* in his appendix is helpful, ‘God With Men in the Torah,’ *WTJ* 65 (2003): 113-133, appendix 131-133; see too Daniel C. Arichea, ‘Translating breath and spirit,’ *Bible Translator* 34:2 (1983): 209-213. The approach of Block in his study of *ruach* in Ezekiel is commendable for it takes seriously the differentiation in senses, Daniel I. Block, ‘The Prophet of the Spirit: The Use of *RWH* in the Book of Ezekiel,’ *JETS* 32:1 (1989): 27-49. While Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God*, rightly begins his study on the spirit in the Old Testament with a clear demarcation between the various senses of *ruach*, he fails to consistently follow through with these distinctions in his exegetical discussions. This is clearly seen in his engagement with the spirit in creation, notably the references to *ruach* in Isa 31:3, Ps 33:6 and Job 26:13 where Hildebrandt seemingly accepts translations of the Hebrew that deny the verse as an explicit reference to the spirit of God. In Isa 40:13, for example, the translation ‘mind’ is accepted and yet no apparent concern is demonstrated towards the effect such a translation has on the text as referring to the spirit. If it is the ‘mind of YHWH’ then the implication is that the spirit is not referenced. Much the same argument can be made in Ps 33:6 and Job 26:13 where the distinction between ‘breath’ and ‘spirit’ (of God) is not clear. Again, Hildebrandt accepts ‘breath’ as the appropriate translation, yet no accompanying awareness is shown of the fact that this exegetical decision weakens his analysis of ‘the Spirit of God in creation.’ This demonstrates the necessity of defining which sense of *ruach* is used by the Hebrew authors, particularly a study that specialises in the function and identity of the spirit. John R. Levison’s recent important work on the spirit, while creatively constructed, also does not give adequate attention to linguistics nor the various senses associated with *ruach*. His identification of the human spirit with the Holy Spirit in Hebrew thought disregards any differentiation in sense and ultimately minimises the identity of the spirit. See John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009).

¹⁰ There is debate as to whether the idea of ‘wind’ was anthropomorphically applied to YHWH (so Michael E. Lodahl, *Shekhinah/Spirit: Divine Presence in Jewish and Christian Religion* (New York: Stimulus, 1992), 43) or whether the sense of ‘spirit’ attached to YHWH was disassociated from other sense of רוח. See Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 12-13. Of interest are the brief references to ‘evil spirits’ in 1 Sam 16:14; Judg 9:23 and 1 Kings 22:21. As Hill argues (relying on the work of A.R. Johnson), the Hebrew Scriptures present these spirits as responsible for evil and yet still subordinate to the will of God, so that YHWH acts both through his own רוח (i.e. the spirit of God) and also through such spirits who are in some way differentiated from the identity of God. The strength of this reading is that it makes a clear distinction between the spirit of God and evil spirits, particular in view of the fact that the spirit of God would never be described as ‘evil’ in Hebrew Religion. See Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 217.

all. My agenda is to discern if language of the spirit is applied precisely to those activities which define the identity of YHWH.¹¹

3.1 Creational Monotheism

3.1.1 The Spirit as Creator

The subject of the spirit as creator is infrequent in the literature of the Hebrew Scriptures. This is often due to the ambiguity of the sense of רוח and presents the difficulty of identifying the spirit and creative activity. Yet the small cluster of texts where the spirit is arguably in view are informative and form an association between the spirit and creative activity that will be picked up and developed explicitly in later Jewish traditions.¹²

1) The first use of *ruach* to denote the spirit's creative activity occurs at the beginning of the Priestly writer's account of YHWH's creation and order of the cosmos (Gen 1:1-2:3).¹³

As the opening scene illustrates (Gen 1:1-3), the formless (תהו) and empty (בהו) state of the

¹¹ Since this thesis is concerned with the thought and experience of the Apostle Paul, it is not necessary to move beyond the statement that the Hebrew Scriptures, in their final redacted form, reflected a firm and identifiable monotheistic perspective. On the biblical tradition see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). On the discussion of the development of Hebrew Monotheism, see James Barr, 'The Problem of Israelite Monotheism,' *GUOS* 17 (1957-8): 52-62; William F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*, 2nd ed. (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957); Bernhard Lang, *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority*, SWBAS 1 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983); David Petersen, 'Israel and Monotheism: The Unfinished Agenda,' in *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs*, eds. Gene M. Tucker, David L. Petersen and Robert R. Wilson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 92-107; R. Walter Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992); Johannes C. De Moor, *The Rise of Yahwism: The Roots of Israelite Monotheism*, rev. ed. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997); Robert K. Gnuse, *No Other Gods: Emergent Monotheism in Israel*, JSOTSupS 241 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Othmar Keel, Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998); *One God or Many? Conceptions of Divinity in the Ancient World*, ed. Barbara N. Porter (Casco Bay: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2000); Mark S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Bernhard Lang, *The Hebrew God: Portraits of an Ancient Deity* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002); Nathan MacDonald, *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of 'Monotheism'*, FAT 2.1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Nili S. Fox, 'Concepts of God in Israel and the Question of Monotheism,' in *Text, Artifact, Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, eds. Gary M. Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2006), 326-345; Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, chapter entitled 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism,' 60-106; Benjamin D. Sommer, 'Appendix: Monotheism and Polytheism in Ancient Israel,' in his *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 145-174.

¹² Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 10-12; Robert L. Hubbard, 'The Spirit and Creation,' in *Presence, Power and Promise*, 71-94. Cf. Hamilton 'In those texts in which one has a legitimate choice between "breath" and "spirit" (cf. Gen. 6:3; Job 27:3; 33:4; 34:14; Ps 104:30; Ezek 37:14), the emphasis is one of energizing, giving life and vitality, creating and not uncreating,' *The Book of Genesis*, 114 (Hamilton credits W.H. McClellan with this insight, 'The Meaning of *ruah Elohim* in Genesis 1:2,' *Bib* 15 (1934): 523). For a broad sketch that affirms the spirit in creation and re-creation, see Wonsuk Ma, 'The Spirit of God in Creation: Lessons for Christian Mission,' *Transformation* 24:3-4 (2007): 222-30.

¹³ Gen 1:1-2:3 is a coherent and demarcated unit because the clear *inclusio* framed by 1:1-3 and 2:1-3 and by the same number of Hebrew words that are multiples of 7 that occur in each of these passages. See Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, WBC (Waco: Word, 1987), 5-6.

earth¹⁴ is contrasted with the creative activity of YHWH who gives form to the earth (days 1-3) and then fills the earth (days 4-6).¹⁵ The third nominal clause of 1:2 states ‘and the *ruach* was hovering over the waters.’¹⁶ If ‘the spirit of YHWH’ is chosen as the most viable sense of רוּחַ, then the implication is that ‘spirit’ is directly associated with YHWH’s creative activity.¹⁷

¹⁴ See David T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2: A Linguistic Investigation*, JSOTSup 83 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 30-43.

¹⁵ The reading of 1:1 as an independent clause makes more sense of the structure of the creation narrative, particularly functioning as an *inclusio* with 2:1. For discussion, see Edward J. Young, ‘The Relation of the First Verse of Genesis One to Verses Two and Three,’ *Westminster Theological Journal*, 21:2 (1959): 133-146; Harry M. Orlinsky, ‘The Plain Meaning of Gen 1:1-3,’ *Biblical Archaeologist* 46:4 (1983): p 207-209; Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* (London: SPCK/Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 93-101; Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 5-7, 11-15; Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 103-108.

¹⁶ Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God*, 31; Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 61.

¹⁷ The three options regarding the interpretation of *ruach* are 1) wind 2) breath and 3) spirit. *Option 1* is chosen by many exegetes on the basis that the imagery of wind moving over the waters fits the chaotic picture presented in the first two clauses of 1:2 and is consistent with the correlation between wind and water in Gen 8:1. For some, *elohim* is a superlative paired with *ruach*, thus creating the sense of ‘mighty wind.’ The difficulty with this argument lies in a) the unclear relationship between the wind and God, b) the awkward participial description of *ruach* as ‘hovering’ (רָחַף) over the waters. For references in favour of reading *ruach* as ‘wind,’ see Harry M. Orlinsky, ‘The Plain Meaning of *Ruach* in Gen 1:2,’ *JQR* 48:2 (1957): 174-182; Ephraim A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), 5; Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), 49; Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 107-108; Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 16-17; Bernhard W. Anderson, *From Creation to New Creation: Old Testament Perspectives*, OBT (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1994), 49; Kenneth A. Matthews, *Genesis 1-11:26*, NAC Vol. 1A (Nashville: B&H, 1996), 135-136; Mark S. Smith, *The Priestly Vision of Genesis 1* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010), 52-57 (but cf. Smith’s admission that ‘spirit’ is possible). *Option 2* is consistent with the broader context where God forms and fills the creation by his spoken word. ‘Breath’ fits the image of speech comfortably, yet, like ‘wind’, the description of ‘*ruach*’ ‘hovering’ over the waters is an awkward image of breath. *Option 3* is also not without its difficulties, yet the two arguments against *ruach* as ‘wind’ are conversely seen to be in favour of ‘spirit.’ Firstly, ‘spirit’ is more consistently associated with the genitive expression ‘of God’ in light of the 20 occurrences of the phrase *ruach elohim* (15 in Hebrew and 5 in Aramaic) where *elohim* is always translated as ‘God,’ thus emphasizing that the action is that of God himself (Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 17); secondly, ‘spirit,’ more so than ‘wind’ and ‘breath,’ makes more sense of the participle ‘hovering’ (רָחַף) in this context since the description matches an animate image much more so than the alternate options (cf. Deut 32:11). Contemporary scholarship no longer considers Gunkel’s previously influential argument that ‘hovering’ (רָחַף) denoted ‘brooding’ (Hermann Gunkel, *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton: A Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 1 and Revelation 12* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006), 7; *idem*, *Genesis* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), 105-106); thirdly, correlating spirit with creation is not without precedent in the similar period as the Priestly writer (e.g. Job 26:13; Ps 33:6; Isa 40:13), as noted by Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 65. Reading *ruach* as reference to spirit is also followed by Edward J. Young, ‘The Interpretation of Genesis 1:2,’ *Westminster Theological Journal* 23 (1960-61): 151-178; Montague, *The Holy Spirit*, 64-68; Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 61-67 (though his discussion does not give due attention to the semantic differences between ‘breath’ and ‘spirit’ and presumes that ‘breath’ presupposes the activity of the spirit of YHWH, thus negating the need for such a discussion); Susan Niditch, *Chaos to Cosmos: Studies in Biblical Patterns of Creation* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 18; Michael P. Deroche, ‘The rūah ‘ēlōhīm in Gen 1:2c: Creation or Chaos?,’ in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*, JSOTSup 67, eds. Lyle M. Eslinger and Glen Taylor (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 303-318; Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God*, 30-37; Gunkel, *Creation and Chaos*, 7-8, *idem*, *Genesis*, 105-106; Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis*, 111-114; Bruce K. Waltke, ‘The Creation Account in Genesis 1:1-3,’ *Bibliotheca Sacra* 132 (1975): 327-342, *idem*, ‘The Creation Account in Genesis 1:1-3,’ *Bibliotheca Sacra* 133 (1976): 28-41, *idem*, and C.J Cathi Fredricks, *Genesis: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing, 2001), 60; C. John Collins, *Genesis 1-4: A Linguistic, Literary, and Theological Commentary* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2006), 45, fn. 17; James McKeown, *Genesis*, Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2008), 21. Hiebert’s position, as an exception, appears to encompass a broad range of semantic possibilities, Theodore Hiebert, ‘Air, the First Sacred Thing: the Conception of Ruach in

The dynamic anticipation of the spirit's activity thus provides a transition between a description of the desolate earth (1:2a-b) and the first creative action of YHWH by his word (1:3).¹⁸ In parallel, Gen 2:7 develops the imagery of the creative effects of the spoken word of YHWH.¹⁹ Gen 6:3 appears dependent upon this passage when YHWH states, 'My spirit will not contend with human beings forever, for they are mortal.' ריח is arguably understood as the spirit of YHWH in light of the personal pronoun ('My spirit') used of YHWH himself. This is developed in 6:17, 7:15 and 7:22 where the spirit of YHWH is responsible for the animating life given to both humanity and the animals which finds its origin in YHWH the creator.²⁰

2) The occurrences of *ruach* in Job also reflect the sense of creative action. Job 26:12-13 is Job's reflection on four qualities of God's creative capabilities, presented as the means through which God overcame chaos to fashion creation with order. In the third sequence, Job states 'by his *ruach* the skies became fair' which illustrates that *ruach* is complementary to YHWH's *power*, *wisdom* and *hand* in the creative process.²¹ Like Gen 1:2 and Gen 6:3 (cf. Gen 2:7), Job marks a change from cosmic creation in Job 26:13 to the individual creation (of Elihu) in Job 33:4. Here, it is the *ruach* of God that has made Elihu, which is paralleled with the breath (*neshemah*) of the Almighty in giving him life. Job 34:14-15 continues this theme when Elihu comments that the withdrawal of the spirit (*ruach*) and breath (*neshemah*) results in a reversal of Gen 2:7, that is, death (cf. 12:10; 27:3).²²

the Hebrew Scriptures,' in *Exploring Ecological Hermeneutics*, eds. Norman C. Habel and Peter Trudinger (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 9-19, here 15.

¹⁸ A close relationship is formed in the narrative between the spirit and the spoken word of God, though the precise nature of the relationship is not explained and left obscure. Hildebrandt (*An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God*, 35), Wood (*The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament*, 23) and Paul Elbert ('Genesis 1 and the Spirit: A Narrative-Rhetorical Ancient Near Eastern Reading in Light of Modern Science,' *JPT* 15:1 (2006): 23-72) all read theological conclusions into this relation.

¹⁹ Gen 2:7: 'The Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath [*nishmat* נִשְׁמַת] of life, and the man became a living being.' On the breath of life tradition that is developed from Gen 2:7, see John W. Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, WUNT 2.251 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 24-28.

²⁰ Pace Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 11-12. This understands 6:3 as forming the sense 'will not remain (יָדָוּ) in.'

²¹ The choice between reading *ruach* as 'breath' or 'spirit' remains contextually driven and exegetically it is possible to interpret 'spirit' as the stronger argument. Though *ruach* could be interpreted as a quality of God since power, wisdom and hand are all aspects of YHWH's own being, and though Job's account of YHWH's creative activity seems to reflect on the original creation account where YHWH, through his word, commanded order over chaos, 'spirit' is to be preferred in view of my exegesis of Gen 1:2 and because of the parallel between God's power and *ruach* (cf. Job 26:14). Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 70, does not seem aware of semantic distinctions concerning *ruach* in Job and his discussion is brief. The variety of translations illustrate the ambiguity of the term *ruach*: NRSV, 'wind'; NASV, 'breath'; TNIV, 'breath'; NKJV, 'spirit'.

²² See Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God*, 56-57. Again, it is possible linguistically that *ruach* be translated 'breath' in these contexts, the argument for 'spirit' can also be maintained as a valid translation. This argument is supported for the following reasons: 1) there is a deliberate parallel with *neshemah*, and reading *ruach* as 'breath' would surely make Elihu's statement redundant. This is supported by 32:8 (cf. 32:18) where *ruach* is paralleled with *neshemah* and indicates a distinction in the use of *ruach* and *neshemah*, 2) Elihu's description broadly follows the pattern of the original creation account where the spirit of God participated in the creation of the cosmos (Gen 1:2), followed by the programmatic inbreathing of life into Adam

3) Ps 33:6 and Ps 104:29-30 also reflect the close association of ‘breath’ and ‘spirit’ in the creation of the cosmos and animate creatures. Ps 33:6 offers two parallel statements: the word of the Lord is paralleled with the breath of his mouth; and the creation of the heavens with the starry host.²³ The sense of creative power through YHWH’s *ruach* is identified and the personal activity of YHWH himself strengthens the reference to spirit.²⁴ Ps 104:29-30 parallels the creation account (Gen 1:1-2 and Gen 2:7) and contains a familiar reference to the removal of breath (*ruach*) as death (Ps 104:29) paralleled with the giving of YHWH’s spirit (Ps 104:30), for ‘when you take away their breath, they die and return to the dust. When you send your spirit, they are created, and you renew the face of the ground’ (Ps 104:29-30).²⁵ God is the giver of his spirit, an act which here is best understood as the equivalent of giving life (cf. Gen 6:3). Therefore the spirit is directly identified with the activity of animating humanity with life itself.²⁶

4) Finally, included in a series of rhetorical questions designed to emphasise God’s impressive power as creator of the cosmos, Isaiah asks ‘Who can fathom the *ruach* of the Lord, or instruct the Lord as his counsellor?’ (40:13).²⁷ This reference is important for it

(Gen 2:7). See Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 9. John E. Hartley interprets *ruach* as spirit without comment, *The Book of Job*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 438. This discussion in the distinction between ‘wind,’ ‘breath’ and ‘spirit’ in Job is disappointingly not discussed in the commentaries. See Robert L. Alden, *Job*, NAC Vol. 11 (Nashville: B&H, 1993); Hartley, *The Book of Job*; Marvin H. Pope, *Job*, Anchor Bible Vol. 15 (New York: Doubleday, 1973).

²³ The exegetical path must negotiate the clear parallel between ‘word’ and ‘*ruach* of his mouth’ as the means by which God created the heavens, which appears to indicate that ‘breath’ is the more appropriate reading. This would be reflective of a developed tradition that associated ‘breath’, in a poetic fashion, with God’s spoken word in the creation narrative. The reading of ‘breath’ is a more consistent image when noted that *ruach* is deliberately paired with ‘mouth’, thus clarifying the sense of ‘breath’. Yet, as Goldingay recognises, *ruach* still retains a sense of power associated with YHWH’s divine act of creation: ‘Yhwh’s breath (*ruach*) suggests Yhwh’s dynamic power,’ John Goldingay, *Psalms*, Vol. 1: Psalms 1-41, BCOT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 467.

²⁴ So Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 67.

²⁵ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 69 comments, ‘It should be noted that “their breath” in v. 29 is related to “thy spirit” in v. 30 by the fact of their juxtaposition and the similarity in terminology (*ruach*). But that they are not identical, and that the Psalmist meant to distinguish the two, seems clearly indicated by the modifying pronouns, “their” breath and “thy” spirit.’ From this comment (and those that directly follow), it seems clear that Neve has no problem identifying the spirit of YHWH with the breath of YHWH, but stops short from making the same association between spirit and breath in humanity. This appears to illustrate that theological agendas are driving Neve’s distinctions here, rather than semantic concerns.

²⁶ The *ruach* of YHWH gives thinking, relational humanity the features that make it in the likeness of YHWH. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 69-70. As Hildebrandt has summarised, ‘this passage features Yahweh’s Spirit as the giver of physical life to humankind,’ Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God*, 56. See Scott A. Ellington, “The Face of God as His Creating Spirit: The Interplay of Yahweh’s *panim* and *ruach* in Psalm 104:29-30,” in *The Spirit Renews the Face of the Earth: Pentecostal Forays in Science and Theology of Creation*, ed. Amos Yong (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2009), 3-16.

²⁷ See broadly, Roger N. Whybray, *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah 40:13-14* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). It is clear ‘wind’ or ‘breath’ is not in view here (despite the use of *ruach* as ‘breath’ in 40:7) and the exegete has to face the choice between *רוח*₄ (‘mind’) and *רוח*₅ (‘spirit’). While the LXX has translated *ruach* as *νοῦς* (‘mind’) the rendering of ‘spirit’ makes sense of the creation context where Gen 1:2 provides the overarching background to Isaiah’s reflections. Of Isa 40:13, Montague states, ‘The ‘spirit of the Lord’ is here specifically associated for the first time in our sources with God’s infinite power and wisdom as creator,’ *The Holy Spirit*, 50. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 94-96 views *ruach* as denoting the

identifies the spirit as essential to YHWH's creative activity by denoting the centre of his will to form the cosmos, particularly connoting the complete uniqueness of YHWH's sovereignty.²⁸

3.1.2 *The Spirit as Ruler*

Having established the relation between the spirit and creative activity, I now examine those instances in which the spirit fulfils YHWH's divine ruling activities.²⁹ This will be demonstrated in the following 6 points.

1) While experiencing the challenges of leading the nation of Israel, Moses admits to YHWH that the burden of leadership is too heavy (Num 11:14) and in response God 'took some of the power of the spirit that was on [Moses]' and put the spirit on seventy elders (Num 11:25, cf. 11:17; including Eldad and Medad, 11:26). This account makes possession, and distribution, of the spirit by YHWH as the key evidence of, and empowerment for, leadership over Israel (cf. Isa 63:7-14).³⁰ Moreover, Moses expresses his desire that 'all the Lord's people were prophets and that the Lord would put his spirit on them' (Num 11:29). This indicates a clear demarcation between those who have the spirit upon them and can prophesy, and those who do not have the spirit, thereby confirming that the spirit is the power by which individuals are empowered for leadership over the people of God.³¹ This is demonstrated

mind of YHWH. Paul himself follows the rendering of the LXX in 1 Cor 2:16 and Rom 11:34 and he clearly identifies the 'mind of the Lord' of Isa 40:13 (LXX) as the 'mind of Christ', a summary statement which itself is equivalent to the 'spirit of God.' This evidences the fact that while Paul read the LXX translation of Isa 40:13 as νοῦς ('mind'), he understood that *ruach* was used in the Hebrew text.

²⁸ Isa 42:5 could simply be reference to 'breath' or more broadly conceived as 'breath of life' since *ruach* is contrasted with 'life' in the parallel clause. Yet the context can suggest reading *ruach* as reference to the spirit of God (*pace* Waltke, 'The Creation Account in Genesis 1:1-3,' 31). The reference to YHWH who will put his spirit upon the Messiah in 42:1, particularly as the agent by which he will bring justice to the nations, is paralleled with 42:5 where YHWH gives his spirit to humanity. Isa 42:1-5 is suggestive of the spirit's activity in both YHWH's empowerment of the Messiah but also granting of life to all humanity (spirit and life are clearly correlated in 42:5 through the use of poetic synonymous parallelism). The occurrence of *ruach* in 42:5 is crucial to the passage as a whole for it substantiates the action of YHWH, through the Messiah, to bring justice to the nations and be a light to the Gentiles. The Gentiles have been given life by YHWH's spirit and therefore they should recognise YHWH as God alone (cf. 42:8, against idols).

²⁹ On the role of the spirit and the leadership of Israel, see Part 6 of *Presence, Power and Promise*, 259ff, particularly David G. Firth, 'The Spirit and leadership: testimony, empowerment and purpose,' 259-280.

³⁰ Dumbrell notes, 'The leadership of God expressed through Moses had been denied and this same rebellion against the Spirit is in Ps. 78:41 said to have been directed against the "Holy One of Israel." Such a correspondence makes it clear that Yahweh's presence among his people is exercised through the Holy Spirit, which in turn reflects itself through the inspired leadership of Israel's shepherd, namely Moses, a man certainly Spirit-endowed.' The result of this is that the rule of God 'had been accomplished by the Spirit through Mosaic leadership and the inference is then to be drawn that such inspired leadership is in fact the manifestation of the rule of God,' William J. Dumbrell, 'Spirit and Kingdom of God in the Old Testament,' *Reformed Theological Review* 33:1 (1974): 2-3.

³¹ See Hamilton, 'God with Men in the Torah'; James M. Hamilton, Jr, *God's Indwelling Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testaments*, NAC (Nashville: B&H, 2006); Ze'ez Weisman, 'The Personal Spirit as Imparting Authority,' *ZAW* 93:2 (1981): 225-234; Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 23-26; 82-83.

when the responsibility for Israel was passed onto Joshua, ‘a man in whom is the spirit’ (Num. 27:18) and ‘full of wisdom’ by the spirit (Deut 34:9).

2) The accounts of the early Judges also demonstrate the relation between the spirit and leadership. The spirit of the Lord came upon Othniel (Judg 3:10), Gideon (Judg 6:34), Jephthah (Judg 11:29) and Samson (Judg 13:24-25) to empower the judges (שֹׁפֵט) to govern the people of Israel. The spirit came upon Samson ‘in power’ to impart physical strength to enable Samson to lead the nation of Israel through remarkable feats (Judg 14:6; 19; 15:14-17). This account of an enigmatic group of charismatic judges provides a startling picture of the spirit as the key power associated with the leadership of Israel.³²

3) The spirit is also actively involved in the coronation of Israel’s early kings. The spirit came upon Saul ‘in power’ when first anointed king (1 Sam 10:10) as Samuel had foreseen (1 Sam 10:6). Saul continues his kingship under the influence of the spirit (1 Sam 11:6) until the spirit is removed from him as a result of his disobedience (1 Sam 16:14).³³ The spirit is taken from Saul and given to David ‘in power’ at his anointing for kingship (1 Sam. 16:13). Saul’s later act of communicating with the dead Samuel through the witch of Endor provides an important parallel with Saul’s loss of the spirit, for Samuel states that ‘The Lord has torn the kingdom from your hands and given it to one of your neighbours – to David’ (1 Sam 28:17). The removal of the spirit clearly parallels the kingdom of God torn from Saul’s hands reveals that the spirit and the kingdom of God are important corollaries.³⁴

4) The spirit was also understood to lead the people of Israel through the inspiration of the prophets. The spirit is responsible for inspiring the prophetic speech of the seventy elders (with Eldad and Medad - Num 11: 25-30, cf. 17), Balaam (Num 24:2-3), Azariah (2 Chron 15:1-8), Jahaziel (2 Chron 20:14-17), Zechariah (2 Chron 24:20), Saul (1 Sam 10:6, 10-13) and his men (with those of Samuel - 1 Sam 19:20-23), David (2 Sam 23:2),³⁵ Amasai (1 Chron 12:18), and the latter prophets (Ezekiel: 1:12, 20, 2:2, 3:12-14, 24, 8:3, 11:1, 5, 24, 37:1, 43:5; Micah: Mic 3:8; Daniel: Dan 4:8, 9, 18, 5:11, 14; cf. Isa 59:21; Neh 9:30). Following the height of the rule of the monarchy the spirit of YHWH inspired prophetic inspiration and guidance as a sign of YHWH’s sovereign will and direction revealed to Israel (Ezek 11:5ff, Neh 9:30, Zech 7:12, Hos 9:7, Mic 3:8, Isa 30:1-2, 48:16, 61:1-3, cf. Joel

³² While not explicitly referenced, the spirit can be assumed to be upon Deborah, the prophetess, in light of her prophet capabilities (Judg 4:4). Montague, *The Holy Spirit*, 18.

³³ Montague’s comments are insightful: ‘...it is clear that to be in authority over God’s people is not to ‘manage’ the spirit. The spirit remains the gift of the Lord, which he need not give to anybody and may rightly withdraw when confronted with infidelity,’ *The Holy Spirit*, 22.

³⁴ Hamilton, *God’s Indwelling Presence*, 32. So too Dumbrell, ‘Spirit and Kingdom of God,’ who notes that the removal of the spirit from Saul is ‘the theological rejection of Saul,’ (5). Cf. David’s fear of such a rejection in Ps 51:11.

³⁵ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 26-28.

2:28).³⁶ The spirit's inspiration was the legitimation of the prophets' spiritual leadership of YHWH's people.³⁷

5) The Hebrew Scriptures reveal the spirit who is responsible for granting wisdom, understanding and revelation. It is by the spirit that Joseph exercised wisdom and revelation by interpreting Pharaoh's dreams (Gen 41:38-39).³⁸ Daniel was inspired by the spirit so that no mystery was too difficult for him (Dan 4:8, 9, 18) since he possessed 'insight, intelligence and outstanding wisdom' (5:14, cf. 11).³⁹ Bezalel was full of knowledge from the spirit for his craft (Exod 35:30-35, cf. 31:1-5) while Joshua was 'full of wisdom' by the spirit (Deut 34:9). Micaiah was expected to perceive which way the spirit passed from Zedekiah to himself as a sign that the spirit was upon him (1 Kings 22:24-25, cf. 2 Chron 18:23-24). It was the spirit-inspired Messiah who was expected to be granted wisdom and understanding (Isa 11:2) in order to rule Israel (Isa 42:1, 48:16, 61:1). While many of these gifted individuals did not fulfil leadership roles over Israel, the pattern emerges that in such cases as these the revelatory work of the spirit functioned to provide some form of governance and guidance for the greater good of Israel.

6) Perhaps the less developed aspect of the spirit's sovereign activity over Israel is the recognition that the spirit is identified with the pillar of cloud that led Israel out of Egypt and through the wilderness.⁴⁰

Such a conclusion finds its primary basis in Isa 63:9-14. This passage is a re-interpretation of the events of the Exodus, where it was YHWH's presence that led the people of Israel out of bondage in Egypt, and through the wilderness following this liberation. Isaiah re-interprets YHWH's presence, or *panim* (פָּנִים lit. 'face') as reference to the spirit in 63:9-14 and therefore directly identifies the spirit, whom YHWH placed among Israel, as the redemptive presence that saved them as they passed through the Red Sea and embarked on their journey through the wilderness.⁴¹ Isa 63:14 identifies the spirit of YHWH as also

³⁶ Cf. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 36-41. In particular reference to Isaiah's presentation of the spirit, Neve states, 'With its background in the Reed Sea event and the empowering of the judges, *ruach* stood ready at hand as the prime term for expressing Yahweh's overwhelming power and irresistible sovereignty,' (42).

³⁷ As Max Turner has expressed it, 'the Spirit of God acted as the channel of communication between God and a human person,' Turner, *Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 6, cf. Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 51. See Marty E. Stevens, *Leadership Roles of the Old Testament: King, Prophet, Priest, Sage* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2012), 31ff.

³⁸ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 28-29.

³⁹ On the ambivalence of the phrase *ruach elohim* in Daniel, see Bob Becking, 'A Divine Spirit is in You': Notes on the Translation of the Phrase *rûah 'elahîm* in Daniel 5,14 and related texts,' in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. Annemarieke S. Van Der Woude (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 515-519.

⁴⁰ See William N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18*, SBL 23 (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 124-174.

⁴¹ This position is justified in light of an important exegetical decision at Exod 63:9, a verse which offers two alternative readings of the Masoretic Text (the 'written' or the 'read' text). The text could be read 'and the angel of his presence saved them [i.e. Israel]' (cf. TNIV), or alternatively, 'it was no messenger or angel but his

responsible for giving Israel rest and directly parallels the recognition that ‘you [YHWH] led your people.’⁴² Indeed, Isaiah understands Israel’s idolatry as an act of rebellion and grievance against the holy spirit (Isa 63:10). Moreover, Hamilton has put forward the plausible argument that there exists a distinction between the angel of YHWH and the pillar of cloud and fire that accompanied Israel through the Red Sea and through the wilderness.⁴³ The inference is that YHWH’s spirit is identified with the theophanic imagery of fire and

presence that saved them’ (cf. NRSV). This alternative reading, which makes a distinction between YHWH’s presence and an angel, is the position taken here for its exegetical strength. 1) The expression ‘the angel of his presence’ in the ‘read’ text of the MT tradition is unusual and most likely not the original (Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 363). 2) The Exodus narrative itself, which informs Isaiah’s reflections, makes a distinction between YHWH’s angel and his presence. In Exod 23:20-23 and 32:33-33:6, the angel is promised to go before the people, but as a consequence of Israel’s idolatry (32:1-32) YHWH states that ‘I will not go with you, because you are a stiff-necked people and I might destroy you on the way’ (33:3). Yet because of Moses’ intercession, YHWH relents and promises ‘My presence will go with you’ (33:14), a promise deliberately set in tension with the preceding promise of YHWH’s angel. 3) The LXX has translated in favour of the alternative reading. 4) The identification between YHWH’s presence and the spirit is well attested in the Psalms (Ps 51:11, 104:29, 139:7), and coupled with the observation that Isa 63:7-64:11 as a whole resembles a lament Psalm, strengthens this intellectual tradition (Montague, *The Holy Spirit*, 55). 5) Exod 33:14 explicitly identifies YHWH’s presence as granting Israel rest, which is precisely the role given to the spirit by Isaiah (Isa 63:14). 6) The adjective ‘holy’ (שׁוֹדֵף) is twice paired with the spirit in Isa 63:10-11, with the only other pairing seen in Ps 51:11, which itself parallels the spirit with YHWH’s presence. This heightens a reference to the spirit as YHWH’s presence for the context in Exod 32 is primarily concerned with the (potentially destructive) impact of YHWH’s intimate imminence upon sinful Israel. 7) Isa 63:9-14 concludes with Isaiah’s identification of YHWH as the one who guided Israel, which precisely parallels the function of the spirit (in 63:10, 11, 14) and his presence (63:9). Cf. Dumbrell, ‘there is a continued interplay between the presence of the Spirit and the presence Yahweh with what appears to be an almost studied attempt on the part of the poet to identify them,’ (Dumbrell, ‘Spirit and Kingdom of God,’ 2). 8) Such a view of the spirit leading Israel out from Egypt and through the wilderness is confirmed by Hag 2:5 where YHWH’s spirit is seen to remain in Israel since their exit from Egypt (For similar arguments, see Montague, *The Holy Spirit*, 54-58 and Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 55-56, particularly fn. 35). Examples of scholars who support the second interpretation are Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1969), 385-388; Roger N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1975), 257; Walter Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40-46*, Westminster Bible Companion (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 229; John Goldingay, *Isaiah*, NIBC (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2001), 355-357, 363; pace Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 481-482; Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III*, Vol. 3, Historical Commentary on the Old Testament (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 354-357; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 254; John D.W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, WBC, rev. ed. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2005), 895.

⁴² Wonsuk Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes: The Spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah*, JSOTSupS 271 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 154.

⁴³ See Exod 14:19-20. Hamilton, *God’s Indwelling Presence*, 39-40. While Hamilton does not advocate the alternative reading of Isa 63:9 this does not contradict such a distinction made between the angel and the pillar of cloud. In fact, to my reasoning, following the alternative reading (e.g. the NRSV) *heightens* the distinction between the angel and the spirit (that is, the pillar of cloud) for Isaiah deliberately wishes to differentiate between the action of YHWH’s presence that saves and the action of his angel which does not save. In this sense, the pillar of cloud is of higher significance than the angel. This strengthens Isaiah’s understanding of the spirit, who with YHWH’s arm, was the force by which the Red Sea was divided so that Israel could escape the Egyptians. Cf. the reference to *ruach* in Exod 14:21-22 as a strong east ‘wind’ that drove back the waters, which is reminiscent of the activity of the spirit in Gen 1:2; also Exod 15:10 where the ‘wind’ is understood as the ‘breath’ of YHWH that caused the sea to overpower the Egyptians. These two representations of the event, both utilising two different senses of *ruach*, make it plausible that the activity of the spirit is not far from the Hebrew understanding. For the argument that Exod 15:8, 10 denotes the breath of YHWH, see Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, ‘the breath of v. 8 and v. 10 is no separate divinity, nor is it even separable from Yahweh. It is Yahweh’s person acting alone to gain the victory as vv. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, and 18 emphasize,’ (9, more fully 7-11).

cloud. This identification of the spirit with the cloud is confirmed in Nehemiah 9:19-20.⁴⁴ In Nehemiah's own reflection on the Exodus (Neh 9:9-11) and Israel's wilderness experience (Neh 9:12-21), God gave his good spirit to instruct Israel (9:20). This statement explains the previous verse (9:19, cf. 9:12) whereby Nehemiah had identified the pillar of cloud and fire as that which 'guided' Israel through the wilderness, which is a deliberate parallel to the spirit's 'instruction.' In this way, Nehemiah makes clearer what was only inferred in Isaiah, that the spirit is identified with the pillar of cloud in the wilderness. Consequently, if Isaiah understands the spirit to be YHWH's presence with Israel in the Exodus (Isa 63:9-14) and if there exists a differentiation between the angel of YHWH and the pillar of cloud (Exod 14:19-20, 24), then Isaiah recognises the active role of the spirit in guiding not just selected individuals but rather the nation of Israel as a whole.⁴⁵

3.1.3 Summary

My analysis has observed that the spirit is the creative power responsible for giving life to humanity and all creation. The spirit is closely tied with the divine activity of creation and arguably forms a tradition that associated the spirit with YHWH's creative activity for YHWH is the creator of all things. Moreover, the spirit was also seen to be the key power of leadership over individuals for the deliberate purpose of leading and guiding the nation of

⁴⁴ This passage is often noted to parallel that of Isa 63:9-14, but one that Hamilton does not appeal to more forcefully in support of his position. His only direct reference is contained in a quotation in a footnote, *God's Indwelling Presence*, 39, fn. 58 (cf. 'Only at Neh 9:20 and Isa 63:11 in the Old Testament is there a reference to God's Spirit in association with the wilderness traditions,' Hugh G.M. Williamson, 'Isaiah 63:7-64:11: Exilic Lament or Post-Exilic Protest?' *ZAW* 102 (1990): 56; also noted by Michael W. Duggan, *The Covenant Renewal in Ezra-Nehemiah (Neh 7:72b-10:40): An Exegetical, Literary, and Theological Study*, SBLDS 164 (Atlanta: SBL, 2001), 213, fn. 103). Commentators have commonly read the spirit's instruction as reference to the endowment of the spirit upon the seventy elders (Num 11:16-17, 24-30), seeing a chronological outline of the wilderness story. But what is not noted is that there is a connection in the Numbers 11 narrative between the cloud and the giving of the spirit. It was the Lord who came down in the cloud and took of the spirit that was on Moses and dispensed its power to the seventy (Num 11:25). The argument can be made that the spirit's instruction was understood more broadly to be a reference to the guidance of the tabernacle as a whole, where the presence of YHWH dwelt, represented by the pillar of cloud and conceived in Neh 9:20 in a parallelism between verses 19-20 (The particle ׀ is understood to be connective). A similar argument concerning the proximity of the spirit with the cloud could be made concerning Isa 4:4-6, whereby the spirit of judgment and fire is correlated with the cloud of smoke and fire. Nehemiah and Isaiah therefore appear to both view the spirit of God as being present with Israel through the pillar of cloud and fire. Examples of those commentators who do not note the connection between the cloud and the giving of the spirit are David J.A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1984), 195-196; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 305; Duggan, *The Covenant Renewal in Ezra-Nehemiah*, 213-214)

⁴⁵ This argument also modifies Neve's comment that the association between YHWH's *ruach* and presence is rare or unusual in the Hebrew Scriptures, Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 73-74. My argument simply asserts that in those references to the cloud leading in Israel's wilderness experience, the spirit is in view according to Isaiah and Nehemiah: Exod 16:10, 19:9, 16, 24:15-18, 33:9-10, 34:5, 40:34-38; Lev 16:2, 13; Num 9:15-23, 10:11-12, 34, 11:25, 12:5, 12:10, 14:14, 16:42; Deut 1:33, 4:11, 5:22, 31:15, Neh 9:12, 19; Ps 78:14, Ps 99:7, 105:39.

Israel in their constitution and in their commitment to YHWH as the sole ruler of all things. Whether early in Israel's history with the empowering of Moses or Joshua, or the development of the monarchy with Saul or David, or the inspired prophets, the spirit was active in Israel's leadership.⁴⁶ I have also made the fresh argument that it is likely that Isaiah understood the spirit to be identified with the pillar of cloud in Israel's Exodus experience and confirms the guidance of the spirit over the nation of Israel.⁴⁷ The expectation of the spirit's sovereign activity is most aptly revealed in Ps 143:10: 'Teach me to do your will, for you are my God; may your good spirit lead me on level ground.'

3.2 *Cultic Monotheism*

The first of three characteristics of Hebrew monotheism has been articulated, and both correlating arguments – that the spirit functions as creator and ruler – confirm that the spirit participates in creational monotheism. The second characteristic is cultic monotheism and is the logical corollary of creational monotheism for exclusive worship is the recognition of YHWH's uniqueness as ruler and creator of all.⁴⁸ This emphasis on monolatry raises acutely the question of the spirit relation to the cultic life of Israel.⁴⁹ The argument advanced will be that the spirit is acknowledged to be YHWH's presence in both the tabernacle and in the temple in Jerusalem.⁵⁰ The consequence of such an argument is that while there is no explicit evidence that the spirit was the recipient of Israel's worship, the spirit is intimately identified with the cultic practices of Israel.

⁴⁶ For a helpful summary of this theme, see Daniel I. Block, 'Empowered by the Spirit of God: The Holy Spirit in the Historiographic Writings of the Old Testament,' *SBJT*, 32:1 (1997): 42-61; Hamilton, *God's Indwelling Presence*, 27-34.

⁴⁷ As Dumbrell has summarised it, concerning those passages related to the spirit and the ruling of Israel, 'the Spirit's function is to effect and sustain the rule of God over his people, to create and to further the theocracy,' Dumbrell, 'Spirit and Kingdom of God,' 10.

⁴⁸ This line of thinking is also followed by Anderson, *From Creation to New Creation*, 28.

⁴⁹ This stress upon the spirit as YHWH's presence was developed by the Deuteronomistic school and reflected their pre-exilic concern for monotheistic reform, that is, stricter dedication to YHWH alone.

⁵⁰ For discussion on worship associated with the cult in the Old Testament, see Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1966); Menahem Haran, 'The Divine Presence in the Israelite Cult and the Cultic Institutions' *Biblia* 50 (1967): 251-267; Harold H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel: Its Forms and Meaning* (London: SPCK, 1967); David G. Peterson, *Engaging with God: A Biblical Theology of Worship* (Leicester: Apollos, 1992), 23-54; Robert E. Webber, *Worship Old and New: A Biblical, Historical, and Practical Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1994); Andrew E. Hill, *Enter his Courts with Praise: Old Testament Worship for the New Testament Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996); M. Patrick Graham, Richard R. Marrs and Steven L. McKenzie, eds., *Worship and the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of John T. Willis*, JSOTSupS 284 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); John Day, ed., *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2007); Timothy M. Pierce, *Enthroned on Our Praise: An Old Testament Theology of Worship*, NAC (Nashville: B&H, 2008).

3.2.1 *The Spirit Dwells in the Tabernacle and Temple*

I have argued that both Isaiah and Nehemiah identify the spirit with YHWH's presence with Israel in the Exodus. I now note its impact upon Israel's awareness of YHWH's presence in their cultic experience.⁵¹ It was YHWH's wish that he dwell amongst his people and it is this wish that both explains and legitimises the Exodus itself (Ex 25:8; 29:42-46) and the subsequent gift of the Promised Land. The movement towards the strict practicing of monolatry in the religious life of Israel centred on an awareness of YHWH's continual presence among his people (cf. Exod 32).⁵² An important concrete sign of this exclusive worship of YHWH was the creation of the tabernacle (cf. Exod 15:17; Lev 26:11-13; Num 35:34)⁵³ which provided such a dwelling place for the Lord, evident and confirmed in the infilling of the tent of meeting with the cloud and the infilling of the tabernacle with glory (Exod 40:34-38).⁵⁴ The pillar of cloud plays a central role in Israel's exit from Egypt and

⁵¹ On this theme, see Samuel Terrien, *The Elusive Presence: Toward a New Biblical Theology*, Religious Perspectives 26 (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).

⁵² The focus in Exodus upon the construction of the tabernacle is important, as is the placement of the story of Israel's sin with the golden calf at Sinai for realizing YHWH's wish to dwell with his people. Chapters 25-31 and 35-40 focus on the preparation and construction of the tabernacle and frame the account of Israel's idolatry in chapters 32-34.

⁵³ On the design of the tabernacle see Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 149-188. On the tabernacle more broadly, see Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the New Testament*, CBQMS 22 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989), 6-22. The structure itself demonstrates distance in its three-fold partitioning between the inner and outer court, and the holy of holies, Childs, *Exodus*, 537-538, cf. 536, 543, 540; William J. Dumbrell, *The Faith of Israel*, 2nd ed. (Leicester: Apollos, 2002), 39. On the divine presence in Exod 32-34, see R. Walter L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34*, JSOTSupS 22 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982); Daniel C. Timmer, *Creation, Tabernacle and Sabbath: The Sabbath Frame of Exodus 31:12-17, 35:1-3 in Exegetical and Theological Perspective*, FRLANT 227 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2009), 103-131.

⁵⁴ There is debate as to whether Exodus records two separate sacred dwellings – the tabernacle and the tent of meeting – or whether two literary traditions have been weaved to denote a singular sacred dwelling (the earlier E tradition of the tent of meeting with the later P tradition of the tabernacle). The tent of meeting and the tabernacle are referenced by the same Hebrew designation (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד) but the location is what distinguishes them for there is evidence that the tent of meeting was Moses' meeting place with YHWH outside the camp, while the tabernacle was inside the camp. This seems to explain why it was the cloud that filled the tent of meeting (outside the camp) and the glory of the Lord that filled the tabernacle (inside the camp). A close reading of Exod 40:34-38 will find that even though the cloud is said to fill the tent of meeting, while the glory of the Lord fills the tabernacle, the cloud still rested upon the tabernacle (Exod 40:36-38; Lev 16:2, 13; cf. Exod 33:7-18 where the cloud and glory appear in proximity), and Num 17:42 indicates that the cloud and glory are identified. Moreover, this identification of the cloud and glory of the Lord is a tradition continued by Isaiah (Isa 4:4-6) and Ezekiel (Ezek 10:3-4). Consequently, not much material distinction should therefore be made between the cloud and the glory, and the function of the two sacred spaces (Childs agrees, *Exodus*, 536, 540). See Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. 1, *The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1962), 234-241, *idem*, 'The Tent and the Ark,' in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966), 103-124; Kraus, *Worship in Israel*, 125-134; Richard J. Clifford, 'The Tent of El and the Israelite Tent of Meeting,' *CBQ* 33 (1971): 221-227; Brevard S. Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1974), 529-537, 589-593; Durham, *Exodus*, 440-441; Koester, *The Dwelling of God*, 8-11; John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC (Waco: Word Publishing, 1987), 441; Ralph E. Hendrix, 'The Use of Miskan and 'Ohel Mo'ed in Exodus 25-40,' *AUSS* 30 (1992): 13; Israel Knohl, 'Two Aspects of the "Tent of Meeting,"' in *Tehillah leMoshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg*, eds. Mordechai Cogan, Barry L.

journey through the wilderness, functioning as the presence of YHWH in the tabernacle.⁵⁵

With Israel successfully entering the Promised Land, the cloud's function had not ceased, for in the same way that YHWH's presence filled the tabernacle, the cloud filled the temple in Jerusalem. This demonstrates YHWH's acceptance of the location as his permanent dwelling (1 Kings 8:3-4, 10-13, cf. 2 Chron 5:13-6:2),⁵⁶ fulfilled YHWH's promise of rest for his people, and also doubled as the 'rest' of YHWH himself in his own permanent and localised dwelling.⁵⁷

The function of the pillar of cloud to guide Israel out from Egypt, through the wilderness, and towards the promised land that YHWH promised (Exod 33:14), is recognised to be the activity of the spirit. This creates a trajectory in which the spirit is understood by

Eichler and Jeffrey H. Tigay (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 73-79; Frank M. Cross, 'The Priestly Tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon,' in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel*, ed. Frank M. Cross (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 84-95; Benjamin D. Sommer, 'Conflicting Constructions of Divine Presence in the Priestly Tabernacle,' *BibInt* 9 (2001): 41-64; Myung S. Suh, *The Tabernacle in the Narrative History of Israel from the Exodus to the Conquest*, SBL 50 (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 11-13; Thomas B. Dozeman, *Exodus*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009), 716-739; Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*, 262-269; Timmer, *Creation, Tabernacle and Sabbath*, 116-120. Stuart views the tent of meeting as distinct from the tabernacle and functioning for a limited time only in the wilderness, Douglass K. Stuart, *Exodus: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture*, NAC (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2006), 693-697. For the argument that two different translators were involved in the two accounts of the tabernacle (Exod 25-31 and 35-40) in the Old Greek Exodus, see Martha L. Wade, *Consistency of Translation Techniques in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek* (Atlanta: SBL, 2003). On the divine presence and the tent of meeting, see Ronald E. Clements, *God and Temple: The Idea of the Divine Presence in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965), 28-39; Terrien, *The Elusive Presence*, 175-186; John Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. 1: Israel's Gospel* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 392-408.

⁵⁵ Num 9:15-23, 10:11-12, 34, 11:25, 12:5, 12:10, 14:14, 16:42; Deut 1:33, 4:11, 5:22, 31:15, cf. Ps 78:14, 99:7, 105:39.

⁵⁶ See Victor Hurowitz, *I Have Built you an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings*, JSOTSup 115 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 262-269. On the close association of the tabernacle with the temple see Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*, 189-204.

⁵⁷ Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the New Testament*, CBQMS 22 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989), 21. It is often observed that the Exodus, the building of the tabernacle, and the temple resonate with the creation account. This is, of course, because of the alleged singular origin of the material; both accounts are credited to the Priestly writers. The converging themes of a) order formed out of chaos, concretised in victory over the sea (Gen 1:2/ Exod 41:1-15:21), b), six commands ('And the Lord/God said..') given to order the creation/tabernacle, followed by the Sabbath rest (Gen 1:3-2:3/ Exod 25:1, 30:11, 17, 22, 34, 31:1, cf. 31:17, 12), c) Eden and the Promised Land where God's presence rests (Gen 3:8/ Exod 33:14), d) comments concerning completion and satisfaction of what is created (Exod 39:43/Gen 1:31; Gen 2:1/ Exod 39:32; Gen 2:2/ Exod 40:33, Gen 2:2/ Exod 39:43), e) creation imagery in the design of the tabernacle, and f) the parallel references to the work of the spirit (Gen 1:2/ Exod 31:3) all serve to identify the tabernacle as paralleling YHWH's creation of the cosmos. See Carol L. Meyers, *The Tabernacle Menorah* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976); Peter J. Kearney, 'Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Exod 25-40,' *ZAW* 89 (1977): 375-387; Gordon J. Wenham, 'Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story,' in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division A, The Period of the Bible (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986), 29-36; Eric E. Elnes, 'Creation and Tabernacle: The Priestly Writer's "Environment,"' *HBT* 16:2 (1994): 144-155; Shimon Bakon, 'Creation, Tabernacle and Sabbath,' *JBQ* 25.2 (1997): 79-85; Dumbrell, *The Faith of Israel*, 37-41; Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology*, 395-398; Timmer, *Creation, Tabernacle and Sabbath*. On the Temple see Carol Meyers, 'Temple, Jerusalem,' in *ABD*, Vol. 6, 350-369; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 81-100; Gregory K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God* (Leicester: Apollos/Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 29-80.

Isaiah, Nehemiah (Neh 9:15-23; cf. 10:34) and Haggai (2:1-9), as accompanying Israel in its progression towards the 'rest' promised by YHWH. The identification of the spirit with the glory and cloud that fills both the tabernacle and the temple situates the spirit at the centre of Israel's cultic space and activity.⁵⁸ That this inferential argument is plausible rests not only in Isaiah's association between the spirit and the pillar of cloud but also in two further arguments. Firstly, Haggai makes an explicit reference to the permanent dwelling of the spirit among Israel following the Exodus: 'This is what I covenanted with you when you came out of Egypt. And my spirit remains among you. Do not fear' (Hag 2:5). Haggai makes reference in 2:7-9 to the presence of YHWH – symbolised by the glory of the Lord – which parallels the filling of the temple by the glory of YHWH at Solomon's dedication of the first temple, and which was anticipated in the construction of the new temple. Consequently, YHWH's promise to remain among Israel by his spirit is paralleled by Haggai with the glory of the Lord in the temple. Secondly, locating the spirit in the tabernacle and the temple as the concrete site of Israel's cultic practices informs our comprehension of the spirit who grants skills and abilities to Bezalel in the building, construction and maintenance of the tabernacle (Exod 31:1-5, 35:31, cf. 28:3) and to Zerubbabel to complete the second temple (Zech 4:6).⁵⁹ Following the destruction of Jerusalem and the first temple, the rebuilding process is directly credited to the spirit who will re-inhabit the people of YHWH in the new temple (Ezek 36-37; Hag 2:1-9; Zech 4:6-7).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ This argument is against Neve (*The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 73-74) who does not associate the presence of YHWH with the cultic worship of Israel. To be sure, the passages which do explicitly connect YHWH's *ruach* with YHWH's presence (Ps 51:9-12, 104:29-30, 139:7 and Ezek 39:23-29) do not occur in cultic contexts, but the conclusion that Neve draws does not include the association between YHWH's *ruach* and the pillar of cloud (which is identified with the centre of Israel's cultic life). This association evidently brings together the connection between YHWH's *ruach* and cultic presence. Cf. Van Pelt, Kaiser, Jr, Block, רוח in *NIDOTTE*, 'Often the divine *ruach* functions as the alter ego of Yahweh, dwelling in the midst of Israel like the divine Glory (Hag 2:5),' 1075. Of interest is the proximity between the spirit who entered Ezekiel and the description of the heavenly figure (1:25-2:2, cf. 3:24). This figure, presumably YHWH (cf. 3:11), is described as 'the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord' (1:28). Immediately following this description, the Lord speaks and the spirit enters Ezekiel in order to reveal the word of YHWH and to transport Ezekiel in his visions (3:12, 14, 8:3, 11:1, 24, 37:1, 43:5). Further, the spirit is described as the divine force which enables the cherubim to move (1:12, 20, 21), most notably also when the glory of the Lord departs from the Temple (10:1-22, cf. v. 17). This dynamic movement between the cherubim and the glory, in an intriguing fashion, supports a possible convergence within Ezekiel's understanding between these two concepts of YHWH. For discussion on the glory in Ezekiel, see John T. Strong, 'God's *Kabod*: The Presence of Yahweh in the Book of Ezekiel,' in *The Book of Ezekiel: Theological and Anthropological Perspectives*, SBLSS 9, eds. Margaret S. Odell and John T. Strong (Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 69-95.

⁵⁹ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 81-82; 97-100; cf. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I:100, 'The erection of the tabernacle could not have been a human piece of work – the Spirit of God had directly authorized the chief craftsmen to undertake the task,' cited in Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 82.

⁶⁰ See R. Jerome Boone, 'The Role of the Holy Spirit in the Construction of the Second Temple,' in *The Spirit and the Mind: Essays in Informed Pentecostalism*, eds. Terry L. Cross and Emerson B. Powery (Lanham: University Press of America, 2000), 49-63.

3.2.2 Summary

The argument has been developed that the spirit is understood to be associated with the indwelling presence of YHWH in the tabernacle and temple. It was the spirit, conceived as the pillar of cloud, that led the nation of Israel out of Egypt and to Sinai so that they would ‘worship God on this mountain’ (Exod 3:12). It was the spirit, symbolised as the cloud, who inspired the Israelites to worship whenever Moses was in the tent of meeting. And it was the spirit, identified with the glory of YHWH, that stood as the evidence of YHWH’s indwelling presence in the temple. Finally, the spirit is understood to be the power responsible for Bezalel and Zerubbabel’s skills and abilities to construct the tabernacle and temple. Such conceptualizations of the spirit, indeed as the ‘holy spirit’ (Isa 63:10, 11),⁶¹ identified the spirit’s involvement in Israel’s cultic practices, and reflected their awareness of YHWH’s presence as a vital component of their cultic experience and worship of YHWH.⁶²

3.3 Eschatological Monotheism

The third characteristic of Hebrew monotheism is Eschatological monotheism. Eschatological monotheism is the future universal recognition of YHWH’s uniqueness as sole ruler and creator of all, and the establishment of his universal kingdom. The role of the spirit within this future expectation will now be examined.⁶³

⁶¹ From Isaiah’s perspective, the identification of the spirit and YHWH’s *panim* is an essential component in the Exodus narrative, with the emerging perspective that the spirit is identified with YHWH’s holy presence. This is no surprise for the narrative of Exod 33:12-23 is an attempt to utilise language and imagery in order to conceptualise YHWH’s identity without another idolatrous relapse. The narrative refers to YHWH’s glory, goodness, name, hand and back, yet Moses is not granted the privilege of seeing YHWH’s ‘face’ (*panim*) but only his ‘back’ ‘for no one may see me [YHWH] and live’ (33:20). Thus there exists a gradation also in YHWH’s conceived identity, with the implication that Israel’s sin has ultimately offended YHWH’s face, i.e. presence, which puts YHWH’s dwelling among Israel at complete risk, apart from Moses’ intercession. This identification between YHWH’s *panim* and *ruach* is not restricted to Isaiah alone but is also evidenced in Ps 51:9-12, 104:29-30, 139:7 and Ezek 39:23-29.

⁶² On Israel’s experience of God in the temple, with a particular focus on sensory experience, see Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 100-109. On the presence of God in Israel’s worship, see Clements, *God and Temple*, 63-78; Baruch A. Levine, ‘On the Presence of God in Biblical Religion,’ in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 71-87. For a discussion on the presence of YHWH in Deuteronomy that gives specific attention to Name Theology (and thus often parallels the present discussion in its interest on divine agency), see Ian Wilson, *Out of the Midst of the Fire: Divine Presence in Deuteronomy*, SBLDS 151 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

⁶³ For a full analysis of the spirit and the renewal of Israel, see Rodrigo J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians*, WUNT 2.282 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 13-40.

3.3.1 *The Spirit and the Coming Messiah*

The experience of Israel in exile is well known to have cast their gaze forward in the hope that YHWH would remain faithful to his promises of deliverance despite her unfaithfulness. A key aspect of this hope was the role of the Messiah to liberate Israel from her bondage and to testify to the universal lordship of YHWH among the nations (Isa 11:1-12:6 [esp. 11:9-11], 42:1-9, 52:13-54:17 [esp. 54:5], cf. Joel 2:27, Zech 14:9).⁶⁴ It is significant that this central role of the Messiah is closely associated with the work of the spirit in Isaiah. In Isa 11:1ff, the Messiah is projected to be a man inspired of the spirit of the Lord who rests upon him. The spirit generates wisdom, understanding, counsel, might, knowledge and fear of the Lord (11:2), which are the qualities and skills given by the spirit that will empower the Messiah to be successful in his mission, notably the return of the exiles and the universal recognition of YHWH's ruling power.⁶⁵

Isa 42:1 also shows that the spirit is integral to the Messiah's mission on behalf of YHWH for YHWH promises to 'put my spirit on him.' YHWH will give his spirit to the Messiah for the purpose of bringing justice to the nations (cf. 42:4, also 28:6 where YHWH is described as a 'spirit of justice'). The link between the giving of the spirit and the universal focus of the Messiah's mission is again reaffirmed but is also developed when it is observed that YHWH is the creator both of the cosmos and its inhabitants by his spirit (42:5). YHWH is seen to be not only Israel's God working through the coming Messiah, but is the sole creator who gives life to all by his spirit. This is the logical link between universalism and particularism in the passage, for the Messiah, under the inspiration and guidance of the spirit, will bring justice to the nations (42:1, 4) and will be a light to the Gentiles (42:6). It is YHWH who is the sole creator of all by his spirit which provides the legitimation for the Messiah's mission to the nations.⁶⁶ The theme of YHWH's redemptive activity through the spirit empowered Messiah, resulting in the universal recognition of YHWH's blessing upon his people among the nations (Isa 44:1-5; 61:9), is further explicated in Isa 48:16 and 61:1. Once

⁶⁴ For questions regarding the identity of the Messiah see Helmer Ringgren, *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, Studies in Biblical Theology 18 (London: SCM Press, 1961); Walter C. Kaiser, Jr, *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, SOTBT (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995); Stanley E. Porter, ed., *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments* (Cambridge/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007); Richard S. Hess, M. Daniel Carroll, *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2011).

⁶⁵ Cf. 11:3bff which illustrates the qualities described in 11:2; Wonsuk Ma, 'The Spirit (ruah) of God in Isaiah 1-39,' *Asia Journal of Theology* 3:2 (1989): 582-596, spec. 583-585.

⁶⁶ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 80 comments, 'In this text the spirit of Yahweh is the gift-bestowing spirit which both inspires the message of the servant, and makes him a person who can bring the nations to know the one true God.'

again the spirit is at the forefront of the discussion, emphasising that the Messiah's ministry is dependent upon the spirit's empowerment.⁶⁷

3.3.2 *The Spirit and the Renewal of Israel: it's People and the Land*

The coming of the spirit-endowed Messiah in the age to come was expected to signal the outpouring of the spirit upon all of God's people, rather than select individuals.⁶⁸ The sign of YHWH's eschatological activity was identified with the universal outpouring of the spirit upon Israel as a whole, young and old, male and female (Isa 44:3-5; Joel 2:28-29;⁶⁹ cf. 'all flesh').⁷⁰ This expected event was the key to understanding Israel's hope for a renewed covenant and a new age where the relationship between YHWH and his people was restored (Isa 59:21, Ezek 11:19, 36:24-28, 37:1-14, cf. Ezek 18:31; Jer 31:31-34). Therefore, there existed an ethical and moral dimension to this renewal for the heart of the individual was to be enlivened to foster a new love and commitment to YHWH (Isa 32:15-16). The outpouring of the spirit upon the nation of Israel was the key animating power in order to revitalise the covenant between YHWH and his people. This renewal is described by Ezekiel (36:26-27),⁷¹ Isaiah (32:15-16; 36:16; 44:3-5, 59:21)⁷² and Joel (2:28-29)⁷³ as the action of YHWH in giving the people an undivided heart and 'new spirit' in order to keep the law (Ezek 11:19 cf. 18:31; Jer 31:33, 'I will put my law in their minds and write it on their hearts'). The renewal of the spirits of Israel is paralleled with the giving of YHWH's own spirit ('I will put my spirit in you') so that the outpouring of the spirit is the power by which Israel renew their faithfulness to the covenant and fidelity to the law (Ezek 36:27). Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, symbolising the nation of Israel, clearly conveys the exhilarating force of the spirit to breathe new life into the body rendered lifeless due to exile and oppression (Ezek 37:1-14, cf. Gen 6:2, 7:15, 7:22, etc). Despite the complexity of the swift changes in sense of *ruach* expressed in this passage, it is the spirit of YHWH that is credited with the breath of

⁶⁷ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 52-53; Block, 'Empowered by the Spirit of God,' 52-53.

⁶⁸ Cf. the wish of Moses that 'all the Lord's people were prophets and that the Lord would put his spirit on them,' Num 11:29. See Robin Routledge, 'The Spirit and the future in the Old Testament: restoration and renewal,' in *Presence, Power and Promise*, 346-370.

⁶⁹ Joel 3:1-2 in Hebrew texts.

⁷⁰ Philip has convincingly argued that the recipients of the outpouring of the spirit were expected to be restricted to the nation of Israel only, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 34-76, 'The Spirit is depicted as the power of Israel's eschatological transformation. On the one hand it brings covenantal intimacy and fidelity to YHWH (*sic*) commandments, while on the other rejuvenation in the nature and security to the nation of Israel,' (75).

⁷¹ Dale F. Launderville, *Spirit and Reason: The Embodied Character of Ezekiel's Symbolic Thinking* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007).

⁷² For further detailed discussion, see Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 77-79; Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*; Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 50-64.

⁷³ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 75-77; Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 64-75; Erika Moore, 'Joel's promise of the Spirit,' in *Presence, Power and Promise*, 245-258. More broadly see Larry R. McQueen, *Joel and the Spirit: The Cry of A Prophetic Hermeneutic* (Cleveland: CPT Press, 2009).

new life such that the pulsating reanimation of the body is metaphorically conceived as the restoration of the spiritual life of Israel and gives a wider scope to the spirit's revitalising activity beyond a merely ethical dimension (Ezek 37:14).⁷⁴

What is noteworthy about this expectation of the spirit is the merging of the two corollaries of interest to this study. Firstly, in the new age the prophets anticipate that the outpouring of the spirit is in conjunction with, and thereby consequential for, the universal recognition of YHWH's Lordship. Ezekiel (36:22-29), Isaiah (44:1-5)⁷⁵ and Joel (2:27; 3:1)⁷⁶ all understand that the eschatological outpouring of the spirit will result in the renewal of Israel in order to re-establish YHWH's reputation as the one and only God, that is, it is the spirit that will bring about the universal confession and recognition of YHWH's uniqueness and Lordship. Secondly, the outpouring of the spirit is directly associated with the renewal of the land and signals the change from desolation and abandonment, to fertility and life in Ezekiel (36:29-30; 37:1-14),⁷⁷ Isaiah (32:15-20; Isa 44:1-5),⁷⁸ and Joel (2:18-32).⁷⁹ Indeed, life is bound up closely with the activity of the spirit.

3.3.3 Summary

The activity of the spirit within the eschatological framework of Israel has been observed in two ways. Firstly, it was seen that the spirit plays a decisive role in empowering the Messiah in his ministry, and secondly, the outpouring of the spirit results in the spiritual renewal of Israel and the renewal of Israel's land. The larger significance of these observations lie in the acknowledgement that the spirit is the key power in demonstrating YHWH's complete authority and universal Lordship through both the ministry of the Messiah and the restoration

⁷⁴ For further discussion on the spirit in Ezekiel, see Walther Zimmerli, Appendix 3, 'רוח in the Book of Ezekiel,' in *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25-48* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 566-568, Block, 'The Prophet of the Spirit'; Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 36-50 and Wright, 'The Concept of Ruach in Ezekiel 37,' 148-155.

⁷⁵ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 59-60, notes 'the universal activity of the Spirit.'

⁷⁶ While the phrase 'all flesh' could be taken to be universal in scope, the most common interpretation within both Hebrew and Jewish streams of thought was that 'all flesh' connoted 'all Israel.' See Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 64-75. Despite this, it is clear that there exists the potential for a universal interpretation, an interpretation certainly reflected in the New Testament (e.g. Acts 2:14ff).

⁷⁷ Ezek 36 does not explicitly identify the spirit as the power responsible for the renewal of the land, but the spirit's role in reviving the valley of dry bones metaphorically parallels the renewal of the land in conjunction with the spiritual renewal of Israel and makes identifies the same link between spirit and creation that is explicit in Isaiah and Joel. Though Jeremiah does not explicitly mention the spirit, his vision of the new covenant is aligned with the renewal and re-inhabiting of the land, and grounded in the affirmation of YHWH as creator of all (Jer 31:27-40).

⁷⁸ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 71-73. In a curious passage on YHWH's judgment on all nations, the spirit is responsible for gathering together all creatures to dwell in the desolate ruins of Edom (Isa 34:16). The 'pouring out' of the spirit is paralleled with the pouring out of water on the dry land, and in this way the renewal of the land is simultaneous with – even identifiable with – the spiritual renewal of Israel (Isa 44:3-4).

⁷⁹ On the spirit and new creation from the perspective of the Hebrew Scriptures, see Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 28-35; Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 70-73.

of Israel herself, and is the power of the renewal of creation – notably the restored land of Israel.⁸⁰

4. The Relation Between the Spirit and YHWH

My discussion has demonstrated the degree to which the spirit fulfils YHWH's creative, cultic and eschatological activity, specifically YHWH's activity as creator and ruler. Such activities directly position the spirit within the Unique Divine Identity of God and evidence the degree to which the spirit was associated with the activities of YHWH himself. Such a discussion raises the immediate question as to the nature of the relation between the spirit and YHWH. If the spirit fulfils those precise activities which define YHWH as unique, what then is their relation? It is therefore necessary to define this relation in order to achieve a more nuanced understanding of the identity of the spirit within the context of Hebrew monotheism.

4.1 The Language of Spirit Functions to Bridge the Cosmic Gap

The strong emphasis in the Hebrew Scriptures on YHWH as creator and ruler of all posits a firm distinction between creator and creation itself and identifies a clear demarcation between the uniqueness of YHWH and all other reality.⁸¹ This distinction is a firm critique of pantheistic and deistic perspectives but resulted in the formation of a conceptual 'gap.'⁸² Such a gap maintained a necessary theological balance between creator and creation but also raised questions as to the mode of YHWH's engagement with creation itself. It is in this context that we observe the utilisation of particular descriptions of YHWH that deliberately seek to step beyond this gap and identify YHWH's activity in the world whilst also maintaining the radical distinction between the two. The Hebrew tendency was to utilise distinctive language to describe YHWH in his active engagement with the world and with Israel in particular (e.g. YHWH's 'arm', 'hand', 'finger', 'face' or 'glory').⁸³ Word, wisdom and spirit emerge as the three primary 'bridge' terms 'which express the idea of God's outreach towards, and contact with, the created world.'⁸⁴ Because the spirit functioned as a 'bridge' term, how should this

⁸⁰ As Lampe states, the 'future coming of God's Spirit is thus virtually identical with the establishment of the Kingdom of God,' Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 49. Cf. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 59, 'God's people, together with the whole of creation, is to be renewed and transformed. Through the power of the spirit men will be able to walk in obedience. As a result of an outpouring of the spirit, all in Israel will become prophets and (as a result of their witness?) the nations will be brought into covenant with Yahweh.'

⁸¹ E.g. Gen 1:1; Isa 40:26, 44:24; Neh 9:6; Ps 89:5-13; Jer 10:11-13, etc.

⁸² Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 48; Terence E. Fretheim, *The Suffering of God: An Old Testament Perspective*, Overtures of Biblical Theology (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1984), 34-35; more fully in *idem*, *God and the World in the Old Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005).

⁸³ Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 7-8.

⁸⁴ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 35.

conception be understood? It will be argued that the spirit does not describe the inner being of YHWH, nor refer to a being separable from YHWH, but refers to YHWH himself acting upon his creation since such ‘bridge’ words connoted YHWH *in action* and contained the sense of function and activity.⁸⁵

4.2 *The Spirit is the Dynamic Extension of YHWH’s Personality in Action*

Because of the semantic overlap of the term *ruach*, it is possible to assume there exists a parallel analogy between the human spirit and the spirit of God within YHWH such that ‘the spirit of YHWH’ is understood to be a reference to YHWH’s own interior disposition, or alternatively, there is an identification between the human spirit and the holy spirit. Despite this possibility, this line of thought is at odds with the emphasis upon the spirit as the dynamic *activity* of YHWH himself.⁸⁶ This outward emphasis is significant for it stresses the usefulness of the spirit for describing YHWH in action.⁸⁷ If there exists any sense of speculative introspection concerning YHWH’s inner being, it is best to understand the spirit as the active and dynamic extension of YHWH’s personality.⁸⁸

This perspective on the active sense of the spirit is consistent with the descriptive language used of the spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures and confirms the argument that the spirit is the extension of YHWH’s personality such that the imminence of YHWH was seen in his divine action in creation through the effective activity of the spirit. This can be supported by

⁸⁵ So Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 119-125. Note Lampe’s comments: ‘These are terms which link transcendent deity with the realm of time and space, for they speak of God directing his thought towards his creation, purposing, willing, bringing into being, sustaining, guiding the cosmos and everything within it. They convey the idea of the Creator addressing his rational creatures, inspiring, teaching, commanding, warning, punishing, forgiving, rewarding, intervening to help and to rescue, loving, and even standing in a relationship to his people like that of a husband to a bride or a father to a child,’ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 35. See Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 46-92.

⁸⁶ Lodahl labels this the ‘point of contact’ between God and his creation, Lodahl, *Shekhinah/Spirit*, 44. Pace Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 14-103.

⁸⁷ Cf. Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 37, ‘In their original usage they [Word, Wisdom, spirit] are not metaphysical terms, analytically descriptive of the structure of deity itself’; Neve, ‘In the Old Testament literature *ruach* is only used to express God’s activity *as he relates himself* to his world, his creation, his people. It was Israel’s way of describing God, not as he is in himself, but as he communicates to the world his power, his life, his anger, his will, his very presence’; Heron, ‘*ruach* as applied to God in the Old Testament does not as a rule describe God’s “inner personality” by analogy with the human *ruach*. Rather, as man’s [*sic*] *ruach* is constituted by its relation to God who gives it, the *ruach* of God is God’s activity in relation to the world and to men [*sic*],’ *The Holy Spirit*, 8; also quoted by Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 53.

⁸⁸ Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 212 (cf. fn. 1): *ruach* ‘is not an agent with its own existence and actions.’ Hill affirms A.R. Johnson’s description of the spirit as an ‘extension of Yahweh’s personality’; Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 2, more fully 119-125; Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 8: ‘They [anthropomorphisms and circumlocutions] are...extensions of his own being, means of his touching upon the affairs of Israel’; Turner, *Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 5, ‘the Spirit is ‘God’s own life and vitality in action...the extension of his own invisible presence,’ (emphasis original); Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, “‘Spirit’ is essentially a relational term and a relational concept...It refers to the ways the Israelites experienced God’s presence among and action upon themselves,’ (53), ‘One should...think of God’s Spirit almost always as an *extension* of God’s personality,’ (54, emphasis original), more fully 52-58.

the parallelism that is formed between the spirit and YHWH's presence (Ps 51:11, 104:29-30, 139:7; Hag 2:3-5; Isa 63:9-14), will (Ps 143:10), face (Ezek 39:29; Ps 104:29-30, cf. Ps 143:7), arm (Isa 63:11,12), mouth (Isa 34:16) and word (Isa 59:21). Isaiah identifies YHWH as spirit (Isa 31:3) and shows that it is YHWH who has put *his* holy spirit within Israel (Isa 63:10-11, cf. Ps 51:11⁸⁹). The spirit is also characterised in personal terms (it can be grieved [Isa 63:10]; has will [Isa 40:13 NRSV]; can be impatient [Mic 2:7]⁹⁰ and express anger [Isa 31:3; cf. 30:28; Job 4:8-9; Isa 27:8]⁹¹) and attributed moral value (the spirit is 'good' [Ps 143:10; Neh 9:20], 'holy' [Ps 51:11; Isa 63:10] and fosters righteous alliance [Isa 30:1]). In all these cases the spirit is the spirit *of YHWH* (e.g. 'of Elohim': Gen 1:2; Exod 31:3; 2 Chron 15:1; 'of YHWH': Judg 3:10; Mic 3:8 [cf. 'his' Isa 63:10, 11; 'my' Isa 42:1; 'your' Ps 143:10; Neh 9:20 etc]). Such associations reflect the sense of spirit as the *personal* and *relating* activity of YHWH (cf. Isa 11:1-2, Isa 28:5-6; Zech 4:6).⁹²

4.3 *The Spirit is not Separable from YHWH*

The corollary of the recognition that the spirit is the dynamic extension of YHWH's personality is that the spirit is not separable from YHWH.⁹³ The spirit's identity is not seen to exist apart from YHWH's own divine activity and therefore it is a mistake to interpret the dynamic language of spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures as granting the spirit an independent 'hypostatic' existence apart from YHWH.⁹⁴ The observation that 'spirit' was used as a bridge term in Hebrew literature to describe YHWH's active involvement in creation re-conceives the identity of the spirit in contrast to that of the anachronistic concept of 'hypostatisation' for the language of spirit was utilised precisely to negotiate that gap between creator and creation and yet speak of YHWH's own identity and activity.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Pace W. Creighton Marlowe, 'Spirit of Your Holiness' (רוּחַ קְדוֹשׁ) in Psalm 51:13,' *Trinity Journal* 19:1 (1998): 29-49.

⁹⁰ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 47-48.

⁹¹ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 44-45, 100-101.

⁹² 'These functions of the Spirit imply that it is nothing less than the personal activity of God,' Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 49. So too Block, 'The Prophet of the Spirit,'; *idem*, 'Empowered by the Spirit of God.'

⁹³ See Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 55-57.

⁹⁴ Pace Helmer Ringgren who has argued in an early work that 'Yahweh's Spirit often appears as an entity, to a certain extent separated from God, in other words, as a hypostasis,' (*Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1947), 165-171, here 165). Though I agree in principle that 'It may be said that Yahweh is acting through his Spirit, the Spirit is his instrument, the intermediary of his activity in the history of the people,' (165), the conception of 'hypostasis' convolutes, using modern technical language, the nature of YHWH's activity through the spirit.

⁹⁵ Eichrodt incorrectly argues that 'the spirit of God is made markedly independent, so that it can now be portrayed as a so-called *hypostasis*, that is to say, a separate entity which acts of its own motion, and is of itself concerned with human affairs' (Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 60, 79-80, 90). While Eichrodt does attempt to qualify this statement by adding that the spirit 'exists only as a form of his [YHWH's] revelation,' this

As my thesis argues, the most appropriate framework for defining the spirit and YHWH is through the Unique Divine Identity. The view of the spirit as the extension of YHWH's personality and the inseparability of the spirit from YHWH indicates that the spirit is included within the Unique Divine Identity of YHWH and yet can be distinguished only linguistically through the nomenclature 'spirit.' This does not result in a distinct conception of the spirit within Hebrew monotheism but it does affirm the dynamic activity of YHWH as spirit. The essential point is that since the spirit denotes the activity of YHWH himself, there is no evidence for activity that would distinguish the spirit from YHWH.

4.4 Summary

The multiplicity of terminology – such as word, wisdom and spirit – used to describe the various functions of YHWH raises crucial critical questions in our analysis of the spirit and its relation to YHWH. The significant conclusion to be drawn from the preceding discussion is that when we acknowledge that the spirit fulfils those divine functions that differentiate YHWH from all other reality, we are asserting that the spirit is the extension of YHWH's personality whereby YHWH fulfils such divine creative and ruling functions *as* spirit.⁹⁶ Indeed, the spirit is the spirit of YHWH and not separable from YHWH in his ruling and creative activities. Consequently, the spirit does not possess a distinct identity.

5. The Experiential Reality of the Spirit

A concluding discussion on the experiential reality of the spirit. This discussion is an important corollary to the preceding argument for if the spirit is indeed the extension of YHWH's personality, then the question is raised as to what the concept of spirit uniquely contributes to the Hebrew perspective of YHWH. It will be argued that what remains

leaves his position rather ambiguous (as Fatehi observes, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 56; Neve also comments against Eichrodt, Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 119-120). Lampe is correct to observe that the terms Word, Wisdom and spirit are used to describe the activity of God himself and do not 'denote hypostatically existent mediators between God and the world' (*God as Spirit*, 37). But with Neve (*The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 119-125), he is wrong in his argument, at least in application to the Hebrew Scriptures, that these terms began to be hypostatized as they developed away from a mere description of experience (that is, the experience of the Hebrews) to the more sophisticated questions of the character of the terms themselves (*God as Spirit*, 38). It is a disappointing feature of his three volume work that Goldingay does not address the identity of the spirit. His meagre one page discussion on the spirit leaves the spirit's identity rather ambiguous, John Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. 2, Israel's Faith* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 100-101.

⁹⁶ Cf. Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 12, 'If God's *ruach* is God himself in action, and if his activity includes creation, the doctrine of the Spirit as Creator must follow unless the Spirit is to be detached from God himself in a fashion running directly counter to the thrust of the Old Testament teaching.' Heron rightly contextualises this statement within the broader horizon of the NT.

distinctive about the spirit as a useful ‘bridge’ term is the experiential reality of the spirit. Since the spirit mediates YHWH’s personal engagement with his people and creation, the spirit was always discernible by its *effects*. This premise rests on the variety of ways in which language functioned to describe the spirit in the experience of Israel. The varied descriptions of the spirit utilise experiential imagery in order to refer to the active engagement of the spirit with people. The use of prepositions (‘on’/‘with’/‘in,’ בָּ, ‘upon,’ עַל, ‘to,’ אֶל, ‘from,’ מִן) and verbs (‘to fill,’ מָלֵא, ‘to pour out,’ יָצַק, נָתַד, עָרָה, שָׁפַד, ‘to clothe,’ לָבַשׁ, ‘to carry’ נָשָׂא, הִלָּךְ, בּוֹא, יָצָא) demonstrates the vital importance of language as a tool to refer to the spirit in action, that is, acting upon a subject.⁹⁷

We have seen this to be evident in the narratives concerning the spirit’s action upon selected individuals for the purpose of leading and guiding the nation of Israel as a whole, and for prophetic inspiration. The power of the spirit that was *upon* (עַל) Moses was passed onto the seventy elders and the spirit rested on them (Num 11:17, 25[x2], 26, 29). The spirit of the Lord came *upon* Othniel (Judg 3:10), Jephthah (Judg 11:29), Samson (Judg 14:6, 19, 15:14), Saul (1 Sam 10:6, 10, 11:6, 19:20, 23), Azariah (2 Chron 15:1), Jahaziel (2 Chr 20:14) and Ezekiel (Ezek 11:5). The spirit will also come *upon* the expected Messiah (Isa 11:2, 42:1, 61:1) and upon Israel in the eschatological restoration (Isa 32:15, 44:3, 59:21; Ezek 39:29; Joel 2:28-29[ET]; Zech 12:10). Likewise the spirit is *on/with/in/among* (בָּ) humanity (Gen 6:3), Joseph (Gen 41:38), Joshua (Num 27:18), Israel in the Exodus (Isa 63:11), Ezekiel (Ezek 2:2, 3:24) and Israel in her eschatological restoration (Neh 9:30; Ezek 36:27, 37:14; Hag 2:5; Zech 6:8, 7:12). The spirit was also taken *from* (מִן) Saul (1 Sam 16:14) and given *to* (אֶל) David (1 Sam 16:13, cf. Ps 51:11[ET]). Moreover, the spirit *clothes* (לָבַשׁ) Gideon (Judg 6:34),⁹⁸ Amasai (1 Chr 12:18[ET])⁹⁹ and Zechariah (2 Chr 24:20), *fills* (מָלֵא) Bezalel (Exod 31:3, 35:31), Joshua (Deut 34:9) and Micah (Mic 3:8), will be *poured out* (יָצַק, נָתַד, עָרָה, שָׁפַד) on Israel (Neh 9:30; Isa 32:15, 44:3; Ezek 39:29; Joel 2:28-29[ET]; Zech 12:10), and *carries* (נָשָׂא, הִלָּךְ, בּוֹא, יָצָא) Elijah (1 Kings 18:12; 2 Kings 2:16), the cherubim (Ezek 1:12, 20) and Ezekiel (Ezek 3:12, 14, 8:3, 11:1, 24[x2], 37:1, 43:5).

Such metaphorical use of prepositions and verbs associated with the activity of *ruach* clearly connote the real-life impact of the spirit on a subject in some tangible way.¹⁰⁰ What is

⁹⁷ For the following references see Hamilton, ‘God with Men in the Torah,’ 131-133.

⁹⁸ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 19 comments on the ‘violent’ nature of the possession of the spirit through the verb לָבַשׁ.

⁹⁹ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 110.

¹⁰⁰ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 13-23.

most striking about the use of *ruach* is the concrete effects which distinguish the spirit's activity. The spirit inspires *prophetic utterances* (Moses and the seventy elders [Num 11:16ff]; Balaam [Num 24:2ff]; Saul [1 Sam 10:6, 10, 19:20, 23]; David [2 Sam 23:2]; Amasai [1 Chron 12:18]; Azariah [2 Chron 15:1]; Jahaziel [2 Chron 20:14]; Zechariah [2 Chron 24:20] and the Prophets [Ezek 11:5ff; Neh 9:30; Zech 7:12; Hos 9:7; Mic 3:8; Isa 30:1-2, 48:16, 61:1-3, cf. Joel 2:28]), comes upon individuals *in power* (Moses and the seventy elders [Num 11:25]; Samson – stirring [Judg 13:25] and physical strength [Judg 14:19, 15:14]; Saul [1 Sam 10:6, 10, 11:6]; David [1 Sam 16:13]; indeed Micah explicitly parallels the sense of *power* with the spirit of YHWH [Mic 3:8]¹⁰¹), inspires *visions* (Ezekiel [Ezek 11:24]), grants *revelation* (Joseph [Gen 41:38-39]; Micaiah [1 Kings 22:24-28/2 Chr 18:23]; Daniel [Dan 4:4-18]), gives *wisdom* (Joseph [Gen 41:38-39]; Bezalel [Exod 31:3, 35:31, cf. 28:3]; Joshua [Deut 34:9]; the Messiah [Isa 11:2]), *skills* (Bezalel [Exod 31:3, 35:31]) and *life* (Gen 1:2; Ezek 37:14; Job 33:4, 34:14).¹⁰² These are tangible expressions of the spirit's impact upon an individual and their awareness of the spirit's activity in their experience.¹⁰³ The language of spirit functioned as an experiential 'bridge' term that identified and distinguished an experience of YHWH as spirit.¹⁰⁴ The observation to be drawn from this discussion is that while the language of 'spirit' was used to describe such an encounter with YHWH the register of language utilised to describe this encounter was certainly uniquely oriented towards affirming the existential reality of the spirit.¹⁰⁵

6. Conclusion

This chapter has applied the methodology of R. Bauckham in a fresh direction through an examination of the spirit's relation to those divine activities that uniquely define YHWH's

¹⁰¹ Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, 38-39.

¹⁰² For a similar discussion on the experiential effects of the Spirit in Israelite literature, with a particular focus on loss of mental control, see Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 34-42, and his article 'Prophecy in Ancient Israel: The Case of the Ecstatic Elders,' *CBQ* 65 (2003): 503-521.

¹⁰³ Cf. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. 1, 'The perfectly incalculable effects of the רוח יהוה certainly form part of Israel's primal apperception of her God,' 94; Block, 'Empowered by the Spirit of God,' 54, 'the presence of God's Spirit is evident only by its effects.'

¹⁰⁴ Fatehi is therefore correct to argue that רוח is 'primarily an experiential concept. It refers to the ways the Israelites experienced God's presence among and action upon themselves,' Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 53; cf. G. Lampe who defines the purpose of 'Spirit' to 'describe a human experience: the experience of encounter with God,' *God as Spirit*, 36. More broadly, see J.K. Wiryamartana, "'Spirit' as a Symbol of Religious Experience in Jewish-Christian Tradition and Western Philosophy,' *Orientalia* 6 (1974): 56-73.

¹⁰⁵ There is some debate as to whether the spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures was conceived to *indwell* believers or whether the spirit simply came *upon* believers. Hamilton, *God's Indwelling Presence*, denies the indwelling of the spirit and argues that it is only in NT times that this eventually occurs. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr, 'The Indwelling Presence of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament,' *EvQ* 82:4 (2010): 308-315 has rightly criticised this perspective on the grounds that there is no evidence of such arbitrary distinctions between 'indwelling' and the spirit's effect 'upon' an individual.

identity. Bauckham's characterisation of Hebrew monotheism according to the framework of Creational, Cultic and Eschatological has provided the context for defining the spirit's activity. The argument has been advanced that the spirit participates in creation, the leadership of Israel, the cultic life of Hebrew religion, and was understood to effect the eschatological renewal of Israel. Such functions clearly parallel the activity of YHWH himself, a recognition that raises the question of the precise relationship between YHWH and the spirit. Our inquiry concluded that the spirit is a key 'bridge' term that functions to connote the extension of YHWH's personality and to emphasise the action of YHWH upon creation. This conclusion necessitates that the spirit is not separable from YHWH himself but is included within the Unique Divine Identity. The thread of the argument leads to the final observation, following the approach of L. Hurtado, that language of 'spirit' denotes YHWH's encounter with his people in their own experience. Consequently, the Hebrew Scriptures do not affirm a distinct identity of the spirit separable from YHWH.

Chapter Three: The Identity of the Spirit in Second Temple Judaism

1. Introduction

The examination of the identity of the spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures provides a foundation which leads directly upwards towards the variegated literature of Second Temple Judaism as the next stage in our journey. It is necessary to identify any footprints which proceeded from the Hebrew Scriptures to form a viably observable pathway in order to determine whether there existed a consistent perspective of the spirit within Jewish tradition. My inquiry will continue to utilise the methods of Bauckham (divine identity) and Hurtado (religious experience) in order to demonstrate that the spirit is included in God's Unique Divine Identity and is an experiential reality.¹ This will also demonstrate consistency with the picture that emerged in the Hebrew Scriptures despite the variegated nature of the literature of Second Temple Judaism.²

¹ My method remains consistent with the preceding chapter, and I have chosen to continue a thematic approach. The consequence of this is that I have not dealt with each relevant text individually, but have returned to the necessary references as the thematic approach dictates.

² I have chosen to exclude texts that are confidently seen to be later than Paul (that is, post 70 CE approx.). The only exception to this is that I have included Josephus, simply for his influence in communicating Jewish thought from the First Century CE. I have also chosen to exclude Rabbinic sources, including the Targums, from my study because of the absence of firm evidence that demonstrates such sources have an origin that dates prior to 70 CE. While it is tempting to utilise Rabbinic sources in view of Paul's own experience as a Pharisee, which itself is based on an assumption that Rabbinic sources develop from the Pharisaic tradition, the evidence is clear that the Rabbinic sources were composed in their present form following the destruction of the second temple in 70 CE, thus taking us beyond an analysis of the spirit in Second Temple Judaism towards a much later period and body of literature (the earliest collected material is the Mishnah, 200 CE). My interest here is on reconstructing the symbolic universe of Judaism so as to focus on the *influences* upon the Pre-Christian Paul, albeit indirect influences (on 'influences' see Charlesworth, 'Towards a Taxonomy of Discerning Influence(s) Between Two Texts'). I am not arguing that Paul was directly influenced by the texts analysed here (Wisdom of Solomon could be an exception), but that the milieu of Second Temple Jewish thought as a whole is our only means to reconstruct a context in which to situate Paul before his transformation to Christ. To appeal to Rabbinic sources takes us beyond the question of 'influences' to the question of 'parallels,' a later parallels at that. In the same vein as William D. Davies and Ed P. Sanders it is more appropriate to parallel Paul and Rabbinic sources so as to discern the 'patterns of religion' rather than to credit Rabbinic sources with possessing a degree of 'influence' over Paul. The late dating of these sources demands this as a more appropriate method of study (Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*; Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press/London: SCM Press, 1977); *idem*, 'Patterns of Religion in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: A Holistic Method of Comparison,' *HTR* 66 (1973): 455-478, though confusingly, Sanders references Rabbinic material in his *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63BCE-66CE* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1992)). On the question of the relationship between the Pharisees and Rabbinic literature, see Jacob Neusner, 'The Rabbinic Traditions About the Pharisees Before 70,' in *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, eds. Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 295-312 and the articles contained there); Jacob Neusner, *From Scripture to 70: The Pre-Rabbinic Beginnings of the Halakhah*, USF Studies in the History of Judaism 192 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

For a presentation of the spirit in Rabbinic literature with particular emphasis upon the functions of the spirit and the spirit's relation to God, see Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 140-162. While Fatehi's argument leads to similar conclusions of my own, I question the degree of confidence he possesses in identifying consistency between the Rabbinic traditions and pre-70 CE Judaism. He argues that 'since the rabbinic traditions about the Holy Spirit seem to be fairly stable *and very little development is actually perceived in this area*, there is no need to resort to a tradition history analysis in most of the cases.' He continues, 'The Rabbis are the heirs of the OT tradition and take much of it for granted, *as well as developing it in certain directions*' (142, emphasis

2. The Sense and Meaning of רוח and πνεῦμα

The transition from the Hebrew Scriptures to the variegated literature of Second Temple Judaism can be shown to present a consistent concept of spirit despite such the shift in language, for the variety of senses of רוח in the Hebrew Scriptures remains in both the Greek and Hebrew (Qumran) works of Judaism.³

In the LXX (e.g. Ps 148:8; Isa 27:8; Jon 4:8; Jer 4:11),⁴ Sir (39:28), Wis (5:11, 23; 7:20; 11:20; 13:2; 17:17), Philo (*Op. Mund.* 41; *Abr.* 92)⁵ and *I Enoch* (70:2) πνεῦμα is used in the sense of ‘wind’ (πνεῦμα₁) while the Qumran community also denotes the wind through רוח (1QH 1:10; 6:23; 7:5, 23; 1QM 10:12; CD 8:13). πνεῦμα as ‘breath’ (πνεῦμα₂) is also retained in the LXX (Gen 6:17; 7:15; Exod 15:8; 2 Sam 22:16; Ps 18:16; Dan 10:17) and is used in this sense in Wis (2:3; 11:20; 16:14), Jdt (10:13), 2 Macc (24:46), Sir (38:23) and Philo (*Vit. Mos.* 1.93; *Deus. Immut.* 84; *Legat.* 18).⁶ The Qumran community uses רוח to denote the breath of animals (1QM 6.12) and human beings (1QH 1.28-29). The semantic distinction between ‘breath’ and ‘breath of life’ is evident in Sir (34:13; 38:23), Wis (15:11, 16) and Tob (3:6) where πνεῦμα denotes the breath of life (πνεῦμα₃), a use which finds affiliation with Philo (*Opif.* 30; *Gig.* 10; *Det.* 80; *Leg.* 63; *Q.G.* 1:4-5; 2:8; 3:3) and Josephus

mine). These comments are potentially problematic for they do not address the relationship between the Rabbis and *Second Temple Judaism*, nor do they clarify exactly the extent to which Rabbinic sources have developed the tradition of the Hebrew Scriptures. Fatehi argues that the Rabbinic concept of Shekinah, though admittedly ‘not early enough to reach the first century of the Christian era’ (162) can, because of its parallel with the holy spirit, become useful in constructing early Jewish views on the spirit. Yet such an argument surely indicates development in the thought of the Rabbinic tradition and highlights precisely the problem of relying upon such sources to construct earlier views on the spirit, for the Rabbinic material reflects much later perspectives on God’s presence *that do not reflect the setting of Second Temple Judaism*. I fail to see how ‘parallels’ between Shekinah and the spirit, for example, are in some sense traces of earlier traditions, which illustrates the larger issue of sifting such Rabbinic literature for earlier material. Fatehi does not appear to note the danger of such circular reasoning, particularly as it relates to the thought of Paul. Philip senses the difficulty of Rabbinic material in the study Paul, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 78, fn. 6.

³ The progression of this study into Second Temple Judaism encounters a fresh challenge since the wide array of literature is primarily preserved in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Syriac, and the preserved forms of the texts do not necessarily reflect the original language of composition. This wide array of literature can make an analysis of the identity of the spirit somewhat complicated, particularly when attaching a concept to a new lexeme, specifically πνεῦμα/רוח. For discussion on this point, see Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 202-293.

For studies on πνεῦμα/רוח in Jewish literature, apart from those *op cit.*, see Schoemaker, ‘The Use of רוח in the Old Testament, and of πνεῦμα in the New Testament,’ 13-67; Baumgärtel, ‘πνεῦμα,’ in *TDNT*, 6:367-389; Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 10-58; Arthur E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran*, SBLDS 110 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 53-111; Matthias Wenk, *Community-Forming Power: The Socio-Ethical Role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts*, JPTSUP 19 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 66-111; Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts*, 53-86; Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 65-130. For its line of inquiry from Second Temple Judaism towards Paul, see R. Steven Notley, ‘The Concept of the Holy Spirit in Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period and “Pre-Pauline” Christianity’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis; Hebrew University, 1991).

⁴ Roughly 50 of the occurrences of רוח in the Hebrew Scriptures have been translated by ἄνεμος instead of πνεῦμα in the LXX; Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 218; Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 10.

⁵ Philo also understands πνεῦμα to be one of the four elements, namely air (*Gig.* 22).

⁶ In a reading of Gen 2:7 Philo can exchange πνοή (*Leg.* 1:31, 42, *Opif.* 144) with πνεῦμα elsewhere (*Det.* 80; *Opif.* 135).

(*Ant.* 3.260), both of whom regard the πνεῦμα as the principle of life that animates the body. In the LXX (Ps 50:14),⁷ Sir (9:9; 34:14; 48:12, 24), Wis (5:3), Tob (3:10), *I Enoch* (20:4ff, 22:3, 22:5, 22:7), Jdt (7:19; 14:6), 1 Macc (13:7) and *Jos Asen* (19:10-11), πνεῦμα denotes the human spirit (πνεῦμα₄). Philo (*Opif.* 69; *Leg. All.* 1:34-35; *Det.* 83) and Josephus (*Ant.* 11.240) both view πνεῦμα₄ as equated with the soul.⁸ The Qumran community demonstrate a clear anthropological understanding of πνεῦμα₄ as reference to the human spirit, including dispositions and the human heart (1QS 3.8; 5.26; 7.18; 1QM 7.5; 11.10; 14.7; 1QH 1.32; 4.36; 5.36; CD 5.11).

The sense most relevant for this study is πνεῦμα as denoting the spirit of God (πνεῦμα₅). The LXX adds πνεῦμα to Num 23:7, Zech 1:6 and Isa 11:2-3, which demonstrates the distinguishable use of πνεῦμα to denote the holy spirit (particularly in prophetic activity).⁹ In Sir (39:6), Jdt (16:14), *I Enoch* (61:7), Wis (1:5, 7, 7:22-23; 12:1), *Jos Asen* (8:9; 16:14; 19:10-11; 21:21; 26:6), 2 Macc (7:22-23; 16:14), Josephus (*Ant.* 4.118), Philo (*Gig.* 27; *Opif.* 135; *Vit. Mos.* 1:277ff, cf. 264-266),¹⁰ and Ps. Ph. (18.3, 10-11), πνεῦμα denotes the spirit of God. The Qumran Community use רוח to refer to God's holy spirit who inspires the prophets (1 QS 8.15-16; 1QH 20.12-15; CD 2.12-13) and is the ethical power given on entrance into the community (1QS 9.3). The literature of Second Temple Judaism also evidences a frequent use of πνεῦμα to denote angelic beings (πνεῦμα₆), whether they be good or evil spirits (LXX: Num 16:22; 27:16; 1 Sam 16:14-15; *I Enoch* 15:8ff; 19:1; Tob 6:8).¹¹ *I Enoch* describes God as the 'Lord of spirits,' i.e. the servants of heaven (37:4; 38:2, 4, 6; 39:2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14; 40:2, 5, 6) just as 2 Macc identifies God as the 'sovereign of spirits' (3:24). Spirits also feature prominently in the Qumran documents. God's angels (1QM 10.12; 12.9; 1QH 10.8; and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice) are differentiated from Satan's demons (1QS 3.24; 1QM 13.4-5, 11; 1QH 3.17-18) who serve their respective masters (1QS 3.13-4.26).¹²

⁷ In many cases רוח is translated with ψυχή or θυμός. Hill states, 'only about half of the passages in which this sense belongs to the Hebrew are rendered by πνεῦμα,' *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 219.

⁸ Philo asserts a definite distinction in sense between 'breath' and 'spirit' (*Leg.* 1:37).

⁹ Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 31-32.

¹⁰ Philo's distinction between the πνεῦμα as the rational principle of the soul and the gift of the spirit of God himself remains unclear (*Opif.* 67, 144; *Her.* 55-57; *Spec.* 1.6; *Det.* 83-84; *Mut.* 123-124; *Q.G.* 1.90; 2.8; *Plant.* 18, 24; *Fug.* 133-134). So too with his understanding of the πνεῦμα as akin to air (*Cher.* 111; *Spec.* 2:153; *Praem.* 41; *Ebr.* 106; *Sacr.* 97) and breath (*Leg.* 1.42).

¹¹ While not using the term πνεῦμα to refer to evil spirits, Josephus interprets 1 Sam 16:14-15 as a demon upon Saul (δαίμόνια, *Ant.* 6.166, 168, 211, 214).

¹² Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts*, 79-82. See also Hermann Lichtenberger, 'Demonology in the Scrolls and the New Testament,' in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*, STDJ 84, eds. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 267-280.

Such references demonstrate the degree to which πνεῦμα and רוח are varied in their semantic range. The diverse literature of Second Temple Judaism arguably follows the Hebrew Scriptures in the range of meanings attached to these terms which heightens the necessity of accurately identifying which particular use of πνεῦμα/רוח is intended when the term is encountered in the literature.

3. The Spirit and the Unique Divine Identity

We are now in a position to begin an analysis of the spirit of God in Second Temple Judaism. This analysis will be according to the three-fold framework of the Unique Divine Identity, that is, Creational, Cultic and Eschatological monotheism. The following will demonstrate 1) that the spirit fulfils God's activity as creator and ruler over all things, 2) the significance of the spirit in the cultic life of Judaism, 3) that prominence of the expectation of the spirit to fulfil God's eschatological activity as creator and ruler.

3.1 Creational Monotheism

3.1.1 The Spirit as Creator

The following works examined will aim to demonstrate the activity of the spirit as fulfilling functions that parallel those of God in his creative activity. It will be seen that the emphasis on the spirit of life observed in the Hebrew Scriptures also emerges as observable in the literature of Second Temple Judaism.¹³

¹³ On the LXX and its translation of *ruach* as πνεῦμα see Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 10-17 and Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 217-220. Of the 378 occurrences of רוח in the Hebrew Scriptures, 277 of these are translated with πνεῦμα. What is most insightful are those instances in the Hebrew Scriptures where the use of *ruach* created ambiguity as to whether the sense should be 'breath' or 'spirit' are not in fact clarified in the LXX (e.g. Gen 1:2, 6:3ff; Job 33:4, 34:14; Ps 33:6 [32:6 LXX], 104:30 [103:30 LXX]; Isa 42:5). As Turner notes, 'The LXX...seems to go beyond the MT in associating the spirit with creative activity...And while in Job 33:4, Ps. 103:30, 32.6 and Jdt. 16:14 the word πνεῦμα could be taken as divine 'breath' (and so as metonymy for God's word of command), these would certainly have been obvious candidates for clarificatory emendation had there been a problem with associating the spirit with creative power,' (Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*, JPTSUP 9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 107. Turner also adds Gen 1:2 to this list; *pace* John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 2. The exceptions are Job 26:13, and also Isa 40:13 where the LXX has rendered *ruach* as νοῦς (mind) – cf. 1 Cor 2:16.

3.1.1.1 The Wisdom of Solomon¹⁴

The Wisdom of Solomon demonstrates that the spirit is God's all embracing presence within creation and is paralleled with statements of God's function as the creator who gives immortality through his wisdom and word.¹⁵ The spirit is the 'holy spirit, that divine tutor' (1:5, cf. 6:10-11; 9:17) who flees from deceit (1:5), is the source of right moral qualities (7:22-23) and is immortal (12:1).¹⁶ The spirit is seen to also encompass *all things*: 'Because the spirit of the Lord has filled the world, and *that* (τό) which holds *all things* together knows what is said...' (1:7). The spirit is responsible for the continual sustainment of the cosmos since the spirit (7a) is the subject of the dependent clause (7b). Further, God's 'immortal spirit

¹⁴ The dating of the Wisdom of Solomon is relevant since Paul appears to allude to this text in Rom 1:19-31 (cf. Wis 13:1-9; 14:22-27, 30-31). This strengthens the view that the text was in circulation in the 1st Century CE. See particularly, Joseph R. Dodson, *The 'Powers' of Personification: Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of Wisdom and the Letter to the Romans*, BZNW 161 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 1-26. For discussion on broader issues relating to The Wisdom of Solomon see David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 43 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1979); Lester L. Grabbe, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, GAP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 87-90; Michael Kolarcik, 'The Book of Wisdom,' in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 3, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 435-600; Richard J. Clifford, *The Wisdom Literature*, IBT (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 133-156; Roland E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002), 83-96; Leo G. Perdue, *Wisdom Literature: A Theological History* (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 267-324.

¹⁵ It is God who 'created *all things* so that they might exist' (1:14, cf. 11:21-25; 15:1; 16:24), though it is clarified that this does not include death itself (1:12-16). God is the Creator who created the world out of formless matter by his all-powerful hand (11:17) and who can be perceived 'from the greatness and beauty of created things' (13:5, but cf. 13:1-2). The climax of God's creative activity was the inbreathing of life into humanity (15:11, ἐμφυσήσαντα πνεῦμα ζωτικόν, cf. 2:3; 15:16-17) who were designed for immortality (2:23, cf. 3:4) but because of sin, death confronts God as creator (1:12-16; 2:22-23, cf. 14:8-11). For the righteous, the reward is immortality (1:15; 2:21-23; 3:1-5; 4:1; 5:15; 6:18-19; 8:13, 17; 15:3; 16:13, cf. 5:1-2) but for the wicked their end is destruction (1:16; 2:1-5, 23-24; 5:1-14; 12:20-27; 15:7-13, cf. 3:19, cf. 14:30-31). There is thus created a strong link between future re-creation and the present ethical life for those who resist idolatry and remain faithful to the law, that is, are righteous, are rewarded with immortality (2:12; 6:4, 18; 18:4, 9, cf. 16:6) for 'righteousness is immortal' (1:15).

Wisdom has been in existence since the beginning of creation (6:22) and is 'the fashioner of *all things*' (7:22, cf. 14:2, 5), including humankind (9:2). Moreover, wisdom knew the work of God and was present when he made the world (9:9). She knows and understands *all things* (9:11), is all-powerful, oversees all (7:23) and pervades and penetrates *all things* (7:24, cf. 8:1). She will not enter a deceitful soul (1:4), 'giving heed to her laws is assurance of immortality' (6:18, cf. 8:13, 17), and honouring her results in reigning forever (6:21). So too God has made *all things* by his word (9:1). The word of God sustains those who trust in him (16:26). His word is all-powerful and can leap from heaven, from the royal throne in order to strike death (18:15-16, 22, cf. 12:9), and even grant healing (16:12).

For more detail, see Moyna McGlynn, *Divine Judgement and Divine Benevolence in the Book of Wisdom*, WUNT 2.139 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), particularly 30-33; Grabbe, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 55-57; 64-66; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 197-200. On death in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, see Michael Kolarcik, *The Ambiguity of Death in the Book of Wisdom 1-6*, An. Bib. 127 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991).

¹⁶ The translation is that of Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 99. As Winston notes (102), the same expression (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν) is used in the LXX for Isa 63:10 and Ps 51:13. So too NEB and KJV. Contra. NRSV and Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 69-72. The author does distinguish between the πνεῦμα given to all, which is the principle of life, and the spirit of God (2:3; 15:11, 16-17) but *pace* Bennema, these concepts do not overlap, Cornelis Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom: An Investigation of Spirit and Wisdom in Relation to the Soteriology of the Fourth Gospel*, WUNT 2.148 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 68-69. See also Stefanie Lorenzen, *Das paulinische Eikon-Konzept: Semantische Analysen zur Sapientia Salomonis, zu Philo und den Paulusbrieffen*, WUNT 2.250 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 51-56.

is in *all things*' (12:1).¹⁷ These parallel statements function to express the idea that the spirit fills all of creation and that this filling not only holds the creation itself together but looks forward to 1:8ff where the spirit, upon filling the world, knows the unrighteous deeds of the wicked.¹⁸ This is re-expressed in 12:1-2 where the spirit is the power by which creation is preserved and sustained as well as the ethical power of righteousness (cf. 11:21-26). Because such descriptions of the spirit parallel that of wisdom (1:4-5, 6; 7:7, 22; 9:17), the spirit participates in God's function of ascribing immortality to the righteous just as wisdom has done. Thus the infilling of creation and ethical purity which leads to immortality, coalesce and are observed in the creative functions ascribed to the spirit.

3.1.1.2 *Judith*¹⁹

Perhaps one of the clearest expressions of the spirit's role in creation is contained in Judith's hymn of praise to God as Lord Almighty (κύριος παντοκράτωρ) over the cosmos.²⁰ Judith exclaims, 'Let all your creatures serve you, for you spoke, and they were made. You sent forth your spirit, and it formed them; there is none that can resist your voice,' (16:14). Judith's climactic declaration of God's victory over his enemies is the proclamation of God's universal rule and creative activity fulfilled through the spirit.²¹

¹⁷ 'All things,' if we recall, is a decisive phrase for Bauckham's categorisation of God as creator and ruler of 'all things.' It is often noted that The Wisdom of Solomon conceives of the spirit in Stoic terms, a conclusion that is dependent upon the pantheistic vision of the spirit's activity in filling the cosmos (1:7; 12:1, cf. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De. Mix.* 216.14-17; Seneca, *Ep.* 41.2). Such an identification between *The Wisdom of Solomon* and Stoicism loses much of its force when it is seen that the cosmic scope of the spirit is modelled off the pervasive activity of God, his word and wisdom, a conception steeped in the Hebrew Scriptures rather than in Greco-Roman philosophy. Though the author's terminology may be borrowed from Greco-Roman philosophy, this does not preclude that the concepts denoted are thereby that of this philosophical system. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 22-24; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 101, fn. 62; Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom*, 68. Pace Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 70-72; 144-145. Further, see James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and its Consequences*, AnBib 41 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970); Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 196-221.

¹⁸ On 12:1, Reider states, 'All things or persons, both good and bad, exist by the eternal spirit of God,' Joseph Reider, *The Book of Wisdom* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 148, fn. 1.

¹⁹ Scholarship supports the composition of Judith during the Maccabean period based upon the similarities between the conflict with the Assyrians in the story, and the conflicts (with either the Seleucids or Romans) in the Hasmonean dynasty. Since Clement of Rome refers to a Greek translation of Judith in 90 CE, and since the original was most likely written in Hebrew, the date of composition must certainly be much earlier. See Morton S. Enslin and Solomon Zeitlin, *The Book of Judith*, Jewish Apocryphal Literature 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 26-31; Carey A. Moore, *Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 40 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), 67-70; Lawrence M. Wills, 'The Book of Judith,' in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 3, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 1076-1079; Roger A. Bullard and Howard A. Hatton, *A Handbook on Tobit and Judith*, UBS (New York: United Bible Societies, 2001), 230-231; Benedikt Otzen, *Tobit and Judith*, GAP (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 81-87.

²⁰ God is declared to be the creator of *all things* (8:14), the 'Lord of heaven and earth, Creator of the waters, King of all...creation' (9:12), and 'the Lord God, who created the heavens and the earth' (13:18). God has spoken and none can resist his voice (16:14).

²¹ The overlap between the effective *commands* of God and the activity of the *pneuma*, is clear, yet this creates a possible ambiguity as to the sense of πνεῦμα. It is possible to translate πνεῦμα as 'breath,' which contextually is

3.1.1.3 *1 Enoch*²² and *Joseph and Aseneth*²³

Contained within ‘The Book of Parables’ (chaps. 37-71), *1 Enoch* 61:7 states, ‘And him, at the beginning, they blessed with their voice, and they exalted and glorified him with wisdom; and they were wise in speech and in *the spirit of life*.’²⁴ The repetition of the phrase ‘spirit of life’

a viable option since a) πνεῦμα is paralleled with God’s speech and voice in the preceding and following lines, and b) the allusion to Ps 33:6, 9 and Ps 104:30 makes such a reading possible since ‘breath’ seems more appropriate in relation to the imagery of the word of the Lord. But the imagery of ‘sending forth’ the πνεῦμα is much more consistently understood in personified fashion to refer to the spirit rather than breath. This point is supported from the verb ὑκοδόμησεν (‘forming/building’) which is more appropriately used as a description of spirit than breath. Lower case ‘spirit’ is translated by Enslin, Zeitlin, *The Book of Judith*, 173; Craven, *Artistry and Faith in the Book of Judith*, 109; ‘God’s spirit served as the creative agent,’ Moore, *Judith*, 250; Otzen, *Tobit and Judith*, 98. Pace Bullard and Hatton, *A Handbook on Tobit and Judith*, 508-509; NAB; NRSV; KJV.

²² The dating of *1 Enoch* is difficult in light of the diverse collection of apocalyptic texts that comprise the book itself. For our purposes, ‘The Book of Parables’ (cf. 68:1) was composed no later than 70 CE, but likely in the First Century BCE, pace Jazef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). The common arguments in favour of an earlier dating are 1) there is no mention of the fall of Jerusalem in the book, 2) the absence of the book at Qumran can be attributed to tensions between the Qumran community and the apocalyptic strand of Judaism, 3) the historical events appear to mirror earlier tensions in Judaism’s history. Nickelsburg and Charles argue for a first century BCE date, see George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 7; *idem*, with James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37-82*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2011). Matthew Black dates the work no later than 70 CE, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, SVTP (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 181-188; Michael A. Knibb, opts for a late First Century CE date, *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, SVTP 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 143-160. See the collection of essays on dating *The Book of Parables* in G. Boccaccini, ed. *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007), 415-496.

²³ Scholars are predominately in agreement that *Jos Asen* is of Jewish origin, written in Egypt and composed in Greek. While the exact date of composition of this story is unknown, the clear dependence on the Greek text of the Hebrew Bible determine that it was not composed earlier than 100 BCE, nor later than 115 CE when the Jewish revolt occurred that resulted in the annihilation of the Jewish population in Egypt. This period is admittedly wide, yet G.D. Kilpatrick, J. Jeremias, and J.J. Collins have produced convincing arguments for a pre-30 BCE composition under the Ptolemaic reign before conflicts with the Romans. This would best explain the positive aspects of the story between Jewish faith and Egyptian royalty which inspire positive relations for Jews in Egypt with Egyptian culture. See Randall D. Chesnut, *From Death to Life: Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth*, JSPSup 16 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 80-85, particularly the references at 82, fn. 67; Edith M. Humphrey, *Joseph and Aseneth*, GAP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 28-33. For a minority dissenting view on this reconstruction of date and Jewish origin, see Ross S. Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph: A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 225-244 (dating), 245-285 (non-Jewish authorship). Gideon Bohak presumes Jewish authorship for his study, *Joseph and Aseneth and the Jewish Temple in Heliopolis*, EJL 10 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), xiii. So does Christoph Burchard, ‘Joseph and Aseneth,’ in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1985), 187. Menzies excludes the work from his analysis on the assumption that the work is late and includes Christian interpolations, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 53, while Wenk provides sound reasoning for its inclusion, *Community-Forming Power*, 94-96. All English translations are taken from Burchard, ‘Joseph and Aseneth,’ 176-247. All Greek references are from Christoph Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth: Kritisch Herausgegeben von Christoph Burchard Mit Unterstützung Von Carsten Burfeind Und Uta Barbara Fink*, PVTG (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²⁴ This translation is that of George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2004), 78, emphasis added; cf. Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 149. There are certain exegetical ambiguities in this verse that make interpretation difficult for the exact meaning of the phrase ‘in the spirit of life’ is difficult to discern as it could be a reference to 1) the eternality of the heavenly host, 2) a reference to the spirit of God who *gives life*, or 3) taken as reference to the *living* creatures from Ezekiel’s visions. Yet the argument can be put forward that the phrase ‘they (the heavenly hosts) were wise in speech and in the spirit of life’ is a synonymous parallelism which expresses the point that

(understood as an objective genitive) confirms the continuation of the identification of the spirit with life that was formed in the Hebrew Scriptures (*Jos Asen* 16:14; 19:11, cf. 19:10).²⁵ The spirit is the key power in Aseneth's transformational experience of turning to God from idolatry (8:9; 21:21). Aseneth is given honeycomb from the mysterious heavenly man (most likely God's presence, cf. 17:9) which 'is (full of the) spirit of life' (πνεῦμα ζωῆς, 16:14; again understood as an objective genitive; cf. 16:8, 11). That the spirit of God is in view here, and not breath of life, is evidenced in Joseph's prayer to God 'who gave life to all (things)' that he would 'renew her by *your* spirit' (ἀνακαίνισον αὐτήν τῷ πνεύματί σου, 8:9). The 'life' and 'renewal' Aseneth receives from the spirit is immortality (15:4-5; 27:10). The final reference of interest in the narrative is the apparent transference of the spirit when Joseph and Aseneth kiss for 'both *came to life in their spirit* (τῷ πνεύματί αὐτῶν). And Joseph kissed Aseneth *and gave her spirit of life* (πνεῦμα ζωῆς), and... *spirit of wisdom* (πνεῦμα σοφίας), and... *spirit of truth* (πνεῦμα ἀληθείας)' (19:10-11). Joseph himself is a man of the spirit of God, wisdom and knowledge (4:7), which indicates that Aseneth, through this kiss (cf. 21:21), now shares in the gifts that come through the spirit, notably new life itself.

the creatures possessed the spirit of prophecy responsible for imparting wisdom to them, thus bringing together both the creating and ruling activities of the spirit. For discussion and comparison see Daniel C. Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation* (North Richland Hills: BIBAL Press, 2004), 113; Robert H. Charles, 'Book of Enoch,' in *APOT*, 226; Black denies any reference to the spirit of eternal life, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 58; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 149. Further, it is not clear who the object of blessing is, whether the Chosen One (the Messiah) or God himself. Fatehi presumes, without any exegetical defence, that the spirit of God is referenced here, and identifies 'the spirit of life' and 'the Lord of the spirits' (cf. 61:8), *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 131-133. Cf. Turner who views the spirit of prophecy in *1 Enoch* 61:7, *Power from on High*, 97, 132.

²⁵ The common theme of God as creator of all features prominently in the work. It is God who gives all things life (8:3, 10; 12:1), has made all creatures (8:9; 12:2), has created all things (21:1-2), and is identified as the living God (8:5; 11:10; 19:8) and the Most High God of life (21:15). He gave 'breath of life' (πνοήν ζωῆς) to the whole creation (12:1) and his word is life for all creatures (12:2). 'Life' (ζωή) figures frequently in the work and is not just the gift given to creatures from God their creator, but is the reward given to Aseneth for her 'conversion' from darkness to light (8:9). This overlap between the theme of God as creator who gives life and the final reward of immortality is a crucial component of the story. Cf. 'Materially, conversion is described...in analogy to creation...Conversion is also called re-creation,' Burchard, 'Joseph and Aseneth,' 192.

3.1.1.4 2 Maccabees²⁶

2 Macc also continues the identification of the spirit and life.²⁷ In the broader context of 7:1-43 where in the face of the death of her seven martyred sons, and eventually her own, a mother states that it is God who will give ‘the spirit and life’ (τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν, 7:23, cf. 7:22) back to her dead sons. So too the ‘martyr’ Razis calls on God who is the ‘Master of life and of the spirit’ (δεσπόζοντα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, 14:46) to give back his entrails after his death. These two stories illustrate the hope of life after death for it is God who will raise up (ἀναστήσει) the martyrs to ‘everlasting life’ (αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς, 7:9, cf. 7:36; 12:44). The correlation between the spirit and life after death finds its logical extension from the recognition that God gives life through his spirit.²⁸

²⁶ Dating 2 Macc is difficult because the composition as a whole is an epitome of a longer and older five volume work by Jason of Cyrene (see the preface 2:19-32) and also contains at least two letters (A, 124 BCE – the *Letter to the Jews in Egypt*, 1:1-9; B, 164-160 BCE – the *Letter to Aristobulus*, 1:10-2:18). The difficulty lies in determining exactly when the epitome, who remains anonymous, was finally completed and the composite parts formed together. The dependence on 2 Macc by 4 Macc and Hebrews posts a 50 CE late date, yet the positive attitude towards the Romans contained in the work (4:11; 8:10, 36; 11:34-36) indicate that the composition must have been complete by 63 BCE before Roman occupation of Palestine (contra. Solomon Zeitlin, Sidney Tedesche, *The Second Book of Maccabees*, JAL (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 27-30). Daniel R. Schwartz opts for an even earlier dating of 143/142 BCE, *2 Maccabees*, CEJL (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 3-37. For discussion on dating 2 Macc, see John R. Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 215-219; Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation and Commentary*, AB 41A (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 71-83; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 3-37.

²⁷ Much attention has been given to 2 Macc 7:1-42, with particular attention to 22-23, 27-29, for the emergence of what appears to be the first reference to creation *ex nihilo* where God created all things οὐκ ἔξ ὄντων (7:28). But however the phrase should be interpreted, what is significant is that God is the creator of all (1:24; 13:14), the living Lord (ὁ ζῶν κύριος, 7:33; ὁ κύριος ζῶν, 15:4), the creator of the world (ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης, 7:23), who ‘set in order the elements’ (τὴν ἐκάστου στοιχείωσιν οὐκ ἐγὼ διερρῦθμισα, 7:22), and who ‘shaped the beginning of humankind and devised the origin of all things’ (7:23).

²⁸ This conclusion that the divine spirit is referenced here needs some defence. Firstly, the unusual phrase ‘the spirit and life’ (repeated twice, 7:22-23 and then in reverse order in 14:46), rather than ‘the spirit of life’ which is more common, indicates the careful intention of the author in expressing this association. The author is capable of using πνοῇ to refer to breath in the dying moments of the second son’s death (7:9), yet the use of πνεῦμα in 7:22-23 appears deliberate. Secondly, though many commentators view πνεῦμα as ‘breath’ and cite Gen 2:7 as the informing background text, this interpretation does not make much sense of 14:46 where God is the ‘Master of the πνεῦμα,’ (Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees*, 273, 335). Thirdly, the author has already identified God as the ‘Lord of spirits and all authority’ (ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας δυνάστης, 3:24) and the King of the world (ὁ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεύς, 7:9). ‘Master of the spirit’ therefore follows this pattern and identifies God as the giver of life through his spirit. Fourthly, since 14:46 is clearly dependent upon 7:22-23, both occurrences of πνεῦμα should be consistent, and since 14:46 is better understood as a reference to the spirit, then this should inform our understanding of 7:22-23. Fifthly, the unique form of the expression τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν is arguably meant to identify the spirit with life itself so that the phrase functions as a hendiadys. Zeitlin, Tedesche are inconsistent by translating ‘breath’ at 7:22-23 and ‘spirit’ at 14:46 (*The Second Book of Maccabees*, 165, 239), as is the NRSV. For those who translate ‘spirit’ [presumably the human spirit], see Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 290, 311-313, 474; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 297, 466. That πνεῦμα refers to the divine spirit is also the conclusion of Philip, but without defence, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 137-138.

3.1.1.5 Philo²⁹

The voluminous work of Philo attests to the life-giving activity of the spirit.³⁰ Philo understands God as filling the universe with himself just as he can also view the spirit as permeating all creation.³¹ The ‘the spirit...is the wise, the divine, the excellent spirit, susceptible of neither severance nor division, *diffused in its fullness everywhere and through all things...*’ (*Gig.* 27, cf. *Deus.* 35; *Aet.* 86, 125; *Opif.* 131).³² The spirit is the cohesive power proceeding from God which holds the earth together so that water (the oceans) does not

²⁹ Philo of Alexandria was born between 20-10 BCE (cf. *Legat.* 1) and died shortly after 41 CE (cf. *Legat.* 206 and his allusion to Claudius’ reign). This places him as a near contemporary of Paul, albeit an Alexandrian Jew. For an introduction to Philo see Adam Kamesar, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Philo* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). On Philo’s Jewish heritage see Samuel Sandmel, *Philo’s Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971); Alan Mendelson, *Philo’s Jewish Identity*, BJS 161 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); Ellen Birnbaum, *The Place of Judaism in Philo’s Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes*, SPM 2.290 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); David T. Runia and Gregory E. Sterling, eds., *The Studia Philonica Annual: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism*, Vol. 9, *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston*, Brown Judaic Studies 312 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); Naomi G. Cohen, *Philo’s Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings, Evidence for a Haftarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism*, SJSJ 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2007). On the relationship between Philo and the New Testament, see the collection of essays in Roland Deines and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, eds., *Philo und das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). For further research see Peder Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time*, SNT 86 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); David T. Runia and Helena Maria Keizer, *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1987-1996*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

³⁰ Though Philo is steeped in the Jewish tradition, his concepts and terminology are dependent upon and expressed using Greco-Roman philosophical ideas, specifically Platonic and Stoic thought. Philo asserts, in a unique development of his Jewish tradition, the notion of a double creation that is dependent upon Plato’s notion of the Ideas (*Opif.* 16, cf. *Opif.* 13, 36; *Spec.* 1.327). God first formed, or conceived, the Idea in his mind as the model of perfection and then created the world based upon this design. This is of significance for Philo’s understanding of the powers, the logos, wisdom and indeed spirit, *for he identifies them with the Ideas* as proceeding forth from the mind of God to form creation, but cf. *Opif.* 74 (See Thomas H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation*, CBQMS 14 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983) and David T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and The Timaeus of Plato*, *Philosophia Antiqua* (Leiden: Brill, 1986). For the relationship between pneuma, Stoicism and Philo’s hierarchy of ideas, see Gitte Buch-Hansen, ‘*It is the Spirit that Gives Life*’: *A Stoic Understanding of Pneuma in John’s Gospel*, BZNV 173 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2010), 59-157). For the understanding of the relation between the powers of God and the Ideas see *Opif.* 24-25, 135; *Leg.* 1.329; 1.43; 2.86; *Her.* 165-166; *Cher.* 127; *Fug.* 109. For alternative influences in reference to Platonic thought in Philo, see Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 151-158.

³¹ Philo asserts that God existed before the creation of the world (*Mut.* 27), never ceases to create (*Leg.* 1.5, 18), is identified as the creator of *all things* that exists (*Opif.* 74, 77; *Leg.* 1:18, 41; *Ebr.* 116-118; *Mut.* 29; *Q.G.* 2.13; 3.5; *Gig.* 11, 23), the living God (*Deus.* 33; *Ebr.* 117; *Mut.* 27), has infinite powers by which he creates and governs the universe (*Sacr.* 59; *Fug.* 95; *Deus.* 33-34; *Mut.* 29), and has filled everything with himself (*Gig.* 47; *Leg.* 1.44, 3.4; *Conf.* 136, cf. *Mut.* 27) for he is in both heaven and earth (*Leg.* 3.82). Indeed, Philo dedicates whole books (*Opif.*) and large portions of variegated works to this central Jewish declaration of God’s creative role.

³² This conception owes much to Philo’s understanding of the spirit as analogically associated with the substance of air. Philo likens the spirit to air which flows over land and water, and indeed here identifies Gen 1:2 as the action of the spirit (*Gig.* 22-23, cf. *Cher.* 111; *Spec.* 2:153; *Praem.* 41; *Ebr.* 106; *Sacr.* 97, where πνεῦμα and air are synonymous). So too is the spirit identified with the air in Philo’s discussion of unholy sacrifices where the air, and the spirit, are polluted by the smoke of false offerings (ἀέρα; πνεύματος; *Virt.* 135), and in Philo’s discussion of the ascent of the Philosopher’s mind where the power of the divine spirit is paralleled with the force of hurricanes and tornados (*Plant.* 12-24). Of interest is Philo’s understanding of *pneuma* as ‘connoting strength and vigour and power, while a “breath” (πνοή) is like an air (ἀήρ) or a peaceful and gentle vapour,’ (*Leg.* 1.42). Indeed Philo can deny a materialistic conception of pneuma as air (*Det.* 83) in order to emphasise the rational imputation of the spirit yet he can state that ‘the divine spirit is *not* a movement of air but intelligence and wisdom’ (*Q.G.* 1.90).

disappear (*Opif.* 131; *Q.G.* 2.28).³³ One can also discern in Philo's thinking a movement from the universal presence of the spirit in creation towards a conception of the spirit as the spirit of life (ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα, *Opif.* 29-30; πνεῦμα ζωῆς, *Det.* 80; cf. *Spec.* 4.123). The connection is made by Philo between the heavenly (first) Adam, as the archetype of the image of God (*Leg.* 1.31-42),³⁴ and the earthly (second) Adam, when he identifies the divine spirit as rationality, the very essence of the image of God in humanity (*Her.* 55-57; *Spec.* 1:6, 171, 277). The second Adam 'is a composite one made up of earthly substance and of divine spirit (πνεύματος θείου)...for that which He breathed in was nothing else than a divine spirit (πνεῦμα θεῖον),' (*Opif.* 135).³⁵ This rational spirit (*Spec.* 1:171, 277) is in fact what makes Adam 'near kin to the Ruler [i.e. God], since the divine spirit had flowed into him in full current' (*Opif.* 144).³⁶ The crucial function of the spirit in Philo's conception is that the soul does not truly come alive until the divine spirit is imparted as rationality (*Leg.* 1.32-33, 35-42).³⁷ In this way Philo continues the tradition of identifying the divine spirit as giving life.³⁸

³³ Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, 316-317.

³⁴ For the relationship between *pneuma* and the image of God in Philo, see Lorenzen, *Das paulinische Eikon-Konzept*, 108-131.

³⁵ In Philo's anthropology, the spirit is imparted into the mind and is the means by which God's power is given and is responsible for the mind's comprehension of God in return (*Leg.* 1.37-38). The earthly Adam contains a soul which consists of three parts: the nutritive part, the senses (blood), and reason, and Philo takes great pains to identify the divine spirit with reason as the true essence of the soul (*Q.G.* 2.59; *Leg.* 1.39-40, cf. *Her.* 55-57 where Philo only partitions the soul into two, reason and blood; see also *Leg.* 1.91; *Det.* 80; *Spec.* 4:123; *Somm.* 1:30ff). Further, see Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, 326.

³⁶ This identification between the divine spirit and reason appears prominent in Philo's work, *Opif.* 67, 144; *Her.* 55-57; *Spec.* 1.6; *Det.* 83-84; *Mut.* 123-124; *Q.G.* 1.90; 2.8; *Plant.* 18, 24; *Fug.* 133-134; cf. *Somm.* 2.252; *Mos.* 1:279.

³⁷ I find it a curious argument by Isaacs that 'πνεῦμα is one of the constituents of man. Unlike λόγος it is never referred to as one of the craftsmen employed in man's making...he does not envisage πνεῦμα as an agent of the divine,' *The Concept of Spirit*, 56, emphasis added. Since Philo views the inbreathing of the divine rational spirit as essential to the vitalisation of the soul so that the individual truly comes alive, I fail to comprehend how this does not qualify the spirit as a 'craftsmen employed in man's making' if indeed the spirit is God in his creative activity. The activity of the spirit is clearly expressed in *Leg.* 1.37: 'that which inbreathes is God, that which receives is the mind, that which is inbreathed is the spirit...A union of the three comes about, as God projects the power that proceeds from Himself through the median spirit till it reaches the subject.'

³⁸ Philo explicitly understands the spirit of God to be in view in Gen 1:2 (*Leg.* 1:33; *Gig.* 22; *Q.G.* 4.5), rather than breath (or wind, cf. *Det.* 83), for he differentiates between these senses when a comparison is made with Gen 2:7 (despite the LXX, like the Hebrew, retaining πνεῦμα and πνοή). Philo retains πνοή in Gen 2:7 (*Leg.* 1:31, 42, *Opif.* 144) but also substitutes πνοή with πνεῦμα elsewhere (*Det.* 80; *Opif.* 135; *Spec.* 4.123). This is further confirmed in *Opif.* 29-30 where Philo stresses the importance of πνεῦμα in God's creative activity whereby πνεῦμα is 'life-giving (ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα), and of life God is the author,' (*Opif.* 30). In addition, Philo clearly understands the spirit of God to be in view in his reading of Gen 6:3 (*Gig.* 19-31). See Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, 163-171, specifically 166-167. As John Levison remarks, 'Gen 1:2...is the anchor for Philo's description of the cosmic πνεῦμα,' John R. Levison, 'Inspiration and the Divine Spirit in the Writings of Philo Judaeus,' *JSJ* 26:3 (1995): 271.

3.1.1.6 Pseudo-Philo³⁹

In a re-telling of Num 22-24, Ps. Ph. attempts to bring together the tension between the presence of the spirit as the power of life, and the presence of the spirit as the inspiration of prophetic speech, and what emerges is an understanding of the spirit as the source of life and respiration, not simply inspiration. Ps. Ph. has Balaam claim that ‘the spirit that is given to us is given for a time’ (18.3) but also narrates his exclamation that ‘I am restrained in my speech and cannot say what I see with my eyes, because there is little left of the holy spirit that abides in me. For I know that I have been persuaded by Balak and have lost time from my life’ (18.11).⁴⁰ These references demonstrate that the spirit is responsible for the length of life given to each individual for Balaam is acutely aware that the absence of the spirit results in the passing of life into death.⁴¹

3.1.1.7 The Qumran Community⁴²

There is one notable reference in the Qumran documents to the spirit’s work in creation: 4Q 511 fr. 30.6.⁴³ The text posits a very clear demarcation between God as creator and humankind. The Sage’s song asks rhetorically, ‘How can he [humankind] measure the spirit

³⁹ Pseudo-Philo, or alternatively the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (LAB), is a First Century CE work and is commonly dated pre-66 CE before the war with Rome and composed in Palestine. See Frederick J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3-8. Howard Jacobson has challenged this pre-70 CE date of composition, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum: With Latin Text and English Translation*, Vol. 1, *Arbeiten Zur Geschichte Des Antiken Judentums Und* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 199-210. For broader discussion on Ps. Ph. and his method of re-writing scripture, see Bruce N. Fisk, *Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo-Philo*, *JSPSupS* 37 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001). On the spirit in Ps. Ph., see Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*.

⁴⁰ A significant portion of Levison’s understanding of the spirit of life in Ps. Ph. is based upon the Latin translation contains a negative reference to the permanent possession of the spirit. The Latin reads ‘And when he saw part of the people, the spirit of God did *not* abide in him’ (18.10), Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 57-62. Compare this with Jacobson’s translation where he argues that a scribe must have attempted to remove the negative to make better sense of the passage: ‘He [Balaam] came into the land of Moab and built an altar and offered sacrifices. When he had seen part of the people, *the spirit of God came upon him...*’ (18.10), Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 119, 593-594. Jacobson’s amendment makes the sense of the passage smoother but does not ultimately deny the view that Pseudo-Philo understands the spirit as the spirit of life, a view which is still nonetheless clear from 18.3 and 18.11.

⁴¹ Ps. Ph. presents an intriguing development on Gen 6:3, which the author alludes to on three occasions (3.2; 9.8; 48.1). I do not think that Wenk has given sufficient attention to the role of the spirit in generating and sustaining life in the text. His study remains focused too narrowly on the spirit as an ethical power. See Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 69-75. In contrast, Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 56-77, gives due focus to this theme.

⁴² For a discussion on the composition dates of the text from Qumran see Annette Steudel, ‘Dating Exegetical Texts from Qumran,’ in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, *FAT* 35, eds. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 39-53.

⁴³ Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, rev. ed. (Middlesex: Penguin, 1998). All Qumran quotations are from Vermes, except where noted. That the background text for the Song of the Sage is Isa 40:12-13 remains clear, despite interpretative questions arising because of the fragmentary nature of the scroll. For discussion, see Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran*, 182-183.

of God?’ which is deliberately paralleled with God’s creative activity. The clear implication from the parallelism is that the spirit of God is responsible for the design of creation.

3.1.1.8 Summary

My argument to this point has demonstrated that the spirit functioned in God’s unique creative activity and frequently reference to the spirit occurs in contexts where God’s role as creator is being described.⁴⁴ The many variety of texts examined has sufficiently shown that the view of the spirit as giving life and as participating in cosmic creation was by no means a

⁴⁴ I mention Sirach as a possible reference to the creative activity of the spirit. The dating of the original composition of the Hebrew Sir can confidently be identified between 200 and 175 BCE. For access to Sir and issues and themes relating to the book, see Patrick W. Skehan, Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sir: A New Translation with Notes*, AB 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 3-92; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 23-96; James L. Crenshaw, ‘The Book of Sirach,’ in *The New Interpreter’s Bible*, Vol. 5, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997), 603-637; Clifford, *The Wisdom Literature*, 115-132; Murphy, *The Tree of Life*, 65-81; Renate Egger-Wenzel, ed., *Ben Sir’s God: Proceedings from the International Ben Sir Conference Durham-Ushaw College 2001*, BZAW 321 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002); Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 217-266. There is no context in which the spirit is explicitly seen to participate in God’s creative activity in Sir, but 24:3 is of interest for our purposes: ‘I [Wisdom] came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth like a mist.’ Commentators often note the allusion here to Gen 1:2, and 2:6, where ‘mist came up from the earth and watered the whole surface of the ground,’ (e.g. Skehan, Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sir*, 332; Leo G. Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), 267). In view of the dependency of Sir on these passages, it is possible that the spirit is understood to be identified with wisdom as the mist covering the earth (cf. Skehan, Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sir*, 332; Ben Witherington III, *Jesus the Sage: The Pilgrimage of Wisdom* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark/Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1994), 96). This reference to spirit as the mist of wisdom becomes conceivable once it is observed that in the only reference to the spirit of God in Sir, the spirit is deliberately paired with wisdom using synonymous parallelism (39:6). The spirit of understanding (πνεύματι συνέσεως) is another means of expressing the wisdom of God. With this in mind, the reference to wisdom covering the earth like mist, and the allusion to the spirit’s activity in the Priestly creation narrative that stands behind the expression, alludes to the spirit of God active as wisdom in creating *all things*. Ben Sir views God as the sole creator of all (e.g. 1:4, 9; 15:14; 16:17-23; 16:24-17:24; 18:1-6; 24:8; 32:13; 33:8-13; 36:20; 38:1-15; 40:28ff; 42:15-43:33; 51:12 additions, cf. 23:20). God himself is identified as the ‘Creator’ or ‘Maker’ (3:16; 4:6; 7:30; 10:12; 24:8; 32:13; 33:13; 38:15; 39:5, 28; 43:5, 11; 46:13; 47:8; 51:12). Ben Sir also describes God’s creative activity through the figure of wisdom (cf. 1:9; 33:7-8; 42:15-25; 43:33) using imagery ascribed to *the spirit* in Hebrew tradition, and so too is the figure of Word prominent in Sir to describe God’s creative activity (42:15; 43:26; 48:3-5). See Perdue, ‘Creation and Wisdom in Ben Sir,’ in *Wisdom and Creation*, 248-284; Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 237-290; Núria Caldach-Benages, ‘God, Creator of All (Sir 43:27-33),’ in *Ben Sir’s God*, 79-100. On Wisdom in Sir, see Alexander A. Di Lella, ‘The Meaning of Wisdom in Ben Sir,’ in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie*, eds. Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Brandon Scott and William Johnston Wiseman (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 133-148. Also of interest is Josephus’ interpretation of Gen 1:2 and 2:7. Josephus presents a fascinating development on Gen 1:2, not in what he adds, but in what he subtracts: ‘The earth had not come into sight, but was hidden in thick darkness, and a breath from above (πνεύματος ἄνωθεν) sped over it, when God commanded that there should be light’ (*Ant.* 1.27). Translation by H. St. John Thackeray, *Josephus*, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann/Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 15 (All quotations of Josephus will be taken from the Loeb Classical Library, except where noted). ‘From above’ (ἄνωθεν) can connote ‘from heaven’ which is confirmed in *Ant.* 18.285 where ‘from above’ is paralleled with ‘the heavens.’ The origin of the πνεῦμα is still clear. It comes from God himself, therefore Josephus’ addition ‘from above’ makes an identification with God possible, and thus, it is plausible that πνεῦμα could refer to the spirit (of God) fulfilling a creative activity (cf. *Ant.* 8.107; 114). Πνεῦμα is taken as a reference to the spirit in Karl H. Rengstorf, ed., *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, Vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 434. Levison does not even consider this as a possible reference to the divine spirit, John R. Levison, ‘The Debut of the Divine Spirit in Josephus’s *Antiquities*,’ *HTR* 87:2 (1994): 123-138, cf. 124 fn. 5 (Levison has mistakenly referenced Gen 1:1); ‘Josephus’s Interpretation of the Divine Spirit,’ *JJS* 47 (1996): 235.

marginalised theme but in many ways stands at the heart of a Jewish understanding of God as creator and which remains consistent with the view contained in the Hebrew Scriptures.⁴⁵

3.1.2 *The Spirit as Ruler*

Having demonstrated the role of the spirit in creation, I shall demonstrate the role of the spirit who functions in leading and guiding God's people through inspired exegesis and prophecy.

3.1.2.1 *Sirach*

The role of the spirit in Ben Sira's experience is crucial in demonstrating God's sovereignty over the Sage himself and all those the Sage is responsible for as a teacher of wisdom.⁴⁶ What differentiates the Sage's responsibilities – interpreting the law, prophecies, sayings, parables and proverbs (38:34b-39:5) – from the ordinary tradesman and craftsmen (38:24-34a) is the presence of the spirit of understanding: 'He [the Sage] will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth words of wisdom of his own and give thanks to the Lord in prayer' (39:6). The significance of the spirit is that it is the key ingredient in the Sage's experience in order to fill him with understanding so as to live a life characterised by wisdom and commitment to the law.⁴⁷ Without the spirit of understanding, wisdom cannot be given to the Sage as a gift nor can the Sage 'pour forth wisdom of his own' (39:6).⁴⁸ Moreover, the

⁴⁵ Without any qualms we therefore can critique such arguments which deny any creative or cosmic role given to the spirit, of which Kongsmo appears representative. He argues that 'The literature found in the Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha exclude any cosmological significance to the Spirit,' Erik Kongsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit: The Intangible Spirit's Tangible Presence in the Life of the Christian*, SBL 130 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 16. It is my contention that such a view is surely misguided. For a defence of the cosmic role of the spirit in Wisdom of Solomon and Philo, see Max-Alain Chevallier, 'Sur un silence du Nouveau Testament: l'Esprit de Dieu à l'oeuvre dans le cosmos et l'humanité,' *NTS* 33 (1987): 344-369. Chevallier is right in what he affirms (a cosmological role of the spirit in *Wisdom* and Philo), yet wrong in what he denies (the absence of the cosmological spirit in the NT).

⁴⁶ On Ben Sira as Sage and one possessing authority, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel*, LAI (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 15-20; Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 227-234. More broadly see John G. Gammie, 'The Sage in Sirach,' in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, eds. John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 355-372.

⁴⁷ The law plays a significant authoritative role in the thought and experience of Ben Sira (15:1; 19:20, 24; 21:11; 24:23; 32:15-33:3; 34:8; 35:1-13; 38:34; 39:8; 41:8; 42:2; 44:20; 45:17; 49:4). That Ben Sira associates wisdom with the law is well known (19:20; 24:23-34), though it is more accurate to view this 'identification' in a more nuanced fashion – that the law is one form of wisdom expressed in history, yet the law does not exhaust wisdom and its scope. See Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 85-86, 92-99; Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 19-83; Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics*, WUNT 2.16 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 8-92, particularly 69-88. On Wisdom, the law, and spirit in Sir, see James A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit: An Investigation of 1 Corinthians 1:18-3:20 Against the Background of Jewish Sapiential Traditions in the Greco-Roman Period* (London/Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), 9-26.

⁴⁸ Ben Sira regards wisdom as belonging to the divine world and available to humankind only as a gift. There is, therefore, a close parallelism between wisdom and the spirit and, correspondingly, between the one endowed

experience of being ‘filled with the spirit of understanding’ (v. 6) is in direct parallel to the Lord who *directs* the Sage’s ‘counsel and knowledge as he meditates on his mysteries,’ (v. 7).⁴⁹

3.1.2.2 *The Wisdom of Solomon*

In the Wisdom of Solomon, the spirit is seen to function as a teacher of righteousness who leads the people of God away from sin and deceit and remains the key experiential evidence that identifies the righteous (1:4-5). This function of the spirit parallels the rulership of wisdom (7:22; 10:1ff;) and God (6:1-4; 11:21-26; 14:3; and 15:1). It is the spirit of wisdom who is given to Solomon when he desired to be wise in order to lead the people of Israel (7:7); the spirit is given from on high so that ‘the paths of those on earth were set right’ (9:17-18); the spirit of the Lord fills the world, holds all things together, and knows what is said (1:7) so the righteous should follow the path of wisdom (1:1-11, cf. 6:12-9:18); since God’s immortal spirit is in *all things*, the spirit corrects those who trespass and warns the wicked of their sin (12:1-2), thus functioning as an ethical guide for those seeking righteousness.⁵⁰

with wisdom and the prophet,’ Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament: The Ordering of Life in Israel and Early Judaism*, OBS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 163.

⁴⁹ The theme of God as sovereign ruler is very prominent in Sir, and the direction of the Lord in the experience of the Sage is an important experiential reality of his authority. See 1:8; 10:12-18; 17:17; 23:1, 4; 36:5, 22; 39:16-21; 51:12 Heb. Additions; and the extensive reference to God ‘Most High’ (ὕψιστος, 4:10; 7:9, 15; 9:15; 12:2, 6; 17:26-27; 19:17; 23:18, 23; 24:2-3, 23; 28:7; 29:11; 33:15; 34:6, 23; 35:8, 12, 21; 37:15; 38:2, 34; 39:5; 41:4, 8; 42:2, 18; 43:2, 12; 44:20; 46:5; 47:5, 8; 48:5; 49:4; 50:7, 14-17, 19, 21).

⁵⁰ Recognition of the role of the spirit within the ethical life (in the Wisdom of Solomon) is noted by Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 61-63, though Menzies argues that this view is not normative for Judaism; Turner, *Power from on High*, 125-126; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 85-88; Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts*, 62-64; Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom*, 61-71. Noteworthy is the explicit link between wisdom and the Kingdom of God (10:10) in the story of Jacob. Cf. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 217. Also of interest is the view that wisdom was the guide who led and delivered the people of Israel out of Egypt (10:15-21), an activity that is also ascribed to God himself (18:1-4; 19:6-9). Wisdom became ‘a starry flame’ (10:17) that clearly parallels the ‘flaming pillar of fire/harmless sun’ (18:3, cf. 18:1 and Sir 24:4). This is of interest for I have noted a similar identification in Isa 63:9-14 between the spirit and the pillar of cloud which strengthens the view that a tradition emerged of reinterpreting the theophanic phenomena of the Exodus, that is, the pillar of cloud and fire, as aspects of God’s own revelation. These theophanic images therefore must conceptually overlap which is supported from the Wisdom of Solomon where the spirit and wisdom are clearly identified (1:4-5, 6; 7:7; 9:17). The implication is therefore that while the spirit is not explicitly identified in the Wisdom of Solomon with the pillar of cloud or fire in the Exodus, the identification between the spirit and wisdom is suggestive. On the Exodus in the Wisdom of Solomon see Samuel Cheon, *The Exodus Story in the Wisdom of Solomon: A Study in Biblical Interpretation*, JSPSupS 23 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Peter Enns, *Exodus Retold: Ancient Exegesis of the Departure from Egypt in Wis 10:15-21 and 19:1-9*, HSM 57 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).

3.1.2.3 *1 Enoch; Joseph and Aseneth; Book of Jubilees*

In *1 Enoch* 91:1 the spirit is poured out upon Enoch as the power of divine revelation, thus the forthcoming vision is given by the spirit of prophecy.⁵¹ In *Jos Asen* 26:6 Levi perceived all [these] things by the spirit that was upon him. In the *Book of Jubilees*⁵² the ‘spirit of righteousness’ descended upon the mouth of Rebecca as she blesses Jacob, and she produces inspired speech (25:14). A ‘spirit of prophecy’ also descended into the mouth of Isaac as he blesses Jacob’s sons (31:12). So too does the *Book of Jubilee* retain the reference to the spirit upon Joseph for whom the spirit gave wisdom and knowledge (40:5).

3.1.2.4 *Philo*

Philo also presents the spirit as the source of divine and prophetic inspiration on key individuals in the Hebrew Scriptures – notably through the expression ‘prophetic spirit’ (προφητικὸν πνεῦματος) – and the inspiration of the spirit in his own experience.⁵³ The divine spirit is said to be upon Abraham (*Virt.* 217; *Q.G.* 3:9),⁵⁴ Joseph (*Jos.* 116-117; cf. 110),⁵⁵ Bezaleel (*Gig.* 23; cf. *Plant.* 26-27), Moses (*Vit. Mos.* 1.175; 2.258, 291; *Decal.* 175; *Gig.* 24-27, 47, cf. *Vit. Mos.* 1.201; 2.191; *Spec.* 1.8; 2:104),⁵⁶ and even Balaam (*Vit. Mos.* 1:277ff, cf. 264-266). The spirit is clearly presented as the power which inspires prophetic utterances to impart wisdom and guidance, and as the power by which key figures play a

⁵¹ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, CEJL (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 160.

⁵² The *Book of Jubilees* is commonly dated to the second century BCE in Palestine and is a re-writing of Genesis 1 – Exodus 12. For discussion regarding the dating of *Jubilees*, see James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, HSM 14 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 207-213; VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain: Peeters, 1989), v-vi; VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 17-2. For a history of scholarship and various themes see Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey and Armin Lange, eds., *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); Orval S. Wintermute, ‘Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction,’ *OTP*, Vol. 2, 43-45; Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, SJSJ 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 35-41, 319-322, who argues that *Jubilees* was redacted with the initial formation of the Essene sect, thus demonstrating similarity with Qumran.

⁵³ There is a notable degree of inconsistency between Philo’s view of the spirit as the rational principle of the mind who dwells within humanity and the charismatic spirit who temporarily falls upon the prophets in a moment of inspiration. His exegesis on Gen 6 clearly evidences his view that the spirit is not a permanent possession and does not remain in humanity (*Gig.* 19-20, 28-29, 53; *Deus.* 2; *Q.G.* 1.90) for the prophetic spirit comes upon the mind to inspire and yet withdraws (*Her.* 265). Complicating the issue further, Philo views the spirit as permanently with Moses but denies permanent possession for others, whose life spans only 120 years, for that Moses also only lives this length of time remains an unresolved question (*Gig.* 55-56, cf. 47-48). How is it possible for Philo to argue that all receive the possession of the spirit yet others experience the effects of the spirit for only a limited time? This tension presents a difficulty in over systematising Philo’s view of spirit, yet he appears to argue that while the spirit resides in humanity, there are instances of heightened modes of inspiration that seem best to explain the reality of the spirit as one of degree, rather than absence.

⁵⁴ See Levison, ‘Inspiration and the Divine Spirit,’ 313-318; *The Spirit in First Century Judaism*, 90-98.

⁵⁵ Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 176-177.

⁵⁶ On Moses as a prophetic figure in Philo, see Levison, ‘Inspiration and the Divine Spirit,’ 308-313; *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 171-176; also for a fuller analysis, Louis H. Feldman, *Philo’s Portrayal of Moses in the Context of Ancient Judaism*, CJAS 15 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

decisive role in the leadership of God's people (Abraham, Moses, 70 elders) or used by God to give divine and prophetic direction (Joseph, Moses, Bezaleel, Balaam).⁵⁷ In *Somn.* 2.252 Philo speaks of the inspiration of the spirit in his interpretation of Torah and asserts 'I hear once more the voice of the invisible spirit, the secret tenant' (cf. *Cher.* 27-29).⁵⁸ He also emphasises the role of the spirit in the ascent of the philosopher's mind 'to the utmost height.' This is achieved 'by the native force of the divine spirit, overcoming as it does in its boundless might all powers that are here below' (*Plant.* 24).⁵⁹

3.1.2.5 Pseudo-Philo

Pseudo-Philo also continues the tradition of the prophetic spirit in his exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures. In a re-writing of the biblical tradition about the prophets, Pseudo-Philo expands on a passing reference to Kenaz the father of Othniel (*Judg* 3:9-11) and in *Ps. Ph.* 27 describes Kenaz as clothed in the spirit of the Lord (27.9) and the spirit of power (27.10) to lead God's people in a time of war. In 28:6 the holy spirit came upon Kenaz, dwelt in him, 'and took away his sense' so that he prophesied. Pseudo-Philo's account of *Num* 24 heightens the role of the spirit in inspiring Balaam as he prophesies on behalf of Balak. Balaam conveys that the inspiring spirit is only given for a time, which equates to the sovereignty that the spirit possesses, for Balaam can only prophesy when the spirit descends upon him (18.3; 10-11).⁶⁰ Pseudo-Philo also presents the spirit as the source of the prophecy given to Barak that foretold

⁵⁷ Philo's narration of Balaam needs individual investigation since he explicitly views Balaam in a negative light for he is a soothsayer (*Vit. Mos.* 1.264), posing as a distinguished prophet (*Vit. Mos.* 1.266) who has selfish motives for taking up Balak's offer of divination. Philo, in a similar exegetical interpretation to Josephus, understands an angel to have confronted Balaam on his ass. The words of the angel confirm that Balaam will only speak that which the angel inspires (*Vit. Mos.* 1. 274). Further in the narrative, when Philo presents Balaam as beginning his divination, he records: 'He (Balaam) advanced outside, and straightway became possessed, and there fell upon him the truly prophetic spirit which banished utterly from his soul his art of wizardry. For the craft of the sorcerer and the inspiration of the Holiest might not live together. Then he returned, and, seeing the sacrifices and the altars flaming, he spake these oracles as one repeating the words which another had put into his mouth' (*Vit. Mos.* 1.277, cf. 281-284). Here the spirit is clearly the source of inspiration for Balaam's blessing of Israel, in contrast to the expected cursing in favour of Balak, and this inspiration by the spirit clearly overrides the mental processes of the seer thus recognising the activity of the spirit. The significance is that the spirit is consistently presented here, despite Balaam's questionable motives and background, as the power responsible for prophetic inspiration in order to demonstrate God's providence (Cf. *Migr.* 114; *Her.* 259). Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 28-31.

⁵⁸ For defence in reading a reference to the divine spirit here see John R. Levison, 'Philo's Personal Experience and the Persistence of Prophecy,' in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 427, eds. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak (New York/London: T&T Clark International, 2006), 194-209; *idem*, 'Inspiration and the Divine Spirit,' 299-300; *idem*, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 190-191.

⁵⁹ While Philo does not state his own experience in *Plant.* 24, a comparison with *Spec.* 3.1-6 confirms that Philo certainly would categorise himself as a Philosopher who is 'borne aloft into the heights with a soul possessed by some God-sent inspiration, a fellow-traveller with the sun and moon and the whole heaven and universe' (*Spec.* 3.1). Also argued by Levison, 'Inspiration and the Divine Spirit,' 288-294; *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 192-194.

⁶⁰ See Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 84-90.

the death of Sisera by a woman (31.9), and the spirit of the Lord is said to be taken from Saul as a sign that his role as King had come to an end (60.1), though Pseudo-Philo still ascribes a brief prophetic speech to Saul that finalises the end of his reign (62.2).⁶¹

3.1.2.6 Josephus⁶²

It is evident that Josephus has removed particular references to the prophetic spirit in his retelling of narratives from the Hebrew Scriptures, but what Josephus retains and adds is informative.⁶³ Balaam himself is identified as a prophet and Josephus clearly presents the spirit as the inspiration for his oracle given to Balak: ‘such was the inspired utterance of one who was no longer his own master but was overruled by the divine spirit (δὲ θεῖῳ πνεύματι) to deliver it’ (*Ant.* 4:118).⁶⁴ At Balak’s disappointment of the content of the oracle, Balaam responds, ‘hast thou reflected on the whole matter and thinkest thou that it rests with us at all to be silent or to speak on such themes as these, when we are possessed by the spirit of God?’ (τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα, *Ant.* 4:119). So too Josephus narrates that ‘the Deity’ departed from Saul and the divine spirit was given to David (as a sign of his kingship), and upon reception of the spirit, David began to prophesy’ (*Ant.* 4:166).⁶⁵ The spirit of God also inspired Saul’s men, and Saul himself, to prophesy when seeking to capture David (*Ant.* 4:222-223).⁶⁶

⁶¹ Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 102-104.

⁶² Flavius Josephus (37-100 CE) composed his *Jewish Antiquities*, which contains the relevant references to the spirit as discussed in this study, following the Jewish war against Rome (66-74 CE). Josephus states that he completed his *Jewish Antiquities* in the thirteenth year of Domitian’s reign, approximately 93/94 CE. Like Philo, I include Josephus because of his immense importance in describing contemporaneous Judaism. See Louis H. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, Vol. 3, Judean Antiquities 1-4 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), XVII-xx for discussion. For a general overview of Josephus as re-interpreter of Hebrew Scripture, see Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus’s Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley and Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1998), *idem*, *Studies in Josephus’ Rewritten Bible*, SJSJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 1998). See also Shayne J.D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian*, CSCT 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1979); Paul Spilsbury, *The Image of the Jew in Flavius Josephus’ Paraphrase of the Bible*, TSAJ 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); Steve Mason, ed., *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives*, JSPSupS 32 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Joseph Sievers and Gaia Lembi, eds., *Josephus and Jewish History in Flavian Rome and Beyond*, SJSJ 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason and James Rives, eds., *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). With a view towards the NT, including Josephus’ Jewish context, see the collection of essays in Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata, eds., *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

⁶³ Josephus adds *pneuma* to his re-telling of the LXX often and in contexts where prophecy is in view, e.g. Balaam (*Ant.* 4.108ff); David (*Ant.* VI 166; *Ant.* VIII, 408 on 1 Kings 22:15); Samson (*Ant.* 5.285); Joshua (*Ant.* 4.165); Azariah (*Ant.* 8.295); Zechariah (*Ant.* 9.168); Jahaziel (*Ant.* 9.10). Notable is his narration of Num 22-24 and the reference to the spirit that inspires Balaam’s donkey to speak (*Ant.* 4:108-109, cf. Num 22:23).

⁶⁴ Pace Levison, ‘The Debut of the Divine Spirit,’ 129, ‘Josephus never referred to Balaam as a prophet, nor to his inspiration as prophetic.’ Yet the story is clear that Balaam is identified in the same way as a prophet inspired of the spirit (μάντιν seer, 4:112; this is the term used to describe Balaam in the LXX, Josh 13:22).

⁶⁵ Cf. *Ant.* 6:56. Though the spirit is not explicitly mentioned here, the divine inspiration given to the prophets resulting in prophetic speech is surely indicative of the spirit’s work. So too *Ant.* 9:35.

⁶⁶ That Josephus omits the MT question ‘Is Saul also among the prophets?’ can be explained in that Josephus’ interpretation of the story understands the spirit to be with David, and only given to Saul in this episode as a sign

Finally, Josephus understands the divine spirit as the power that legitimises the true prophet (*Ant.* 8:408) and that enables Daniel to uniquely interpret and understand what no one else could understand (*Ant.* 10:237-239).⁶⁷

3.1.2.7 *The Qumran Community*

The Qumran community's strict adherence to the Torah as the defining standard of identity was the means by which they demonstrated their fidelity to God's covenant given to Moses. It is significant then that *The Community Rule* records the spirit as revealing the law to the Prophets as the key inspiration that unveils God's covenant: 'This path is the study of the Law which He commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do according to all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the Prophets have revealed by His holy spirit' (1QS 8.15-16).⁶⁸ Thus the prophetic work of the spirit plays an integral role in God's sovereign guidance of his people, through the spirit, by the gift of the covenant (CD 2.12; 1Q34bis 2.6-7)⁶⁹ Yet not only was the spirit involved in the communication of the law to the Prophets, the spirit plays a clear role within the ethical and spiritual life of the Qumran community, through its teachers, as members faithfully adhere to Torah.⁷⁰ The development of the collocation 'the spirit of holiness' illustrates the extent to which holiness, as the sign of commitment to God, was seen to be the product of the spirit.⁷¹

of proximity to David, the true king. That Samuel the prophet is present heightens this picture of the spirit as legitimating David as king (*Ant.* 6:220-223).

⁶⁷ Josephus has solidified a reference to the divine spirit in his re-telling of the Daniel story for he adds the definite article (τό) to πνεῦμα and adds the adjective θεῖον, Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 168-170. For the view that Josephus intended to present himself as a Prophet inspired of God, see Rebecca Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 35-79.

⁶⁸ 'In 1QS 8:16, the spirit is the precise mechanism through which the prophets reveal the progressive revelation of the law,' Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, STDJ 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 62, fn. 73.

⁶⁹ Of interest is the brief reference to the spirit of God in the Aramaic Apocalypse (4Q246 1.1). The spirit of God is said to be upon a figure like Daniel who falls before the throne of God and pronounces prophetic speech. The fragment is too brief to give a fuller analysis yet what remains clear is the active role of the spirit in inspiring prophetic speech and direction.

⁷⁰ So too Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 102-108. See 1QS 3.6-12; 4:6, 21; 9.3-5; 1QH 4.26; 5.18-19; 6.12-13, 25; 8.2-12; 15.6-7; 16.10-14; 17:32-34; 20.11-13; Fr. 2.9-13; Fr. 3.14; 4Q504 5.15; 1QSb 1.2; 4.25-26. These references follow that of Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* and Émile Puech, 'Quelques aspects de la Restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH),' *JJS* 39 (1988): 38-55. See further James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Vol. 1, Rule of the Community and Related Documents (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck/Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 123; Turner, *Power from on High*, 127-129; Joseph M. Baumgarten, 'The Law and Spirit of Purity Qumran,' in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2, The Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran Community, ed. J.H. Charlesworth (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 93-105. On the impact of Ps 51 on the presentation of the spirit in 1QS see A. Klein, 'From the "Right Spirit" to the "Spirit of Truth": Observations on Psalm 51 and 1QS,' in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, 171-191.

⁷¹ The writer of the Thanksgiving Hymns can exclaim, 'Bowing down and confessing all my transgressions, I will seek Thy spirit of knowledge; cleaving to Thy spirit of holiness' (1QH 8. 2ff, cf. 10ff). Moreover, in another context a hymn records, 'I, the Master, know Thee O my God, by the spirit Thou hast given to me, and by Thy

3.1.2.8 Summary

The evidence for the spirit's role as leading God's people through prophetic revelation and guidance, and through influence over key leaders, identifies that the inspiration of the spirit reveals the lordship of the spirit as a guiding influence. The spirit as the spirit of prophecy centres on making God's will known to his people and therefore the spirit maintains a vital role in God's unique rule over his people.

3.2 *Cultic Monotheism*

The second characteristic of the framework of the Unique Divine Identity concerns the importance of exclusive devotion accrued to God for his role as creator and ruler. In line with the trajectory set by the Hebrew Scriptures, it will be demonstrated that the spirit plays a vital role in the religious life of God's people most evident in cultic contexts that facilitate exclusive worship of God.

3.2.1 *Sirach*

The association in Ben Sira of the πνεῦμα συνέσεως with the outpouring of wisdom has important implications for cultic activity since it opens the possibility of the spirit dwelling in the tabernacle and temple on the basis that wisdom, following her exit from the mouth of God, found a resting place in Israel's midst (24:1-12).⁷² Like Wis (10:17-18) and Philo (*Quis Rer. Div. Heres.* 42), wisdom is identified with the pillar of cloud (v. 4), the tabernacle (vss. 8, 10), and eventually the temple of Jerusalem (v. 11), thus existing at the centre of Israel's cultic and religious life.⁷³ The proximity of 24:3 to this association between wisdom and the cultic locations of Israel's religion, coupled with Ben Sira's perspective of the spirit of understanding as paralleling wisdom, make it possible that the spirit conceptually overlaps with wisdom in the cultic life of Israel and in Ben Sira's own worship at the temple (cf. the

holy spirit I have faithfully hearkened to Thy marvellous counsel,' (1QH 20.11-12). See Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach*, 229-230.

⁷² Wisdom is given prominence as the primary concept for Ben Sira wishes to stress the function of Torah as one of wisdom's expressions, rather than stress the function of the spirit as a form of God's active presence among his people. See Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 96-99.

⁷³ Skehan, Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 332-336; C.T. Robert Hayward, 'Sirach and Wisdom's Dwelling Place,' in *Where Shall Wisdom be Found?: Wisdom in the Bible, the Church and the Contemporary World*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 31-46; József Zsengellér, 'Does Wisdom Come from the Temple?: Ben Sira's Attitude to the Temple of Jerusalem,' in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18-20 May, 2006*, JSJSupS 127, eds. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 135-149.

temple imagery at 24:13-22, and 51:13-14).⁷⁴ That this line of interpretation is appropriate is confirmed in 39:6 when the spirit of understanding that fills Ben Sira results directly in thanksgiving to the Lord in prayer for such a gift.

3.2.2 *I Enoch*

A passage of interest is *I Enoch* 61:11-12. In a scene from the enthronement of the Chosen One (the Messiah), reminiscent of Isa 11:1ff, 'they (the Chosen One and all the host of heaven) will raise one voice, and they will bless and glorify and exalt with the spirit of faith and with the spirit of wisdom, and with [a spirit of] long suffering and with the spirit of mercy, and with the spirit of judgement and peace and with the spirit of goodness. And they will all say with one voice, 'Blessed [is he], and blessed be the name of the Lord of spirits forever and ever.' The scene is informative for the attributes that the spirit gives to those who praise are similar in nature with those given to the Chosen One to rule on God's throne (cf. 49:3; 62:2). God has acted wisely in working through the Chosen One by pouring his spirit upon him, and in return the Chosen One and the heavenly host praise God for his sovereign rule and the Chosen One's reception of the spirit.⁷⁵

3.2.3 *Josephus*

Of importance is Josephus' addition to the story of Solomon's dedication of the temple. Like the MT account, Josephus identifies the presence of God with the cloud that fills the temple (1 Kings 8:10-13, cf. 2 Chron 5:13-6:2; 7:1-2)⁷⁶ yet he *adds* to the narrative Solomon's request that God 'send some portion of *Thy spirit* to dwell in the temple, that Thou mayest seem to us to be on earth as well' (*Ant.* 8:114). Solomon '*knew that God* was gladly accepting the sacrifice, for a fire darted out of the air and...leaped upon the alter and, seizing on the sacrifice, consumed it all. When this *divine manifestation* occurred, all the people supposed it to be a sign *that God would thereafter dwell in the temple*, and with joy they fell upon the

⁷⁴ Ben Sira is well known for emphasising the priesthood and temple in his work in contrast to the absence of such references in the 'canonical' Wisdom Literature. Zsengellér, 'Does Wisdom Come from the Temple?' 136-137.

⁷⁵ On *I Enoch* 61:11-12 Turner states, 'The picture of the congregation here is too closely modelled on the composite "Messiah of the Spirit"...and indeed on Enoch's own invasive charismatic worship (71:11), for us to explain the references to 'spirit' here as anything other than the charismatic spirit of prophecy (as at *I En.* 61:7),' *Power from on High*, 132.

⁷⁶ 'And when the priests had set in order all that concerned the ark, and had gone out, *there suddenly appeared a thick cloud*, not threateningly nor like a swollen rain-cloud in the winter season, but diffused and temperate, which streamed into the temple and so darkened the sight of the priests that they could not see one another; and it produced in the minds of all of them an impression and belief that *God had descended into the temple and had gladly made His abode there*' (*Ant.* 8:106). For an analysis of Solomon's prayer as a whole within the context of Josephus' thought, see Tessel M. Jonquiére, *Prayer in Josephus*, AJEC 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 152-171, particularly 167-168 on the spirit.

ground and did obeisance' (*Ant.* 8:118-119). While Josephus had previously narrated that the presence of God filled the temple as the cloud (cf. *Ant.* 8:102), a comparison of 8:106 with 118-119 represents the spirit by the theophanic imagery of the cloud, fire and air.⁷⁷ This demonstrates Josephus' awareness that the presence of God indwelt the temple by the spirit.

3.2.4 *The Qumran Community*

The centrality of the spirit in the religious life of the Qumran community evidence the relation between the spirit and cultic devotion.⁷⁸ Though the Qumran documents do not state the position explicitly, the inference is that upon entry into the Qumran community its members receive the spirit as a sign of their inclusion into the true Israel (e.g. 1QS 9.3; cf. 1QH 5.18-19; 8.12; 20.11-13; Fr. 3.14).⁷⁹ The references to the subsequent ethical transforming power of the spirit in the Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH) are instructive for they illustrate the extent to which the spirit was involved in the ritual of the Qumran religious life as such hymns were an integral part of their cultic experience.⁸⁰ Appeals to God's spirit to purify and cleanse the community portray the spirit as the power responsible for cultic holiness (1QS 9.3-5), mediated through faithful Torah observance, which enables the community, both individually and corporately, to maintain a consistent practice of worship and devotion to God.⁸¹ The

⁷⁷ Levison argues that the elements of fire and air in Stoic thought are 'the constituents of πνεῦμα,' 'Josephus's Interpretation of the Divine Spirit,' 244. While the strength of Levison's argument is that it tightens the identification between the spirit and the phenomena of fire and air, its weakness is that it reads Stoic conceptions into a quite Jewish framework. The imagery of fire that darts out of the air parallels *Ant* 8:342 where Elijah send fire from heaven to consume the altar. The sacrificial context is sufficient enough to explain the imagery used. So too Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 131-137. For further criticisms of the deficiency of the Stoic interpretation in this passage, see Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 124-126.

⁷⁸ 1QS 3.6-12; 4:6, 21; 9.3-5; 1QH 4.26; 5.18-19; 6.12-13, 25; 8.2-12; 15.6-7; 16.10-14; 17:32-34; 20.11-13; Fr. 2.9-13; Fr. 3.14; 4Q504 5.15; 1QSb 1.2; 4.25-26.

⁷⁹ This echoes in many cases Exod 36. See the discussions in Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 84-87; Turner, *Power from on High*, 127-129; Robert W. Kvalvaag, 'The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts,' in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments*, JSOTSS 290, eds. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 159-180; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 102-105; Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom*, 83-92; Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 84-87. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach*, 79-83.

⁸⁰ On the religious life in the Qumran community, see Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Eileen M. Schuller, 'Worship, Temple, and Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, Part 5, Vol. 1, *The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 125-143. For the impact of prayer in the spiritual life of Qumran see Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ XXVII (Leiden: Brill, 1998); *idem*, 'Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple,' in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, 106-126; the collection of essays in Esther G. Chazon, ed., *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000*, STDJ XLVIII (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Russell C.D Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, STDJ LX (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁸¹ For understanding the importance of purity at Qumran, see Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, SNTSMS 53 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Hannah K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 5 (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2004); Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ LXXII (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

correlation between religious experience, worship, and reflection on the presence of God reveals the importance of the community as the temple of God,⁸² and gives a fuller context for the description of the spirit as the ‘spirit of holiness’ (e.g. 1QH 8. 2ff).⁸³

3.2.5 Summary

A consistent pattern has emerged which demonstrates the proximity between the spirit, the temple and cultic practices for the spirit is identified with God’s presence in the temple. The

⁸² On liturgy in the Hodayot literature, see Esther G. Chazon, ‘Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection,’ in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*, STDJ 91, eds. Daniel K. Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald W. Parry and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135-149. For the relationship between temple and Ezekiel in the Qumran community, see Shozo Jujita, ‘The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B.C.,’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Princeton University, 1970).

⁸³ Another fruitful area of investigation in relation to the Qumran community’s cultic experience are the collection of hymns known as the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-4Q407; Mesada Shirshabb). The collection of texts are increasingly being recognised for their role in the cultic life of the community for they envisage *priestly angelic beings* offering spiritual sacrifices of praise to God in a heavenly temple which mirrors the experience of those at Qumran in worship. Because of the varied senses of רוח in the writings of the Qumran community, the influence of the heavenly imagery in Ezekiel 1 in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice in particular, and because of the tradition of the spirit involved in the cultic life of Israel in the Hebrew Scripture which arguably are influential on Qumran, it would not be unreasonable to inquire whether the *spirit of God* stood behind such diverse language in particular contexts rather than a *chief angel*. Starting points for this investigation would include 4Q403 I i. 40; 4Q400 I i.5 (cf. 15); 4Q405 20 ii.1-14, and 4Q405 23 ii.7-10. While a thorough analysis of this material cannot be undertaken because of space constraints, what should be considered noteworthy is the variety of terms, concepts and ideas that are utilised by the Qumran community to describe their religious experience. Prominent figures and terms that feature in the heavenly scenes include the glory of God, Melchizedek, Michael, ‘ministers of the face’ (of God) and importantly, the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice include frequent reference to angels as ‘spirits’ within the setting of heavenly worship of God. While Sekki has presented a thorough analysis of the sense of רוח in Qumran (Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran*, see 145, fn. 1), his work excluded this material. Despite Newsom’s exegetical examination (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*), there is a need for further investigation of this term in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Alexander also raises questions about the diversity of figures (Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 55-56; cf. 30). On 4Q403 I i. 40, Newsom argues, ‘Though the phrase רוח רוח could refer to a single angelic figure, it is unclear why the angels would be exhorted to praise “with the portion of the chief spirit.” More likely רוח qualifies מנת as “spiritual” rather than “material” (cf. the similar use of רוח in 4Q400 I i 5), and one should translate “with the choicest spiritual portion,”’ 220, emphasis added. The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice are arguably early parallels to *merkavah* mysticism for the image of the throne chariot is seen at 4Q403 1 ii. 15; 4Q405 20 ii.1-14; 21-22 and the collection as a whole concerns ascension of the Qumran worshiper to the heavenly temple. If this association is correct, then it is possible that reference to the spirit would solidify the notion of God’s presence. On mysticism, the throne chariot, and heavenly ascent in the Hekhalot literature, see Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Annelies Kuyt, *The ‘Descent’ to the Chariot: Towards a Description of the Terminology, Place, Function and Nature of the Yeridah in Hekhalot Literature*, TSAJ 45 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); Rachel Elijor, ‘From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrine: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and its Relation to Temple Traditions,’ *JSQ* 4 (1997): 217-267; *idem*, ‘The Priestly Nature of the Mystical Heritage in the HEYKALOT Literature,’ in *Expérience et Écriture Mystiques Dan Les Religions Du Livre: Actes d’un colloque international tenu par le Centre d’études juives Université de Paris IV – Sorbonne 1994*, eds. Paul B. Fenton and Roland Goetschel (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 41-54; James R. Davila, *Descenders to the Chariot: The People Behind the Hekhalot Literature*, SJSJ 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Christopher R.A. Morray-Jones, *A Transparent Illusion: The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticism. A Source-Critical and Tradition-Historical Inquiry*, SJSJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Vita D. Arbel, *Beholders of the Divine Secrets: Mysticism and Myth in the Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), and the various collection of essays in April D. DeConick, ed., *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, SBLSS 11 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006).

spirit is therefore integrally representing God's active presence with his people through their worship and liturgy.⁸⁴

3.3 Eschatological Monotheism

The final characteristic of the framework of the Unique Divine Identity is that of the eschatological rule of God whereby he is universally recognised for his position as the sole ruler and creator of all. Also following the pattern of the Hebrew Scriptures, the spirit will be shown to participate in God's active rule by empowering the Messiah in his liberation of Israel, transforming God's people through renewing their ethical life,⁸⁵ and functioning as the power of resurrection.

3.3.1 The Spirit and the Coming Messiah

3.3.1.1 The Psalms of Solomon⁸⁶

The two references to the spirit in the *Psalms of Solomon* occur in contexts concerning the expected reign of the Messiah and demonstrate the centrality of the spirit's empowerment for the Messiah's rule: 'God will make him powerful *by a holy spirit*; and wise in intelligent counsel, with strength and righteousness' (*Pss. Sol.* 17.37). *Pss. Sol.* 18.6-8 relates the presence of the spirit upon the Messiah in parallel with the presence of the Lord amongst

⁸⁴ Perhaps another example of the close proximity between cultic monotheism and the spirit is found in Philo's reflection on unholy animal sacrifices. If an unholy sacrifice was to be made, the fire of the sacrifice 'could not last for any time, however short, but would straightway die out, providing as it were that the air and sacred element of *breath* (πνεύματος) should not be defiled by the rising flame' (*Virt.* 135). Colson's translation (in the LCL) of Philo conceals what may be a possible reference to the presence of the divine spirit in the temple. Moreover, it is arguable that Philo's conception of the temple has developed extensively so as to view the universe as a whole as God's temple (cf. Cana Werman, 'God's House: Temple or Universe?' in *Philo und das Neue Testament*, 309-320). Though this does not negate the need for sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple, this affirmation of God's presence indwelling all of creation is realised through the spirit invading all of space, and makes broader sense of Philo's concern that sacrifices in the temple are completed with the right attitude of the heart, and allows him to make a material identification between the rising smoke of the sacrifice and the presence of the spirit in all creation.

⁸⁵ On the spirit and the renewal of Israel in the Second Temple Period, see Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*, 41-77.

⁸⁶ Critical scholarship have observed close ties between the political events in the Psalms of Solomon and the invasion of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 BCE and his later death in Egypt in 48 BCE (*Pss. Sol.* 2:1-2, 2:26-27; 8:18-22; 17:7-9). An alternative interpretation is sometimes given of *Pss. Sol.* 17 which is viewed as referencing Herod the Great and the Roman general Sosius' siege of Jerusalem in 37 BCE. If this interpretation stands, then *Pss.* 2 and 8 are differentiated historically from *Pss.* 17, thus evidencing a redactive history of composition. In any case, that the Psalms reflect military attacks upon Jerusalem, but not its complete destruction, the final form of the Psalms must have been completed pre-70 CE. For discussion see G. Buchanan Gray, 'The Psalms of Solomon,' in *APOT*, 625-630; Kenneth Atkinson, *An Intertextual Study of The Psalms of Solomon*, SBEC 49 (New York/Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), 410-419; *idem*, *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting*, SJSJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1-14; Robert B. Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text, Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 1* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 1-13. For the relationship between the *Pss. Sol.* and Paul, see Mikael Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous: A Comparative Study of the Psalms of Solomon and Paul's Letters*, CBNTS 26 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell Int., 1995).

Israel: ‘for the coming generation...will be under the rod of discipline of the Lord’s Messiah, in the fear of his God, *in the wisdom of the spirit*, and in righteousness and strength; to direct people to righteous actions, in the fear of God, *to confirm them all in the presence of the Lord*,’ (Pss. Sol. 18.6-8).⁸⁷ By the spirit, the Messiah is clearly understood to represent God in his active rule over all nations, both in allegiance and holiness (17.1, 3, 26-27, 29-32, 34; 18.5, 7-9) for God is the creator of all (18.10-12).⁸⁸

3.3.1.2 *1 Enoch*

In two passages, the ‘Book of Parables’ in *1 Enoch* identifies the work of the spirit with the ministry of the Messiah (the Chosen One). Firstly, in 49:1-4 the Chosen One has taken his place in the presence of God, the ‘Lord of spirits,’ and will function as the righteous judge under the inspiration of the spirit: ‘in him (the Chosen One) dwell the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of insight, and the spirit of instruction and might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness’ (49:3). Secondly, in 62:1ff the Chosen One is seated upon the throne by the Lord of spirits ‘and the spirit of righteousness was poured upon him’ (62:2) to be the judge over ‘all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who possess the earth’ (62:3). The association between the Messiah’s function as righteous judge and the outpouring of the spirit affirms the spirit’s function in God’s sovereign rule through the Messiah.

3.3.1.3 *The Qumran Community*

The Qumran documents continue the expectation that the Messiah would be endowed with the spirit in order to rule on behalf of God for ‘God will uphold him with the spirit of might and will give him a throne of glory’ (4Q161, frs.8-10, 10-19).⁸⁹ The ‘Prince of the Congregation’

⁸⁷ Quotations are from Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon*, 197 (17.37) and 205-207 (18.6-8). This passage echoes Isa 59:21, Ezek 11:19, 36:24-28, 37:1-14 (cf. Ezek 18:31; Jer 31:31-34).

⁸⁸ See Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*, 57-60.

⁸⁹ On the Messiah in the Qumran Community, see John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1995); F. Moore Cross, ‘Notes on the Doctrine of the Two Messiahs at Qumran and the Extracanonical *Daniel Apocalypse* (4Q246),’ and F. Garcia Martinez, ‘Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts,’ in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, STDJ 20, eds. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1-13 and 14-40 respectively; Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, eds., *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997); F. Garcia Martinez, ‘Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts,’ in his *Qumranica Minora II: Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ LXIV (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 13-32; Al Wolters, ‘The Messiah in the Qumran Documents,’ in *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 75-89. See also the essays by D. Dimant, John J. Collins, J. VanderKam and É. Puech in Eugene Ulrich and James C. VanderKam, eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 10 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran:*

will ‘establish His [God’s] holy Covenant’ and bring in the universal reign and Lordship of God over all rulers and nations (1QSb 5.20ff). In 11Q13.18 the messenger of Isa 52.7 is understood to be ‘the Anointed one of the spirit’ and in 4Q521, fr.2, 1-11 ‘the heavens and the earth will listen to His [God’s] Messiah, and none therein will stray from the commandments of the holy ones’ (1). This is because the Lord ‘will consider the pious and call the righteous by name. Over the poor His spirit will hover and will renew the faithful with His power’ (4-5). The key power upon the Messiah is clearly the spirit of might, counsel and knowledge given from God and illustrates the eschatological role of the spirit in empowering and guiding the Messiah in the fulfilment of God’s saving activity.

3.3.2 *The Spirit and the Renewal of Israel*

3.3.2.1 *The Book of Jubilees*

Eschatology is a prominent focus in the *Book of Jubilees* (1:4-26, 27-28; 23:14-31).⁹⁰ This is significant for the spirit is highlighted as the power of eschatological renewal given to Israel by transforming her commitment to the covenant. In 1:20-21 Moses prays to God that ‘the spirit of Belial’ shall not rule Israel so that he may create in them ‘a pure mind and holy spirit,’ a prayer which the Lord fulfils (1:23, cf. Ps 51:10).⁹¹ The passage clearly contrasts the rule of ‘the spirit of Belial’ with the guiding rule and influence of the holy spirit as the key evidence of the eschatological activity of God.⁹²

3.3.2.2 *The Qumran Community*

A crucial and prominent characteristic of the Qumran communal self-identity was their claim to be uniquely the eschatological people of God, the true Israel (1QS 5:7-24; 9:3; CD 3.13-20;

Königliche, priestlerliche und prophetische Messiasvortstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran, WUNT 2.104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); Geza G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*, STDJ XLVII (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Albert L.A. Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End: A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, STDJ 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

⁹⁰ John A. Bertone, ‘*The Law of the Spirit: Experience of the Spirit and Displacement of the Law in Romans 8:1-16*’, SBL 86 (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 87; Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, *Studia Post Biblica* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 19.

⁹¹ From VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 5.

⁹² Since this passage echoes such texts in the Hebrew Scriptures as Isa 59:21, Ezek 11:19, 36:24-28, 37:1-14, where the outpouring of the spirit is responsible for the ethical renewal of the human heart, the references in 1:21, 23 to the ‘holy spirit’ are arguably none other than the spirit of God who purifies the human spirit. So Turner, *Power from on High*, 128, fn. 32; Bertone, ‘*The Law of the Spirit*’, 87-89; Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 81-83, 138; Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*, 43-48; pace Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 79, fn. 34.

7:9-8:2; 1QH 7.15-19; 4Q504-506).⁹³ This description occurs often in contexts where the spirit is cited as the power generating ethical renewal and faithfulness to the covenant. As the ‘spirit of holiness,’ the spirit is responsible for covenantal renewal (1QS 3.6-12; 4.21-23 9:3ff; 1QH 16.11),⁹⁴ so ‘that they might know the foundations of glory and the steps towards eternity’ (1Q34bis 2.5-7).⁹⁵

3.3.3 Resurrection Life and the Spirit

A third component of the eschatological expectation of God’s activity is the development of the concept of resurrection, which is the logical corollary of the claim that God is creator of all things.⁹⁶ While it was not common to associate the spirit with resurrection life in the literature of Second Temple Judaism, there are important exceptions.⁹⁷ In *Jos Asen* the theme of God as creator (8:3, 10; 9; 12:1-2) is integral to the view that God gives immortal life (15:4-5; 27:10) through the spirit (8:9; 16:4; 19:10-11, cf. 19:10). So too in *2 Maccabees* God

⁹³ Indeed, the sectarian community perceived themselves as expecting the fulfilment of Ezek 36:25-26 in their experience (4Q434). See Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran*, 81-83; Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 84-87. For a study that emphasises eschatology and the priesthood at Qumran, see Joseph L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2010). On apocalypticism and eschatology more broadly, see F. Garcia Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, STDJ 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Philip R. Davies, ‘Eschatology at Qumran,’ in his *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics*, SFSHJ 134 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997); F. Garcia Martínez, *Qumranica Minora 1: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism*, STDJ LXIII (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End*.

⁹⁴ For further discussion see Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*, 48-56.

⁹⁵ On the importance of the covenant in the Qumran community, see Stephen Hultgren, *From Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁹⁶ By the term ‘resurrection,’ I simply intend to connote a general form of post-mortem existence. It is not necessary to enter the discussion about whether the nature of post-mortem existence should be considered literal bodily resurrection, or resuscitation, or the ongoing immortality of the soul. See particularly George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, Harvard Theological Studies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Hans C.C. Cavallin, *Life After Death: Paul’s Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Cor 15, Part 1: An Enquiry Into the Jewish Background*, CB 7:1 (Lund,: Gleerup, 1974); Alan F. Segal, *Life After Death: A History of the Afterlife in Western Religion* (New York: Doubleday, 1989); Richard Bauckham, ‘Life, Death, and the Afterlife in Second Temple Judaism,’ in *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998), 90-98; Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*; Casey D. Elledge, *Life After Death in Early Judaism*, WUNT 2.208 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University, 2006); Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*.

⁹⁷ *1 Enoch* 22:13, 51:1, 61:5, 90:33, 100:5; *Pss. Sol.* 3:12, 14:10, cf. 9:5; *2 Macc* 7:8,13,23,29, 14:46; *4 Ezra* 7:32; *Ps. Ph. (LAB)* 3:10, 19:12, 25:7, 51:5, 64:7; *Life of Adam and Eve* 28:4, 41:3. Philo’s understanding of eschatological life is more complex and diverges from both the previous texts for his emphasis upon Platonic Dualism. In reflecting upon Gen 2:17 and the promise of death for disobedience, Philo differentiates between ‘natural’ death, where the soul departs from the decayed body, and ‘special’ death ‘which is that of the soul becoming entombed in passions and wickedness of all kinds’ (*Leg.* 1.106). Thus Philo separates the death of the body from the death of the soul (*Leg.* 1.105-108). While Philo does not give attention to the future resurrection of the body, he does conceive of the spirit as the rational power that gives life to the soul, as we have argued, and this gives a broader scope to Philo’s understanding of the spirit as the power that gives life to the soul troubled by wickedness. It is conceivable that Philo understood the spirit to still be the active power of life to the soul following death since the soul continues to possess its own life and existence.

is the creator of all (1:24; 7:22-23; 13:14, cf. 15:4), the ‘Master of life and of the spirit’ (14:46) who is asked to give ‘the spirit and life’ (7:23) back to those who are martyred for God’s cause. This life is understood to be ‘everlasting life’ (7:9, cf. 7:36; 12:44), given through the spirit of life.⁹⁸ Similarly, the Qumran document 4Q521.12 identifies God as he who ‘revive[s] the dead and bring[s] good news to the poor,’ a clear reference to post-mortem existence. What is of interest is the reference in this ‘resurrection fragment’ to the work of God’s spirit being upon the poor, for ‘His spirit will hover and will renew the faithful with his power’ (4Q521.5).⁹⁹

3.3.4 Summary

The argument has been developed which identifies the spirit as upon the Messiah to empower him in his future ministry of deliverance for God’s people. The spirit is given from God to the Messiah in order to guide him as he establishes God’s universal rule. Moreover, the expectation was heightened that a time was coming when God would pour his spirit upon his people in order to vivify their commitment to him, and their renewed submission to Torah and the covenant. This expectation culminated in the hope of resurrection through the giving of new life by the spirit.

4. The Relation Between the Spirit and God

The presentation of the spirit in Judaism to this point has situated the spirit within the framework of the Unique Divine Identity, that is, the spirit is involved in God’s creative and ruling activities. It is necessary to examine whether the nature of the relation between God and the spirit has developed beyond that found in the Hebrew Scriptures or is consistent. Many of the questions relating to the developments between the Hebrew Scriptures and the diverse literature of Second Temple Judaism concern the nature of Jewish monotheism and the particular relation of the spirit to God. The following argument will support the view that in Second Temple Judaism the spirit is not seen to be distinct from God but connotes God himself in his activity for the spirit is the extension of God’s own personality.

⁹⁸ See Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 150-153, though he does not settle the question as to whether *pneuma* denotes spirit or breath (152).

⁹⁹ On resurrection in Qumran, with a brief survey of resurrection in the Hebrew Scriptures and Apocryphal and Pseudepigrapha texts, see Emile Puech, ‘Resurrection: The Bible and Qumran,’ in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2, 247-281; F. Garcia Martinez, Annette Steudel and Eibert Tigchelaar, eds., *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, STDJ LXI (Leiden: Brill, 2006). On resurrection in Qumran and the NT, see Albert L.A. Hogeterp, ‘Belief in Resurrection and its Religious Settings in Qumran and the New Testament,’ in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, STDJ 85, ed. F. Garcia Martinez (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 299-320; Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End*, 247-292.

4.1 The Nature of Jewish Monotheism

It is necessary to briefly clarify the *nature* of Jewish monotheism before examining the relevant texts. The nature of Jewish monotheism within Second Temple Judaism has been at the forefront of recent discussion and the diversity of opinion reflects the complexity of any attempt to articulate a clear synthesis.¹⁰⁰ With the rise of interest in the nature of Jewish monotheism, an emerging line of research has increasingly voiced concern at the use of the term ‘monotheism’. The importance of this lies in the close relationship between the language that is utilised and the concept to which the language refers to. Indeed, recent discussions have questioned the validity of the term ‘monotheism’ to denote the concept it purports to describe.¹⁰¹ Such criticisms have elicited a response in subsequent studies which argue for the validity of the concept of monotheism to which the term refers.¹⁰² It appears that the point of contention is not so much the language used to refer to God within Jewish religion but in how one chooses to characterise this *concept*.¹⁰³ Acceptance of the term ‘monotheism’ is a heuristic necessity.¹⁰⁴ Thus there is the need to contextualise variant connotations of the term

¹⁰⁰ It is noteworthy that many of the recent studies devoted to Jewish monotheism are concerned with its relationship to Christological monotheism. As I argue in this thesis, more attention is necessary on the identity of the spirit in these discussions.

¹⁰¹ P. Hayman influenced subsequent investigations of the term ‘monotheism’ by advocating the thesis that there is no single connotation to the term (‘Monotheism – A Misused Word in Jewish Studies?’). Hayman argued bluntly that ‘it is hardly ever appropriate to use the term monotheism to describe the Jewish idea of God’ (2). Though Hayman’s problem was not so much the language of ‘monotheism’ but rather the concept of God which followed, his comments still implicitly reject any use of the term ‘monotheism’ itself. N. MacDonald has dedicated a study to the concept of monotheism and has traced the first use of ‘monotheism’ as a term back to, surprisingly, Henry More in 1660 (MacDonald, ‘The Origin of Monotheism,’ in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, 204-215, *idem*, *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of ‘Monotheism’*). MacDonald concludes that ‘monotheism’ is a product of the Enlightenment and is therefore an inappropriate category to utilise in the context of discussion on Hebrew and Jewish religion. This is because the concept of ‘monotheism’ reflects Enlightenment categories and is anachronistic when read back into Second Temple Judaism. Following MacDonald’s thought-provoking thesis, R. Walter L. Moberly also questions the contemporary use of ‘monotheism.’ He timely remarks, ‘even if the seventeenth century saw a certain narrowing and intellectualizing of its concept of God through its adoption of “monotheism” as a prime category, the problem is perennial’ (Moberly, ‘How Appropriate is “Monotheism” as a Category for Biblical Interpretation?’ in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, 216-234, here 231).

¹⁰² Of particular note, L. Hurtado and R. Bauckham (in the interest of Christological developments) have engaged with such criticisms. L. Hurtado, ‘First-Century Jewish Monotheism,’ Ch. 5 in *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 111-133; R. Bauckham, ‘Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism,’ Ch. 2 in *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 60-106. Bauckham has argued that ‘In my view, there is no good evidence for the idea that non-monotheistic forms of Israelite religion survived through the Second Temple Period to be available to the early Christians. The literature of early Judaism is uniformly monotheistic,’ Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 95.

¹⁰³ Mach notes, ‘the very term “monotheism” is too vague to describe adequately some of the more important differences between various ancient Jewish religious belief-systems,’ Mach, ‘Concepts of Jewish Monotheism,’ in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, 24. Yet, Mach’s extension of this point to argue that ‘Shifting socio-historical conditions will generate shifting models of so-called “monotheism”’ seems to imply a less homogenous picture of Second Temple Judaism.

¹⁰⁴ Moberly rightly admits that it is necessary to retain the term ‘monotheism’ and ‘to concentrate on careful definition of what is, and is not, meant by the term in its various contexts,’ Moberly, ‘How Appropriate is Monotheism?’, 233. If the issue remains the particular construction of Jewish monotheism rather than the terminology to describe this, Moberly’s warnings regarding the general lack of reflection in recent studies on

‘monotheism.’ But the question of the concept of ‘monotheism’ is itself complicated by the recognition that Jewish monotheism has been broken down into either ‘inclusive’ or ‘exclusive’ monotheism. As M. Mach states, ‘The designations “inclusive” *versus* “exclusive” monotheism entered the discussion in order to differentiate between concepts with or without other divine beings at god’s side.’¹⁰⁵ Inclusive monotheism is a position that attempts to discuss the role of intermediary figures, exalted patriarchs, principal angels and other deities in their relationship to God, while exclusive monotheism identifies God as the only deity with figures such as spirit, word and wisdom seen as characterisations of God himself.¹⁰⁶ The discussion is again further complicated by the apposition of ‘monotheism’ with its supposed antithesis, ‘polytheism’ and the conceptual categories of ‘henotheism,’ ‘monolatry’ and ‘pantheism.’¹⁰⁷

As this thesis argues, Bauckham has provided such a careful delineation of Jewish monotheism by utilising the framework of the Unique Divine Identity.¹⁰⁸ Bauckham stands within the ‘exclusive monotheism’ paradigm that understands Second Temple Judaism as possessing a ‘strict’ characterisation of YHWH as the only God and the only God to be worshipped and explicitly denies the hierarchy of divinity characteristic of non-Jewish conceptions of the gods.¹⁰⁹ This picture of ‘exclusive monotheism’ appears to contain a subtle

Israelite religion and monotheism ‘on the adequacy of the categories and frames of reference within which the debate is conducted’ (232) nonetheless remains important.

¹⁰⁵ Mach, ‘Concepts of Jewish Monotheism in the Hellenistic Period,’ 24, emphasis original.

¹⁰⁶ Support for inclusive monotheism is building in recent scholarship, notably Barker, *The Great Angel*. See the variety of discussions in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism* and *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*. A. Yarbro Collins argues that Jews of the Second Temple Period ‘seem to have placed the deity [YHWH] at the top of a pyramid...of divine beings who were the agents of God in creating, sustaining and interacting with all things,’ (A. Yarbro Collins, ‘The Worship of Jesus and the Imperial Cult,’ in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, 234-276, here 236). Horbury has argued that Judaism in the Herodian Age was characterised by an ‘inclusive monotheism’ that did not deny the existence of other deities, but chose to worship YHWH alone (Horbury, ‘Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age,’ in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, 16-44). Horbury does not deny that there did exist a strand of ‘exclusive monotheism’ but that both simultaneously exist in the literature. Mach appears to conclude similarly in his approach to Jewish monotheism in the Hellenistic Period, ‘Concepts of Jewish Monotheism in the Hellenistic Period,’ in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, 21-42. Paula Fredriksen appears to overstate her case when she argues, ‘No ancient monotheist was a modern monotheist. Divinity expressed itself along a gradient, and the High God – be he pagan, Jewish or Christian – hardly stood alone. Lesser divinities filled in the gap, cosmic and metaphysical, between humans and God. Heaven’s divine population had to wait for the Renaissance, and the beginnings of modern science, to be seriously pruned. Antiquity’s universe, by comparison, was filled with gods. Monotheists directed their particular worship to the being they termed the high god, while dealing with the others as they would,’ ‘Gods and the One God,’ *Bible Review* 19:1 (2003): 49. See also her article ‘Mandatory Retirement: Ideas in the Study of Christian Origins Whose Time has Come to Go,’ *Studies in Religion* 35:2 (2006): 231-246.

¹⁰⁷ See the helpful overview by McGrath, *The Only True God*, 1-22 and Michael S. Heiser, ‘Monotheism, Polytheism, Monolatry, or Henotheism? Toward an Assessment of Divine Plurality in the Hebrew Bible,’ *BBR* 18:1 (2008): 1-30.

¹⁰⁸ Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*.

¹⁰⁹ Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 13; ‘Observant Jews...were daily aware of their allegiance to the one God alone. Their self-conscious monotheism was not merely an intellectual belief about God, but a unity of belief and praxis, involving the exclusive worship of this one God and exclusive obedience to this one God,’ (5). Bauckham briefly notes that monolatry is ‘the worship of only the one God’ and monotheism ‘belief in only the one God,’ (5). In dialogue with MacDonald’s thesis on monotheism in Deuteronomy and the Hebrew Scriptures,

distinction. Firstly, ‘exclusive monotheism’ can be understood in the sense that YHWH is the only God and denies the reality of any other god/s (we could characterise this as external monotheism). Secondly, ‘exclusive monotheism’ can be understood as a position that affirms particular intermediary figures (e.g. the spirit, Word and Wisdom) within the Unique Divine Identity, while denying other figures (such as exalted patriarchs or principal angels) such a status (this as internal monotheism). This distinction becomes important in the context of the present discussion in that the latter becomes crucial for the argument of this thesis regarding the identity of the spirit, whilst the former is secondary to my focus.¹¹⁰ Whether or not Second Temple Judaism was self-consciously exclusive or inclusive in its understanding of monotheism does not immediately settle the issue, but my argument does presuppose the exclusive monotheistic framework. It is the relation of the *spirit* to YHWH (including word and wisdom) within the Unique Divine Identity that will be my focus as I now examine the literature of Second Temple Judaism.

4.2 Varied Texts Including The Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, Josephus, and Qumran

Ben Sira identifies wisdom as the ‘spirit of understanding’ that inspires wisdom to pour from the Sage (Sir 39:6), and the deliberately parallels the spirit and wisdom (Sir 34:3). Wisdom is identified with God and forms a multi descriptive conception of God’s activity whereby the spirit and wisdom represent God in his activity as extensions of his personality. *1 Enoch* 49:3 should be understood in similar fashion where the spirit is the ‘spirit of wisdom, insight understanding, and might,’ all references to the activity of God himself. In *Judith* God’s speech and command is synonymous with sending forth the spirit (16:14), and in *Jos Asen* 8:9 the references to ‘your spirit/your hand/your life’ are synonymous for God’s own actions. In *Pss. Sol.* 18.6-8 the spirit that is upon the Messiah is clearly paralleled with the presence of God, and in the *Book of Jubilees* the holy spirit is God himself in his activity of renewing Israel’s commitment to the covenant for the work of the spirit in the human heart is synonymous with God’s statement that ‘their souls will adhere to me and to all my commandments’ (1:22-24).¹¹¹

Bauckham states, ‘as Nathan MacDonald’s work makes very clear, in distinguishing Deuteronomy from Enlightenment monotheism, exclusive Yahwism in the biblical tradition is not an easily made intellectual proposition, but a demand for radical and complete devotion to YHWH,’ (91-92).

¹¹⁰ The same point can be applied to the labels ‘polytheism’, ‘henotheism’ and ‘pantheism’.

¹¹¹ The *Book of Jubilees* includes a reference, in the context of God’s creative activity, to ‘spirits’: ‘For on the first day he created the heavens that are above, the earth, the waters, and all the spirits who serve before him, namely: the angels of the presence; the angels of holiness; the angels of the spirits of fire; the angels of the spirits of the winds; the angels of the spirits of the clouds, of darkness, snow, hail, and frost; the angels of the sounds, the thunders, and the lightnings; and the angels of the spirits of cold and heat, of winter, spring, autumn, and summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens, on earth, and in every place’ (2:2 From VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* [translation], 7-8). The broadened activity of these ‘spirits’ that refer to an

4.2.1 The Wisdom of Solomon

In the Wisdom of Solomon the spirit is directly identified with God as the ‘spirit of the Lord’ (πνεῦμα κυρίου, 1:7), and the spirit is God’s own holy spirit from on high (9:17), a reference to God himself as the Most High (5:15; 6:3). The author understands that the withdrawal from perverse thoughts which separate people from God (1:3) is synonymous with the holy spirit who flees from deceit (1:5). The more prominent relationship in the Wisdom of Solomon is that between the spirit and wisdom: the spirit is the ‘spirit of wisdom’ (πνεῦμα σοφίας, 7:7) while conversely ‘wisdom is a loving spirit’ (φιλόανθρωπον γὰρ πνεῦμα σοφία, 1:6) and within wisdom there is a spirit (Ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα) who is intelligent, holy, and all-powerful (7:22ff). Both wisdom and the spirit flee from deceit (1:4-5), are given to the righteous (9:17); are in *all things* (1:7; 7:24; 12:1), teach and guide the righteous (1:5; 6:12-8:1), are gifts from God (7:7; 8:21; 9:10, 17), and lead to immortality (6:18; 8:13, 17; 12:1).¹¹² The parallelism between the spirit and wisdom is explained on the grounds that both function as personifications of God’s own identity and describe his active engagement with his people (1:1-11; 7:7; 9:17).¹¹³ Further, the word fulfils the same functions as God, wisdom and

identification with creation, such as fire, winds, clouds, etc, indicate that the spirit of God is not in view here. These are merely God’s creatures who serve him.

¹¹² The close relationship between the spirit and wisdom has often been noted, though debate exists over the precise nature of the relationship. On the one hand wisdom and spirit have been differentiated, while on the other hand they have been identified (See the discussion in Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 92-97). The limited references to the spirit in the book, in my view, are not enough to warrant the argument that wisdom and spirit are differentiated, for their identical functions in God’s activity are the author’s means of identifying them in their relation through literary personification. 1:6 and 7:22 necessitate that 7:7 (πνεῦμα σοφίας) be read as a genitive of apposition, where the spirit is identified with wisdom. That 7:22 posits the spirit is *in* (ἐν) wisdom does not void this point, for this terminology is dependent upon the author’s use of personification to describe wisdom. Moreover, the variant reading of 1:6 where πνεῦμα σοφία has been changed to πνεῦμα σοφίας (Italia, Peshitta) does not work against this argument for the translators may simply have attempted to conform the verse to the expression in 7:7, Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 168-176; Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 20. For defence of wisdom as a personification in The Wisdom of Solomon and a succinct history of the debate, see Dodson, *The Powers of Personification*, 15-18, 27-40, and Dodson’s argument as a whole.

¹¹³ So Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 100 (Reider is indecisive as to whether the spirit refers to wisdom or God in 1:7, Reider, *The Book of Wisdom*, 54, fn. 7; Witherington is happy to identify wisdom and spirit but speaks of differentiation between God and wisdom, Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 108-111). God and wisdom both flee from unrighteousness (1:3-4); both grant Solomon knowledge and function as his teacher (7:17, 21-22); both grant immortality (6:18-19; 8:13, 17; 15:3); both create *all things* (7:22; 9:2; 11:17), both are benevolent (1:5; 7:23; 12:19), both are all-powerful (7:23; 11:17), and both are said to have delivered Israel from Egypt (10:15-21; 18:1-4; 19:6-9). Wisdom is also described as intimately associated with God. She is the ‘breath of the power of God, and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty’ (ἀτμὶς γὰρ ἐστὶν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής, 7:25); she is ‘a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness’ (7:26); she ‘glorifies her noble birth by living with God...she is an initiate in the knowledge of God, and an associate in his works’ (8:3-4); she is ‘with’ God (9:9) and is ‘from’ the holy heavens and ‘from’ the throne of God’s glory (9:10). In the same way as wisdom is closely associated with both God and the spirit, so too is glory associated with both God and wisdom (9:10-11). The glory is both God’s (9:10) and wisdom’s (9:11).

spirit,¹¹⁴ and all serve as alternative expressions for the creative activity of God and connote the extension of God's own personality.¹¹⁵

4.2.2 Philo

Like the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo also understands word, wisdom and spirit as aspects of God's own divine life. Philo uses the expression the 'spirit of wisdom' (*Gig.* 24, 47; *Q.G.* 1.90), closely associates both in proximity (*Gig.* 27; *Jos.* 106, 116; *Q.G.* 1.90) and understands both to fulfil the same function of illuminating the soul and mind (*Deus.* 3; *Plant.* 23-24; *Q.G.* 1.90). So too are word and the spirit identified in function for the Logos also is involved in creation (*Cher.* 127; *Deus.* 57; *Leg.* 3.96, *Conf.* 63, cf. *Cher.* 27-28), illuminates the soul and mind (*Opif.* 30-31; *Leg.* 1.31; *Plant.* 18; *Her.* 230-232; *Q.G.* 2.62), is seen to be the image of God in the mind (*Q.G.* 2.62), and the cohesive power that holds all things together (*Fug.* 112).¹¹⁶ The nature of the spirit's relation to God in Philo is difficult to determine with any specificity, but Philo affirms that God is the one and only God (*Opif.* 171; *Leg.* 2.2; 3.82; *Virt.* 212-219, cf. *Cher.* 27) but can also consistently use divine descriptors for the spirit (πνεῦμα θεῖον, e.g. *Opif.* 135, 144; *Gig.* 23,27-28; *Her.* 265; *Virt.* 217; *Fug.* 186; *Vit. Mos.* 2.265; *Plant.* 18, 24; *Q.G.* 3.9). These passages indicate that in Philo's mind the origin of the spirit is from God himself, partaking in the nature of God, and fundamentally distinct from human nature.¹¹⁷ Not only does Philo use divine descriptors for the spirit, but he

¹¹⁴ God has made *all things* and sustains the righteous by his word (9:1; 16:26), and the word is also all-powerful (18:15, cf. 7:23; 11:17), and originates 'from heaven,' the royal throne (18:15-16, 22, cf. 12:9).

¹¹⁵ So too Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 20-22; Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 61-63; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 196-199; Grabbe, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 77-79; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 99-108; McGlynn, *Divine Judgement and Divine Benevolence*, 115, 132; Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of the Holy Spirit*, 59-62; Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom*, 64-66, particularly 65, fn. 101 and 66, fn. 107. Bennema's position is to divide between complete identification and functionality. He shies away from completely identifying wisdom and the spirit and argues that their function differentiates the two concepts, yet there remains the one gift of the spirit/wisdom, for the spirit functions as the power of wisdom. While Bennema is sensitive to the danger of collapsing wisdom into the spirit, or vice versa, his position does not pay due attention to the relationship of wisdom and the spirit *to God*. Since they are both *circumlocutions* for God then this reference should determine the nature of the concepts. Moreover, Bennema does not pay due attention to the *identical* functions of wisdom and spirit which works against his thesis that the spirit mediates wisdom, for the identical functions, we argue, determines the question of identity (cf. Bauckham). This could also be said of Menzies and Hur who both identify wisdom and the spirit and yet speak of the spirit as the source of wisdom; see further Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 90-97; Roger A. Bullard, Howard A. Hatton, *A Handbook on The Wisdom of Solomon*, UBS (New York: United Bible Societies, 2005), 2-3. Reider appears indecisive, *The Book of Wisdom*, 148-149, fn. 1.

¹¹⁶ On the synonymous functions of word, wisdom and spirit in Philo, see Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 55-56; Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom*, 74, fn. 136, though both wish to ascribe specific mediating functions to the spirit. Word and wisdom are often equated in Philo (compare *Leg.* 1.43, 65; 2.86; *Agr.* 51; *Conf.* 146). Each participate in functions specific to God such as creation (the universe came into existence through wisdom, *Fug.* 109; light by the divine word, *Opif.* 31), noetic functions of inspiration (*Opif.* 31; *Migr.* 40-42) and ethical guidance (*Leg.* 1.65). Further, God is seen to be Father of all and Wisdom is mother (*Fug.* 109), while the Logos is identified as a 'second God' (δεύτερος θεός, *Q.G.* 2.62).

¹¹⁷ '[F]or that which He breathed in was nothing else than a divine spirit' (*Opif.* 135); 'The spirit which is on him [Moses] is the wise, the divine, the excellent spirit, susceptible of neither severance nor division, diffused in its

also identifies God and the spirit as fulfilling the same divine functions: God and the spirit dwell in the soul and mind (*Somn.* 2.251-252; *Det.* 86; *Virt.* 217), both fill the world (*Gig.* 27, 47, cf. *Leg.* 1.44), are the divine voice spoken to Joseph (*Jos.* 110, 116), invisible (*Det.* 86; *Somn.* 2.252), immortal (*Gig.* 28-29; *Her.* 264-265), inspire ecstatic prophetic experiences (*Spec.* 1.65; *Her.* 249ff, 258ff, 264-265; *Vit. Mos.* 2.264-265), and are life-giving (*Opif.* 30, 134-135; *Leg.* 1.31ff; *Spec.* 1.30-31).¹¹⁸ Thus through his use of divine descriptors and divine functions, Philo stands within the multifarious context of Judaism that identified the spirit with God, though to further define this relation as consistent with the conception of the spirit's relation to YHWH in the Hebrew Scriptures – as the extension of YHWH's personality – is indeed only a historic association grounded in possibility.¹¹⁹

fullness everywhere and through *all things*' (*Gig.* 27); 'For the essence or substance of that other soul is divine spirit...And clearly what was then thus breathed was ethereal spirit, or something if such there be better than ethereal spirit, even an effulgence of the blessed, thrice blessed nature of the Godhead' (*Spec.* 4.123). Cf. *Somn.* 2.251-252 where Philo states that the mind is the house of God and closely follows with a reference to hearing the voice of the invisible spirit. Moreover, since the spirit is divine, it also cannot permanently abide in the soul, which is mortal (*Gig.* 28-29, 53-57; *Her.* 264-65).

¹¹⁸ For the spirit's relation to wisdom in Philo, see Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 54-60.

¹¹⁹ I am aware that divine descriptors alone are not enough to establish that the precise nature of the spirit's relation to God, for Philo can identify angels as divine (*Q.G.* 3.27, but cf. *Fug.* 212 where Philo denies that angels are gods). Philo can even use such terminology of Moses (*Quod omnis probus liber sit* 42-44; *Vit. Mos.* 1.158, see Richard Bauckham, 'Moses as "God" in Philo of Alexandria,' in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology: Essays in Honor of Max Turner*, eds. I. Howard Marshall, Volker Rabens and Cornelis Bennema (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2012), 246-265). This necessitates the recognition of the spirit's fulfilment of divine functions and offers a divergent argument to that of John Levison. Levison has argued strongly for understanding the spirit as an invading angel in the thought of Philo and Josephus. This argument is solely grounded on both Philo's and Josephus' retelling of Num 22-24 where, Levison argues, the angel who informs Balaam that he will tell him what to say is identified with the spirit that bestows prophetic speech. It is necessary to examine Levison's presupposition of Philo's exegesis. Levison argues that in Num 22-24 God was the source of Balaam's oracles but that it 'is difficult to assess precisely what roles the angel and the divine spirit play in the production of Balaam's oracles.' He continues by stating that 'Philo eliminated this ambiguity by attributing inspiration to the angel and the prophetic spirit – *but not God*,' (John R. Levison, 'The Prophetic Spirit as an Angel According to Philo,' *HTR* 88:2 (1995): 189-207, here 191, emphasis added. See further 192). This presupposition therefore is Levison's point of departure from the biblical text and leads him to assert that Philo has developed a unique understanding (along with Josephus) of the spirit as an *invading angel* since the activity of God has been distanced in Philo's exegetical reconstructions. Yet I question this presupposition. Levison appears to have disregarded the clear reference, from the mouth of Balaam, that it is indeed God who inspires his prophetic speech: 'I say nothing that is my own, *but only what is prompted by God...*' (*Vit. Mos.* 1.281). This raises doubts as to the validity of Levison's argument that Philo has intended to differentiate more forcefully the angel and spirit from God (See Max Turner's review of Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, in *EvQ* 75:1 (2003): 65-67). Moreover, Levison argues that 'The prediction of the angel in *Vit. Mos.* 1.274 and its accomplishment by the prophetic spirit in *Vit. Mos.* 1.277 describe the same event, the former in anticipation and the latter in retrospect,' (*The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 28; also stated, with slight modification in language in 'The Prophetic Spirit as an Angel According to Philo,' 191, emphasis mine). This interpretation goes far beyond the text itself. There are clearly *two* events in Philo's retelling of the story: the appearance of the angel to Balaam while riding his ass, and the prophetic inspiration of Balaam by the spirit in the presence of Balak. Levison himself even differentiates between 'prediction' and 'accomplishment' and this is indeed Philo's point. He does not intend to fuse two events together, and thus collapse the identities of the angel and spirit, for the angel clearly represents God as his messenger and informs Balaam that he will be used as God's prophetic tool (*Vit. Mos.* 1.274). The *realisation* of this is achieved by the spirit who inspires Balaam (*Vit. Mos.* 1.277). The reference to God as the prompter of Balaam's prophet speech (*Vit. Mos.* 1.281) simply summarises the activity of God who has sent the angel to deliver the message to Balaam and inspired him through his spirit. Philo's broader understanding of the role of angels is of interest but does not affect this reading of Philo's exegesis. Philo views angels as spiritual beings (*Q.G.* 2.8; *Abr.* 113) and *Q.G.* 3.27, though appearing to identify an angel with the spirit, is best understood as being consistent with *Q.G.* 2.8 and *Abr.* 113

4.2.3 Josephus

Likewise references to the spirit and God in Josephus demonstrate a divine description of the spirit and their functional equivalence in divine action. The collocation of πνεῦμα and θεός establishes the sense of ‘divine spirit,’ or simply ‘spirit of God’ (*Ant.* 4:108, 118-119; 6:56, 6:166, 222-233; 8:114, 408; 10:239, cf. *Ant.* 1:27). Functionally, the spirit is identified with God’s presence in the temple and is paralleled with the cloud, air and fire, all various theophanic images representing God’s imminence (*Ant.* 8:106, 114, 118-119, cf. 8:102). It is also the divine spirit who reveals to Daniel what is known only to God alone (*Ant.* 10:237-239), which is the equivalent of God revealing *himself* to Daniel.¹²⁰

where angels are viewed as incorporeal beings. Therefore *Q.G.* 3:27 identifies an angel as a spirit, but πνεῦμα does not refer to *God’s spirit*. For Philo, angels serve God (*Fug.* 212) and his powers (*Conf.* 28, 146, 174). On two occasions Philo does identify the word with an angel (*Cher.* 3, 35) and can identify the word as the fiery sword held by the Cherubim (*Cher.* 27-28), and this language should best be understood as referring to angels serving the powers of God, in these instances, the word. Since Philo can conceive of angels as servants in this way, it is no surprise that Philo has an angel meet Balaam, then closely followed by the prophetic activity of the spirit, for the powers of God are indeed God himself in his creative and ruling activity. Thus I diverge from Levison’s presuppositions to affirm that in Philo the spirit is arguably a reference to God himself in action.¹²⁰ The difficulty in Josephus’ work is in his retelling of Balaam’s journey on the donkey which is a tale that heightens the irony between the prophetic speech of Balaam and the prophetic utterance of his ass. But the difficulty lies in his apparent identification of the spirit of God (τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος) with the angel of God (ἀγγέλου θεοῦ) in *Ant.* 4:108. It would seem, if this identification is accepted, that Josephus understands the divine spirit to be differentiated from God more than our exegesis has concluded for the spirit would be conceived by Josephus as an invading angel. Levison understands Josephus as seizing ‘the opportunity to present the divine spirit as a mediator figure between the divine and human worlds who inspires oracular utterances,’ (Levison, ‘Josephus’ Interpretation of the Divine Spirit,’ 238. Levison’s position becomes less clear as he proceeds: ‘By attributing *inspiration to an angelic spirit, rather than to a vapour or directly to God*, Josephus is able to preserve God’s influence and the association between God and humankind without entangling God in human needs...He [Josephus] presents *the God of the Jews as the source of inspiration..*’ 239-240, emphasis mine). Thus ‘Josephus shows no reluctance to use the expressions, “angel of God” and “divine spirit” interchangeably’ for Josephus ‘transform[s] the character of the divine spirit,’ (Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 29). Thus Levison concludes ‘After identifying the angel which appears to the ass with “the divine spirit” (*Ant.* 4:108), Josephus attributes Balaam’s oracles to “the divine spirit” (4:118), “the spirit of God” (4:119), and “the divine” which, in this context, is a shorthand reference to the divine spirit (4:121),’ (29-30). I have two problems with Levison’s argument. *Firstly*, Levison himself admits that there is no precedent in the Hebrew Scriptures for an angelic spirit, but such an identification does exist in Judaism (Levison, ‘The Debut of the Divine Spirit in Josephus’ Antiquities,’ 125-126). If so, then it is unclear why Levison does not simply point to these references and conclude that there is no reference to the spirit of God in *Ant.* 4:108 but ‘a divine spirit.’ Instead, Levison posits that the conception of the ‘angelic spirit’ rests only upon Philo and Josephus’ individual reading of the text – but how do both uniquely arrive at this same view of the spirit as an invading angel? It seems firmer ground to understand Josephus against the backdrop of what is most common in Judaism regarding the view of the spirit. The inspiration of Balaam by the spirit of God (*Ant.* 4:118-119) demonstrates this as does Josephus’ continuity with the Hebrew Scriptures of his view of the spirit’s activity (*Ant.* 6:56, 6:166, 222-233; 8:114, 408; 10:239). *Secondly*, while it is apparent that Josephus *does* parallel the ‘divine spirit’ with the ‘angel of God,’ (*Ant.* 4:108-110) the *nature* of the relation between the angel and God himself is not clear in Levison’s argument. The presupposition in Levison’s line of reasoning is that the angel of God is distinct from God therefore he can posit that the divine spirit is a ‘mediator figure,’ yet the dominance of the prophetic spirit’s activity in Josephus’ retelling of the narrative should be a clue to the focus of Josephus’ attention and emphasis. In light of Josephus’ flexible language to refer to the angel of God, the divine spirit, and God’s will (*Ant.* 4:108-111), the better conclusion is that Josephus is not making a statement about the identity of the spirit as ‘an invading angel,’ rather, Josephus is a) grappling with the many and varied ways of referring to God himself in action, and b) *adds* the reference to the divine spirit in order to deliberately parallel the prophetic speech of Balaam with that of his ass, a parallel not found in the original story (See Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 32, fn. 15). Such a parallel allows Josephus a neater symmetry in the story, gives him an opportunity to

4.2.4 The Qumran Community

The Qumran community demonstrates dependency upon the Hebrew Scriptures and makes it likely that the spirit is understood similarly, that is, as the extension of God's own personality. This conclusion can be demonstrated from the common parallelisms used to refer to the singular activity of God and the spirit¹²¹ and the association of the spirit with wisdom (the spirit and wisdom create *all things* (1QH 9.6; 4Q 511 fr. 30.6)¹²² which has characterised the literature of Second Temple Judaism. Beyond these parallels, the 'two spirits' passage in 1QS 3.13-4.26 has provoked scholarly debate regarding the identity of the spirit. The text never specifies the nature of the relationship between the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit (whether they are anthropological dispositions or cosmic beings), and the clear cosmic agents, the Prince of light and the Angel of darkness. The apparent obscurity of the relationship results in a tension between an anthropological and cosmological perspective.¹²³ Though the

narrate the identical effects of the spirit's inspiration, even upon an animal such as an ass, and may serve to take away from any credibility gained by Balaam (It is possible that Josephus views the parallel in a humorous or ironic manner, and reflects his uncertainty as to Balaam's legitimacy as a true prophet of God. The presentation of Balaam in the MT is far from conclusive. Compare Num 21:1-25:3 with Deut 18:9-13 and Josh 13:22). The conclusion cannot be avoided that Josephus understands the divine spirit to function, with the angel, as inspiring the ass's prophetic speech. But the conclusion that the angel and the spirit must be identified is not necessary. Fatehi himself rightly recognises that *Ant.* 4.118-119 presents the spirit very much in line with the view of the spirit as the spirit of prophecy, but it is curious that he wishes to distance the 'divine spirit' (4.108) from the 'spirit of God' (4.118-119), *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 127-128. Fatehi's conclusion that the 'divine spirit' does not inspire the ass's speech, and refers not to the spirit of God but to 'a unique angel of Yahweh...i.e. a theophany,' (128-130) is unconvincing for he does not take into account the clear parallels between 4.108 and 4.118-119. The presence of the 'divine spirit' on the road with Balaam is certainly intended by Josephus to be understood as the inspiration for the prophet's utterance to Balak. Fatehi's rejection of Levison's reading of Josephus as crediting the divine spirit with inspiring the ass's speech does not stand up to close scrutiny of the passage.

¹²¹ 1QS 4.21CD 2:12; 1QH 8.9-12; 14.6; 20.11-13; 4QH521 1, 2:6; 4Q504 1-2, 5:15; 1Q34bis 2:6ff; 4Q511 Fr. 30.

¹²² 1QS 4:3, 18-24; 1QH 19.25; 17:32-34; 20.11-13 and also glory (1QH 8.9). See David, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 40-43; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 102-108; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord*, 70-72; Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom*, 83-92.

¹²³ The issues for our purposes are reduced to three key discussion points: the question of influences, questions related to the writer's use of *ruach* in 1QS 3.13-4.26, and questions concerning the relationship between conceptions of the spirit in 1QS and 1QH as a whole. More specifically, an inquiry must ask the following questions. 1), does *ruach* refer to the human spirit or an angelic spirit? That is, do the two spirits of 1QS 3.18-19, and subsequent *particular* references to *ruach*, refer to cosmic beings or simply dispositions within the human heart? 2), how are the two spirits related to the Prince of light and Angel of darkness (1QS 3.20-21)? If the two spirits are cosmic beings, does that therefore mean they are identified with the Prince of light and Angel of darkness? If the two spirits are understood as dispositions then what is the nature of their relation to these two angelic powers? And 3), is the spirit of God in view in the two spirits passage? If so, how is the spirit related to the Prince of light and the spirit of truth? These questions clearly have a significant impact upon the Qumran Community's understanding of the identity of the spirit for if the spirit is seen to be identified with the spirit of truth, and by extension, the Prince of light, it is possible that the Qumran community have conceived of the spirit as possessing an identity much more distinct than our argument to this point would suggest. For discussion on the issues and the history of the debate, see the summaries in Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran*, 193-219 and John R. Levison, 'The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology,' in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 169-194; also see Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 78-83; Kvalvaag, 'The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts,' 159-180; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 100-102; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord*, 72-78; Klein, 'From the "Right Spirit" to the "Spirit of Truth,"' 177-189; Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52

current scholarly field does not represent a consensus,¹²⁴ there is recognition that a complete denial of any cosmic dimension or a complete denial of reference to the human dimension results in a skewed analysis.¹²⁵ A stronger emphasis on the eschatological themes in the passage would confirm the spirit's function as the power of ethical and covenantal renewal (1QS 3.6-12, 9:3ff; 1QH 16.11) and in this way parallel God's own holy presence who sanctifies the community in purity and holiness, regardless of the conception of the spirit as a cosmological or anthropological influence in this passage.¹²⁶ Consequently, the functions of

(Leiden: Brill, 2004), 77-90; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 'The Interiorisation of Dualism in the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism: The Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS iii 13 – iv 26) in its Tradition-Historical Context,' in *Light against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*, eds. Randall Styers, Armin Lange, Eric M. Meyers and Bennie H. Reynolds (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 145-168. On dualism more broadly see 'Dualism in the Essene Communities,' in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2, 195-202, and the collection of essays in Geza G. Xeravits, ed., *Dualism in Qumran*, LSTS 76 (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2010).

¹²⁴ Debate has ensued over whether the passage reflects Zoroastrian influences which posits the existence of both a good and evil spirit that function as cosmic powers. This influence was affirmed by K.G. Kuhn and A. Dupont-Sommer (Karl G. Kuhn, 'Die Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament,' *ZTK* 47 (1950): 192-211, *idem*, 'Die Sektenschriften und der iranische Religion,' *ZTK* 49 (1952): 296-316; Andre Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), *idem*, 'L'instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le Manuel de Discipline,' *RHR* 142 (1952): 5-35). Even though 'This hypothesis is credible, since the Jews had lived for centuries under Persian domination,' the hypothesis misunderstands the *exclusive* and *sectarian* nature of the Qumran community (Levison, 'The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology,' 173). The affirmation of Persian influence on Qumran by Kuhn and Dupont-Sommer was subsequently challenged by Wernberg-Møller who argued that the cosmic dimension to the passage is missing, thus removing the need for any appeal to Zoroastrianism (Preben Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1 Q Serek 3.13 – 4.26),' *RevQ* 3 (1961): 413-441). Wernberg-Møller's argument relied solely on reading the two spirits as dispositions or inclinations of the human heart thus resulting in an anthropological rather than cosmological reading. A similar argument was also put forward by M. Treves (Marco Treves, 'The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community,' *RQ* 3 (1961-62): 449-452). The text is clear that the human heart is indeed where the struggle takes place between the spirit of truth and spirit of deceit (1QS 4.23), yet Wernberg-Møller's exegesis struggled to explain the presence of the Prince of light and Angel of darkness, clearly angelic beings (1QS 3.20-21). Wernberg-Møller was challenged in this regard by Herbert G. May ('Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in the Old Testament Imagery,' *JBL* 82 (1963): 1-14). Recent support for this anthropological reading has been produced in the detailed exegesis by A. Sekki. Sekki argues that the feminine gender of *ruach* in 1QS 3.18-19, 25 is evidence that the two spirits refer to the human disposition, since this is consistently the case in the Qumran literature, and since angelic beings are always denoted by *ruach* through the masculine gender (Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran*, 193-219). Yet Sekki does not discuss the relationship of the two spirits to the cosmic angels.

¹²⁵ Levison, 'The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology,' 184-185. Menzies accepts Wernberg-Møller's argument without commenting on the problematic question that remains regarding the nature of the association between the two spirits and the Prince of light and Angel of darkness, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 78-83. Fatehi denies an identification is made between the Prince of light and the spirit of truth, and describes the relation as one of 'association' or 'correspondence.' This allows Fatehi to distance the spirit further from a direct identification with either the spirit of truth or an archangel for the spirit is the 'ultimate source or energizer of the "spirit of truth,"' Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 76, see more fully, 72-78. Bennema curiously understands the spirits of truth and deceit as a reference to spiritual forces that are at work within a person, *The Power of Saving Wisdom*, 90, fn. 193.

¹²⁶ The eschatological tension in this passage needs to be given more attention. The two spirits are now at work in humanity, for good or for evil, but God will, at some future time, destroy the spirit of deceit from human flesh and then the spirit of truth will remain (4.18-26). Of importance is the recognition that it is in this context of God's victory over the spirit of deceit that his holy spirit will purify the human heart. An explicit link is formed between the spirit of truth (in the human heart) and the holy spirit in 4.21 where, in his eschatological victory over the spirit of deceit, God will purify the community by the holy spirit upon the spirit of truth. For an exegetical argument in favour of the holy spirit as referent in 21a and the human spirit in 21b, see Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran*, 207-209. Such an explicit association between the holy spirit and the spirit of truth is consistent with 3.6-12, which directly precedes the 'two spirits' passage thus forming an *inclusio*. I wish

God and his spirit are consistent with the broader conception of the spirit in Second Temple Judaism.

4.3 Summary

The emphasis upon the spirit's functions as paralleling those of God, wisdom and word plausibly suggests that the spirit was generally conceived in a way consistent with the Hebrew Scriptures. The diverse literature of Second Temple Judaism arguably presents the spirit as the mode of God's creative and ruling activity.¹²⁷ The spirit denotes the dynamic extension of God's personality and is not separable from God. Language of the spirit is personified speech connoting the divine activity of God as ruler and creator that distinguishes the Unique Divine Identity from all other reality. Consequently, the spirit is not understood to possess a distinct identity that is distinguishable from God.¹²⁸

to argue that the ambiguity contained in this passage regarding the two spirits, the Prince of light and the Angel of darkness, and God's holy spirit is because of the eschatological framework of the passage. In this present age, the Prince of light, an angelic being, is responsible for leading God's people in the ways of righteousness, yet at some future point, the holy spirit will cleanse the human heart. The dynamic movement from the Prince of light to the work of God's spirit is intentionally signalling the heightened activity of God himself in the final victory over darkness. This understanding of the passage is a step towards removing the difficult identifications between the spirit of God, angelic beings and human dispositions, and also produces an understanding of the function of the spirit as God's own activity in purifying his people that is consistent with 1QH (This is in contrast to Menzies who denies that 1QS and 1QH refer to the *same* spirit of God, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 80-83). For an argument that the eschatology of the passage is the result of redaction, see Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran*, 89-90, 217-219. Fatehi accepts 4.6 as referencing the spirit, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 76, fn. 44, and argues that 4.6 is the first association between the holy spirit and the spirit of God. Yet I remain convinced 4.21 is the single occurrence which heightens the eschatological activity of the spirit as God's own immanent power of purification.

¹²⁷ Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 23-38; Rachel Timoner, *Breath of Life: God as Spirit in Judaism* (Brewster: Paraclete Press, 2011).

¹²⁸ Though this thesis affirms one line of interpretation – that the spirit, with word and wisdom – is a personification of God's personality, this must stand in unresolved tension with such enigmatic presentations of the spirit illustrated best in the writings of Philo. To argue that Philo conceives the spirit as the extension of God's own personality and is not separable from God is to make an assertion by proximity, but the multifarious nature of data concerning the spirit in Second Temple Judaism simply sounds a caution to risks associated with historical reconstruction. By personification, I understand that the lexeme used (i.e. πνεῦμα) is deliberately utilised as a descriptive *identifier* for God himself. The lexeme is representative of, and is a linguistic identifier for, a particular aspect of God's own identity. For clarification on definitions relating to personification, see Dodson, *The 'Powers' of Personification*, 27-40. On metaphorical language in the Wisdom Literature, with particular reference to Wisdom, see Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation*, 55-57, 59-69. The variety of conceptions of God's own activity in the variegated literature of Judaism, as word, wisdom and spirit, attests to the attempt to hold an affirmation of the oneness of God as central and yet experientially identify multifaceted expressions of God's activity. In this sense, language of 'hypostasis' is anachronistic as is the concept behind the term, hence the applicability of the framework of the Unique Divine Identity which provides a more appropriate contextual description, *pace* Paul Volz, *Der Geist Gottes und die verwandten Erscheinungen im Alten Testament und im anschließenden Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1910). Cf. Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 170, 'language which denoted a hypostasis or independent deity in polytheism would certainly have a different connotation within a monotheistic religion' (emphasis original); Murphy, *The Tree of Life*, 133, 'In the biblical context the figure of Wisdom cannot be conceived as hypostasis or person because of the strict monotheism of the postexilic period. Whatever associations Wisdom may have had in an earlier era, she is best understood in her biblical expression as a communication of God.' For a strong argument in favour of wisdom as a personification, see Alice M. Sinnott, *The Personification of Wisdom*, SOTS (Burlington/Hants: Ashgate, 2005). *Pace* Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*; and Winston who argues that in The Wisdom of Solomon (and in Philo)

5. The Experiential Reality of the Spirit

The final point of discussion concerns the experiential nature of the spirit which is demonstrated in the literature of Judaism by the effects of the spirit, notably prophetic inspiration, the loss of mental control, and inspired speech. The following analysis will demonstrate that the spirit is discernible in human experience.

5.1 Texts Excluding Philo, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus, and Qumran

The Wisdom of Solomon presents the spirit as an experiential reality in the spirit's work of inspiration. The experience of the spirit of wisdom clearly affects the individual at both the cognitive and behavioural level for without the teaching and guidance of the spirit (Wis 1:5), the righteous cannot understand wisdom and be led in the right way to live (Wis 7:7; 9:17; cf. 1:7; 12:1).¹²⁹ Sir comprehends the spirit to be an experiential reality as he studies the law, parables and proverbs, and it is the spirit who works in the Sage's cognitive processes in order to comprehend the wisdom within the texts. The spirit of understanding fills him with wisdom and results in thanksgiving to the Lord (Sir 39:6), prayer and praise.¹³⁰ *1 Enoch* 91:1 refers to the spirit as the power of inspiration for Enoch's visions. This text refers to the spirit poured upon the visionary as a sign of the revelatory state he has entered in which he is given visions of the throne room of God. The spirit also gives charismatic and prophetic insight to Levi (*Jos and Asen* 26:6), Rebecca (*Book of Jubilees* 25:14), and Jacob (*Book of Jubilees* 40:5) who all produce prophetic utterance.

5.1.1 Philo

For Philo, the spirit brings about tangible effects in the experiences of Abraham (*Virt.* 217; *Q.G.* 3:9), Joseph (*Jos.* 116-117), Bezaleel (*Gig.* 23), Moses (*Vit. Mos.* 1.175; 2.258, 291; *Decal.* 175; *Gig.* 24-27, 47, cf. *Vit. Mos.* 1.201; 2.191; *Spec.* 1.8; 2:104), and Balaam (*Vit. Mos.* 1:277ff, cf. 264-266) who utter inspired speech. Philo relates many of these experiences as entailing a loss of mental control at the entrance of the spirit upon the mind, including his

wisdom emerges as a distinct hypostasis, 'Wisdom in The Wisdom of Solomon' in *In Search of Wisdom*, 149-164.

¹²⁹ See Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom*, 63-64. On the author's experience of wisdom see David Winston, 'The Sage as Mystic in the Wisdom of Solomon,' in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, 383-397, 'the reader is clearly in the presence of a genuine religious experience that has enveloped the author's mind and soul and has filled them with the divine presence,' (389).

¹³⁰ For a discussion on the experience of God referenced through metaphors in the Wisdom Literature, see Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation*, 55-57, 59-69.

own (*Spec.* 1.65; 4:48-49; *Q.G.* 3:9).¹³¹ Commonly accompanying this loss of mental control is an experience of ecstasy (*Jos.* 117, *Somn.* 2.252, *Spec.* 4.49, *Vit. Mos.* 1.175, 277, 2.265; *Her.* 249-250, 264-65, cf. *Her.* 69; *Leg.* 3.82; *Fug.* 166; *Opif.* 71; *Ebr.* 145-150).¹³² *Q.G.* 3.9 best sums up the profound, discernible and evidential nature of ecstatic prophecy: ‘A certain divine tranquillity came suddenly upon the virtuous man. For ecstasy, as its very name clearly shows, is nothing else than the departing and going out of the understanding... For when the mind is divinely possessed and becomes filled with God, it is no longer within itself, for it receives the *divine spirit* to dwell within it... it does not come upon one gently and softly but makes a sudden attack.’¹³³

5.1.2 Pseudo-Philo

When the spirit fell upon Kenaz in Ps. Ph., he is prepared for battle and draws his sword (27.9) so that he was changed into another man (27.19, cf. 1 Sam 10:6). The spirit ‘took away his sense and he began to prophesy’ (28:6) and following the prophecy ‘he awakened, and his sense came back to him. He however did not know what he had spoken or what he had seen’ (28.10). The spirit came upon Deborah so that she sang praises for the works of the Lord (32:14), and also came upon Miriam to inspire her to dream (9.10) and is the power of prophecy that foretold Sisera’s death (31.9). Finally, the spirit fell upon Saul and he prophesied but like Kenaz, he ‘went away and did not know what he had prophesied’ (62.2).

5.1.3 Josephus

So too Josephus, in similar exegetical style to Philo, attributes prophetic inspiration and loss of mental control to the spirit. In the narrative of Balaam he declares ‘such was the inspired utterance of one who was no longer his own master but was overruled by the divine spirit to deliver it,’ (*Ant.* 4.118). Balaam responds to Balak, ‘hast thou reflected on the whole matter and thinkest thou that it rests with us at all to be silent or to speak on such themes as these,

¹³¹ This is surely an extension of Philo’s view of the spirit as being the rationality of the soul (*Q.G.* 3.9; *Vit. Mos.* 1.175, 277; 2.258, cf. *Vit. Mos.* 1.274, 281, 283ff).

¹³² For a more detailed discussion on the spirit as effecting ecstatic prophecy and inspiration, see John R. Levison, ‘Two Types of Ecstatic Prophecy According to Philo,’ *SPA* 6 (1994): 83-89; ‘Inspiration and the Divine Spirit in the Writings of Philo Judaeus,’ 271-323; *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 27-33; 90-97; 137-142; 171-178; 190-194; and Sze-Kar Wan, ‘Charismatic Exegesis: Philo and Paul Compared,’ *SPA* 6 (1994): 54-82.

¹³³ There are traces in Philo of reference to his individual experience that retain the influence of the spirit. As we have already observed, Philo shows his awareness of being a philosopher and interpreter of Torah who can experience the working of the divine spirit in his mind (*Plant.* 18-24; *Somn.* 2.252, cf. *Spec.* 3.1-6; *Gig.* 29-31). Whereas the prophet experiences the loss of mental control, the philosopher experiences mental ascent to the heavens, most likely understood as a heightening of rational comprehension, since the spirit is that which is given to the rational soul from God. Philo evidently participated in such experiences of mental ascent to the heavens which he credited to the work of the divine spirit. Philo also acknowledges the spirit at work in his exegetical examination and interpretation of Torah.

when we are possessed by the spirit of God? For that spirit gives utterance to such language and words as it will, whereof we are all unconscious' (*Ant.* 4.119). Josephus conceives the prophet as losing all mental functionality as the divine spirit utters the words of God through mouth of the prophet. This conception is illustrated in Josephus' narration of Saul's search for David, when Saul's men were 'possessed by the spirit of God and began to prophesy' (*Ant.* 6.221) just as Saul himself, subsequently, began to prophesy and 'losing his reason under the impulse of that mighty spirit, stripped off his clothes and lay prostrate on the ground' (*Ant.* 6.222-223). The component of a loss of mental control once again emerges as a prominent perspective.¹³⁴

5.1.4 The Qumran Community

The variety of descriptions of the spirit's role in the Qumran community confirm the experiential reality of the spirit in their midst.¹³⁵ The spirit is given to each individual who enters the community (1QH 5.18-19; 8.12; 20.11-13; Fr. 3.14) and their experience of the spirit in ethical renewal is described as being 'like purifying waters...shed upon [them]' (1QS 4.21; cf. 1QH 4.26; 15.6-7; Fr. 2.9-13; 4Q504 5.15 for the repeated description of the spirit as 'shed'). The spirit gives knowledge (1QH 6.25; 8.2; 20.11-13), understanding (1QH 6.12-13), holiness (1QS 3.6-12; 9.3-5;¹³⁶ 1QH 8.3; 16.10-14), discernment (1QS 4.5) and mercy (1QH 8.8; 20.11-13), and is evidence of the graciousness of God (1QSb 2.22-24¹³⁷). While lacking the emphasis upon a loss of mental control characteristic of the spirit of prophecy, Qumran nonetheless confirms the ethical reality of the spirit in experience.

¹³⁴ Further, see Levison, 'The Debut of the Divine Spirit in Josephus's *Antiquities*,' 123-138; 'Josephus's Interpretation of the Divine Spirit,' 234-255.

¹³⁵ Scholarship is now affirming a mystical tradition in Qumran which reflects the experiential nature of Qumran spirituality. Carol A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, Harvard Semitic Studies 27 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*, TSAJ 16 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988); James M. Scott, 'Throne-Chariot Mysticism in Qumran and in Paul,' in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Evans, Flint, 101-119; James R. Davila, 'Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, Vol. 2, eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 461-485; Davila, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and Merkavah Mysticism,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 249-264; Davila, 'Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,' in his *Liturgical Works*, Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000), 83-167; Michael D. Swartz, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and Later Jewish Magic and Mysticism,' *DSD* 8 (2001): 182-193; Chrispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts*, LSTS 61 (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2006); Alexander, 'Qumran and the Genealogy of Western Mysticism,' in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9-11 January, 2005*, STDJ 88, eds. Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 214-235; Carol A. Newsom, 'Religious Experience in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Two Case Studies,' in *Experientia*, Vol. 2, *Linking Text and Experience*, EJL 35, eds. Colleen Shantz and Rodney A. Werline (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 205-221.

¹³⁶ Pace Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology*, 81-83

¹³⁷ Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 125.

5.2 Summary

It is clear from the literature of Second Temple Judaism that the spirit is evidenced in both personal experience and in the religious life of the early Jewish communities. The spirit was pervasively identified by its tangible activity and effects which could be distinguished as the spirit. This experience of the spirit was not separable from an experience of God himself, but was understood to be an experience of God in his immanent engagement with his people.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that in the literature of Second Temple Judaism the spirit was understood to fulfil those divine activities which define God as unique. Specifically, the spirit participates in God's ruling and creative activity, is understood to dwell in the temple and the centre of cultic life, and fulfils those eschatological activities which identify God as the unique ruler and creator of all. In this sense, the spirit is included within the Unique Divine Identity for the spirit's fulfilment of God's divine activities is indeed understood to be the means by which God himself works. The spirit is not separable from God but is God himself in his creative and ruling activities for the spirit is the extension of God's personality. Finally, the spirit is an experiential reality that is discernible as God himself acting upon a subject, whether it is prophetic speech, ecstatic experience, or wisdom and revelation, the spirit produces tangible effects that distinguish God in action. These conclusions are consistent with those drawn from the literature of the Hebrew Scriptures and demonstrate an identifiable interpretative tradition. In this tradition, the spirit does not possess a distinct identity.

PART II

THE IDENTITY OF THE SPIRIT IN PAUL

Part I has completed an examination of Paul's Hebrew and Jewish antecedents. Part II will examine the identity of the spirit in Paul's thought and experience by following the same structure established in Part I. Part II will begin with an introductory chapter [chapter 4] that inquires after Paul's relation to his Hebrew and Jewish antecedents by examining his 'conversion' experience and the question of continuity or discontinuity with his Jewish heritage. This introductory chapter will establish the sense and meaning of πνεῦμα and πνευματικός/πνευματικῶς in Paul's use and situate Paul's consistent usage with that of the Hebrew Scriptures and the literature of Second Temple Judaism. Part II will then be divided into 2 inter-related sections that are framed according to the twin methodology of this study. Section 1 will follow the framework of R. Bauckham's Unique Divine Identity and will consist of 2 inter-related parts. Section 1A will demonstrate the spirit's inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity by situating the spirit within Creational Monotheism [chapter 5], Cultic Monotheism [chapter 6], and Eschatological Monotheism [chapter 7] and thereby affirm that the spirit fulfils those same divine functions that characterise God as unique. Section 1B will examine the nature of the spirit's relation to God and Christ within Paul's Christian monotheism as a consequence of Christ and the spirit's inclusion in God's Unique Divine Identity [chapter 8]. The aim of this chapter will be to determine whether Paul conceives of the spirit as possessing a distinct identity distinguishable from God and Christ. Section 2 will follow the direction set by L. Hurtado and confirm the experiential reality of the spirit within Paul's devotional and religious experience and the significance of this experience for Paul's perception of the identity of the spirit [chapter 9].

Chapter Four: Paul, his Transformation, and the Spirit

1. Introduction

Our journey has identified a discernible path originating from the foundation of Hebrew monotheism and leading upwards through the diverse terrain of Jewish monotheism. Where this path leads at this point remains obscure yet the promise of a splendid vision awaits. We have encountered difficulties characteristic of any journey as we negotiate pitfalls and dangers, but we must now examine whether Paul treads the same discernible path or whether he departs to form a divergent trail intent on reaching the summit.

This thesis concerns the question of whether the spirit came to possess a distinct identity within Paul's Christian monotheism. It is at this point that various assumptions need to be explicitly articulated when turning to Paul. The question of this thesis inquires whether, a) there is in some sense a development in Paul's perception of the identity of the spirit, b) this development rests comfortably within a monotheistic framework, a monotheistic framework which itself remains continuous, yet modified, with preceding convictions. These two points of inquiry naturally can be summarised as being concerned with the nature of *continuity* and *discontinuity* between Paul's 'Christian' and 'pre-Christian' Jewish thought and experience.¹ Scholarship is strongly supportive of recognising Paul's Jewish context and his place within Jewish patterns of thought.² It is common for research on Paul to begin with

¹ I use this nomenclature with the full recognition that it is anachronistic. I do not intend to posit a real distinction between Judaism and Christianity at this period of history, but use these terms for their heuristic value as denoting two distinct periods defined in Paul's experience.

² The literature on Paul and Judaism is immense. On specialised studies that engage with questions concerning the relation between Paul and his Jewish context, see Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*; Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*; Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*; *idem*, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); William S. Campbell, 'Christianity and Judaism: Continuity and Discontinuity,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 8:2 (1984): 54-58; Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles*, *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*, 3.1 (Maastricht: Van Gorcum/Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); Jerome Murphy-O'Connor and James H. Charlesworth, eds., *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Crossroad, 1990); Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways*; Martin Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM Press/Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991); N. Thomas Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991); Timo Laato, *Paul and Judaism: An Anthropological Approach* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); Mark D. Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress/Augsburg Press, 1996); Martin Hengel, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch: The Unknown Years* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1997); Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (Cambridge/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); John Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Adam H. Becker and Annette Y. Reed, eds., *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, TSAJ 95 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2005).

The emergence of the so called 'New Perspective on Paul' has attempted to give due attention to Paul's Jewish heritage. The forerunners are considered to be Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*; *idem*, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*; N. Thomas Wright, "The Paul of History and the Apostle of Faith," *TynBul* 29 (1978): 61-88; *idem*, *What St Paul Really Said* (Oxford: Lion, 1997); *idem*, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress

the preceding influences of the Hebrew Scriptures and the literature of the Second Temple period that have played a significant role in the formation of his thought, particularly in relation to monotheism and the spirit.³ While agreeing with the importance of such literature for situating Paul within a Jewish framework and context, the weakness of such an approach lies in the absence of a firm apprehension of what aspects of Pauline thought remain either

Press, 2005); James D.G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1990); *idem*, *The New Perspective on Paul: Collected Essays*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2005).

For the research that followed see Kent L. Yinger, *Paul, Judaism, and Judgement According to Deeds*, SNTSMS 105 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Don A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien and Mark A. Seifried, eds., *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck/Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001, 2004); Seyoon Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); Michael B. Thompson, *The New Perspective on Paul* (Cambridge: Grove Books, 2002); Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and his Critics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); Guy Prentiss Waters, *Justification and the New Perspectives on Paul: A Review and Response* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2004); Jay E. Smith, "The New Perspective on Paul: A Select and Annotated Bibliography," *CTR* 2:2 (2005): 91-111; Dennis M. Swanson, "Bibliography of Works on the New Perspective of Paul," *TMSJ* 16:2 (2005): 317-324; Chris VanLandingham, *Judgement and Justification in Early Judaism and the Apostle Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006); Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: Beyond the New Perspective* (Cambridge/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007); Michael F. Bird, *The Saving Righteousness of God: Studies on Paul, Justification and the New Perspective* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2007); Douglass A. Campbell, *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Re-reading of Justification in Paul* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009).

There is debate in current Pauline scholarship regarding the degree to which Paul's identity maintains, or removes, the boundaries between Christianity and Judaism, and the question of the New Perspective certainly posits a degree of differentiation between 'Judaism' and faith in Christ. Scholars such as M. Nanos, J. Gager, L. Gaston, N. Elliott, P. Fredriksen, K. Stendahl, S. Stowers, and P. Eisenbaum regard Paul as maintaining strongly his Jewish identity. See the collection of essays in *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005); Pamela Eisenbaum, 'Paul, Polemics, and the Problem of Essentialism,' 224-238; Eisenbaum, 'Is Paul the Father of Misogyny and Antisemitism?' *Cross Currents* 50:4 (2000-2001): 506-524; Neil Elliott, 'An American "Myth of Innocence" and Contemporary Pauline Studies,' *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005): 239-249; Lloyd Gaston, 'The Impact of New Perspectives on Judaism and Improved Jewish-Christian Relations on the Study of Paul,' *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005): 250-254; Mark D. Nanos, 'How Inter-Christian Approaches to Paul's Rhetoric can Perpetuate Negative Valuations of Jewishness – Although Proposing to Avoid that Outcome,' *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005): 255-269; Caroline J. Hodge, 'Apostle to the Gentiles: Constructions of Paul's Identity,' *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005): 270-288; William S. Campbell, 'Perceptions of Compatibility Between Christianity and Judaism in Pauline Interpretation,' *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005): 298-316. Also Nanos, 'Rethinking the "Paul and Judaism" Paradigm: Why Not "Paul's Judaism"?' Unpublished Paper, May 28, 2008, accessed March 4, 2010, <http://www.marknanos.com/Paul%27sJudaism-5-28-08.pdf>; Daniel Boyarin, 'Rethinking Jewish Christianity: An Argument Dismantling a Dubious Category (to which is Appended a Correction of my *Border Lines*),' *JQR* 99:1 (2009): 7-36. More broadly see his *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); John Gager, 'Paul, the Apostle of Judaism,' in *Jesus, Judaism and Christian Anti-Judaism: Reading the New Testament after the Holocaust*, eds. Paula Fredriksen and Adele Reinhartz (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 56-76; Pamela Eisenbaum, *Paul was not a Christian: The Original Message of a Misunderstood Apostle* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2009); Reimund Bieringer and Didier Pollefeyt, eds., *Paul and Judaism: Crosscurrents in Pauline Exegesis and the Study of Jewish Christian Relations*, LNTS 461 (London: T&T Clark, 2012).

³ E.g. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 27-50; Mark J. Goodwin, *Paul, Apostle of the Living God: Kerygma and Conversion in 2 Corinthians* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001); Nancy Calvert-Koyzis, *Paul, Monotheism and the People of God: The Significance of Abraham Traditions for Early Judaism and Christianity*, JSNTSupS 273 (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2004). On recent scholarly research on the significance of the Hebrew Scriptures and the literature of Second Temple Judaism on the thought of Paul and the spirit specifically, see importantly Philips, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*. While his study is profoundly important, Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, has neglected to articulate clearly the direct impact of the Hebrew Scriptures and the literature of Second Temple Period on the thought of Paul for it appears more assumed than stated in his study.

largely unchanged or radically altered in his ‘Christian’ context. It is the prior question of continuity and discontinuity in Paul’s thought that needs to be addressed. If it is found that Paul’s Christian view of the spirit was completely discontinuous with his Jewish convictions, then it is superfluous to analyse the influences apparently on him and they should not be given significant focus. Alternatively, if it is found that there remains some sense of continuity, then investigating the literature stands as a vital means of contextualising Paul’s thought and offers itself as an important window into Paul’s view of the identity of the spirit. The following discussion will argue that the relation between Paul’s ‘pre-Christian’ and ‘Christian’ experience is a dialectical one, evident in his monotheistic profession of God as ruler and creator over all, his faith in Jesus Christ, and his language of the spirit. This will address the two points of inquiry that characterise the focus of this thesis, that is, a) that there is a sense of development in Paul’s perception of the identity of the spirit, and b) that this development rests within a monotheistic framework.

2. The Question of Continuity and Discontinuity: Paul and his ‘Conversion’

The significant place to begin our present discussion is the well-known debate regarding the appropriate way of understanding Paul’s experience of Christ on the road to Damascus (Gal 1:11-17, 1 Cor 9:1; 15:1-11; Phil 3:1-11).⁴ As it is commonly acknowledged, scholarship since Krister Stendahl’s influential paper has increasingly recognised that whilst traditional interpretations of Paul’s experience of Christ outside of Damascus have understood it to be a ‘conversion,’ Paul’s own language appears to reflect an understanding of the experience as a ‘call.’⁵ In his attempt to rescue Paul from Luther’s understanding of the Apostle as ridden with guilt and characterised by introspection, Stendahl argued:

From reading these accounts [Acts 9:1-19, 22:4-16, 26:9-19; Gal 1:11-17] it seems reasonable to speak of the event as a ‘conversion’ since that is our usual term for such an occurrence. It appears that a Jew, so strong in his Jewish faith that he persecutes Christians, himself becomes a Christian through a sudden and overwhelming experience. Yet a closer reading of these accounts...reveals a greater continuity between ‘before’ and ‘after.’ Here is not that change of ‘religion’ that we commonly associate with the word *conversion*.⁶

⁴ I use this geographical description simply for heuristic purposes and without a judgement as to the historical viability of Luke’s record in Acts of this event (which is the only source for this specific location). Possible credence for Luke’s description can be identified in Paul’s retelling of the event in Gal 1:17, where he states that he later returned to Damascus.

⁵ Krister Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976).

⁶ Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles*, emphasis original.

The question of conversion appears to raise the issue of *continuity* or *discontinuity* in the thought of Paul rather sharply for it stands as the central demarcating experience for the Apostle.⁷ If it can be argued that Paul experienced a conversion, understood in the traditional sense of ‘conversion from one religion to another,’ then the Christian Paul appears to be rather discontinuous with his prior Jewish convictions. Alternatively, if it can be argued that Paul understood his experience to be a call, then continuity appears to be favoured since there exists no sense of shift in Paul’s autobiography that concerns alternating between faiths. The apparent polarity between conversion and call established by Stendahl is, I argue, too reductionist for it minimises the sense of discontinuity in favour of continuity. This is based on the following three arguments.

1) Stendahl’s study demonstrated the need for an adequate *label* with which to define Paul’s experience, but his appropriate rejection of ‘conversion’ and its connotations in favour of the language of ‘call’ falls prey to the same error. Paul’s experience can be classed as a ‘call,’ but it is clearly much more than that.⁸ Recent scholarship has understood that the language of ‘conversion’ is appropriate to Paul if the term itself, or at least the experience, is defined satisfactorily.⁹ Others choose to utilise a new label in place of the language of ‘conversion,’ such as ‘transformation’¹⁰ or ‘alternation,’¹¹ since the traditional language for

⁷ It is necessary to include here a cautionary remark and to acknowledge that even though Paul’s letters are primary sources that contain references to his own experience, Paul has nonetheless made reference to his experience in the service of his rhetorical and pastoral aims. We can appeal to Paul’s letters as first hand historical accounts which relay his experience of ‘conversion’ and the spirit, but must acknowledge that such descriptions are not reflective of any ‘pure’ historical account devoid of the ad hoc contingencies that comprise the occasion of the accounts themselves. Such is the nature of historical reconstruction. I am indebted to Dr Ian J. Elmer for pressing this point.

⁸ Cf. Bruce Corley, ‘Interpreting Paul’s Conversion – Then and Now,’ in *The Road From Damascus*, 15. See the *Ex Auditu* Vol. 25 (2009) edition on conversion, particularly Scot McKnight, ‘Was Paul a Convert?’, 110-132.

⁹ Jacques Dupont, ‘The Conversion of Paul, and its Influence on his Understanding of Salvation by Faith,’ in *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F.F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday*, eds. W. Ward Gasque and Ralph P. Martin (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1970), 176-194; John Gager, ‘Some Notes on Paul’s Conversion,’ *NTS* 27:5 (1981): 697-704; Lewis R. Rambo, ‘Current Research on Religious Conversion,’ *Religious Studies Review* 8:2 (1982): 146-159 (Rambo later published a study on conversion yet this cultural study, with its focus on contemporary religious experience, gives little attention to Paul, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993)); Paula Fredriksen, ‘Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self,’ *JTS* 37:1 (1986): 3-34; Heikki Räisänen, ‘Paul’s Conversion and the Development of his View of the Law,’ *NTS* 33 (1987): 404-419; Terence L. Donaldson, ‘Zealot and Convert: The Origin of Paul’s Christ-Torah Antithesis,’ *CBQ* 51:4 (1989): 655-682; Timothy J. Ralston, ‘The Theological Significance of Paul’s Conversion,’ *Bibliotheca Sacra* 147:586 (1990): 198-215; For a helpful and straightforward summary of conversion in Pauline studies prior to 1993, see Larry W. Hurtado, ‘Convert, Apostate or Apostle to the Nations: The “Conversion” of Paul in Recent Scholarship,’ *Studies in Religion* 22:3 (1993): 273-284. Following 1993, Richard N. Longenecker, ed., *The Road From Damascus*; James D.G. Dunn, ‘Paul’s Conversion – A Light to Twentieth Century Disputes,’ in his *The New Perspective on Paul*, 347-365; Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*; Richard V. Peace, *Conversion in the New Testament: Paul and the Twelve* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999), 17-101; John Ashton, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 73-104; O’Brien, ‘Was Paul Converted?’ in *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, 361-391.

¹⁰ Beverley Roberts Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986); *idem*, ‘Conversion,’ in *ABD* 1.1132, ed. David N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992); *idem*, ‘Conversion in the Bible,’ in *Handbook of Religious Conversion*, eds. H. Newton

conversion in Paul is never applied to his own experience, and rarely applied to the conversion experiences of his converts.¹² Conversely, it can be shown that Paul applied ‘call’ terminology not only to his own experience,¹³ but also to his Gentile recipients and their conversion experience.¹⁴ Thus recent Pauline studies agree that Stendahl was correct to recognise one aspect of Paul’s experience as a ‘call’ but they also recognise that he has created an arbitrary line between ‘conversion’ and ‘call.’ This allows us to understand the Damascus experience as of more profound change than that which Stendahl allowed.¹⁵ However this experience is labelled, what remains evident is that such descriptions attempt to emphasise either *continuity* (‘call’) or *discontinuity* (‘conversion’), or a dialectical integration of the two (‘transformation’; ‘alternation’). Because the label ‘transformation’ adequately

Malony and Samuel Southard (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1992), 41-54. Her study offers a ‘working definition of conversion’ in light of previous well known attempts by William James (*The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902)) and Arthur Darby Nock (*Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933); *idem, St. Paul* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938)). Following Gaventa’s study, Alan F. Segal also argues that ‘Conversion is an appropriate term for discussing Paul’s religious experience, although Paul did not himself use it’ (Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 72). Segal also understands Paul’s mystical ‘conversion’ experience as one of transformation (22, 72-114). Richard N. Longenecker has supported the claims of Gaventa and Segal that ‘conversion’ is applicable to Paul’s experience but has noted the variety of options broadly available in scholarship (“Introduction,” in *The Road From Damascus*, xiii; “Realized Hope, New Commitment, and Developed Proclamation,” in *The Road From Damascus*, 24).

¹¹ Richard V. Travisano, ‘Alternation and Conversion as Qualitatively Different Transformations,’ in *Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction*, eds. Gregory P. Stone and Harvey A. Farberman (Waltham: Ginn-Blaisdell, 1970), 594-606.

¹² Paul’s usual language of ἐπιστρέφω, denoting repentance, is applicable to his Gentile converts who have turned from idolatry to God but appears less suited to his own experience (Gal 4:8-9; 1 Thess 1:9-10; 2 Cor 3:15-16). Alternatively, μετάνοια, also denoting repentance, can be used of both Jew and Gentile converts (2 Cor 7:9-10, 12:21; Rom 2:4). But neither of these terms appears to be utilised by Paul to describe his own experience. See the discussion in Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 40-46; Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 19-20.

¹³ The basis for such interpretation of Gal 1:15-16 rests in, firstly, the clear linguistic allusions to the prophetic commissioning traditions of Isaiah 49:1,6 (the Servant of YHWH) and Jeremiah 1:5 (Paul’s use of καλέω, ἐκ κοιλίας μηρός μου, and ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν language makes this allusion clear), and, secondly, the use of ‘call’ and ‘grace’ terminology in direct relation to Paul’s self-understanding as an apostle to the Gentiles (καλέω: Gal 1:15; 1 Cor 1:1; Rom 1:1-7; χάρις: Gal 2:9; 1 Cor 3:10, 15:9-10; Rom 1:5, 12:3, 15:15). For general discussion on Gal 1:15-16, see Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, WUNT 2.4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981), 56-66; Frederick F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1982), 91-94; Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 26-28; Dunn, “‘A Light to the Gentiles’ or ‘The End of the Law’? The Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul” in *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 89-107; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 30; Karl O. Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets? A Contribution to the Apostle’s Self-Understanding*, WUNT 2.43 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 48-76; Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 249-260; Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 101-107; O’Brien, ‘Was Paul Converted?’ 368-369; Dunn, ‘Paul’s Conversion,’ 356-358; Gordon D. Fee, *Galatians*, Pentecostal Commentary (Dorset: Deo Publishing, 2007), 44.

¹⁴ Gal 1:6, 5:8,13; 1 Thess 2:12, 4:7, 5:24; 1 Cor 1:1-2,9,24,26, 7:17-24; Rom 1:1-7, 8:30, 9:24-26, 10:12-14. Thus ‘the verb καλέω simultaneously functions as an equivalent to conversion for Gentiles, but as its opposite for Jews,’ Stephen J. Chester, *Conversion at Corinth: Perspectives on Conversion in Paul’s Theology and the Corinthian Church* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 155. See Chester’s broader discussion at 59-63; 153-164.

¹⁵ Jürgen Becker, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 74; Longenecker, “Realized Hope, New Commitment, and Developed Proclamation,” 26; O’Brien, “Was Paul Converted?” 365-366; Segal, ‘Paul was both converted and called,’ *Paul the Convert*, 6; Hurtado, ‘Paul’s experience was both conversion and call,’ ‘The “Conversion” of Paul in Recent Scholarship,’ 284; Dunn, ‘the dispute (conversion or commissioning) is somewhat artificial,’ ‘Paul’s Conversion,’ 364.

takes into account the sense of both continuity and discontinuity in Paul's thought, and in view of the arguments of Gaventa and Segal in this regard, it is appropriate to understand Paul's Damascus road experience in this sense.

2) Conceiving of Paul's 'conversion' as a *transformation* adequately accounts for Paul's dramatic change in community, a change Stendahl failed to emphasise.¹⁶ Paul states in Galatians that in his 'previous way of life in Judaism' (ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ) he was 'advancing in Judaism (προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ) beyond many contemporaries among [his] people' (ἐν τῷ γένει μου) and 'was extremely zealous (περισσοτέρως ζηλωτής) for the traditions (παραδόσεων) of [his] fathers (τῶν πατρικῶν μου)' (Gal 1:13-14). The emphasis here is clearly on a past time (ποτε) which Paul describes as 'in Judaism' (twice), broadly, a part of a 'people' (γένος, cf. 2 Cor 11:26) and specifically dedicated to the traditions of his 'fathers.' Paul can thus be understood as viewing his life prior to the Damascus event as existence and participation in a discernible community which he labels Ἰουδαϊσμός and clearly retains ethnic connotations.¹⁷ Conversely, Paul's statements not only reflect an awareness of a

¹⁶ Dunn, 'Paul's Conversion,' 348; Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 74; *idem*, 'Response: Some Aspects of Conversion and Identity Formation in the Christian Community of Paul's Time,' in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation. Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 185; Stephen J. Chester has challenged such a clear demarcation between 'conversion' and 'transformation,' with particular focus on the studies by Gaventa and Segal (Chester, *Conversion at Corinth*). Chester maintains that the rejection of an understanding of conversion based upon a degree of change, i.e., Gaventa's 'pendulum-like change,' is erroneous, and ultimately artificial (25-31). This critique rests on the acknowledgement that the definition of conversion utilised by both Gaventa and Segal may be consistent with Paul's experience, but clearly not with the community from which he exited. For Chester, the punishment Paul received from the Synagogue authorities (2 Cor 11:24) 'reflects a perception on their part that he [Paul] had significantly violated the boundaries of Judaism' (29). Chester's critique is of interest methodologically yet the question must be asked why he must settle on a definition that is wholly consistent regardless of sociological perspective. Naturally, opposing parties will disagree on much, yet the weight of the evidence in this discussion must lie in Paul's autobiographical remarks. Furthermore, 'transformation' arguably contains the semantic degree of change that Chester wishes to advocate.

¹⁷ Paul's use of the noun Ἰουδαϊσμός can be understood within the context of Second Temple Judaism (Yehoshua Amir, 'The Term Ἰουδαϊσμός: A Study in Jewish-Hellenistic Self-Identification,' *Immanuel* 14 (1982): 34-41; Dunn, 'Paul's Conversion,' 357-360; J. Andrew Overman and W. Scott Green, 'Judaism (Greco-Roman Period)' and S.D. Fraade, 'Judaism (Palestinian),' in *ABD* 3.1037-1061). The relatively limited occurrence of the term in the extant early sources (2 Macc 2:21; 8:1; 14:38; 4 Macc 4:26; cf. *CIJ* 537) demonstrates a reasonable precision in its focus and use in the few contexts in which it occurs (Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 24-25; James D.G. Dunn, 'Judaism in Israel in the First Century,' in *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, 2. *Historical Synthesis*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 229-261, particularly 232-234). Understood against the backdrop of Jewish exclusive boundaries, Ἰουδαϊσμός is the term used to identify those who exist as the chosen people of God in opposition to Hellenism, in a religious, cultural, political and sociological sense. Specifically, this is perceived as a reference to those who remain faithful to Torah by demonstrating continued obedience to its requirements, and thus the noun possesses the sense of a community boundary marker. While a purely sociological analysis of the term's function would be reductionist, it is clear that Ἰουδαϊσμός creates a strong picture of a broad identifiable group (cf. Ἰουδαῖος in 1 Cor 9:20). This against Daniel Boyarin, 'Semantic Differences; or "Judaism"/"Christianity,"' in *The Ways that Never Parted*, 65-85, Denise K. Buell and Caroline J. Hodge, 'The Politics of Interpretation: The Rhetoric of Race and Ethnicity in Paul,' *JBL* 123:2 (2004): 235-251. While it is clear that Paul identifies himself, along with Peter, as Ἰουδαῖος (Gal 2:15), this does not mean that Paul therefore understands no shift to have taken place in his identity. Hodge entirely ignores the contrast that Paul creates between Ἰουδαϊσμός and the ἐκκλησία in Gal 1 and the clear implication that this has on Paul's community placement.

distinct community with which he once participated, but an awareness of action that intrinsically supports a clear distinction between Ἰουδαϊσμός and the community with which he is presently a constituent of. Paul previously understood ‘the church of God’ (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ) as a variant, even deviant, group. While evidently this is a post-reflective ‘Christian’ affirmation,¹⁸ Paul perceived two distinct social factions: Ἰουδαϊσμός and the ἐκκλησία. By his own admission, Paul was persecuting (ἐδίωκον) and attempting to destroy (ἐπόρθουν) the church of God (Gal 1:13) because it was a threat to the boundaries of Judaism (cf. 1 Cor 15:9; Phil 3:6).¹⁹ His language reflects a deliberate contrast between ‘advancing in Judaism’ and ‘preaching the faith.’²⁰ This is heightened in his list of Jewish ‘credentials’ that highlight his previous status in the Jewish community, credentials which he now ‘consider[s] loss for the sake of Christ’ (Phil 3:4-7, here v. 7).²¹ Thus Paul clearly posits

¹⁸ Cf. Fredriksen, ‘Paul and Augustine.’

¹⁹ To enter the debate regarding the reasons for Paul’s persecution of the newly formed followers of Jesus Christ would be to go beyond the aims of this present discussion but I support Hengel’s assertion that Paul’s Pre-Christian persecuting activity was directly aimed at Hellenistic Christians, Martin Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, 63-86, *idem*, and Anna M. Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch: The Unknown Years* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 37-38. See also the discussions in Arland J. Hultgren, ‘Paul’s Pre-Christian Persecutions of the Church: Their Purpose, Locale, and Nature,’ *JBL* 95 (1976): 97-111; Donaldson, ‘Zealot and Convert,’ 655-682; *idem*, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 263-292.

²⁰ Paul’s language of ‘zeal’ (ζηλωτής, Gal 1:14; ζήλος, Phil 3:6) is significant in the context of his persecuting activities (Donaldson, ‘Zealot and Convert’; *idem*, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 284-292). While not a member of the Zealot party, Paul appears to have been influenced by the model enthusiasm of such examples as Phinehas (Num 25:7-13, cf. Ps 106:29-31) and Elijah (1 Kings 18), and also Mattathias (1 Macc 2:26-27) who remained committed to Torah obedience demonstrated in violent action in order to maintain the boundaries of the people of God (See Hultgren, ‘Paul’s Pre-Christian Persecutions of the Church,’; Donaldson, ‘Zealot and Convert,’; Martin Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 AD* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), specifically 146-228; David Rhoads, ‘Zealots,’ *ABD*, 6.1043-1054; Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 284-292; Richard H. Bell, *Provoked to Jealousy: The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9-11*, WUNT 2.63 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 286-311; N. Thomas Wright, ‘Paul, Arabia, and Elijah: Galatians 1:17,’ *JBL* 115:4 (1996): 683-692; Dunn, ‘Paul’s Conversion,’ 354-356).

²¹ To argue that Paul is located *within* Judaism raises the question as to whether there did exist one cohesive religio-political group, or whether it is more accurate to speak of Judaisms, plural (Dunn, ‘Judaism in Israel in the First Century’; Jacob Neusner, William S. Green and Ernest Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Alan F. Segal, *The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987)). Paul’s remarks indicate a precision in that he self-consciously understood himself as participating within one faction of Judaism, the Pharisees (Phil 3:5, cf. Gal 1:13-14). The Pharisees demonstrated, 1) a firm zeal for both oral and written law, 2) strict obedience of Torah with particular focus on purity and holiness that resulted in a clear demarcation between themselves and the remaining Jewish groups (i.e. the Essenes, Sadducees and Zealots; *pace* Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 380-451), and 3) belief in the resurrection of the dead. Paul’s autobiographical remarks demonstrate consistency with Pharisaic commitments (Gal 1:14; Phil 3:5-6). On Paul and Pharisaism, see Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, 41-44; Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, 27-34; 40-53; Segal, *Paul the Convert*, xi, fn. 1; Becker, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles*, 33-56; Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 52-70; Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 275-292; Brad H. Young, *Paul the Jewish Theologian: A Pharisee Among Jews, Christians and Gentiles* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 1-5, 16-18; Dunn, ‘Paul’s Conversion,’ 358-359, *idem*, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 347-350; Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 125-139; Bruce Chilton, *Rabbi Paul: An Intellectual Biography* (Garden City: Doubleday, 2004); *idem*, ‘Paul and the Pharisees’ in *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees*, eds. Neusner and Chilton, 149-173. The debate regarding whether Paul was actively involved in the Pharisaic school of Hillel or Shammai does not alter the argument I am advancing here, and it is not necessary to return to the debate regarding the location of Paul’s upbringing and education (See Willem C. Van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul’s Youth* (London: Epworth Press, 1962) and Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*).

a *discontinuity* between ‘Judaism’ and his present community who still experience persecution from the Jews (1 Thess 2:14-16). His present community is identified as the church of God (Gal 1:13), the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:27), and the temple of the holy spirit (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19). Yet he also is conscious of *continuity* for the church is the ‘Israel of God’ (Gal 6:16). Consequently, Stendahl’s argument appears to sit at odds with Paul’s own understanding of the change in community that did occur as a consequence of his experience of the risen Christ.

3) Stendahl’s argument that Paul displays no sense of movement between ‘religions,’ i.e. from ‘Judaism’ to ‘Christianity,’ is surely correct on the basis that the ‘Christian’ Paul maintained the same belief in and devotion towards God with which he held in his ‘pre-Christian’ experience (*continuity*), but what he neglected was an emphasis upon Paul’s profound recognition of Jesus of Nazareth as Lord and Messiah. Paul’s faith in Christ is indicative of a change in perspective and allegiance, and indeed was the impetus for his change from ‘Judaism’ to the church of God (*discontinuity*).²² Paul continued to see God as the sole creator of all things (1 Cor 8:6; 2 Cor 4:6; Rom 1:20,25; 3:29-30; 4:17, 11:36) and continued to affirm the Jewish axiom that God is one, citing the *Shema* (Gal 3:20; 1 Cor 8:4-6; Rom 3:29-30) – a key affirmation that is integral and foundational to all of Paul’s convictions. This is not just in his own experience but also in the fundamental proclamation of the kerygma, for in Paul’s convictions, God is the God of both Jew and Gentile (Rom 3:29-30, cf. 3:22-23, 10:12-13).²³ God was faithful to his promises given to Abraham as the father of faith for both Jew and Gentile (Gal 3:8, 29; Rom 9:6-8, cf. 11:29) and God demonstrated his own righteousness through the faithfulness of Jesus the Messiah (Rom 1:17, 3:21-22) as testified by the Law and the Prophets (Rom 1:1-4, 3:21, 1 Cor 15:3, cf. Gal 3:8), thus establishing a new covenant (2 Cor 3:4-4:6) that brings to fulfilment God’s promises to Abraham (Gal 3:6-29, Rom 4:1-25). Christ was the fulfilment of God’s plan set before time began (1 Cor 2:7) and he is the agent who will bring about God’s eschatological victory evidenced in his own resurrection and the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor 15:12-58, particularly 24-28). The culmination of recognising these elements in Paul’s experience is that it is very clear Paul understands himself as Apostle to the Gentiles (Gal 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1), and indeed the *ekklesia* to stand in continuity with God’s purposes for Israel and creation

²² This is the strong emphasis of Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 374-398.

²³ Gal 4:8-9; 1 Thess 1:9; 1 Cor 8:4, 6:9-11; 14:22-25. See Goodwin, *Paul, Apostle of the Living God*, 110-116 (and the chapter ‘The Living God in Paul’s Monotheistic Kerygma’ as a whole); Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 82-88.

(Gal 1:11-16; 6:16) such that he considered himself an Apostle of God in proclaiming the gospel of Christ (Rom 15:14-22).²⁴

This brief sketch of Paul's fundamental convictions gives strong support to perceiving Paul's 'conversion' as a 'transformation,' 'a new perception' of Jesus as the long awaited Messiah which brings about 'a marked change' in Paul's convictions and constitutes not 'a break' with Paul's past but a fulfilment of his Jewish hopes. The primary thrust of any argument that wishes to defend continuity in the thought of Paul must lie in the recognition that Paul remained committed, in his own perception, to the same God and his plan of salvation for Israel and all nations. Conversely, whilst Paul remains committed to God as the sole ruler and creator of all, there certainly is a curious and unprecedented *redefinition* of the identity of God in Paul's thought, with Christ playing a significant role in modifying Paul's understanding of God. This impacts Paul's language in reference to God, particularly evidenced in his frequent use of identifying God as the 'Father' of Jesus Christ,²⁵ the application of YHWH/κύριος language directly to Christ (1 Cor 1:2; Rom 10:9-17; Phil 2:9-11), such that Paul can expand the *Shema* by including the creative activity of Christ (1 Cor 8:6) and conceive of Christ as ruling with the authority only God possesses (1 Cor 15:25; Rom 8:34).²⁶ The fundamental dialectic between *continuity* – commitment to the one God of Israel – and *discontinuity* – faith in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God – must be maintained as standing at the centre of Paul's intellectual and experiential life and marks a transformation from his 'pre-Christian' and 'Christian' experience.²⁷

In summary, whilst Stendahl argued that Paul's experience on the road to Damascus is not to be understood as a conversion, since this language implies discontinuity between Paul

²⁴ See James D.G. Dunn, 'How New was Paul's Gospel?' in *The New Perspective on Paul*, 247-264. Dunn's comments are apt: 'Certainly we must be careful about defining Pauline Christianity simply as a kind of Judaism (*continuity*); but equally we must beware of falling into the old trap of thinking that Christianity can only define itself in opposition to Judaism (*discontinuity*),' 262, emphasis mine; Carson, 'Mystery and Fulfilment,' 398-399

²⁵ Particularly Gal 4:4-7; 1 Thess 3:11,13; 1 Cor 8:5-6, 15:24; 2 Cor 11:31; Rom 6:4, 8:14-17, 15:6; Phil 2:11 and Paul's letter openings, Gal 1:1, 3-4; 1 Thess 1:1-3; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2-3; Rom 1:7; Phil 1:2, and benedictions, Phil 4:20. Becker, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles*, 77-78.

²⁶ See David B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology*, WUNT 2.47 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992); Fee, *Pauline Christology*; Maurice Casey, 'Paul's view of God was basically that of Jewish monotheism, significantly modified by his belief in salvation through Christ,' 'Monotheism, Worship and Christological Development in the Pauline Churches,' in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, 214-233, here 218; Capes, 'YHWH Texts and Monotheism in Paul's Christology,' 120-137; Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 182-232. But as Suzanne Nicholson has recently argued, any discussion on Paul's view of God must begin with Paul's explicit Monotheistic statements and works backwards from this point, *Dynamic Oneness: The Significance and Flexibility of Paul's One-God Language* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2010), 3-4. Disappointingly, Nicholson restricts her discussion to the relationship between Christ and God, leaving aside discussion on the spirit.

²⁷ Dunn, 'How New Was Paul's Gospel? The Problem of Continuity and Discontinuity,' in his *The New Perspective on Paul*, 247-264. In application to Paul's monotheism, Carson rightly understands that Paul remained firmly committed to belief in God (*continuity*), yet applied OT YHWH texts to Christ (*discontinuity*), 'Mystery and Fulfillment: Toward a More Comprehensive Paradigm of Paul's Understanding of the Old and the New,' in *Justification and Variegated Nomism, Vol. 2*, 393-436.

the Pharisee and Paul the Apostle, it is valid to read Paul's experience as a *transformation* on the basis that it adequately identifies both continuity and in Paul's own perception, identity, history and re-socialisation that is still continuous with his confession of God as sole ruler and creator of all. There is discontinuity in his experience (e.g. a change from Judaism to the church of God; the end of Torah which excluded Gentiles from the covenant; the essential conviction of Jesus as Messiah), but many convictions remain continuous (the church is the new Israel; Paul is an apostle of God), indeed such continuous convictions has been modified in view of Paul's faith in Christ (God is the father of the Lord Jesus Christ; the church is now the body of Christ; Gentiles are converted to Christ and not Torah).²⁸ This illustrates that the contents of Paul's beliefs and experiences exists in *dialectical* fashion.²⁹ The consequence of identifying this dynamic element in Paul's experience is that there are clear points of continuity and discontinuity between the convictions of 'Paul the Jew' and the 'Christian Paul.'³⁰

3. The Question of Continuity and Discontinuity: Paul and the Spirit

The preceding discussion examined the dialectical relation between continuity and discontinuity in Paul's transformational experience. This examination naturally leads to the question of this thesis. The preceding discussion on the spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures and in the literature of Second Temple Judaism demonstrated that the spirit was the extension of God's own personality and not separable from God himself, but the form of God's revelation. Prior to his transformation, the 'pre-Christian' Paul would arguably have understood the spirit in the same way. The aim of this thesis is to examine whether Paul's perception of the spirit appears continuous within the context of Judaism or is a unique, innovative and discernible development as a result of his transformation. The initial step is to examine Paul's language of πνεῦμα and to delimit my inquiry to those instances where πνεῦμα denotes the spirit of God.

²⁸ On the relationship between Paul's experience of the risen Christ and the development of key areas of his own self-identity, see Andrie Du Toit, 'Encountering Grace: Towards Understanding the Essence of Paul's Damascus Experience,' in *Focusing on Paul: Persuasion and Theological Design in Romans and Galatians*, BZBW 151, eds. Cilliers Breytenbach and David S. Du Toit (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 57-75.

²⁹ Cf. Carson, 'The nature of the continuity between Paul's pre-Christian beliefs and his beliefs as a Christian is complex. There are several distinctive *kinds* of continuity. What is so interesting is that some form of discontinuity attaches itself to each kind,' 'Mystery and Fulfillment,' 398 (emphasis original).

³⁰ Cf. 'Paul did not repudiate his Jewish background when he became a Christian,' Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 5; 'Knowledge of Saul the *Jew* is a precondition of understanding Paul the *Christian*. The better we know the former, the more clearly we shall understand the latter,' Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, xiii (emphasis original). While I recognise that this distinction between 'Paul the Jew' and 'Paul the Christian' is artificial, the point stands that the latter perception only begins to be accurately understood in light of the convictions held by the former.

3.1 The Sense and Meaning of πνεῦμα and πνευματικός/πνευματικῶς in Paul

Following the linguistic analysis of the use of πνεῦμα and רוּחַ in the Hebrew Scriptures and in Second Temple Judaism, determining the particular sense of πνεῦμα becomes of importance when examining Paul's usage. The term πνεῦμα occurs 120 times in the seven undisputed Pauline letters,³¹ along with an additional further 19 occurrences of the adjective πνευματικός and one occurrence of the adverb πνευματικῶς (1 Cor 2:14).³²

The immediate surprise when Paul's use of πνεῦμα is observed is that there is no reference to 'wind' (πνεῦμα₁), 'breath' (πνεῦμα₂), or 'breath of life' (πνεῦμα₃) for πνεῦμα is used in two distinct senses: the human spirit (πνεῦμα₄) and the spirit of God (πνεῦμα₅).³³ Paul's use of πνεῦμα as reference to the human spirit is certainly evident in Paul's letter closings where πνεῦμα occurs in a grace wish (Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23; Philem 25), closing prayer (1 Thess 5:23) or final request (1 Cor 16:18). Paul often uses πνεῦμα to refer to the inner life of the person (1 Cor 2:11; 5:5; 7:34; 14:32; 2 Cor 2:13; 7:1, 13; Rom 1:9; 8:16; 11:8; 12:11), but can be more particular with reference to both attitude (1 Cor 4:21), an aspect of the person, which to some degree is differentiated from the mind (1 Cor 14:14; 15 [x2]), and even his own presence in the Corinthian community – likely through his epistolary authority – despite his bodily absence (1 Cor 5:3,4). These somewhat diverse uses of πνεῦμα are understood to be utilised by Paul to denote the human spirit, heart, attitude or mind.³⁴

In the second sense, which features more prominently, πνεῦμα appears continuous with Second Temple Judaism in denoting the spirit of God.³⁵ Paul's use of πνεῦμα to refer to

³¹ Namely, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Romans, Philippians and Philemon.

³² See Scott Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency in the Resurrection of the Dead: An Exegetico-Theological Study of 1 Corinthians 15:44b-49 and Romans 8:9-13*, TGST 14 (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1996), 97-103.

³³ For a similar differentiation in sense, see *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed., ed. Frederick William Danker (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 832-836 (henceforth *BDAG*). Two uses of πνεῦμα do not refer to either the human spirit nor the spirit of God but are references deliberately used in rhetorical parallel to the activity of the spirit of God, hence Paul's argument dictates his language (1 Cor 2:12, 'spirit of the world'; Rom 8:15 'spirit of slavery'). Further, Paul's use of the plural πνευμάτων in 1 Cor 12:10 and 14:12 connote the diverse expression of the spirit of God through the charismata. For a brief discussion on the history of πνεῦμα in English translations of Paul, see Gordon D. Fee, 'Translational Tendenz: English Versions and Πνεῦμα in Paul,' in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins*, 349-359. For a helpful discussion on the NT use of the articular and anarthrous forms of πνεῦμα, with a view towards a personal identity of πνεῦμα, see Steve Swartz, 'The Holy Spirit: Person and Power. The Greek Article and Pneuma,' *The Bible Translator* 44:1 (1993): 124-138. On Paul's use of πνεύματι see Kendell E. Easley, 'The Pauline Usage of "Pneumati" as a Reference to the Spirit of God,' *JETS* 27:3 (1984): 299-313.

³⁴ Fee's conclusion on many of these texts that we 'best render πνεῦμα as "S/spirit," since this almost certainly approximates what Paul's somewhat flexible language intends,' and that the human spirit and holy spirit 'are understood as closely related in the actual expression of spirit manifestation,' will not stand on lexical grounds, *God's Empowering Presence*, 25-26, 121-127. Contrary to Fee's argument, these two very different uses of πνεῦμα possess distinct connotations and it would be a linguistic fallacy to assume there is some 'overlap' in sense (e.g. 1 Cor 2:11; Rom 8:16).

³⁵ Galatians: 16 (Gal 3:2, 3, 5, 14; 4:6, 29; 5:5, 16, 17[x2], 18, 22, 25[x2]; 6:8[x2]); 1 Thessalonians: 4 (1 Thess 1:5, 6; 4:8; 5:19); 1 Corinthians: 26 (1 Cor 2:4, 10[x2], 11, 12, 13, 14; 3:16; 6:11, 17, 19; 7:40; 12:3[x2], 4, 7,

the spirit of God is by no means clearly standardised but it remains clear that the spirit is integrally related to God himself. For Paul, the spirit is ‘the holy spirit’ (1 Thess 1:5, 6; 4:8; 1 Cor 6:19; 12:3; 2 Cor 6:6; 13:13; Rom 5:5; 9:1; 14:17; 15:13, 16), the ‘spirit of holiness’ (Rom 1:4), ‘the spirit of God’ (1 Cor 2:11, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Rom 8:9, 14; 15:19; Phil 3:3), ‘his [God’s] spirit’ (1 Thess 4:8; cf. Rom 8:11), and is ‘from God’ (1 Cor 2:12). Paul can qualify πνεῦμα with a variety of descriptors that relate the spirit to aspects of Christian experience, e.g. the ‘promise of the spirit’ (Gal 3:14), ‘fruits of the spirit’ (Gal 5:22), ‘manifestation of the spirit’ (1 Cor 12:7), ‘deposit of the spirit’ (2 Cor 1:22; 2 Cor 5:5), ‘ministry of the spirit’ (2 Cor 3:8), ‘spirit of faith’ (2 Cor 4:13), ‘mind of the spirit’ (Rom 8:27), ‘firstfruits of the spirit’ (Rom 8:23), the ‘love of the spirit’ (Rom 15:30) and the ‘spirit of life’ (Rom 8:2; Rom 8:6, 10; 2 Cor 3:6). But Paul can simply refer to the spirit without any qualifier – which is clearly the most frequent means of reference.³⁶

An important inclusion in any analysis of Paul’s language of the spirit is his use of the adjective πνευματικός and the singular use of the adverb πνευματικῶς. As Fee stresses, the -ικός ending of the adjective bears ‘the meaning “belonging to, or pertaining to,” the corresponding noun,’ and in light of Paul’s widespread use of πνεῦμα to refer to the spirit of God, his use of πνευματικός must naturally be taken into account.³⁷ There are 19 occurrences of πνευματικός in the undisputed Pauline letters – 14 in 1 Corinthians alone – and a single use of the adverb πνευματικῶς (1 Cor 2:14).³⁸ The question to be identified is which sense of πνεῦμα does the adjective ‘belong to or pertain to’? Of these 20 references, 16 are clearly ‘belonging to, or pertaining to’ the spirit (of God),³⁹ while it can be argued the remaining 4 also follow this interpretation due to the weight of consistent Pauline use.⁴⁰ Though such a conclusion will need to await exegetical substantiation, no other sense of πνεῦμα, whether it

8[x2], 9[x2], 11, 13[x2]; 14:2, 16; 15:45); 2 Corinthians: 14 (2 Cor 1:22; 3:3, 6[x2], 8, 17[x2], 18; 4:13; 5:5; 6:6; 11:4; 12:18; 13:13); Romans: 29 (Rom 1:4; 2:29; 5:5; 7:6; 8:2, 4, 5[x2], 6, 9[x3], 10, 11[x2], 13, 14, 15, 16, 23, 26[x2], 27; 9:1; 14:17; 15:13, 16, 19, 30); Philippians: 4 (Phil 1:19, 27; 2:1; 3:3).

³⁶ Gal 3:2, 3, 5; 4:29; 5:5, 16, 17(x2), 18; 25(x2); 6:8(x2); 1 Thess 5:19; 1 Cor 2:4, 10(x2), 13; 12:4, 8(x2), 9(x2), 11(x2), 13(x2); 14:2, 16; 2 Cor 3:6(x2), 17, 18; 11:4; Rom 2:29; 7:6; 8:4, 5(x2), 6, 9, 13, 16, 26(x2); Phil 2:1.

³⁷ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 29, quoting W.F. Howard, *MHT* 2.377-79.

³⁸ 1 Corinthians: 2:13(x2), 2:14 (πνευματικῶς), 2:15, 3:1, 9:11, 10:3, 10:4 (x2), 12:1, 14:1, 14:37, 15:44 (x2), 15:46 (x2). 3 occurrences in Romans (Rom 1:11; 7:14; 15:27), and 1 occurrence in Galatians (Gal 6:1). The frequent use of πνευματικός terminology in 1 Corinthians is certainly a consequence of Paul’s response to the Corinthians’ own questions regarding the nature of people of the spirit (12:1). Yet, the 4 occurrences of πνευματικός in Romans and Galatians illustrates that Paul included this term in his own vocabulary.

³⁹ Gal 6:1; 1 Cor 2:13(x2), 14 (πνευματικῶς), 15; 3:1; 12:1; 14:1; 37; 15:44(x2), 46(x2); Rom 1:11; 7:14; 15:27.

⁴⁰ 1 Cor 9:11, 10:3, 4(x2). See Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 140-144. Fee is right to stress the consistency between the Corinthian emphasis upon the spirit and Paul’s use of πνευματικός terminology.

is wind, breath, or human spirit, makes better sense of the contexts in which the adjective occurs.⁴¹

3.2 Continuity and Discontinuity: *The Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ*

This summary demonstrates the preliminary conclusion, which awaits fuller substantiation, that Paul's language of πνεῦμα is a) consistent with the literature of Second Temple Judaism, and b) used in particular contexts to denote the spirit of God (πνεῦμα₅). The absence in Paul of πνεῦμα as denoting 'wind,' 'breath' or 'breath of life' illustrates that Paul had a specific focus on and usage of πνεῦμα as denoting either the human spirit and the spirit of God.⁴² The fundamental observation is that Paul's more frequent reference to the spirit as the spirit of God (e.g. 1 Cor 2:11, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Rom 8:9, 14; 15:19; Phil 3:3) remains continuous with his Jewish heritage such that the assumption can be drawn that when Paul denotes the spirit, he has in view the same spirit of his Jewish experience (the question of whether the spirit should be understood in Paul as anything more than the extension of God's personality will need to be examined in the following chapters). This re-affirms the sense of continuity between the 'pre-Christian' Paul and Paul the Apostle.⁴³ Yet this assertion needs to

⁴¹ For a helpful discussion on the relationship between Paul's πνευματικός terminology and the early Pauline communities, see John M.G. Barclay, 'Πνευματικός in the Social Dialect of Pauline Christianity,' in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins*, 157-167. The analysis of BDAG, 837, confirms my conclusion.

⁴² Against Levison, *Filled With the Spirit* (cf. Max Turner, 'Levison's Filled With the Spirit: A Brief Appreciation and Response,' *JPT* 20 (2011): 193-200, and Levison's reply in the same volume. Also *pace* Desta Heliso, 'Divine Spirit and Human Spirit in Paul in the Light of Stoic and Biblical-Jewish Perspectives,' in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology*, 156-176. Both Levison and Heliso posit the identification of the human spirit with the holy spirit in Paul (e.g. 1 Cor 2:11; Rom 8:16).

⁴³ This conclusion, that πνεῦμα is a dominant reference to the spirit of God in Paul, is still maintained despite the recent arguments of Clint Tibbs and Guy Williams (Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*; *idem*, 'The Spirit (World) and the (Holy) Spirits among the Earliest Christians: 1 Corinthians 12 and 14 as a Test Case,' *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 70 (2008): 313-330; Guy Williams, *The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle: A Critical Examination of the Role of Spiritual Beings in the Authentic Pauline Epistles*, FRLANT 231 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2009). Tibbs and Williams argue that πνεῦμα is more accurately understood as denoting spiritual beings and is reflective of Paul's understanding of the spirit world. Their conclusions have a bearing upon the argument of this study for they significantly redefine the identity of the spirit (of God) by re-interpreting Paul's πνεῦμα language as denoting angelic spirits. Both their arguments reflect methodological inconsistencies for while it is true that πνεῦμα has a wide semantic range, what is not clear is the criteria by which Tibbs and Williams determine the noun as πνεῦμα₅ (holy spirit) or πνεῦμα₆ (angelic spirit). Their rejection of anachronistic theological categories in favour of accepting Paul's Jewish context completely de-emphasises the degree to which πνεῦμα₅ was used deliberately in particular contexts to denote the extension of God's own personality and action, and not the activity of angelic beings (Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*, 15, fn. 62; 109-110; Williams, *The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle*, 20-23; 26, 29). Therefore to argue that πνεῦμα represents a diverse range of sentient beings in Paul is to misunderstand the monotheistic character of his inherited tradition, and to misunderstand the centrality of πνεῦμα as God's activity in Paul's compositions. Consequently, if it can be shown that there is evidence for πνεῦμα as denoting the spirit of God in Judaism (which Williams affirms but Tibbs denies), then arguably Paul himself would have retained this semantic distinction in both his language and perception. Tibbs denies this point. His rendering of the plural 'spirits' in 1 Cor 12:10 [207-213] and 1 Cor 14:12 [236-242] as referring to both good and evil spirits that inspire the Corinthians can be exegetically challenged for the few plural references [12:10, 14:12 and 14:32] can be explained as Paul's shorthand for denoting the various manifestations of the one spirit of God [12:10, 14:12]

be qualified. Just as there was a dialectical relation between continuity in Paul's conception of the church as the Israel of God, and discontinuity in the description of the church as the body of Christ, and just as there is continuity in Paul's affirmation of the one God of Israel, and discontinuity evident in his faith in Jesus as the Christ, so too this dialectical relation is reflected in Paul's language of spirit. Paul can, in a novel expression, not only identify the spirit as the spirit of God, but can also identify the spirit in relation to Christ. The spirit is 'the spirit of Christ' (Rom 8:9), 'the spirit of his [God's] Son' (Gal 4:6), and 'the spirit of Jesus Christ' (Phil 1:19). It is an evident fact that Paul's faith in Christ has determined his language of the spirit to the degree that his 'Christian' experience of the spirit is differentiated from his Jewish experience. The question of development within Paul's thought becomes paramount if, at this preliminary point, his language of the spirit illustrates a divergence from language of the spirit in Judaism.

Consequently, having determined that πνεῦμα is a particular reference to the spirit of God and Christ, the central concern of the remainder of this study is to ascertain the precise function of the spirit, particularly in relation to both God and Christ, in order to examine Paul's perspective on the identity of the spirit expressed in his various letters.⁴⁴ The question,

or the many human spirits that communicate the prophetic utterance [14:32] (See also the comments of Volker Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul: Transformation and Empowering for Religious-Ethical Life*, WUNT 2.283 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 144, fn. 75)). In contrast to Tibbs, Williams does affirm that Paul did retain a semantic distinction (*The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle*, 23). The response to Williams is to query his presumption that 'At least in Paul's Jewish context...there was no true boundary between the Spirit and the spirit world in general' (23) and that 'the Spirit belongs to the same reality as angels and demons, albeit with its own peculiar role and importance. There is no absolute qualitative difference here' (29). It is unclear why he follows the argument that the (quite marginal) references which he interprets as denoting spirits in general are then used to interpret and identify the spirit of God as existing within the same 'reality.' This presumption skews his reading of Paul's πνεῦμα terminology in a way that reads more arbitrary and generic concepts of 'the spirit world' into Paul, thus committing his own error of imposing one sense of πνεῦμα (πνεῦμα₆; angelic spirit) onto another (πνεῦμα₅; holy spirit) without adequately differentiating the specific sense in its context. Williams' mistake, like that of Tibbs, is that he minimises, indeed ignores, the evident view in Judaism and in Paul, that the spirit of God *denotes the extension of God's own personality and identifies God himself in his activity*, and therefore should not be interpreted as a reality comparable to an angel. That scholarship has not given any extensive focus on the spirit world in Paul, a fact Williams is critical of, can be explained on the basis that Williams has categorically misread Paul's πνεῦμα language and its reference within a monotheistic context to the extension of God's own personality (πνεῦμα₅). Terence Paige has produced an interesting article that demonstrates the unique use of πνεῦμα within Judaism and early Christianity, in contrast to the Hellenistic world. Paige concludes, 'The evidence shows that a typical pagan Hellenistic writer from classical times up until the second century C.E. would *not* have used πνεῦμα to indicate a sub-conscious, intelligent, supernatural being (a 'spirit'),' ('Who Believes in "Spirit"? Πνεῦμα in Pagan Usage and Implications for the Gentile Christian Mission,' *HTR* 94:4 (2002): 417-436, here 433, italics original). This therefore places the weight of evidence on Jewish texts alone for constructing a view on the spirit world that would have a bearing on Paul's thought. Levison is broadly sympathetic to the argument of Tibbs, review in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 71 (2009): 660-662; as is Tibbs' own review of Williams, in *Pneuma* 34:1 (2012): 148-149.

⁴⁴ It has been argued by Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes*, that there is not only a development in Paul's view of the spirit from his 'Jewish' to his 'Christian' context, but there is a discernible development within Paul's own 'Christian' thought. This development is, Horn argues, characterised by a threefold pattern: 1) the earliest period reflected in 1 Thess whereby the spirit is understood to be charismatic power and prophetic inspiration which is framed after the conception of the spirit in Palestinian Judaism (119-159); 2) the middle period reflected in 1 Cor whereby the spirit is understood to be a substance which is the influence of Paul's Gentile opponents and framed

Did the Spirit come to possess a distinct identity within Paul's Christian monotheism? is therefore pronounced. It takes for granted that there is a measure of continuity in Paul's pre-Christian and Christian perspectives, namely, a) that, conceptually, the spirit of the Hebrew Scriptures remains the spirit of God, b) that any experience of the spirit in Paul's Christian experience is understood to be an encounter with the same spirit of Paul's pre-Christian experience, c) that God remains the same identity. It also takes for granted that there is a measure of discontinuity in Pauline thought, namely, a) that whilst the spirit remains the spirit of God, Paul, in his Christian context, can identify the spirit as the spirit of Christ, b) that whilst any experience of the spirit in Paul's Christian experience is understood to be an encounter with the same spirit of Paul's pre-Christian life, this experience is now in some sense related to Christ, c) whilst God remains the object of Paul's devotion, Christ has significantly modified Paul's understanding of his identity. There is both continuity and discontinuity in Paul's transformation, and in his faith in God, Christ and the spirit, and it is necessary to examine this dialectic for the purpose of defining the nature of Paul's view of the spirit. In the two subsequent sections of this thesis, I will continue to utilise Richard Bauckham's framework of the Unique Divine Identity and Larry Hurtado's focus on religious experience in order to examine Paul's understanding of the spirit in relation to God and Christ.

after the conception of the spirit in Hellenistic Judaism (160-301); 3) the late period reflected in 2 Cor, Gal, Phil and Rom whereby the spirit is understood to be a soteriological reality because of the spirit's contrast with the Mosaic Law and the flesh, which is influenced by Paul's Jewish Christian opponents (302-384). It is doubtful that his argument can stand on the basis of his assumed chronology of the Pauline letters, and the asserted distinctions between Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism and their competing views on the spirit which have been formative in Paul's own development. For criticisms of this pattern of development, see Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 101-111, Rabens, 'The Development of Pauline Pneumatology' and Alexander J.M. Wedderburn, 'Pauline Pneumatology and Pauline Theology,' in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins*, 144-156. Nonetheless, Horn's thesis is valuable for its openness to the question of development in Paul's own thought post-transformation, and sounds a cautionary voice to the possibility that Paul's conception of the spirit may (or may not) be consistent across the spectrum of his letters.

Part II: Section 1 - The Spirit and the Unique Divine Identity

The following four chapters will examine the spirit's relation to the Unique Divine Identity of God in Paul and will follow the methodology of R. Bauckham. My inquiry will identify the distinguishable activity of the spirit which stands in relation to the unique activity of God himself and which occur within the framework of Creational Monotheism (chapter 5), Cultic Monotheism (chapter 6), and Eschatological Monotheism (chapter 7). The aim of this inquiry will be to demonstrate that the spirit is included within the Unique Divine Identity. A subsequent chapter (chapter 8) will examine the spirit's relation to God and Christ within the Unique Divine Identity with the intent of defining more accurately the identity of the spirit within Paul's Christian monotheism.

Chapter Five: The Spirit and Creational Monotheism

1. Introduction

This chapter will be divided into two parts and will examine those creative and ruling activities that Paul credits to the spirit. It will be demonstrated that the spirit is presented by Paul as indispensable to God's creative activity of resurrection (of Christ) and God's sovereign rule over his people in conversion and in ongoing ethical and charismatic guidance.

2. The Spirit as Creator

2.1 *The Spirit and God's Creative Activity*

Paul's letters demonstrate the influence of his Jewish heritage on his understanding of the activity of God as creator.¹ Moreover, Paul gives significant focus to the agency of Christ in demonstrating God's creative power.² The creative act of raising Christ from the dead marks for Paul not just the demonstration of God's identity as creator, but the beginning of a new creation. Paul inherited a two-stage view of history that distinguished between the present age characterised by the flesh, sin and death, and the age to come (the new creation) in which

¹ Paul acknowledges God as creator (τὸν κτίσαντα, Rom 1:25) who is the source of all things that exist, for he is the one 'from whom all things came and for whom we live' (1 Cor 8:6; cf. Rom 11:36) and who has fashioned heavenly bodies and earthly bodies, both animate and inanimate (1 Cor 15:38). Paul also identifies God as the 'living God' (2 Cor 3:3; 6:16; 1 Thess 1:9, 'living and true God') who possesses 'unseen things' (τὰ ἀόρατα), which he identifies as his 'eternal power and deity' (ἡ τε ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης). Paul understands that God's 'invisible' qualities have been clearly seen 'since the creation of the world' (ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου) that is, when God himself created all things (Rom 1:20). Furthermore, God is the one 'who gives life to the dead and calls into being things that were not' (θεοῦ τοῦ ζωοποιούντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα, Rom 4:17), and the one who said 'Let light shine out of darkness' (2 Cor 4:6). Creation finds its existence based solely on God's activity as life-giver for all humanity has its origin in God (1 Cor 11:7-12). God as giver of life is paramount for Paul for it demonstrates God's power not only to create and sustain life but to defeat death, which is the consequence of sin entering the world (Rom 5:12). God is the one 'who raises the dead' (2 Cor 1:9), will give 'eternal life' to those who seek 'glory, honour and immortality' (Rom 2:7) for this new life is ultimately the purpose of those who believe (2 Cor 5:5). The means by which God will achieve this victory over death is through the death, and resurrection, of Jesus Christ for God is one who has raised Jesus from the dead to new life (1 Thess 1:10; 1 Cor 6:14, 15:4, 12, 15; 2 Cor 4:14; 2 Cor 13:3-4; Rom 4:24-25, 6:4, 8:11, 10:9; Phil 2:9-11). Even while not explicitly referenced, it is clear that God is the power responsible when Paul simply states that Jesus Christ was raised from the dead without identifying the means of his resurrection (Rom 6:9, 8:34; 1 Cor 15:4, 12-19). The resurrection of Christ thus displays God's complete dominance over the created order (Rom 8:38-39).

² For Paul, the resurrection of Christ validates not only God's defeat over death, but the exaltation of Christ in power in order to give life. Paul proclaims that Jesus 'was appointed in power Son of God by his resurrection from the dead' (Rom 1:4) and that 'Christ died and returned to life so that he might be the Lord of both the dead and the living' (Rom 14:9). This affirmation, of the death and resurrection of Christ to new life as Lord, permeates Paul's letters, notably, as the grounds for the future resurrection of all believers (Gal 1:1; Gal 2:19-21; 1 Thess 5:10; 1 Cor 15:ff; 2 Cor 2:16, 4:14, 5:15; 13:3-4; Rom 5:10, 17-18, 21, 6:4-5, 8-11, 13, 22-23, 7:4, 8:17, 14:7-9; Phil 3:10-11, 21). Paul understands Christ to participate in God's creative activity 'and there is but one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom all things came and through whom we live' (1 Cor 8:6).

God's sovereign rule was realised through the resurrection.³ The resurrection of Christ indeed marked the inauguration of God's redemptive activity over creation and the transition from the present evil age to the age to come. God's final victory over sin and death will only occur at the return of Christ and at the resurrection of all believers, so Paul is aware that believers exist within a tension between the experience of the present age characterised by sin and death and the reality of the age to come begun in the death and resurrection of Christ.⁴ Thus, for Paul, the resurrection of Christ both demonstrates God's role as creator and marks the turn of the ages.

As I have demonstrated, the Hebrew Scriptures and the literature of Second Temple Judaism also provide the broad context of Paul's perspective on the spirit.⁵ The spirit in this diverse body of literature is presented as fulfilling two particular roles relevant to this argument: the spirit participates in the creation of the cosmos and in the renewal of the people of God. The spirit was expected to be given as the eschatological agent of God to renew and revitalise his people, and the coming of the spirit would signify the advent of the new age. Paul inherits such a perspective of the spirit.⁶ This is most evident in view of the association between the spirit and life that emerges in Paul which clearly stands within the same stream of Judaism that looked forward to the universal experience of the spirit (Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:44-46;

³ For a serviceable summary, see Sang Meyng Lee, *The Cosmic Drama of Salvation: A Study of Paul's Undisputed Writings from Anthropological and Cosmological Perspectives*, WUNT 2.276 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 300-302.

⁴ Gal 1:4; 1 Thess 5:8-9; 1 Cor 7:31; 1 Cor 10:11; 2 Cor 6:2; Rom 12:2; 13:11, cf. Rom 1:16; 2 Cor 7:10. So too Paul views the kingdom of God as a present reality (Rom 14:17, cf. 1 Thess 2:12; 1 Cor 4:20) yet also a future inheritance (Gal 5:21; 1 Cor 6:9-11) that has begun in the resurrection of Christ yet completed at his return when he 'hands over the kingdom to God the Father' (1 Cor 15:24, cf. 50).

⁵ Yates rightly comments, 'Recognizing that the divine spirit and creation are closely linked in a wide variety of Jewish texts makes it possible that Paul's own thinking about the spirit takes place within a creation/new creation framework,' *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 83.

⁶ This is despite the fact that nowhere in Paul is the spirit identified as participating in God's *initial* creation of the cosmos, or as the animating power that generates human existence. It should not be presumed that this silence therefore means Paul did not hold such a view of the spirit. To the contrary, our analysis of a tradition in Judaism that perceived the spirit as creator and giver of life makes it likely that Paul did also hold such a conviction. His silence can be explained on the basis of the particular epistolary contexts that shape his arguments, and on the basis of his view of the spirit as eschatological gift that has been poured out as a sign that the new age has come and in which he now lives. Cf. Yates, 'On a number of occasions in his letters Paul refers to the spirit in connection with the giving of life, making prominent use of what is a rather minor strand of thinking about the spirit in Judaism. Each of the references refers to the work of the spirit, not at creation but in renewal and re-creation,' *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 85. As Szypula observes, 'The pre-resurrection epoch is of little concern to Paul,' Wojciech Szypula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of the Christian Life: An Exegetico-Theological Study on 2 Corinthians 5:1-5 and Romans 8:18-27*, TGST 147 (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 2007), 9. I would qualify 'the pre-resurrection epoch is of little concern' not in terms of value but with regard to contextual constraints. This appears the mistake of Heron who presumes that the creative activity of the spirit in Palestinian Judaism and the OT 'fall out of sight' while the 'cosmic role of the Spirit in Hellenistic Judaism is taken up into christology rather than pneumatology. Can we then properly describe the Spirit as Creator?,' *The Holy Spirit*, 59. My argument specifically refutes this reasoning – particularly the collapse of the spirit's activity within that of the activity of Christ – and concludes by affirming positively the role of the spirit as creator.

2 Cor 3:6; Rom 8:2, 6, 10, 11).⁷ It is Paul's own experience of the spirit (1 Cor 7:40; 2 Cor 1:21-22; Rom 9:1) and the long awaited outpouring of the spirit upon the Gentiles (e.g. Gal 3:1-5, 14; 4:6; 5:16-6:10; 1 Thess 1:5-6; 4:8; 1 Cor 2:4-5, 10-15; 3:16; 6:11, 17, 19; 12:3, 13; 2 Cor 3:16-18; Rom 2:29; 5:5; 7:6; 8:2ff; 14:17; 15:13, 16, 19; Phil 3:3) that is so momentous that his letters reveal a strong focus on the *present and future* creative activity of the spirit.⁸ It is my contention that Paul proceeds from his foundational Jewish view of the spirit as creator. It will be demonstrated that an integral sign of the *present* creative activity of the spirit is the spirit as the key *agent* of God in raising Christ from the dead through creating and animating the resurrected body.⁹ In this way, Paul identifies the spirit as participating in God's creative activity.

2.2 The Spirit has Raised Jesus from the Dead

Integral to Paul was the proclamation that Christ had been crucified and died (Gal 3:1; 1 Thess 5:10; 1 Cor 2:2; 2 Cor 13:4; Rom 5:6-8; 8:34) but also raised from the dead (ἐγείρω/ἀνάστασις; Gal 1:1; 1 Thess 1:10; 4:14; 1 Cor 6:14; 15:3ff; 2 Cor 4:14; 13:4; Rom 1:1-4; 4:24-25; 5:12-21; 6:4-10; 7:4; 8:9-11; 8:34; 10:9; Phil 3:10-11, 21, cf. Phil 2:8-11).¹⁰ I shall observe the spirit's role in raising Jesus from the dead in 1 Cor 15:45; Rom 1:4 and 8:9-11, with special reference to Rom 6:4; 1 Cor 6:14 and 2 Cor 13:4.

2.2.1 1 Cor 15:44-46

1 Cor 15 is Paul's most sustained treatment of the resurrection of Christ. In what follows I shall offer a brief summary of 1 Cor 15 as a whole, with particular attention to 15:35-49, in

⁷ See Dunn, "'The Lord, the Giver of Life': The Gift of the Spirit as Both Life-giving and Empowering," in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology*, 1-17.

⁸ Since I am following the methodology of Bauckham which makes a distinction between Creational Monotheism and Eschatological Monotheism, it is necessary to differentiate the spirit's present and future activity. Though this division is somewhat artificial since the present and future work of the spirit are so closely connected, it is a helpful theoretical distinction when separating the various chronological activities of the spirit, for the spirit is seen to have raised Christ from the dead, and will in the future bring about the universal resurrection of all believers.

⁹ Henceforth, I shall use the terms 'agent' and 'agency' simply to denote the *function* of the spirit in relation to God and Christ without any inference concerning the specific *relation* of the spirit to God or Christ which the term may connote – since agency may infer that the spirit is the mode of God or Christ's activity or that the spirit stands separable from God and Christ as agent. This will be addressed in Chapter 8. This comment also applies to description of the spirit as the 'power' or 'means' of particular activity.

¹⁰ On Paul's Jewish background of bodily resurrection and the wide spectrum of beliefs in the First Century AD relating to the afterlife, see Richard B. Gaffin Jr, *The Centrality of the Resurrection: A Study in Paul's Soteriology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978); Alexander J.M Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection: Studies in Pauline Theology Against its Graeco-Roman Background*, WUNT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987); Wright, *The Resurrection and the Son of God*. On the influence of the resurrection of Christ in Pauline thought, see David M. Stanley, *Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology*, Analecta Biblica 13 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1961). Cf. Veronica Koperski, 'Resurrection Terminology in Paul,' in *Resurrection in the New Testament*, Festschrift J. Lambrecht, eds. Reimund Bieringer, Veronica Koperski and Bianca Lataire (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 265-281.

order to properly situate the crucial text of 15:45. The fundamental agenda of Paul in 1 Cor 15 is to refute the Corinthian denial of the resurrection of the dead. Paul's argument is in three parts:

1-11: The gospel the Corinthians received included the affirmation of Christ's resurrection

12-34: The affirmation of Christ's resurrection as the basis for the resurrection of all believers

35-58: Paul's response to questions concerning the means of resurrection and the nature of the resurrected body

Each section is logically necessary as a building block to establish Paul's response to the Corinthian denial of the resurrection of the dead (15:12). In 15:1-11 Paul presents the gospel that he preached to the Corinthians, the same gospel which they accepted, outlining that the primary substance of this gospel was that 'Christ died...was buried...was raised on the third day...' (15:3-4). Since the Corinthians had affirmed the resurrection of Christ, and presumably still do, how then could they deny the resurrection of the dead? 15:12-34 is Paul's presentation of the illogical nature of the Corinthian position. Paul argues in 15:12-19 that if indeed the Corinthian position is true, that there is no resurrection of the dead, then this is also a denial of Christ's own resurrection and thus the Corinthians' own faith is nullified.¹¹ Paul inverts such reasoning to argue in 20-28 that *since* Christ has been raised from the dead, *then* this is the basis for the resurrection of the dead. Paul argues that Christ is the firstfruits (ἀπαρχή) of those who have fallen asleep (15:20, 23; cf. 1 Cor 16:15) and emphasises the correct sequence: 'Christ, the firstfruits; then, when he comes, those who belong to him' (15:23).¹² Emerging between these two references to Christ as the firstfruits is Paul's Adam-Christ typology:

21	For since death came through a human being (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος)	The resurrection of the dead also comes through a human being (καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν)
22	For as in Adam all die (ὡςπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν)	So in Christ all will be made alive (οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται)

¹¹ A *modus tollens* argument, Jeffrey R. Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15: A Study of Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Resurrection*, HUTH (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 60.

¹² It is generally recognised that ἀπαρχή denoted 'the first sheaf of the harvest which guarantees that there will be more to come,' Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 333.

Pre-empting 15:45, the parallel between Adam and Christ demonstrates to the Corinthians that those in Christ will also be made alive since his representative resurrection guarantees their own.¹³ Extending his criticism of the Corinthians' position that there is no resurrection of the dead, Paul points toward the contradictory nature of their religious and ethical practice, as well as his own ministry, if indeed Christ has not been raised through an *ad hominem* argument (15:29-34).

15:35-58 serves as Paul's final section that completes his response to the Corinthian denial of the resurrection of the dead. This section betrays the fundamental problem for the Corinthians – the difficulty of dead bodies regaining life.¹⁴ Paul responds to two distinguishable but inter-related questions: 1) How are the dead raised? 2) With what kind of body will they come? (15:35). Paul's response is to allude to God's formation of creation to illustrate the point that there are different kinds of bodies fitted for different environments, specifically bodies designed for earth and bodies designed for heaven. Yet Paul also espouses the sequential principle that death must first come before there is life.¹⁵ In this way Paul responds to both questions for the *sequence* is first death, then life, and the origin of the *substance* of the resurrected body is heavenly.¹⁶ This can be shown through Paul's chiasmic structure.¹⁷

¹³ For a thorough analysis of 15:12-28 with special focus on Christ's resurrection, see Scroggs, *The Last Adam*, 82-112; Joost Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia: A Traditio-Historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15*, SNT 84 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 33-65; Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 329-338.

¹⁴ Martin observes that the Corinthian denial of the resurrection of the dead is not in doubt, 'But the precise nature of the rejection is unclear: is it that they did not believe in the resurrection of the body or that they did not know what form of afterlife experience, if any, to substitute in its place – and what kind of social and cultural context informed their views of death and the body?' Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 104. The debate centres upon whether the Corinthians had conceived of the resurrection as having already occurred in their experience, or conversely, that they found the conception of the resurrection of the dead, i.e., the resuscitation of a corpse, problematic. Despite these opposing interpretations, what does remain clear is that Paul's argument centres on the *reality of the resurrected body*, thus indicating this is where the problem lay. As a result it is this point that my inquiry will be focused upon. It is noteworthy that σῶμα is used in 1 Corinthians on 39 occasions 'in order to designate the material part of the human being,' Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 91; cf. Robert H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 3ff. Fee argues that the Corinthian problem rested in their a) over-realised eschatological experience of the spirit that intimated a 'spiritual,' i.e. immaterial, conception of the resurrection, and b) difficulty with the concept of a corpse regaining life. The Corinthians had already experienced a spiritual resurrection while still embodied in the flesh (Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 775-778, 791). Garland is right to reject Fee's insistence on a Corinthian understanding of the resurrection state as in some sense already occurring, noting that such a view is conjectural. More apt is Garland's argument that the fundamental Corinthian problem was that they struggled with the notion that their bodies could transform from a physical body into a heavenly body, thus confusing the nature of earthly bodies and heavenly bodies, David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 735-736. For an alternative view, see Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15*, 65-66 who argues that Paul's two-fold questions are representative of his rhetorical method rather than a real indication of a Corinthian position. For an argument that supports the view that the Corinthians denied the resurrection of the dead because of their dualistic anthropology, see Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia*, 35-40.

¹⁵ On the creation themes that emerge here in Paul, see Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 340ff.

¹⁶ Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 776, 780 argues that the second question is a specification of the first and appears to have difficulty adopting the view that Paul was interested in clarifying the *means* by which the body is resurrected post-death. Thus his argument that the second question is a specification of the first allows

A (36-38) Sequence: Death first, then life

B (39-41) Substance: Earthly and Heavenly Bodies

A` (42-44a) Sequence: Death first then life

Perishable then imperishable

Dishonour then glory

Weakness then power

Natural body then spiritual body

B` (44b) Substance: Earthly and Heavenly Bodies

If there is a natural body then there is a spiritual body

C (45-46) Scriptural Support:

Substance: First Adam – living being

Last Adam – life-giving spirit

Sequence: The natural and then the spiritual

B`` (47-49) Substance: Earthly/Heavenly Bodies: First (natural) man of earth, second (spiritual) man of heaven

A establishes the principle, through the analogy of a seed, that in order for something to live it must first die (ἄφρων, σὺ δὲ σπείρεις, οὐ ζωοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, 15:36) and applies this analogy to the body, for ‘you do not plant the body that will be, but just a seed’ (15:37).¹⁸ **B** develops the application of the seed analogy by focusing on the different kinds of

him to avoid this reading altogether. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 280; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1261-1262; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 727; Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians*, Interpretation (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 270; Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15*, 68-69 also follow this interpretative path. Joachim Jeremias takes seriously that there are two distinct yet related questions and Paul’s subsequent argument is structured in response to each, “‘Flesh and Blood Cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God’ (1 Cor 15:50),” *NTS* 2 (1955-56): 151-159. We should allow the adverb πῶς its full sense as ‘an interrogative reference to means – “how? by what means?,”’ Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1996), 1:814. Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, Pillar (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 799, are perceptive when they follow the argument of Wright (*Resurrection of the Son of God*, 343), that πῶς emphasises the sense ‘in what manner?’ (cf. Wright, ‘the most natural way of reading the first question is...“By what agency or power can this extraordinary thing happen?,”’ 343).

¹⁷ Many commentators divide 15:35-58 into 3 parts: 35-44/45-49/50-58 (Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 777-778). But note Jeremias, who views two questions in 15:35, vv. 36-49 answering the second question, with vv. 50-58 answering the first, ‘Flesh and Blood,’ 157. The division I have created places a greater emphasis upon the issue that Paul is responding to, specifically, the nature of the resurrected body and the correct sequence of events. This provides much greater consistency between 15:12-28 and 15:35-49 for Paul goes to great lengths to argue that if Christ is raised *first*, then it *follows* that all believers too shall be raised with a spiritual body fit for the heavenly environment.

¹⁸ It is common for interpreters to presume that Paul speaks of two analogies: a seed + ‘bodies’ (36-41), with the analogies applied to the resurrection of the dead (42-44a), e.g. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 779. Collins opts for three analogies – agricultural, zoological, and astronomical, Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians*, Sacra Pagina 7 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), 563. But this misunderstands Paul’s argument for he looks towards the way things are in the created order by pointing to real creations in the world. The seed imagery functions as an example within creation of the principle that death must precede life by highlighting two contrasting forms (the seed, and that which grows from the seed, 36-38). This emphasis on form is then applied to the *reality* of the created order (in 39-41) and then the resurrected body (42-44a). Yates follows similar reasoning, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 90-91.

bodies that exist within creation, specifically heaven and earth, just as there are different kinds of bodies as God determines (15:38). These bodies are made of substances that fit different environments.¹⁹ **A`** returns to Paul's interest in the sequence of resurrection by contrasting the two states of the body pre and post resurrection: The body is sown (σπείρεται) perishable, it is raised (ἐγείρεται) imperishable; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body (σῶμα ψυχικόν), it is raised a spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν).²⁰ Paul gives focus to the correct sequence by continuing the contrast between earthly bodies and heavenly bodies (15:40-41) but adds the *means* by which the body is changed from one state to the next. **B`** is a brief but significant thesis statement that brings the focus of the discussion to the nature of the pre and post resurrection bodies. That Paul repeats the final antithetical sequence of 44a here demonstrates that this is where his focus lies for he is answering the question of 15:35 'With what kind of body will they come?' with the answer σῶμα πνευματικόν. **C** evidences Paul's scriptural support for the substance and sequence of the resurrected body. Through a *midrash* on Gen 2:7, Paul returns to the Adam-Christ typology of 15:21-22 and contrasts the natures of the two different kinds of bodies that characterise the present creation and the new creation. This scriptural argument supports his assertion that death, a quality inherent in the natural body, must come before life, the defining quality of the spiritual body, which is embodied in the experience of Adam (his life brought death) and Christ, the last Adam (his death brought life). Thus in the order of things, a natural body must die before becoming a spiritual body. **B`** emphasises the *origin* of the substance of the two Adams who function representatively.²¹ The first Adam is of the dust of the earth, and those who are of the earth have his same nature (a natural body). The second Adam is of heaven, and those who are of heaven possess the same nature (a spiritual body).

¹⁹ This is confirmed in v. 47 where Paul contrasts the first Adam as ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, with Christ, who is ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. The reference to Gen 2:7 is clear, thus denoting the physical composition of the respective bodies. The debate regarding whether Paul's language should be understood in terms of the substance of the body (natural vs. spiritual/earthly vs. heavenly) or origin (from the earth vs. from heaven/from the present age vs. the age to come) is misguided. Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 133, argues 'The whole point is to contrast earthly matter with heavenly matter' (Cf. Scroggs, *The Last Adam*, 88, who comments that the second man from heaven [v 47] refers 'not to the heavenly origin of Christ, nor to the second coming, but to the nature of his *resurrected* body,' emphasis original). Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 98, fn. 45, argues against Brodeur, and opts for origin, identifying two distinct orders, or creations. Such arguments are misguided *since the origin of the body determines its substance*. Pace Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1276-1281.

²⁰ Σπείρεται, which finds its antecedent in the seed analogy (15:36-38), refers to the process of death in the body (Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 811. Pace Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 784; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 732-733; Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 94-95), while ἐγείρεται refers to the process of resurrection.

²¹ Pace Fee, who denies that Paul is referring primarily to the origin of each representative figure (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 792-793).

What this summary highlights is that Paul's argument builds towards 15:45-46 and the Adam-Christ typology. The reason why this typology stands central to 15:35-49 is because this is Paul's response to the questions 'How are the dead raised? With what kind of body will they come?' Paul's immediate response to the question of *how* the dead are raised is, somewhat paradoxically, to say that *death is the pre-condition for life* ('What you sow cannot be made alive unless it dies' (σὺ δὲ σπείρεις, οὐ ζωοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, 15:36), a response which needs elaboration.²² His response to the second question in 15:44b ('If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body,' Εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν) would necessitate clarification on the first question (*by what means has the σῶμα ψυχικόν been raised to σῶμα πνευματικόν?*). Therefore in 15:45-46 Paul must clarify how the dead are raised from the natural body to the spiritual body so as to respond to both questions concerning sequence and substance.²³ This leads us to a closer examination of 15:45:

οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται·

ἐγένετο	ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος	Ἄδὰμ	εἰς	ψυχὴν ζῶσαν
	ὁ ἔσχατος	Ἄδὰμ	εἰς	πνεῦμα ζωοποιούων

Paul has offered a midrash on Gen 2:7 (LXX),²⁴ which states 'The Lord God formed a man from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life (πνοὴν ζωῆς), and the man became a living being (ψυχὴν ζῶσαν).' Paul, with slight modification, quotes: 'the *first* man *Adam* became (to) a living being.'²⁵ Paul has removed the initial καὶ from the

²² This interpretation still stands despite Paul's insistence in 15:51ff that believers who are still alive at Christ's return will not all sleep but be changed. The theological point for Paul is that death, as the pre-condition from which the body is resurrected, finds its ultimate expression in Christ's own death and resurrection, a death that is representative for all. This against Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 91, fn. 13, who argues 'In keeping with the strong language of v. 36a, v. 36b makes Paul's point through hyperbole – he does not really believe that transformation *requires* death,' (emphasis original). Yet this is to misunderstand not just Paul's language but also the representative nature of Christ's own death and resurrection.

²³ Martinus C. de Boer is wrong to assert that 'Verses 45-49 seem...to break the flow of the argument that begins in v. 35, an argument that revolves initially around the neuter term σῶμα, body (35-44),' *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5*, JSNTSupS 22 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 129. This interpretation minimises the importance of Paul's scriptural argument, grounded in Gen 2:7.

²⁴ See, broadly, John P. Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, SBL 15 (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 231-246. On the Jewish traditions of 'two Adams' at the time of Paul see, Stephen Hultgren, 'The Origin of Paul's Doctrine of the Two Adams in 1 Corinthians 15.45-49,' *JSNT* 25:3 (2003): 343-370; and Scroggs, *The Last Adam*.

²⁵ There is no clear reason to presume that Paul quotes Gen 2:7 on the basis that the Corinthians had themselves cited this text in support of their rejection of the resurrection of the dead, as Pearson argues. His presupposition – that the Corinthians were being taught a-somatic immortality from Gen 2:7 by teachers learned within the context of Diaspora Judaism – is questionable, as is his emphasis upon Gnosticism in Corinth, Birger A. Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians: A Study in the Theology of the Corinthian Opponents of Paul and its Relation to Gnosticism*, SBLDissS 12 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973), 24. So too de Boer

quotation, and added the qualification *πρῶτος* as well as Adam's name (Ἀδὰμ). These modifications are due to his concern to parallel Adam (the *first* Adam) with Christ (the *last* Adam). Paul's desire to expound an Adam-Christ typology is responsible for his original application that follows: 'the last Adam (to) life-giving spirit.' Paul has not applied the *ψυχὴν ζῶσαν* of the LXX to Christ but reserves this only for (the first) Adam, and due to the parallelism, he does not repeat the verb *ἐγένετο* with reference to Christ, the last Adam, as *πνεῦμα ζωοποιῶν*. This event is clearly Christ's resurrection.²⁶ It should be noted that Paul has reversed the order of the Gen 2:7 text. In Gen 2:7, a) God breathes the breath of life into Adam, who then b) becomes a living being. For Paul, a) Adam became a living being, and b) Christ becomes life-giving spirit. Moreover, *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα* are the cognate nouns for the adjectives *ψυχικόν* and *πνευματικόν* which appear in 15:44 and 15:46 and frame 15:45, thus Paul identifies the first Adam as the one who possesses a natural body, and the last Adam who possesses a spiritual body.

These observations enable us to realise the important function of 15:45 to tie together the threads of Paul's argument.²⁷ Here Paul wishes to emphasise both Adam and Christ as representatives of two antithetical (cf. 15:42-44a) modes of existence, for Adam represents the *natural* body whereas Christ represents the *spiritual* body. Adam possessed a *natural* body that was corruptible, and characterised by death. In contrast, Christ possessed a *spiritual* body that was incorruptible and characterised by life. As Paul will elaborate in 15:47-49, all who are in Adam suffer death through a natural body, yet all in Christ will receive life through a *spiritual* body. Thus Paul's concern in 15:45 is to find scriptural support for the view that Christ, as the first of many, has begun the new creation by being raised with a new body fit for a heavenly environment. 15:45 thus strikes a resounding repetition of 15:21-22, where Christ is the firstfruits of those to come through his resurrection. Of importance is also the repetition of *ζωοποιέω* from 15:22 and 15:36 that is integral to Paul's argument for 'What you sow cannot be made alive unless it dies' is the fundamental sequence that lies behind 'In

appears to follow a similar interpretation with regard to Paul's opponents in Corinth, *The Defeat of Death*, 96-105.

²⁶ Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 116-118. Thus 'the last Adam (to) life-giving spirit' is to be preferred as Paul's interpretation from the LXX rather than a direct quotation. With Fee, 'Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,' 320, fn. 35. Pace Turner, 'The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,' 62, fn. 41, who states, 'Note that Paul treats both parts of 1 Cor 15:45 as "what is written"; So too Dunn, '1 Corinthians 15:45,' 157. Kistemaker overstates Paul's independence of the Genesis text by arguing 'For this clause that parallels the preceding one, Paul is unable to turn to the Old Testament scriptures,' Simon J. Kistemaker, *1 Corinthians: Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NTC (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1993), 575.

²⁷ It is a significant weakness of Holleman's thesis that he neglects the essential foundational role that 15:45 plays not only in Paul's argument but in Paul's worldview on both the resurrection of Christ and also the eschatological resurrection of believers. Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia*.

Christ all will be made alive' and 'the last Adam [became] (to) life-giving spirit,' since it is through Christ's death and resurrection that life is concretely given.

A number of points are to be observed from 15:45. Firstly, the adjective πνευματικόν which frames this reference (15:44, 46) denotes the activity of the spirit in vivifying and animating the body for its heavenly existence. As Brodeur recognises, adjectives are that which concerns, belongs to, or is characteristic of the noun it is derived from,²⁸ therefore πνευματικόν possesses the meaning 'that which concerns, belongs to, or is characteristic of spirit.'²⁹ Of particular interest is 2:13-15 where, like 15:44-46, Paul contrasts ψυχικός with πνευματικός, yet there also exists some differences. The difference in usage between the two contexts is that in 2:13-15 Paul uses the terms to contrast a person who has the spirit (πνευματικός) and one who does not (ψυχικός); whereas in 15:44-46, Paul contrasts a body whose substance fits the present world and is therefore perishable (σῶμα ψυχικόν) with a body created by the spirit for heaven (σῶμα πνευματικόν).³⁰ The use of the adjective 'spiritual' therefore denotes the spirit's activity, whether it is working within the life of the believer or, when paired with σῶμα, the animating force of the body fit for heaven.³¹ The specific correlation of πνευματικόν with σῶμα forms the sense of the spirit *as the power of life that creates, through the process of resurrection, a body able to exist in the new creation.*³²

²⁸ Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 94-103, so too Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 29. Brodeur does not apply this observation adequately to his definition of πνευματικόν, stating 'the English adjective "spiritual" both captures its exact meaning as well as underscores it [*sic*] etymological connection to "spirit," its nominal cognate,' (102). What Brodeur fails to do it address the many senses *in English* that inhibit its 'exact meaning' from being discerned.

²⁹ Thiselton, '*that which pertains to the Holy Spirit of God*,' *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1275, emphasis original. The other occurrences of the adjective in the letter, in either neuter or masculine form, also confirm this: 2:13(x2), 14, 15; 3:1; 9:11; 10:3, 4(x2); 12:1; 14:1, 37.

³⁰ Martin is wrong to argue that a 'pneumatic body' is 'a body composed only of pneuma with sarx and psyche having been sloughed off along the way,' *The Corinthian Body*, 126. Paul's correlation of 'spiritual' and 'body' does not describe the substance of the body, as if it is made *of* the spirit, but instead describes the spirit as the animating force that gives life *to* the body: 'The adjective describes, not what something is *composed of*, but what it is *animated by*,' Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 352, emphasis original.

³¹ Ψυχικός is understood as that which concerns, belongs to, or is characteristic of ψυχή. Ψυχή can be translated as 'soul,' 'life,' 'mind' or 'being.' It seems preferable exegetically to understand ψυχικός in contrast to πνευματικός as 'humanity's natural existence apart from the Holy Spirit,' Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 95, 112-115. In application to the σῶμα ψυχικόν the adjective is best viewed as pertaining to a body that is characterised by a this-worldly state, hence that which is 'natural' or characteristic of existence in this creation. See also Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians*. Gundry states, 'a *psychikon sōma* is not a bodily form with soul as its substance; it is a physical body animated by the *psyche* and therefore suited to earthly life. By the same token, a *pneumatikon sōma* is not a bodily form with spirit as its substance; it is a physical body renovated by the Spirit of Christ and therefore suited to heavenly immortality,' *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, 165-166.

³² As Barrett defines it, the spiritual body is 'the new body animated by the Spirit of God,' Charles K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, BNTC, 2nd ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1971), 372. Andrew T. Lincoln states, 'πνευματικός is to be related to the Spirit and the life of the age to come. Hence the physical body which is sown is that characterized by the old aeon, while it is raised as a spiritual body by virtue of the transformation it has undergone through the Spirit who characterizes the new aeon,' *Paradise Now*

Secondly, Paul has previously stated that ‘In Christ all will be made alive’ (15:22) and ‘What you sow cannot be made alive unless it dies’ (15:36), thus positing that *through death* and ‘in Christ’ will one be raised. While Paul posits that it is God who has raised Christ from the dead (15:15), he deliberately develops this in 15:45 to identify the result of God’s creative activity in raising Christ from the dead: at his resurrection Christ became a πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν. As I have argued, it is the spirit of God in 15:44 and 46 that is responsible for animating the body in the resurrection, for this can be confidently argued on the basis just observed, that πνευματικόν is clearly a reference to the work of the spirit in giving life to the resurrected body. But in a surprising linguistic turn, Paul’s decision to describe Christ’s resurrection state as πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν arguably cannot be a *direct* reference to the spirit of God. Paul contrasts two forms of being, for the first Adam became a living ψυχὴν ζῶσαν while the last Adam became a πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν. Paul uses ψυχή and πνεῦμα as a synecdoche for the whole person, in the first instance Adam was animated by ψυχή while Christ was animated by πνεῦμα. Paul’s use of πνεῦμα must in this instance be understood anthropologically to denote the particular *form of being* that Christ becomes at his resurrection.³³

Thirdly, lying behind chapter 15 as a whole, Paul is continuing his reflection on the Genesis creation narrative (which includes the probable reference to the spirit’s creative activity in Gen 1:2).³⁴ That the key terms ψυχή and πνεῦμα appear in the scriptural citation in 15:45 makes it likely that this is the source of Paul’s reflection on the σῶμα ψυχικόν and σῶμα πνευματικόν.³⁵ This is of importance for it demonstrates that the creation account has significantly informed Paul’s language on the resurrection. Paul has deliberately replaced πνοήν ζωῆς with πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, an exegetical manoeuvre that signifies that Paul’s concept of πνεῦμα held particular significance within Paul’s thought.

Fourthly, the spirit’s role in the resurrection of believers by granting a σῶμα πνευματικόν confirms for Paul that the new creation has come. How are the dead raised? With what kind of body? Paul responds: by the spirit who animates the body for its future

and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul’s Thought with Special Reference to his Eschatology, SNTS 43 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 41-42.

³³ For the anthropological sense of πνεῦμα see Fee, ‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,’ 320-321; Turner, ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology,’ 429, particularly against the argument of Dunn, ‘1 Corinthians 15:45.’

³⁴ See Benjamin L. Gladd, ‘The Last Adam as the “Life-Giving” Spirit Revisited: A Possible Old Testament Background of One of Paul’s Most Perplexing Phrases,’ *WTJ* 71 (2009): 297-309.

³⁵ Fee states ‘Paul’s *reason* for saying that Christ became “a life-giving πνεῦμα” is that the LXX had said of Adam that he became “a living ψυχή,” *God’s Empowering Presence*, 265 (cf. ‘Christology and Pneumatology,’ 321). Turner also follows a similar line of argumentation, ‘The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,’ 63.

imperishable state.³⁶ Paul identifies the spirit as fulfilling a creative role in the resurrection of all believers, and by so doing the spirit is directly responsible for inaugurating the new creation (cf. 15:50).³⁷ In parallel, since Christ now possesses a mode of existence that is fit for heaven and is incorruptible, for Paul the reality of the new creation has taken shape in the present and is evidenced by Christ's resurrection.³⁸ Paul's Adam-Christ typology is therefore apocalyptic in nature.³⁹ Since Christ is the 'Last Adam,' he ends a sequence of natural corruptible bodies and begins the new form of resurrection life that characterises the new age.⁴⁰

The significance of this exegesis is observed in the fact that Paul has framed Christ's resurrected form of being as πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν with reference to the believer's own resurrected form of being as a σῶμα πνευματικόν fit for heavenly existence. Indeed, Christ's resurrection forms the basis for the believer's own resurrection. While Paul in this context never explicitly states that the spirit is the agent whom raised Christ from the dead, it is certainly a valid *inference*, particularly on the basis that both Christ and the spirit are observed

³⁶ Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 103; Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 353-354, 360. While Ciampa and Rosner *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 799, rightly note that πῶς emphasises the sense 'in what manner?', their interpretive application does not do justice to the context. They expect that an answer to the question 'How are they raised?' would be 'As reanimated corpses' or 'by the reassembly of the disintegrated body parts,' (799), thus the means is through a resurrected body. But the means in Paul's answer is through a σῶμα πνευματικόν and therefore the power inherent in the resurrection is specifically the agency of the spirit. Hays argues that "'How are the dead raised?'" does not mean "How is it possible?" or "By what agency?" (for it is clear that Paul and other advocates of the resurrection of the dead claim that they are to be raised by God's power), *First Corinthians*, 270. Hays misses the point that while it may be clear to 'Paul and other advocates of the resurrection of the dead,' the fundamental misunderstanding lies with *the Corinthians who denied* the resurrection of the dead, therefore agency is surely part of the problem that Paul needs to address. More broadly, Fee is resistant to the view that πνεῦμα denotes the holy spirit, preferring to understand Paul as referencing πνεῦμα as the power of the new eschatological age. Consequently, Fee denies that the question 'how are the dead raised?' relates to the means of resurrection but is simply a reference to what form the body will take (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 714) for 'it is a *body* adapted to the eschatological existence that is under the ultimate domination of the Spirit,' (786, emphasis original). Because of this, Fee wishes to interpret σῶμα πνευματικόν as 'a "supernatural" body acquired through resurrection and adapted to the life of the Spirit in the coming age,' *God's Empowering Presence*, 264, cf. 263, 267. But what Fee means by 'the life of the Spirit in the coming age' is a remarkably vague notion if the spirit is not active in giving life through the resurrection of the body which is founded upon the spirit's resurrection of Christ. Thus Fee has chosen not to acknowledge the spirit as *the explicit agent of life concretely expressed through resurrection* (in this context).

³⁷ Thiselton observes, 'For Paul, *new creation and transformation came from beyond and were constituted by the agency of the Holy Spirit*, 1283, emphasis original. Further, 'The *raised Christ*... belongs to, indeed provides the model for, a different order of existence. Raised by God through the agency of the Holy Spirit, the second man exhibits those qualities that come from heaven and shape the character and nature of the form in which those "in Christ" ... will be raised,' 1286. So too Brodeur, 'By raising up his Son through the agency of the Holy Spirit, the Father has inaugurated the last days of this transient world. The new world has already begun in Christ, the first man to be raised from the dead, the crucial turning point of the new creation,' Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 123. So Yates, 'In Paul's hands the animating power of God's breath in the original creation points to the active, creative work of the divine spirit as the spirit brings about the new creation,' *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 97.

³⁸ Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 122.

³⁹ De Boer, *The Defeat of Death*, 114.

⁴⁰ As Collins states, 'That Paul uses the creation story to provide analogies for the resurrection of the body suggests that resurrection might be considered a "new creation,"' Collins, *First Corinthians*, 564.

to be life-giving and bring the new creation into the present.⁴¹ What is intriguing about 1 Cor 15:35ff is that while Paul can identify God as the one who raises Christ from the dead (1 Cor 15:15), when speaking of the nature of the resurrected body in 15:35-58, he points to the agency of the spirit. This must reflect the tradition that the spirit was understood as the spirit of life through whom God creatively worked. To take the additional step and to converge the activity of Christ and the spirit to conclude that Paul understood Christ's resurrection to be enacted through the power of the spirit remains a likely summation from the evidence.⁴²

The agency of the spirit in the creative activity of God which Paul establishes can be extended to 1 Cor 6:14,⁴³ 2 Cor 13:4⁴⁴ and Phil 3:21,⁴⁵ where Paul uses the language of

⁴¹ Brodeur states, 'It is "the last Adam" who receives his spiritual body through the agency of the Spirit at the moment of his resurrection,' Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 123. That Paul does not refer to Christ's post-resurrection state as a σώμα πνευματικόν does not negate this point, for Paul's gnomic language in 15:45b is concerned with the Gen 2:7 citation. It is possible *inferentially* to argue that a σώμα πνευματικόν is that which Christ inherits. The statement ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν is inferentially the means by which Christ inherits this state, thus the chronology Paul posits in 15:46 - ψυχικόν *then* πνευματικόν –illustrates the sequence between the first Adam and the last Adam of 15:45. Turner states that ψυχή and πνεῦμα are the respective 'life-principles' of the present age and the age to come and so Paul views Christ as πνεῦμα 'by which Paul means an eschatological 'being' vitalised by πνεῦμα which is the life-giving principle of the age to come.' So Turner admits that this is an 'unusual use of πνεῦμα,' 'The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,' 63. Turner does state that in Rom 8:11 'the Spirit raised Jesus' (64) and does conclude that 'The Spirit had brought Jesus to fullness of glory as σώμα πνευματικόν. *This one act revealed the nature of the Spirit as the life-principle of the age to come.* The same Spirit who raised Jesus as the firstfruits from the dead will bring the full harvest in the last day. The Spirit who through resurrection constituted Christ as the second Adam...' (66, emphasis original). Turner does assert in another context that 'the Corinthians would be bound to interpret the πνεῦμα of v. 45b as a statement about Christ's own mode of being,' ('The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 429).

⁴² There are weak aspects to Fatehi's argument in *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul* that relate to this particular discussion. Firstly, Fatehi is wrong to argue and assume that the Corinthians already understood Christ to have become spirit at his resurrection, thus a *soma pneumatikon* (281-282). This misunderstands Paul's argument. The thrust of Paul's argument is to convince the Corinthians that there is indeed such a thing as a *soma pneumatikon*, for this is the heart of the problem, not to begin from this agreed premise. Curiously Fatehi himself recognises that Paul does argue for this point (280), but does not recognise any contradiction. Secondly, Fatehi argues that Paul, by identifying Christ as a life-giving spirit, is probably using the Corinthians' language and claims about their own experience of resurrection (282). This appears to be excessive mirror-reading and does not recognise the intricate midrash of Gen 2:7 which is surely Paul's own reflection. Thirdly, Fatehi makes much of the argument that the Corinthians experienced the risen Christ as life-giving spirit, thus reading heavily into Paul's language that the risen Christ became the life-giving spirit at his resurrection. Yet this also does not take account of the fact that Paul's thrust here is not on the Corinthians' experience of the risen Christ among them (Fatehi is preoccupied with this thought which skews his exegesis) but *on the means by which the Corinthians will be raised* – through the life-giving spirit. While Fatehi is right to argue that the idea of *the risen Lord* as life-giving spirit has no parallel in Judaism (284), he ought to be aware that there is precedence for the view of the spirit as life-giving in Judaism, and Paul uses this tradition and applies it in an original manner to the Corinthians. This casts doubt upon Fatehi's assertion that the origin of Paul's view of the risen Lord is found in his, and his church's experience of the pneumatic Christ.

⁴³ 'By his *power* God raised the Lord from the dead, and he will raise us also' (ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κύριον ἤγειρεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερῆ διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ), 6:14). While Paul does not explicitly reference the spirit in 6:14, the context of 6:12-20 makes it likely that the spirit is in view in Paul's reference to 'power.' Paul condemns some male members of the Corinthian church for having sexual relations with prostitutes on the basis that they cannot be both joined to a prostitute and the Lord himself, since the body is clearly the medium of unity between sexual partners. How Paul can justify that believers can be *bodily* united with the risen Christ is to refer to the medium of the spirit by stating that 'whoever is united with the Lord is one with him by the spirit' (6:17). Here we encounter, pre-empting chapter 15, the close relationship between body and spirit, and the bodily resurrection of Christ by the life-giving spirit. Further, in 1 Cor 4:20-21, Paul had stated that 'the kingdom of God is not a matter of talk but of power' (οὐ γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει) and warned the Corinthians of his impending visit either 'with a rod of discipline' or 'in love and the spirit of gentleness (ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματι

‘power.’ Though Paul does not use the term πνεῦμα, arguably the spirit is in view since power and the spirit are associated throughout Paul’s letters (Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4-5; 12:10, 28, 29; 14:11; 15:43).⁴⁶ This therefore, when considered with Paul’s argument in 1 Cor 15 as a whole, and 15:45 in particular, demonstrates the activity of the spirit as the agent through whom God has raised Christ from the dead.

2.2.2 Rom 1:3-4

While 1 Corinthians 15 is Paul’s highest concentrated discussion on the resurrection, ‘Romans is suffused with resurrection.’⁴⁷ In another dense and short passage, Rom 1:3-4 also reveals the role of the spirit in the resurrection of Christ.⁴⁸ Rom 1:3-4 is situated within Paul’s letter

τε πραύτητος). Since love and gentleness are also fruits that the spirit produces (cf. Gal 5:22-23), it is likely that this is a reference to the spirit of God rather than to Paul’s inner disposition or attitude. That Paul associates πνεῦμα, λόγος and δύναμις points back to 2:4-6 where the impact of Paul’s gospel message (λόγος) was a result of the spirit and power (πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, most likely καί should be understood in an exegetical sense). Therefore the accumulation of these inter-related terms and concepts indicate that in Paul’s mind the spirit is often seen to be associated with God’s power and arguably evidences the spirit as the power in Christ’s resurrection at 6:14. So Vos, ‘The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit,’ 107-108.⁴⁴ ‘He [Christ] is not weak in dealing with you, but is powerful among you. For to be sure, he was crucified in weakness, yet he lives by God’s power’ (ἀλλὰ ζῆ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ), 2 Cor 13:3-4. With 1 Cor 6:12-20 and 15:42-49 as the significant landscape behind Paul’s argument here, the reference to Christ’s presence and resurrection by the power of God would arguably have been understood by the Corinthians as the spirit. Noteworthy is Paul’s reference in 2 Cor 4:13-14 to his possession of the ‘spirit of faith’ (πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως). It is consistent in Paul to view πίστις as a product of the spirit (Gal 3:2, 5, 14; 5:5, 22; 1 Cor 2:5; 12:9; Rom 1:11-12, cf. Rom 12:6; Phil 1:27). This reference to the spirit occurs within the context of his description of his apostleship as characterising the suffering of Christ and demonstrates the all-surpassing power of God in Paul’s own weak ministry (4:7-18) for it is the spirit who enabled Paul to believe and to speak knowing that ‘the one who raised the Lord Jesus from the dead will also raise us with Jesus’ (4:14). So too in 2 Cor 6:6-7, the ‘Holy Spirit’ is an integral characteristic of Paul’s ministry which is positioned in Paul’s virtue list directly preceding his description of his ministry as ‘in truthful speech and in the power of God.’ A further avenue to pursue is 12:9-10 where Paul associates Christ’s power and his weakness for Christ’s ‘power is made perfect in weakness.’ Paul applies this to the Corinthians by stating ‘Therefore I will boast all the more gladly about my weaknesses, so that Christ’s power may rest on me’ (ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ). This final statement is of interest, notably because Christ’s power is seen to be *upon* Paul. The rare verb ἐπισκηνώω, ‘to take up residence’ (Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1:730), points back to the cognate noun σκῆνος, ‘tent’/‘tabernacle’ in 5:1, 4, where Paul has referenced the body awaiting resurrection. The particular choice of terms are subtle and resonate with the idea of the tabernacling presence of the spirit of God. This potentially reveals Paul’s awareness that the spirit is the power that dwells within him. See Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 308-309.

⁴⁵ Likewise, Phil 3:21 is probably a reference to the spirit who is viewed by Paul as the power which ‘enables him [Christ] to bring everything under his control’ and who will ‘transform our lowly bodies so that they will be like his glorious body.’ See too the association between power and resurrection earlier in the chapter (3:10).

⁴⁶ Power is a common term in Paul. Cf. Paul’s use of δύναμις in Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 1:18, 24; 2:4, 5; 4:19, 20; 5:4; 6:14; 12:10, 28, 29; 14:11; 15:24, 43, 56; 2 Cor 1:8; 4:7; 6:7; 8:3; 12:9, 12; 13:4; Rom 1:16, 20; 8:38; 9:17; 15:13, 19; Phil 3:10. For a full analysis see Petrus J. Gräbe, *The Power of God in Paul’s Letters*, WUNT 2.123 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), cf. ‘In the context of the resurrection, *God’s life-giving and creative power* is closely related to the Spirit,’ 252. See too the close correlation between power and spirit that is interspersed in Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 75-116. In support of this is Paul’s contrast between σάρξ and δύναμις in his letters (1 Cor 5:3-5; 2 Cor 10:2-6). Since the flesh is antithetical to the spirit, it is conceivable that Paul understands the spirit to be denoted by ‘power.’

⁴⁷ Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 241.

⁴⁸ It is disappointing that Brodeur (*The Holy Spirit’s Agency*) has neglected Rom 1:3-4 in his analysis of the spirit’s role in the resurrection of Christ, instead choosing to ground his argument from Romans in 8:9-13 alone.

opening. Paul affirms that he is an apostle ‘set apart for the gospel of God’ (1:1) but must immediately clarify the content of the gospel that he proclaims so as to build rapport with his recipients whom he has not yet met (1:2-6).⁴⁹ To do so, he includes an already established creedal formula, as a means to identify himself with the emerging church tradition. The creed is formed in the shape of a chiasm⁵⁰ and includes a number of participial appositional statements particularly signalled by the use of prepositions (ἐκ/κατά):

[περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ]	A		
τοῦ γενομένου		B	
ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ			C
κατὰ σάρκα			D
τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει	B`		
κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης			D`
ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν			C`
[Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν]	A`		

While most scholars affirm that Paul is indeed citing a pre-Pauline formula influenced by Ps 2:7,⁵¹ there exists debate regarding the extent to which Paul has modified its dense form and content.⁵² I deem it most likely that Paul has framed the confession with an opening and closing bracket so that ‘concerning his son’ and ‘Jesus Christ our Lord,’ typically Pauline

⁴⁹ James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A (Waco: Thomas Nelson, 1988), 5.

⁵⁰ See Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 479. Pace Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1998), 39, who does not recognise the importance of the prepositional parallelism between ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ and ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν.

⁵¹ This view has been challenged by Vern Poythress, ‘Is Romans 1:3-4 a Pauline Confession After All?’ *ExpT* 87 (1976): 180-83 and Christopher G. Whittsett, ‘Son of God, Seed of David: Paul’s Messianic Exegesis in Romans 1:3-4,’ *JBL* 119:4 (2000): 661-681. But Jewett lists 12 reasons as to why this can be established, Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 97-99, cf. Dunn, ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ in *Christ and the Spirit*, 126-129. For our purposes, the most cogent reasons rest in the fact that Rom 1:3-4, 1) displays a neat compositional style that is balanced between appositional phrases, characteristic of such confessional material 2) includes non-Pauline terminology such as ὀρισθέντος (‘appointed’) and πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης (‘spirit of holiness’).

⁵² My interest in Rom 1:3-4 lies predominately in the way that Paul has both *affirmed* a tradition regarding the activity of the spirit in the resurrection of Christ, and in the way Paul has subtly *added* his own distinctive stylistic touch to the formulation, which consequently demonstrates Paul’s original reflection on the activity of the spirit in relation to Christ’s resurrection. Regarding interpreting the formulation as a whole, a number of exegetical difficulties are faced: 1) What is the precise relationship between κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης and κατὰ σάρκα, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ and ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν? 2) Does κατὰ σάρκα denote simply the earthly life of Jesus lived in the flesh as a human being, or does it carry the frequent Pauline pejorative sense of weakness that characterises the present age? 3) What is the precise sense of the prepositions κατὰ and ἐκ? Are they to be interpreted with a temporal or causal sense? 4) How should one interpret the non-Pauline ὀρισθέντος? ‘Appointed’? ‘Designated’? ‘Declared to be’? 5) Does ἐν δυνάμει modify the noun (υἱοῦ θεοῦ) or verb (ὀρισθέντος)? 6) Is πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης a reference to the inner sanctified spirit of Jesus, Jesus’ divine nature, or the spirit of God? 7) Does ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν refer to Christ’s resurrection or the resurrection of all believers?

expressions, are Paul's own additions.⁵³ Arguably ἐν δυνάμει has also been inserted into the creed by Paul himself.⁵⁴ Moreover, the phrase πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης denotes the spirit of God and is not a reference to either the 'divinity' of Jesus or his inner (sanctified) spirit. This expression is an adjectival genitive that is clearly a Semitism (cf. Ps 51:11; Isa 63:10-11; T. Levi 18:11), and is only found here in Paul alone, in such marked contrast to his usual terminology relating to πνεῦμα, thus the citation has determined Paul's terminology here to refer to the holy spirit of God.⁵⁵ The phrase κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, standing in apposition to κατὰ σάρκα,⁵⁶ therefore follows the typically Pauline contrast between σὰρξ and πνεῦμα that is so characteristic of Paul's eschatological worldview (Gal 4:29; Rom 8:4-5; cf. Rom 2:28-29; 8:6, 9; Gal 3:3; 5:16-17,19; Phil 3:3-4) and should be interpreted in antithetical parallelism.⁵⁷ To avoid redundancy, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα connotes not just the reality of Jesus' earthly existence (ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ), but also *the condition into which he was born* (κατὰ σάρκα). The preposition ἐκ is thus understood to denote the means by which Jesus became human ('by the seed of David').⁵⁸ Furthermore, the preposition κατὰ should not denote 'characterised by,' as Dunn would have it,⁵⁹ nor 'in the sphere of,' as Fee claims,⁶⁰ but rather denote 'in the power of.'⁶¹ To be 'in the power of' σὰρξ refers to the corruptibility of

⁵³ Christ is 'son' in Rom 1:9; 5:10; 8:29, 32, cf. Gal 2:20; 4:6; 4:30; 1 Cor 1:9; for the expression Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν elsewhere in Romans see Rom 1:7; 5:1, 11, 21; 7:25; 13:14; 15:6, 30.

⁵⁴ Jewett, *Romans*, 107. This is 1) because of the apparent intrusion of ἐν δυνάμει into the neat parallelism of the formula; 2) because the reference to power in 1:3-4 forms an inclusio with 16:25-27, where God is 'able (δυναμένῳ) to establish you in accordance with my gospel,' a clearly Pauline summary where the verb δύναιμι (cf. Rom 8:7, 8, 39; 15:14) is the singular notable repetition from 1:3-4; 3) because 'power' features so prominently in Romans (1:16, 20; 8:38; 15:13, 19, cf. 9:17) and elsewhere (Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 1:18, 24; 2:4, 5; 4:19, 20; 5:4; 6:14; 12:10, 28, 29; 14:11; 15:24, 43, 56; 2 Cor 1:8; 4:7; 6:7; 8:3; 12:9, 12; 13:4; Phil 3:10).

⁵⁵ So Charles E.B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, ICC (New York/London: T&T Clark, 2004), 63-64; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 14-15; Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2007), 45; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 478-484; Douglass J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1996), 44-51; Schreiner, *Romans*, 41-44; Jewett, *Romans*, 106-107. See also Bernardin Schneider, 'κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, Rom 1:4,' *Biblica*, 48:3 (1967): 359-387.

⁵⁶ There have traditionally existed three views on the κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα contrast: 1) a contrast between Jesus' human and divine nature, 2) a contrast between Jesus' own inner spirit of holiness, his righteousness and his outer physical existence, 3) an eschatological contrast between the present age characterised by the flesh, and the age to come characterised by the spirit of God. See Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 49-50; Schreiner, *Romans*, 41-44.

⁵⁷ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 13; 'Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,' 127-137. Pace Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 480-482.

⁵⁸ Interpreting the senses of the prepositions, particularly as either temporal or causal, has proved troublesome for many commentators, particularly when striving for consistency. For example, Fee interprets the first ἐκ in the sense of origin, yet the second as cause yet still subscribes to a temporal reading of the passage (Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 481). Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 62; Byrne, *Romans*, 45; Schreiner, *Romans*, 42, fn. 30; Moo, *Romans*, 49, fn. 47, read ἐκ as temporal.

⁵⁹ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 15.

⁶⁰ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 480-484.

⁶¹ Pace Byrne, *Romans*, 44. Fee, and earlier, Schweizer, are wrong to argue for flesh/spirit as simply a sphere and denoting a purely temporal movement from 'in the flesh' to 'in the spirit,' i.e. earthly life to eschatological life, and in this way affirm that the flesh and the spirit are two mutually exclusive states of existence. Dunn is right to argue that σὰρξ and πνεῦμα denote a 'condition and power which determine the kind of existence actually lived out,' *Romans 1-8*, 15, 'Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,' 127-137, 146-147, against Schweizer who defines πνεῦμα as a 'heavenly sphere or substance.' It is curious that Dunn critiques the view of Schweizer on the basis

the human condition and to be ‘in the power of’ πνεῦμα refers to the creative activity of the spirit. Thus Paul contrasts two states characterised by two spheres or origins - κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα – since Jesus’ earthly life was bound by the weakness of the flesh, that is, the corruptibility of his body that resulted in his death whereas through his resurrection the creative power of the spirit is observed.⁶²

How the creedal formula presents the ‘appointment’ (ὀρισθέντος) of Jesus as ‘Son of God’ is through the participial clauses κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης and ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν. Just as the preposition ἐκ denoted the means by which Jesus became human, so too does ἐκ denote the means by which Jesus was appointed the Son of God – by ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν (cf. Rom 4:24).⁶³ As the previous κατὰ clause denoted the quality of the earthly existence of Jesus κατὰ σάρκα, so now the parallel κατὰ clause denotes the quality of the existence of Christ appointed the son of God κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης.⁶⁴ Christ’s resurrected state is one of incorruptibility since it is the power of the spirit (κατὰ πνεῦμα) that has overcome the power

that it is too ‘cosmological and static,’ when Fee, who himself prefers to understand the spirit as the ‘sphere of eschatological existence,’ denies any cosmological dimension (*God’s Empowering Presence*, 481-482). While Dunn is correct to argue for a more pejorative understanding of σάρξ in this context, he is in danger of linguistic error by presuming that the range of meanings of σάρξ can be ‘just below the surface’ in the majority of its occurrences (for Dunn, excluding 1 Cor 10:18, ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ 132); Cf. Cranfield who states, ‘we shall often have to try to discover the precise sense which it [σάρξ] bears in a particular passage,’ *The Epistle to the Romans*, 59, emphasis mine. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 46-47 and Schreiner, *Romans*, 43, follow Dunn similarly but with qualification. On the basis of the formulations κατὰ σάρξ/πνεῦμα, Jewett wishes to push the conceptual basis towards that of Hellenistic dualism, *Romans*, 106, see also his *Paul’s Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Conflict Settings*, AGAJU 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 136-139.

⁶² Jewett, *Paul’s Anthropological Terms*, 138, ‘κατὰ σάρκα was no mere description of the earthly descent but rather the material realm characterized by corruption and death.’ Dunn appears to focus too much on discussing the flesh/spirit contrast in relation to *believers*, rather than focusing on how the terms relate to Jesus. He reads the experiences of believers back into that of Christ in his exegesis of Rom 1:3-4, viewing Jesus, in his earthly life, as experiencing the overlap of the ages and consequently the tension between spirit and flesh (‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ 137-142). But this misunderstands Paul’s passage. Paul’s focus in Rom 1:3-4, when referencing the *spirit’s* activity, is upon Christ’s *resurrection* (so too Schreiner, *Romans*, 44. The spirit’s activity in this passage is only referenced in relation to Jesus’ own appointment as ‘son of God,’ rather than in relation to the experience of believers (cf. the parallel in Phil 2:9-10 where Jesus is given a ‘raised’ status by God).

⁶³ While there are some commentators who wish to interpret this gnomic phrase as a reference to the resurrection of *all* believers, the context, specifically the parallel with Jesus’ earthly existence as ‘from the seed of David,’ dictates that Christ’s resurrection is the primary meaning, a reading that is consistent with Paul’s thought elsewhere (1 Cor 15:12, 13, 21, 42; Rom 4:24; 6:5; Phil 3:10). So Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 62; Byrne, *Romans*, 45; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 482; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 50; Schreiner, *Romans*, 44. Jewett, *Romans*, 105 asserts that in the primitive Christian community the resurrection of Christ and the general resurrection were ‘fused together.’ Such reasoning is hard to sustain on linguistic grounds here. Against the resurrection of Christ alone see Samuel H. Hooke, ‘The Translation of Romans 1:4,’ *NTS* 9 (1962-63): 370-71. Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 34; ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ 141-142, argues that it refers to the general resurrection. By extension it is true to claim that this phrase reiterates Paul’s common conviction that Jesus’ resurrection is a guarantee and is the firstfruits of the general resurrection, but Dunn has argued wrongly in the reverse by viewing the general resurrection as the focus here, and Christ’s resurrection as secondary in meaning. I sense Dunn wishes to remove further any direct correspondence between the resurrection of Christ and the creative activity of the spirit in his resurrection.

⁶⁴ So rightly Vos: ‘By the twofold κατὰ the mode of each state of existence is contrasted, by the twofold ἐκ, the origin of each. Thus the existence κατὰ σάρκα originated “from the seed of David,” the existence κατὰ πνεῦμα originated “out of the resurrection from the dead,”’ Vos, ‘The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit,’ 104.

of the flesh, therefore κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα functions as a specification of the quality of the two states of existence – Jesus’ earthly and resurrected state – that is framed apocalyptically.⁶⁵ It is a mistake to be too focused upon the appositional positioning of κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα and miss the clear intent of the creedal formula to pair together not only ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ and κατὰ σάρκα *but also* κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης and ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν. Since ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ denotes the reality of Jesus’ human identity as Messiah from the line of David and κατὰ σάρκα *adds the sense* of Jesus’ birth into the corruptible present creation, so too does ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν denote the reality of Christ as the ‘son of God’ demonstrated by his resurrection. It is the agency of the spirit, demarcated by the preposition κατὰ that identifies *the power of the spirit in raising Christ to new life and inaugurating the new creation.*⁶⁶

Finally, that Paul has deliberately added ἐν δυνάμει to the central statement of Jesus’ appointment as ‘son of God’ signifies his own reflection on the nature of Jesus’ resurrection. As is often noted, there is debate as to which part of the phrase ἐν δυνάμει specifically modifies, whether it is the noun (appointed to be son of God *in power*)⁶⁷ or the verb (appointed *in power* to be son of God).⁶⁸ Essentially, does ἐν δυνάμει refer to the *means* by which Christ became ‘Son of God’ or to the *position* of son of God itself as denoting a place of power? In view of the placement of ἐν δυνάμει in the chiasm, the argument can be made that Paul has deliberately inserted ἐν δυνάμει to modify not the position as son of God which Christ has attained but rather the means by which this has occurred. The structure of the chiasm situates Paul’s addition as modifying, along with κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης and ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν Christ’s appointment as son of God. This makes it likely that just as these clauses are descriptions of the process by which Christ was appointed son of God, through the spirit and his resurrection, so too does ἐν δυνάμει describe this process (thus I

⁶⁵ This pre-empts Paul’s emphasis upon the work of the spirit in defeating the power of the flesh in Rom 8:1-17. Particularly noteworthy is 8:3 where it is God who has sent his ‘son in the very likeness of *sinful flesh* and as a sin offering condemned *sin in the flesh*,’ (ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί).

⁶⁶ Whilst it is true that Paul identifies a change in ‘status’ or ‘function’ between the earthly Jesus and the resurrected Christ as son of God (Moo, *Romans*, 48), this also entails a change in Christ’s existence from σὰρξ to πνεῦμα, that is, from a body that is weakened by death to a resurrected existence through the power of the spirit. Moreover it should be noted that denying the prepositions ἐκ and κατὰ a temporal sense, does not automatically mean rejecting a two-stage movement from life in the flesh to life in the spirit. Paul *does* understand a temporal movement from life in the flesh to life in the spirit (this is a logical necessity for the creed to function), but this movement *also* denotes a qualitative differentiation, indeed contrast, in the quality of that life, a point which the creedal formulation is emphasising.

⁶⁷ So Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 14; Schreiner, *Romans*, 42. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 48, argues that ἐν δυνάμει must qualify the noun in order to differentiate it from the first occurrence in v. 3, but this argument is weak for whether ἐν δυνάμει qualifies the noun or the verb the same sense is communicated regarding the high status of Christ as the Son of God by his resurrection.

⁶⁸ So Jewett, *Romans*, 107.

interpret *ἐν* instrumentally as it denotes the sense of causation).⁶⁹ That this line of interpretation is likely correct is confirmed by the occurrences of *δύναμις* elsewhere in the letter which are correlated with the spirit.⁷⁰ Thus, Paul describes God's activity in raising Christ from the dead (*ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*), by the spirit (*κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης*), in power (*ἐν δυνάμει*), and the conclusion stands therefore that Paul viewed the spirit as the power actively involved in the resurrection of Christ.⁷¹ Thus, the agency of the spirit is deliberately pronounced by Paul.

2.2.3 Rom 8:9-11

Having argued that the pre-Pauline creedal formulation contained in 1:3-4 ascribes Christ's resurrection to the power of the spirit, the way is now open to glimpse a view of the impressive landscape of Romans 8. Rom 8 is located within the broader sub-unit of chapters 5-8 where Paul has outlined Christ's victory over the powers of death (chap. 5) and sin (chap. 6), powers that were destructively at work through the law, resulting in the law's inability to produce righteousness (chap. 7). Chapter 8 emphasises the spirit as also defeating the powers of sin and death that are at work in the present age characterised by the flesh through life (cf. 1:17; 5:12-21).⁷² Chapter 8 can be divided broadly into vv. 1-17 and vv. 18-30, with vv. 31-39 functioning as a conclusion to chapters 5-8 as a whole. 8:1-2 is the thesis statement for the

⁶⁹ So Jewett, *Romans*, 107.

⁷⁰ In 15:13 Paul prays that the Romans would 'overflow with hope by the power of the Holy Spirit' (*εἰς τὸ περισσεύειν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἀγίου*). That Paul here identifies the spirit as the 'holy spirit,' which parallels the expression *πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης*, should not be overlooked. Moreover, in 15:19 Paul describes his apostolic ministry to the Gentiles, through 'word and deed' (*λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ*), as 'by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the spirit of God' (*ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος [θεοῦ]*). When viewed with the thesis statement of the letter as a whole in the background, 'I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God that brings salvation...' (1:16), it is clear that Paul has expressed the idea of God's power as effecting salvation through the gospel, the gospel about Christ appointed *in power* as the son of God. It is Paul who proclaims this gospel through the power of the spirit effecting results from his words and deeds as apostle to the Gentiles. This interconnected web of terms that describe Paul's presentation of the gospel makes it clear that, in the same way we have observed in 1 and 2 Corinthians, Paul demonstrates a conceptual link between the spirit and power (cf. Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4-5; 12:10, 28, 29; 14:11; 15:43).

⁷¹ Cranfield sees it as an exegetical possibility that the spirit is the power which is responsible for the resurrection of Christ, but he shies from this interpretation with no accompanying reason, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 63-64. Wright tantalisingly states in a passing comment that 'As frequently elsewhere, Paul indicates that the resurrection was accomplished by the Holy Spirit,' *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 245. Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*, 98-113, is much more forthright and argues that Rom 1:3-4 demonstrates the spirit as the power of Christ's resurrection, which is given fuller presentation in Rom 8:9-11. I disagree with Hui when he argues, 'That the context and focus of Rom 1:3-4 is Christological, and not pastoral or soteriological...makes a reference to the Spirit as the resurrection power of Jesus rather unlikely,' 'The Concept of the Holy Spirit,' 83. Hui's appeal to such developed theological categories is not a strong approach to Paul.

⁷² The high number of occurrences of *πνεῦμα* in Rom 8 (21 times out of a total of 34 in the letter) demonstrate the prominence in Paul's reflection. For an excellent overview of Rom 8 with particular attention to the spirit's life-giving role, see Roger L. Hahn, 'Pneumatology in Romans 8: Its Historical and Theological Context,' *WTJ* 21:1-2 (1986): 74-90. More succinctly, see Verena Schafroth, 'Romans 8: The Chapter of the Spirit,' *JEPTA* 30:1 (2010): 80-90.

chapter: ‘through Christ Jesus the law of the spirit of life (πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς) has set you free from the law of sin and death.’⁷³ In this thesis statement, Paul establishes that the ‘spirit of life’ is the power that overcomes sin and death, and therefore the genitive πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς should be understood in the sense of ‘the spirit who gives life.’ Due to my focus on the resurrection of Christ, my discussion will be concentrated on 8:9-11 which explains how it is that Christ and the spirit have defeated the powers of sin and death. Vv. 9-11 personalises Paul’s discussion of vv. 5-8 (cf. ‘Υμεῖς)⁷⁴ where he contrasts the fundamentally opposed natures of living ‘according to the flesh’ (κατὰ σάρκα) which results in death, and living ‘according to the spirit’ (κατὰ πνεῦμα) which results in life and peace (ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη). Paul argues that the Romans are ‘in the spirit’ (ἐν πνεύματι) and not ‘in the flesh’ (ἐν σαρκί), therefore they will reap the benefits of life given by the spirit on the basis of the work of Christ. A visual glimpse of 8:9-11 will help to facilitate my argument:⁷⁵

	‘Υμεῖς δὲ ἐστὲ	οὐκ ἐν σαρκί	A	
		ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι		B
A	εἶπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν			
		B εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει	A`	
		οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ		
		B` εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν		B`
		C τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν		
		C` τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωὴ διὰ δικαιοσύνην		
A`	εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα		A	
	τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν			B
	οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν			C
	C` ὁ ἐγείρας	Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν		B`
	διὰ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ		A`	
	ζωοποιήσει καὶ			
	τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν			
		τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ὑμῖν		C`

⁷³ Οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς
ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς
ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
ἠλευθέρωσέν σε
ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου

⁷⁴ Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 177.

⁷⁵ Though verses 12-13 are not included in this diagram, 9-13 are composed of 6 first class conditional sentences that facilitate Paul’s argument. See Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 170-172.

I wish to focus on the relevance of v. 11 as it relates to the resurrection of Christ but it must be noted from the outset that my discussion presumes the authenticity of the genitive textual variant (διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος) which arguably makes the most contextual sense.⁷⁶ As the diagram illustrates, A, with C, occurs as the repetition, and expansion, of A, where Paul assumes that the spirit dwells within each of the Roman believers. A + C also develop C, where the *problem* of the mortality of the body through the power of sin is identified, and C, where the *solution* is identified as the spirit who gives life.⁷⁷ In this way vv. 9-11 develop the thesis statement of 8:2 that the spirit gives life. As I will now demonstrate in three successive points, these verses illustrate flexibility in Paul's language, a flexibility which will then provide the threefold basis for discerning the spirit's activity in the resurrection of Christ.

⁷⁶ Before we can begin detailed discussion on the spirit's creative role in these verses, the first step is to resolve a textual debate concerning v. 11 since there are two variant textual traditions attested. One tradition (⋈, A, C, 81, 104, 256, 263, 436, 1319, 1506) uses a genitive construction in the C clause, διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος, thus positing the expression 'through the spirit who dwells [in you].' Alternatively, a second textual tradition (B, D, F, G, Y, 6, 33, 424, 459) asserts a dative construction, διὰ τὸ ἐνοικοῦν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα, with the resulting expression 'because of the spirit who dwells [in you].' The difference between these two alternatives is that according to the genitive construction, the spirit is explicitly identified as the *agent* through whom God raises believers from the dead, whereas according to the dative construction, the spirit is the *basis* or *guarantee* upon which God raises the believers from the dead. Arguably, to identify the spirit as guarantee but to deny any instrumentality to the spirit's activity is too restrictive (Cf. Vos, 'The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit,' 101-102, 'The idea that the Spirit works instrumentally in the resurrection is thus plainly implied, altogether apart from the question whether the reading διὰ c. Gen. or διὰ c. Acc. be preferred in verse 11c'). Since the textual tradition is equally attested, the resolution must lie within the specific context of Paul's thought and the broader context of First Century Judaism. Fee argues in contrast that the resolution must lie with 'transcriptional probability,' where he admits that the genitive is the most natural case in relation to resurrection, particularly in light of 6:4 (διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς), and since transcriptional probability dictates that the more difficult text is the original, concludes that the dative must precede the genitive (Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 543, fn. 205). But this reasoning inverts the entire contextual argument because the genitive construction is so consistent with Paul's thought. This is seen in 8:2, 6, and 10 where the association between spirit and life plays a significant role in Paul's argument. Despite the absence of the verbs in both instances, Paul can identify the spirit as the active subject who *gives* life in 2 Cor 3:6 (τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ) which strengthens the genitive reading. Furthermore, Paul can posit the sense of agency in the resurrection of both Christ and all believers through God's power and glory. If indeed the spirit is identified as the glory and power of God, then this supports the view that the nature of the relation between the spirit and life is much more active than passive (1 Cor 6:14; 2 Cor 13:4; Rom 6:4) and once again support the genitive reading. Finally, Paul's background in Judaism should be given its due weight in its presentation of the spirit as 'the spirit of life,' a presentation which arguably goes beyond 'guarantor' to 'agent,' and an affirmation clearly reflected in Paul (i.e. Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, Part I, 19-84). Thus the context in Rom 8 presents the spirit as the giver of eschatological life, therefore the genitive construction, identifying the spirit as the agent through whom this life is given, is preferred. For those commentators who take the genitive reading, see Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 391-392; Turner, 'The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,' 64, 66; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 144; James M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God*, WUNT 2.48 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 256; Byrne, *Romans*, 234; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 471, fn. 12; Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 216; Jewett, *Romans*, 474-475. Cf. N. Thomas Wright, 'The Letter to the Romans: Introduction, Commentary and Reflections,' in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 10, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997), 585. For those commentators who take the dative reading see Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα,' 422; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 543, fn. 205, 808-811; and John A. Bertone, 'The Function Of The Spirit In The Dialectic Between God's Soteriological Plan Enacted But Not Yet Culminated: Romans 8.1-27,' *JPT* 15 (1999): 75-97 (here 93, fn. 54), though note that in his fuller study he does not make a decision between the genitive or dative, "The Law of the Spirit," 189-190.

⁷⁷ A/C itself is both a First Class Conditional statement containing a protasis (A) and apodosis (C), but also a smaller chiasm that reflects Paul's logical development.

1) In **A`** Paul has also repeated the short phrase ἐν ὑμῖν at **C/C`**, which has previously been cited in **A** and **B`**, thus identifying Paul's application of his theological reflections to the Roman believers. In **A** and **A`** it is the spirit who is the subject of the indwelling whereas in **B`** it is Christ. That Paul switches between the verbs οἰκέω and ἐνοικέω does not amount to any significant change in sense from ἐν ὑμῖν but does reflect flexibility in his language.

2) In **A`**, Paul has introduced, for the first time in the chapter, the resurrection of Christ from the dead (ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν... ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, **B/B`**) as an indispensable component in the believer's assurance of their own resurrection. Both **B** and **B`** also identify God as the subject who has raised Christ from the dead (τοῦ ἐγείραντος...ὁ ἐγείρας), which is in keeping with Paul's affirmation elsewhere in the letter (4:24; 6:4; 10:9). Paul commonly uses the verb ἐγείρω to describe the resurrection of Christ, as he has done frequently so far in the letter (4:24, 25; 6:4, 9; 7:4) and will further do in 8:34; 10:9 (cf. 13:11).⁷⁸ But he can also denote the resurrection of Christ through the noun ἀνάστασις, as he has done in 1:4 and 6:5. That ἀνάστασις in 6:5 sits between ἐγείρω in 6:4 and 6:9 demonstrates that these terms synonymously refer to Christ's resurrection and that there does not appear to be any significant shift in sense. Moreover, the repetition of ἐκ νεκρῶν with both the verb (in 4:24; 6:4, 9; 7:4; 10:9) and the noun (in 1:4) confirm that the identical phenomenon is in view.

3) In **A** and **A`**, Paul identifies the spirit as the agent through whom God will also give life to believers through their resurrection (cf. 1 Cor 15:22, 36, 45; 2 Cor 3:6). This resurrection is assured because of Christ's own resurrection.⁷⁹ Paul appears to go to great lengths to keep the spirit at the centre of not only the protasis (**A`**) but also the apodosis (**C`**), so as to appeal to the Romans' experience in order to legitimise his argument. Through a conditional statement Paul states positively that the spirit dwells in the believer (**A/C**), but qualifies his reference to the spirit by identifying the spirit as 'the spirit of [the one]...' (τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ, **A/B**). What is important about this subtle qualification is that the spirit is the subject of **A`** since Paul wishes to emphasise the reality of the spirit's dwelling within the believer (τὸ πνεῦμα...οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν), but the spirit remains in focus throughout **C`** regardless of the fact that God is the subject of the clause (ὁ ἐγείρας). Paul emphasises twice that it is the spirit who dwells in the believer, despite having already established this in **A**, and in **B`** with reference to Christ, and this importantly signals that the spirit indwelling the believer is the anchor from which Paul's argument sways to and fro. This point becomes significant because it explains why Paul's descriptions of the spirit and the spirit's activity are framed as they

⁷⁸ Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 213.

⁷⁹ So Part Two of Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*.

are.⁸⁰ Moreover, not only does Paul wish to highlight the spirit's indwelling of the believer, in A` Paul's agenda is to form the basis for why C` is in fact true. So he must also affirm that *since* God has raised Christ from the dead, *so too* will he raise all believers. So we have two converging interests of Paul: a) to emphasise the spirit's presence in the believer, and b) to posit the resurrection of Christ as the assurance of the Romans' resurrection.⁸¹ We can schematise this as follows:

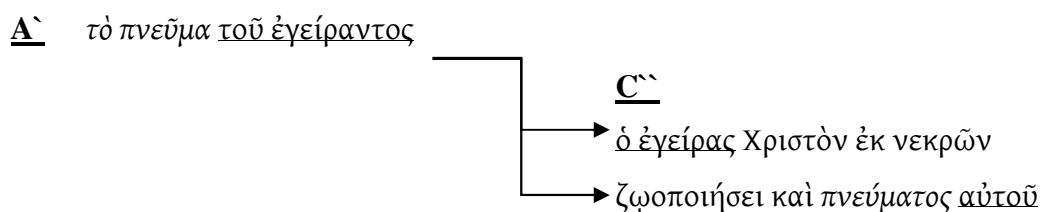
Christ's resurrection:

τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος → τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν [οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν]

Believers' Resurrection:

ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν → διὰ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ → ζωοποιήσει καὶ
τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν
[τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ὑμῖν]

What we must note about this scheme is Paul's two-fold agenda which is reflected in the subtle shift in Paul's language to describe the spirit, for the reference to the spirit in A` clearly functions as a summary of C`, which is further heightened by the A-B/A` chiasm. Paul in fact divides his reference to the spirit of God (τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος) so that his subsequent formulation is separated into 'God – the one who raised Jesus from the dead' and 'his spirit who gives life':



Just as Paul can use the flexible language of ἐν ὑμῖν, οἰκέω, and ἐνοικέω to denote the spirit's indwelling, and also use the language of ἐγείρω and ἀνάστασις to denote the resurrection of Christ, so too can Paul use the expressions τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος, διὰ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, and πνεῦμα θεοῦ to denote the agency of the spirit.

⁸⁰ This can be supported from a comparison of A` and C`, where it is clear that Paul has expanded his reference to the work of the spirit more than the other subjects (God, Christ, and believers), in keeping with the focus of chapter 8 as a whole.

⁸¹ This accounts for why Paul's reference to the spirit in vv. 9-11 as πνεῦμα θεοῦ, πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, πνεῦμα ζωῆ, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος and πνεύματος αὐτοῦ is the way it is, always qualified in reference to God or Christ, except in one instance (πνεῦμα ζωῆ). Though Paul may grammatically give priority to various subjects, as God in C`, this does not capture the complexity of Paul's interests.

I will now offer three arguments as to why in vv. 9-11 Paul's language is be understood as connoting the spirit as the agent in Christ's resurrection.⁸²

Firstly, as I have outlined, Paul's language is fluid and determined by his attempt to identify both the activity of God and Christ whilst giving priority to the reality of the spirit within believers which serves as the crux of his argument. Since Paul's language is fluid, it is arguable that the expression τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ [ἐγγείραντος] overlaps conceptually in Paul's thinking with the πνεῦμα θεοῦ.⁸³ That this is possible is confirmed by contrasting **A** and **A'** in Paul's larger chiasm of vv. 9-11. Paul asserts that the Romans are in fact ἐν πνεύματι and therefore the πνεῦμα θεοῦ dwells within them, an assertion that is developed in relation *to Christ* negatively in **B** then positively in **B'**. Paul returns in **A'** to restate the reality of the spirit dwelling in believers, but like **A**, re-focuses on the relation between the spirit *and God*, and due to the flow of his rhetoric, develops this relation in more detail. Thus τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ [ἐγγείραντος] began as a restatement, then an expansion, of the previous reference to the πνεῦμα θεοῦ, in this case, moving the argument towards the activity of God in raising Christ from the dead. Furthermore, Paul's final reference to the spirit in vv. 9-11 also identifies the spirit as God's spirit (πνεύματος αὐτοῦ),⁸⁴ since Paul deliberately links the spirit's agency to God in giving life to believers through their resurrection. These are all alternative expressions to denote the spirit's agency in relation to the activity of God.

Secondly, **A'** makes the assertion that God has raised Christ from the dead and **C''** is Paul's application to the Romans that since God has indeed raised Christ from the dead, he will also raise them too. Since the spirit is explicitly identified as the means by which God will raise believers from the dead (**A'**), and since God is the subject who has raised Christ from the dead (both **B** and **B'**), and since the expressions 'the spirit of God,' 'his spirit' and 'the spirit of the one who raised Christ' and 'the spirit of Christ' all denote the indwelling spirit in the believer, then this is reason enough to understand that the reason why Paul can state that the spirit will raise all believers from the dead is due to the fact that the spirit has done precisely that for Christ. As Dunn notes, it would have been simpler and clearer for Paul to say 'If the spirit that dwells in you gave life to Jesus he will also give life to you.'⁸⁵ But the problem with this re-phrasing is that it excludes God's activity in raising Christ from the dead,

⁸² My conclusions follow similarly to Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 243-156. The reason for many commentators' denial of this fact is that Paul's grammar does not make the statement explicit. But we must ascertain why Paul phrased his argument as he did, and then ask whether the absence of any explicit reference to the spirit's agency in Christ's resurrection equates to a denial or simply the consequence of the way his language is framed.

⁸³ Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 212.

⁸⁴ Pace Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 218, who presumes the reference is to Christ (i.e. Christ's spirit), but this interpretation does not take into account that in 8:11 Paul wishes to view the spirit's work in relation to God.

⁸⁵ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 433.

for A` and C` is Paul's discussion on the creative activity of the spirit *in relation to God*, where the spirit is subject in A` and God is subject in C`.⁸⁶ We must remember that the reason why Paul's language is how it is, particularly τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ [ἐγείραντος] where Paul does not explicitly state that the spirit raised Jesus from the dead, is that Paul wishes to anchor the discussion in the believer's experience of the indwelling spirit while still retaining reference to God's oversight as sovereign ruler and creator. In his flowing rhetoric his grammar is laden heavy and defaults to a description of God as the subject who raises Christ from the dead (on two occasions), while also stating that the spirit in fact dwells in believers (on three occasions), so as to form the foundation for affirming the assurance of the future resurrection by the spirit. Paul could only express in this *one* succinct statement the governance of God in Christ's resurrection *as well as* the spirit's indwelling of the believer – which in light of the apodosis, is where his focus lies. To add the governance of God in Christ's resurrection, fulfilled through the agency of the spirit who also dwells within the believer, would be to laden the C` too heavily and to detract from Paul's larger immediate concern – the resurrection of all believers by the spirit.

Thirdly, the argument can be made that since Paul did not *a priori* identify the spirit in Christ's resurrection in A`, he intended to recover this ground in C`. This can be confirmed through two arguments: a) the explicit reference to the spirit as the agent in the believers' resurrection, which is guaranteed on the basis of God's activity in raising Christ from the dead, and b) the intensification of καὶ connects A` and C` together and therefore must include all that precedes and follows.⁸⁷ The use of καί here must not be understood in the presumptive connective sense ('and') but as an intensification ('also'),⁸⁸ thus Paul states that since God has raised Christ from the dead, he will *also* give life to the believers' mortal bodies through the spirit who dwells in them (ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ὑμῖν). This use of καί makes the most retrospective sense if in Paul's mind the spirit has done the same to Christ for the logical intensification of καί emphasises the parallel structures between Christ's resurrection from the dead and the resurrection of believers' mortal bodies. That Paul so closely identifies the spirit with life (8:2, 6, 10) justifies that he has intentionally connected tightly together the complete statement 'God will *also give life* to your mortal bodies *through his spirit*,' such that there can be no separation in the phrase whereby the agency of the spirit is denied in the resurrection of Christ.

⁸⁶ The same criticism holds for the view that Paul could have simply said 'If the spirit of God who raised Christ from the dead dwells in you...' This again makes God too distant in Paul's construction.

⁸⁷ Jewett asserts, 'The omission of καί ("and, also") in \aleph , A 326 630 1739 1881 *pc* Epiph^{pl} appears to reflect an authoritative Alexandrian effort to smooth out the text. There is more weight for the inclusion of καί,' *Romans*, 475.

⁸⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 432.

Accumulatively, these arguments make it likely that even though Paul did not *explicitly* identify the spirit as raising Jesus from the dead in 8:11a (A`), because of the tension between his flexible language and the constraints of his rhetoric, such a position can be posited as probable.⁸⁹ So, a) God has raised Christ from the dead, b) God will also raise believers by his spirit, thus c) God has raised Christ from the dead through his spirit. Beyond 8:9-11, this reading can be demonstrated to be correct on the basis that Paul has indeed made this claim in 1:3-4. The repetition of the key terms found in 1:3-4 in chapter 8, notably κατὰ πνεῦμα, make the point that such a view of the spirit's creative activity is not beyond that of Paul himself, particularly when the specific terms that are repeated are those that concern the resurrection of Christ.⁹⁰ Finally, we may point to the significance of Rom 6:4 where Paul states that 'Christ was raised from the dead through the *glory* of the Father' (ἵνα ὡσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς). Paul is explicitly denoting agency in the resurrection of Christ that is differentiated from the singular activity of God (a point that can be applied to 1 Cor 6:14 and 2 Cor 13:4) and therefore there is good reason to understand Paul as denoting the activity of the spirit here, in much the same way that 'power' can denote the spirit at work.⁹¹ In sum, Rom 1:3-4 and 8:9-11 demonstrate that the spirit is once again identified by Paul as the active agent of God in the resurrection of Christ.

2.2.4 Summary

The previous analyses of 1 Cor 15:45, Rom 1:3-4 and Rom 8:9-11, have demonstrated that the spirit is arguably an agent in the resurrection of Christ. More specifically, though Paul can identify God as the source of Christ's resurrection from the dead, he views the spirit as the

⁸⁹ Brodeur simply assumes without argument that Paul's statement 'the spirit of the one who raised Jesus from the dead' denotes the spirit's agency in the resurrection of Christ. Yet Brodeur appears to rely more on theological and philosophical categories reflective of later Christian traditions to support this statement, rather than addressing explicitly the question of why Paul's phrasing is the way it is. Further, his argument would have been better supported through a sustained exegetical analysis of Rom 1:4, which he ignores, see *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 264-266. Jewett views the spirit as raising Christ from the dead, but like Brodeur, does not offer any argumentation in support of this point, *Romans*, 479, 492-493. Concerning Rom 8:9-11 Vos, 'The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit,' 101 states, 'It is presupposed by the apostle, though not expressed, that God raised Jesus through the Spirit. Hence the argument from the analogy between Jesus and the believer is further strengthened by the consideration that the instrument through which God accomplished this in Jesus is already present in the readers.' So too Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 256, 'the one who accomplishes the resurrection, both of Jesus and of believers, is the living God himself, as Paul regularly insists; but the means by which he will accomplish it is the Spirit.' Yet none of these scholars gives any *detailed exegetical comments* to ground their conclusions.

⁹⁰ Note the repetition of κατὰ σάρκα, κατὰ πνεῦμα, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν which is equivalent to ὁ ἐγεῖρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, and the use of Jesus' full title Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

⁹¹ Vos, 'The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit,' 107-108; Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*, 68-70. Peter Stuhlmacher, though not explicitly identifying the spirit with power and glory, nevertheless, groups them in close association: 'just as Christ was raised by the power of the glory of God, so too God's Spirit is at work towards and in those who believe,' *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Commentary* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 122.

means by which God has given new life to Christ. This conclusion was supported through the relevant evidence of 1 Cor 6:14, 2 Cor 13:4 and Rom 6:4 which denotes agency in Christ's resurrection, and supports the claim that in Paul's worldview the spirit is indeed operating as creator, functioning as the life-giving source of the new creation who has formed Christ as a spiritual body upon his resurrection.⁹² Through the spirit, Christ has become the firstfruits of the new creation. In this way the resurrection of Christ provides the unequivocal confirmation for Paul that the new creation had indeed arrived in the present and set in motion the kingdom of God, and therefore the spirit's activity stands at the heart of Paul's perspective of God as creator. While Paul's affirmation of God's creative activity in resurrection is not in itself a novel expression in Judaism, *how* Paul understands God to have acted through Christ and through the spirit is indeed a significant development from his Jewish tradition.

3. The Spirit as Ruler

I have demonstrated that in Paul's thought the spirit was the agent who raised Christ from the dead, an activity that identifies the spirit with the creative activity of God. This forms the first characteristic of the framework of Creational Monotheism. The task ahead is to demonstrate the second characteristic, that the spirit is also identified with the ruling and sovereign activity of God. This will be demonstrated through an investigation into Paul's language which deliberately identifies the spirit as 'lord' in the conversion of believers, and the function of the spirit as ruler in the ongoing charismatic experiences of the Pauline communities.

⁹² Cf. Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*, 62-66, 'While Paul nowhere says explicitly that Jesus was raised by the Spirit, this is his clear presupposition,' 66; Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 162, 'In 1 Corinthians 15:45 and Romans 8:9-11 the life-giving spirit is directly linked to the resurrection of Christ.' Paul presents the view of the spirit as not simply the guarantee of resurrection but the active agent evident in the resurrection of Christ. Fee's argument that the spirit is simply the guarantee of resurrection presents two idiosyncrasies. 1) Mechanistically, the presence of the spirit as simply guarantee of resurrection creates an ambiguous conception of the identity of the spirit. Fee denies that the spirit is the agent in Christ's resurrection and also the resurrection of believers, yet describes the spirit as 'the one who as the source of present life...guarantees the giving of life to the "dead body,"' *God's Empowering Presence*, 553. This does not clarify how it is that the spirit is the 'spirit of life' and the spirit of God, while simultaneously claiming it is only God who raises the dead. Fee strives tirelessly to affirm the spirit's 'personhood' through the spirit's distinct activities, yet he shies away from giving the spirit a decisive role in the resurrection. 2) Fee also does not give due weight to Paul's Jewish background. Fee can recognise that in Ezekiel 37:1-14 the "'dry bones" of Israel are not raised to life, but are *given life through the Spirit* that is breathed into them' (*God's Empowering Presence*, 552, fn. 230, emphasis mine), yet he cannot conceive of this tradition as playing a role in Paul's informing thought.

3.1 Conversion and the Spirit

A survey of Paul's letters reveals the centrality of the spirit in the conversion experience of both Jew and Gentile believers as a consequence of Paul's apostolic mission.⁹³ Indeed, receiving the spirit is synonymous with conversion into the church of God and so the spirit is undoubtedly indispensable to the beginning of Christian life.⁹⁴ This, I argue, is determinative for understanding the function of the spirit as ruler in Christian experience.⁹⁵ What makes this identification so crucial is that this relation between the reception of the spirit and conversion into the people of God is not evident in Hebrew religion or in Judaism and is distinctly characteristic of Christian faith.⁹⁶ The significance of the spirit in the conversion of both Jew and Gentiles, lies in the recognition of the spirit as given from God (1 Thess 4:8), the key power who generates faith in the universal confession of God as father (Gal 3:14; 4:6), and inspires the confession of the lordship of Christ (1 Cor 12:3). In what follows, I shall examine the role of the spirit in Paul's understanding of conversion to demonstrate the function of the spirit as lord from the beginning of Christian experience.

3.1.1 2 Cor 3:16-18: The Lord is the Spirit

My investigation begins with the important passage of 2 Cor 3:7-18. Despite the interpretive difficulties, I aim to argue that one of the most significant ways in which Paul is seen to identify the spirit as ruler is by his designation of the spirit in 2 Cor 3:16-18 as the 'lord' to whom believers turn in conversion. It is commonly acknowledged that the Septuagint preferred the term κύριος to translate 'YHWH' (יהוה) from the Hebrew Scriptures, a preference that has influenced Paul's own κύριος language. An essential aspect to Paul's own reflection on Christ is his description of Christ as κύριος, though Paul can adopt κύριος language to denote God.⁹⁷ It will be argued that 2 Cor 3:16-18 provides an exception because Paul deliberately correlates πνεῦμα with κύριος both in identity and in function. My interest lies in what such a correlation determines for Paul's perspective on the spirit as ruler in the conversion experience of his converts.

⁹³ On Paul and the Pauline communities' focus on mission activity, see John P. Dickson, *Mission-Commitment in Ancient Judaism and in the Pauline Communities*, WUNT 2.159 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

⁹⁴ This is demonstrated admirably by Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 103-151.

⁹⁵ On the spirit and conversion in Paul, see Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 853-864; "Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit."

⁹⁶ Turner, 'The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,' 56, 65ff.

⁹⁷ See Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 20-25, 631-638; *BDAG*, 576-579.

2 Cor 3:7-18 exists as a self-contained unit⁹⁸ which makes the argument that the new covenant, of which Paul is a minister, is superior in glory to that of the old covenant, thereby legitimising Paul himself as a competent minister in view of criticisms by his opponents whom, it is presumed, resonate with the Mosaic covenant.⁹⁹ Two criticisms against Paul appear in his argument – 1) that he does not possess letters of recommendation to legitimate his ministry, 2) his style of ministry is inferior to his opponents’ expectations (3:1-6). Paul’s response to both criticisms includes an appeal to the Corinthians’ own experience of the spirit. He does not need any letters of recommendation since the Corinthians themselves, who have received the spirit from God (1:21-22), are ‘a letter from Christ, the result of our ministry, written not with ink but with the spirit of the living God’ (3:3). Paul can be confident of his competency as a ‘minister of the new covenant’ (διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης, 3:6) not only in view of the Corinthians coming to faith (3:1-3) but because of the reality of the spirit who gives life (3:6), the very sign that the new covenant had begun (Jer 31:33; Ezek 36:26).¹⁰⁰ The new covenant is described by Paul as the ‘ministry of the spirit’ (ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος, 3:8)¹⁰¹ which possesses greater glory than the old covenant (παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, 3:14), therefore he is ‘bold’ in his ministry (παρρησία, 3:12).¹⁰² Since the Corinthians have

⁹⁸ 2 Cor 3:7-18 functions as an inclusio within the argument of 3:1-6 which is continued at 4:1ff, and falls into two parts: vv. 7-11, which concern Paul’s interpretation and application of Exod 34:29-30; and vv. 12-18, which concern Paul’s interpretation and application of Exod 34:33-35. Concerning the structure of 3:12-18 specifically, I prefer Harris’ approach, because it adequately accounts for Paul’s engagement with the Exodus narrative yet also clearly differentiates between the text and Paul’s own commentary: 12 - thematic statement; 13 - OT text: Exod 34:33b, 35; 14-15 - commentary; 16 - OT text: Exod 34:34a; 17-18 - commentary. See Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 276, 294.

⁹⁹ See David E. Garland, ‘The Sufficiency of Paul, Minister of the New Covenant,’ *CTR* 4:1 (1989): 21-37; Duane A. Garrett, ‘Veiled Hearts: The Translation and Interpretation of 2 Corinthians 3,’ *JETS* 53:4 (2010): 729-772. Scholars are divided as to whether 2 Cor 3:7-18 is polemical or apologetic in nature in view of Paul’s opponents who demonstrated Jewish influence. See the brief summary in Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 278. Paul B. Duff goes so far to argue that in 2 Cor 3:6-18 Paul does not engage in a polemic against Judaism but rather argues against those who are uncircumcised, yet his argument ignores the crucial point that 2 Cor 3:6-18 is focused upon those *within* the two covenants – old and new – rather than those without, ‘Glory in the Ministry of Death: Gentile Condemnation and Letters of Recommendation in 2 Cor 3:6-18,’ *Novum Testamentum* XLVI 4 (2004): 313-337. It seems clear to my reading that Paul’s intent is to both defend himself against the accusations of his opponents, and to build credibility with his Corinthian converts through offering a theological argument that legitimates himself as a minister of the new covenant. Cf. Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 179, fn. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Paul’s reference to ‘letters of recommendation’ surely accounts for Paul’s reference to the Mosaic Law as the ‘letter,’ that stands in contrast to the spirit. For a broad study that contextually situates Paul’s concepts of spirit and letter, see Arthur J. Dewey, *Spirit and Letter in Paul*, SBEC 33 (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996). Also Ernst Käsemann, ‘The Spirit and the Letter,’ in his *Perspectives on Paul*, NTL (London: SCM Press, 1971), 138-166. On the function of Ezek 36-37 in Paul’s thought here, particularly as it is extended to his view of the new creation in 2 Cor 3-5, see Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 106-124.

¹⁰¹ Thrall is most likely correct when understanding Paul’s genitive expression ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος as “shorthand for ‘the agency which mediates a covenant characterised by the Spirit,’” Margaret E. Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, ICC (London/New York: T&T Clark, 1994), 244, fn. 370.

¹⁰² For the sense of παρρησία and its function in Paul’s argument, see the discussion in Willem C. Van Unnik, “‘With Unveiled Face’: An Exegesis of 2 Corinthians 3:12-18,” *Novum Testamentum* 6:2-3 (1963): 153-169; Wright, ‘Reflected Glory: 2 Corinthians 3:18,’ in his *Climax of the Covenant*, 180-189.

experienced the spirit as a result of Paul's ministry, they can have confidence that Paul's ministry is superior, an assertion that voids the need for letters of recommendation and which validates Paul over his opponents.¹⁰³

The threads of Paul's argument are tied together in 3:7-18, which provides a defence against both criticisms, and it should be emphasised that Paul concludes his argument by focusing upon the experience of the spirit as the legitimating reality both of his ministry and the new covenant (3:16-18).¹⁰⁴ Since the new covenant is characterised by spirit, life, righteousness and glory, the new covenant is clearly superior to the old covenant.¹⁰⁵ Paul needs to defend such a view of the superiority of the new covenant over the old in order to support his boldness as a minister (3:12). Paul does so by utilising a loose midrashic interpretation of Exod 34:28-35 which parallels Moses and the Israelites, a parallel that Paul applies to himself and all believers. The text narrates Moses' encounter with YHWH in the tent of meeting that would result in the glory of YHWH shining too brightly on face that Moses needed to place a veil over his face when he returned to the Israelites. Paul compares himself with Moses (since Moses is the pre-eminent minister of the old covenant), yet he argues that he and his new covenant ministers are not like Moses. The point of difference is Moses' need to veil his face 'to prevent the Israelites from seeing the end of what was passing away' (3:13). The Israelites are compared with Paul's Jewish contemporaries whom are still under the old covenant and therefore a veil covers their hearts. Only in Christ is the veil removed (3:14-15). The key event that signals the exit from the old covenant and entry to the

¹⁰³ So Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 'Paul argues once more that they [the Corinthians] are the living proof of the effectiveness, and therefore of the integrity and veracity, of his apostleship. As above in 1:21-22, the key to this argument is the Spirit, evidenced in the first instance by the Corinthians' own reception of the Spirit,' 299.

¹⁰⁴ For a broad summary of the spirit in relation to Paul's polemic in the letter, see Linda L. Belleville, 'Paul's Polemic and Theology of the Spirit in Second Corinthians,' *CBQ* 58: (1996): 281-304. On 2 Cor 3:7-18 more specifically, Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 172-296.

¹⁰⁵ In 3:7-12 Paul asserts a series of contrasts between the old and new covenants, which is structured through a lesser to greater/*Qal Wahomer/ad minori ad maius* form of argument (Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 239-240) that revolves around the concept of glory: if the old covenant was characterised by glory, yet brought death, condemnation and is transitory, how much more glorious is the new covenant that brings life, righteousness and permanence. Paul asks three sets of rhetorical questions (vv. 7-8; 2: 9-10; 3:11), signalled by the $\text{Ei} + \pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \text{ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον/πολλῶ μᾶλλον}$ construction: if + how much more (See Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 180-188; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 279-280; 281-292). I understand Paul as identifying the old covenant as temporary, and therefore facing an end. Therefore it makes best sense to interpret $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in 2 Cor 3:13 in the sense of 'end' rather than 'aim' or 'goal.' This better understands the verb $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (3:7, 11, 13, 14) as denoting the sense of being abolished rather than simply 'fading'. So too Victor P. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, AB 32A (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 207; Colin Kruse, *2 Corinthians*, TNTC (Leicester: InterVarsity Press/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 97, fn. 2; Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 200-202; Ben Witherington III, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1995), 381; Jan Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), 52; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 297-300. For discussion see Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 347-362, though he opts for 'goal' over 'end,' also Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 256-259.

new covenant is the experience of turning to the ‘lord’ (κύριος) whereby the veil has been taken away and the glory of the lord is seen (3:16-18).

There is debate concerning the identity of the κύριος that Paul references in 3:16-18, whether Paul denotes God (YHWH), Christ or the spirit.¹⁰⁶ A reading of 3:16-18 quickly illustrates the complexity of the discussion:

But whenever anyone turns to the lord, the veil is taken away. Now the lord is the spirit, and where the spirit of the lord is, there is freedom. And we all, who with unveiled faces contemplate the glory of the lord, are being transformed into his image with ever-increasing glory, which comes from the lord of the spirit.¹⁰⁷

For my purposes, the most viable method of offering a consistent interpretation of κύριος would be to engage with the first occurrence of κύριος and then to proceed forward from that point.¹⁰⁸ This would place 3:16 as the place to begin. The first interpretative challenge is the decision as to whether Paul is citing, in modified form, Exod 34:34 (LXX), so as to demonstrate a Jewish style of midrash, or whether he has incorporated the language of the Exodus verse into his own original composition without intending to make a deliberate, albeit modified, citation.¹⁰⁹ The resolution is found in Paul’s lack of specification of the

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 38ff; Dunn, ‘2 Corinthians 3:17 – “The Lord is the Spirit,”’; Wong, ‘The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a).’; Garrett, ‘Veiled Hearts,’ 760-761.

¹⁰⁷ ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα. ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν· οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐλευθερία. ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένω προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος.

¹⁰⁸ My reading follows a similar logic to that of Lambrecht, who, instead of understanding κύριος as a consistent reference to the spirit, applies Paul’s terminology to Christ, Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 54-56.

¹⁰⁹ The differences between the Exodus passage in the Septuagint, and Paul’s own statement are fivefold: 1) Paul has removed Moses as the subject of the verse, instead leaving the subject ambiguous (ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν), 2) The verb εἰσπορεύετο (‘used to go into’) has been replaced with ἐπιστρέψῃ (‘turn to’) in order to relate to the present experience of those who turn to the ‘lord,’ 3) the verb περιηρέιτο (‘he used to remove’) has been changed to περιαιρεῖται (‘the veil is being removed’) in view of the subject of Paul’s sentence being ambiguous, 4) the purpose clause contained in the Septuagint, λαλεῖν αὐτῷ (‘to speak with him’) has been removed, so as to leave the purpose simply that of the removal of the veil (Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 310-311, *idem*, *Pauline Christology*, 177-178). 5) Paul has changed the prepositional phrase from ἐναντι κυρίου to πρὸς κύριον. On these points, see Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 268, fn. 549. Such changes are considered by one strand in scholarship to provide the justification in viewing Paul as simply making use of a well-known tradition without a deliberate intent to cite Exod 34:34. This is the view of Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 38-66; Wong, ‘The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a).’; Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 295-302. Conversely, there exist those exegetes who view the differences as related to Paul’s application of Exod 34:34, with such changes being evidence of his modification so as to contextualise the passage in his contemporary situation. The case against accepting a citation recognises Paul’s inexact quotation of Exod 34:34, so the way to resolve whether 2 Cor 3:16 should be considered a deliberate citation or simply Paul’s original composition is to resolve the most notable change – the deliberate ambiguity of the subject. If Paul had simply made an original statement, then it would have better served his argument had he been more specific in identifying the subject of the verse, whether it be Moses (presumed as the subject from 3:15), or a more generalised reference to anyone open for wider interpretation, e.g. by including τις (Wright, ‘Reflected Glory: 2 Corinthians 3:18,’ 183 and Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 270). If Paul was deliberately quoting Exod 34:34 in the LXX, yet wished to apply the experience to his contemporary context, then the

subject, which opens wide Exod 34:34 to incorporate its original context and its application,¹¹⁰ and in Paul's deliberately use of the term ἐπιστρέψῃ to connote the experience of conversion, to connect the narrative with the Corinthians' own experience of 'turning to the lord.'¹¹¹ This reasoning understands 2 Cor 3:16 to be a loose Christian Midrash of Exod 34:34 which adequately understands the flexible nature of Paul's language.¹¹²

ambiguity reveals his intent to show that Moses' turning to the 'lord' is in fact the same experience of contemporary believers.

¹¹⁰ It is debated whether Paul applies the experience to contemporary Jews or believers. Paul's application is to specify that *anyone*, regardless of ethnicity, can turn to the 'lord.' That Paul wishes to include all Christians, that is, Jewish Christians and converted Gentiles, is clear since they all possess unveiled faces and therefore their hearts are unhardened (Wright, 'Reflected Glory: 2 Corinthians 3:18,' 183; David E. Garland, *2 Corinthians*, NAC 29 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Pub, 1999), 195). Therefore Paul's point is lost if the subject is restricted to the Jews only. Cf. the shift in Paul's language from the plural reference to the Israelites (cf. 3:7, 13), including the use of plural nouns, to the ambiguity of the Exod 34:34 citation where Paul opens the application to a much broader scope, which is then explicitly clarified in 3:18 to all believers (ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες) [With Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 234; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 271; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 195-196; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 307-308; Pace Dunn, '2 Corinthians 3:17 – "The Lord is the Spirit,"' 119, fn. 13: 'Paul deliberately does not specify the subject of ἐπιστρέψῃ so that its ambiguity might embrace both Moses and the Jews'; Dumbrell, 'Paul's Use of Exodus 34 in 2 Corinthians 3,' 179-194; Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 248-250; Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 389]. Furthermore, Barnett is incorrect to argue that Paul does not have Moses in view as one who 'turns to the Lord,' arguing that 'the Exodus passage does not say Moses "turned" to the Lord, but only that he "entered the Lord's presence"' (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 198). Yet such an argument 1) undercuts Paul's use of Exod 34:34 as a Christian Midrash, which presupposes Moses' own experience of meeting with Yahweh, and 2) misunderstands Paul's deliberate attempt to identify Moses' experience of the presence of God with that of a believer and God's spirit (see below). Furnish is therefore surely correct to argue that 'the fact that the subject is left unexpressed is probably a clue that Paul wishes to broaden the reference to include more than just Moses,' (*II Corinthians*, 211). Furthermore, in view of the fact that apart from 2 Cor 3:15-16, ἡνίκα does not appear in any other Pauline letter, nor in the NT as a whole (Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 388). The fact that both the combination of περιαιρέω and κάλυμμα only occurs in Exod 34:34 (LXX) and in 2 Cor 3:16, confirms the probability that Paul is citing Exod 34:34 (Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 306).

¹¹¹ So Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 211; Wright, 'Reflected Glory: 2 Corinthians 3:18,' 183, fn. 33; Wong, 'The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a),' 53-59; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 273; Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 390-396; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 199; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 54; Frank J. Matera, *II Corinthians: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 95; Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 177; pace David A. Renwick, *Paul, the Temple, and the Presence of God*, Brown Judaic Studies 224 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 152-154. For the view that Paul denotes his own conversion experience in 2 Cor 3:7-18, see Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 182-193. On Paul's exegesis in 2 Cor 3:7-18 as reflective of his own experience, see Wan, 'Charismatic Exegesis,' 71-79.

¹¹² Garrett, 'Veiled Hearts' describes 3:16 as 'a Targum-like paraphrase of Exod 34:34a,' (759). Pace Wong, 'The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a),' 53; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 295-302. The precise method of Paul's application is disputed within scholarship. For those scholars who view Paul as creating a 'Christian Midrash' or 'Peshet' see e.g. Van Unnik, "'With Unveiled Face": An Exegesis of 2 Corinthians 3:12-18,' 165; Dunn, '2 Corinthians 3:17 – "The Lord is the Spirit,"' 117-122; David Greenwood, 'The Lord is the Spirit: Some Reflections on 2 Cor 3:17,' *CBQ* 34:4 (1972): 469; Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 122-123; Anthony T. Hanson, 'The Midrash in 2 Corinthians 3: A Reconsideration,' *JSNT* 9 (1980): 2-28; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'Glory Reflected on the Face (2 Cor 3:7-4:6) and a Palestinian Jewish Motif,' *Journal of Theological Studies* 42:4 (1981): 630-644; Jan Lambrecht, 'Structure and Line of Thought in 2 Cor 2:14-4:6,' *Biblica* 64:3 (1983): 344-380; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 60; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 309-314, who argues that 2 Cor 3:16 is a 'transformed citation,' but in *Pauline Christology* mentions in passing that Paul follows a 'rabbinic interpretive strategy,' 178; Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 179-191, cf. 263-266 (also previously, 'Tradition or Creation? Paul's use of the Exodus 34 Tradition in 2 Corinthians 3:7-18,' in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, JSNTSupS 83, eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 165-186); Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 178, cf. fn. 371. For those commentators who deny any Midrash technique in favour of a simple exegetical citation, see Dumbrell, 'Paul's Use of Exodus 34 in 2

If it is argued that 2 Cor 3:16 is a deliberately modified citation of Exod 34:34, then it follows that the ‘lord’ to whom Paul refers must be understood to denote YHWH, and not, as many commentators argue, Christ. The Exod 34:34 text thus functions as the scriptural *basis* for the *application* in 3:17-18.¹¹³ This reading makes better sense with regard to 2 Cor 3:17a for it helps to explain Paul’s statement, ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν. Not understanding 3:16 as a modification of Exod 34:34 has led many exegetes to argue that Paul is making an identification between Christ – presumed to be κύριος – and the spirit, yet if Paul has cited Exod 34:34 in 3:16, then it follows that 3:17a functions to clarify who the κύριος is in present Christian experience.¹¹⁴ This reading understands δέ in 3:17 to function in an introductory sense, and the anaphoric article ὁ explains the κύριος of 3:16 as it relates to the context of the Corinthians: ‘now the “lord” towards whom Moses turned in his present experience is the spirit.’¹¹⁵ This interpretation understands the occurrence of κύριος in 3:17a to function in an explanatory manner, pointing back to YHWH in the modified Exod 34:34 citation in 3:16, rather than denoting Christ.¹¹⁶ The parallel between κύριος and πνεῦμα identifies the spirit as

Corinthians 3,’ 179-194, who appears to have more problems with the midrash technique itself rather than Paul’s argument specifically; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, who does not settle the issue but appears to view Paul’s use of Exod as a citation. Pace Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 132, who is followed by Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 277.

¹¹³ I follow Harris’ approach of understanding 3:16 as Paul’s citation of the OT text (Exod 34:34a) and 17-18 his commentary on that verse. See Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 294. Barnett (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 198-199) argues that the ‘lord’ in 3:16 must refer to Christ since Paul has stated in 3:14 that only in Christ is the veil taken away. It is difficult to justify such an argument when Paul has used Exod 34:34 in 2 Cor 3:16 as the basis for his application in 3:17-18, despite the difficulty of determining just how much Paul has ‘modified’ the citation. Misunderstanding the deliberate *application* of Exod 34:34 in 3:17-18, thus leaving 3:16 as the scriptural *basis* for present Christian experience, results in reading too much of the application back into the original text (Barnett appears to make this error based upon his denial of Moses as subject at all in 3:16). So also Charles K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, BNTC (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1973), 122; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 54-55. That Paul denotes Yahweh by κύριος in 3:16 is evident because of 1) the structure of Paul’s thought; 2) the context of the Exod 34:34 citation. In support of reading κύριος as YHWH, see Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 211-212; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 70-71; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 271-273; Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 254-255; Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 195.

¹¹⁴ For a clear summary of these alternative positions, see Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 278-282.

¹¹⁵ So too Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 122-123; Van Unnik, “‘With Unveiled Face’: An Exegesis of 2 Corinthians 3:12-18,” 165; Dunn, ‘2 Corinthians 3:17 – The Lord is the Spirit,’ 118-124; Kruse, *2 Corinthians*, 98; Greenwood, ‘The Lord is the Spirit: Some Reflections on 2 Cor 3:17,’ 469-470; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 212; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 70-71; Wright, ‘Reflected Glory: 2 Corinthians 3:18,’ 183-184; Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 256-267; Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 396-400; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 282; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 309-314; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 274; Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 196; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 54; Matera, *II Corinthians*, 96; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 311-312; Garrett, ‘Veiled Hearts,’ 760. This reading presumes that ὁ κύριος is most likely the subject and τὸ πνεῦμά the predicate, though noting that when both are articular the copulative is conversive (interchangeable).

¹¹⁶ Pace Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 38ff.; Fitzmyer, ‘Glory Reflected on the Face (2 Cor 3:7-4:6) and a Palestinian Jewish Motif,’ 638; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 196, 198-199; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 54-55. The same technique can be observed in Gal 4:25 (τὸ δὲ Ἄγαρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστίν) and 1 Cor 10:4 (ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός), cf. Dunn, ‘2 Corinthians 3:17 – “The Lord is the Spirit,”’ 119; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 212; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 311. Greenwood, ‘The Lord is the Spirit: Some Reflections on 2 Cor 3:17,’ 467-472, wishes to argue that the ‘lord’ of 3:17a is anaphoric, yet also identifies Christ and

fulfilling the same function as YHWH in Moses' experience in present Christian experience.¹¹⁷ It is because of the sense which ἐπιστρέψῃ connotes that Paul identifies the spirit as the *subject* to whom Christians turn in conversion. The language of 'turning to' analogous to revelation and insight (i.e. faith) for the spirit removes the veil of (mis)understanding.¹¹⁸ Since Paul also uses the term ἐπιστρέψῃ to describe Gentiles' conversion to God himself (Gal 3:1-5; 1 Cor 2:4-5, cf. 1 Thess 1:9) then it is clear that there is a correlation with the believer's encounter with God.

This interpretation of κύριος in 3:17a identifies the following occurrences of κύριος in 3:17b-18 as a consistent reference to the spirit since Paul has defined, and clarified, the sense of κύριος in 3:17a.¹¹⁹ The genitive phrase τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου in 3:17b is best understood appositionally, 'the spirit who is the lord,' and functions to reconfirm Paul's identification of the spirit as the 'lord,' identified as Yahweh in 3:16 but applied to the spirit in 3:17-18.¹²⁰ So

YHWH: 'Rather than advancing the view that the author of 2 Cor was thinking of Yahweh or Christ when composing this statement, I prefer to think of him as writing κύριος in 17a with the notion of *Yahweh in Christ* at the back of his mind,' 470, emphasis original.

¹¹⁷ Rightly Dunn, '2 Corinthians 3:17 – "The Lord is the Spirit,"' 123-124; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 70-72; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 274, 278-282; Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 387-400.

¹¹⁸ See Prosper Grech, '2 Corinthians 3:17 and the Pauline Doctrine of Conversion to the Spirit,' *CBQ* 17:3 (1955): 420-437. Rightly Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 274. See also Thrall's earlier publication, 'Conversion to the Lord: The Interpretation of Exodus 34 in II Cor 3:14b-18,' in *Paolo: Ministro del Nuovo Testamento (2 Co 2:14-4:6)*, Benedictina 9, ed. Lorenzo De Lorenzi (Rome: Abbazia di San Paolo fuori le mura, 1987), 197-232.

¹¹⁹ It is difficult to comprehend how Paul's recipients would be able to discern a change in subject between the five occurrences of κύριος in 2 Cor 3:16-18. Consistency of reference makes better sense for the success of Paul's argument to be understood by the Corinthian congregation. As Lambrecht notes, though eventually rejecting as an explanation of Paul's logic, 'The function of v. 17a then is one of concretizing a still open concept, "Lord," or also preventing a less correct understanding of v. 16 (i.e., God or Christ). Verse 17a then would not provide an identification, but only an explanation, a filling of a still undetermined "Lord," or, if needed, a correction of what should not have been thought,' *Second Corinthians*, 54-55. This also explains why Paul's expression 'the spirit of the Lord' would be an inappropriate addition if the 'Lord' in view was either Christ or God, for the sense of "Lord" would be further complicated, and consequently, confused.

¹²⁰ Barnett is thus wrong to argue that "'The Lord to whom one "turns" and "the Spirit of the Lord" are separate "persons,"' (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 202) for he appears to be driven by theological agendas. Barnett's acceptance of ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος in 3:18 as 'from the Lord, the Spirit' (208) presents somewhat of a contradiction for him (which he accepts as an appositional genitive) and demonstrates his own theological agenda in rejecting the spirit as functioning independently within Paul's thought, despite the spirit playing a major role in 2 Cor 3:3-18. Alternatively, those scholars who wish to interpret the phrase τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου as denoting God as κύριος also misunderstand Paul at this point (e.g. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 213; Wong, 'The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a),' 60-64, whose argument would have been better served had she taken the appositional reading; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 274-275; Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 268; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 312). Nowhere else in Paul does he use the expression τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, instead consistently denoting God by the term θεός when paired with πνεῦμα (1 Cor 2:11, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Rom 8:9, 14, 15:19). Such difficulty in discerning whether κύριος denotes Christ or God is demonstrated by Fee's change of mind where intricate arguments are sought in order to resolve the dilemma of interpreting Paul's unique, and uncharacteristic, language. In *God's Empowering Presence* (310-314), Fee understood the 'lord' of τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου as denoting God, yet has since changed his mind in *Pauline Christology* (177-180), choosing to interpret the 'lord' as Christ. The fundamental difficulty with making the argument that Paul denotes Christ lies in the swift interchange that occurs between 3:16-18: 5 occurrences of κύριος within such a short condensed passage, without clear indications for the hearers regarding any change in subject, strongly points to consistency of interpretation as the most viable solution to the exegetical dilemma (I

too Paul's phrase ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος in 3:18 should be understood as Paul's deliberate, and consistent, attempt to identify the spirit with the 'lord' in the same way as 3:17a, so that the spirit is the 'lord' to whom Christians turn to, thus the expression must be understood appositionally: 'the lord who is the spirit.'¹²¹ If the κύριος has been defined as the spirit, this necessitates that τὴν δόξαν κυρίου in 3:18 arguably refers to the spirit as the 'lord' and correlates the spirit with glory.¹²² Paul has previously identified the ministry of the spirit as glorious (4:8), thus 'the glory of the lord' can be understood to be imagery for the believer's experience of conversion whereby they encounter the presence of God, and remains consistent with Paul's identification of the spirit as the agent whom transforms Christians into the 'lord's image' 'from glory to glory' (ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν).¹²³

This exegesis demonstrates that Paul understood the spirit to be the evidential reality of the believer's entrance into the new covenant. Paul's appeal to the spirit overcomes the criticisms of his Corinthian opponents (cf. 1:21-22; 3:3, 6, 8, 18)¹²⁴ since the spirit generates freedom (cf. Gal 5:13-18; Rom 7:6; 8:2, 21) and life (2 Cor 3:6) through the removal of the veil.¹²⁵ Paul comprehends the spirit as the 'lord,' the object of the believer's first encounter with God and Christ. This exegesis thus makes the straightforward argument that Paul has

thus find Hanson's analysis of 2 Cor 3:16-18 as evidence that Paul conceived of the pre-existence Christ rather spurious, Hanson, 'The Midrash in 2 Corinthians 3: A Reconsideration'). This highlights that Paul is using language in a new form in order to clarify his application of the Exod 34:34 text in a consistent manner, for the original reference of κύριος denoted Yahweh, but Paul then consistently identifies the spirit as the κύριος in his and the Corinthians' present experience. This also speaks against the view that this interpretation creates redundancy in 3:17 since ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστίν and τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου are here interpreted to express a singular idea that associates the 'lord' of 3:16 with the spirit.

¹²¹ So Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 126; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 72; Wong, 'The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a),' 68-71; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 287; Belleville, *Reflections of Glory*, 292-294; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 318-319; Matera, *II Corinthians*, 97; Garrett, 'Veiled Hearts,' 768-770. It is grammatically most appropriate to interpret πνεύματος as modifying κυρίου, rather than the inverse. For the various exegetical possibility for the phrase ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος see Wong, 'The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3:17a),' 68-71 and Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 317-318.

¹²² Standing behind this imagery is the identification of the spirit with the pillar of cloud and the glory of YHWH which rests on the tabernacle and the temple (Exod 40:34-38); Neh 9:15-23; cf. 10:34; Hag 2:1-9; Josephus *Ant.* 8:106; 114.

¹²³ This against those scholars who understand τὴν δόξαν κυρίου as denoting the glory of God (e.g. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 214) or Christ (e.g. Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 180-183). It would be beyond the scope of my argument to settle the debate regarding the specific sense of κατοπτρίζομενοι, a NT hapax legomenon, for the term could mean 'to behold as in a mirror' or to 'reflect as in a mirror.' For a solid argument that is focused on the function of the spirit within the ethical transformation of believers in 2 Cor 3:18, see Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 174-203.

¹²⁴ I find Garland's brief dismissal of the primary role of the spirit in this passage to not give adequate attention to the spirit, Garland, 'The Sufficiency of Paul, Minister of the New Covenant,' 34, fn. 40.

¹²⁵ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 313; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 202-203; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 274. This point is the strength of Grech's article, '2 Corinthians 3:17 and the Pauline Doctrine of Conversion to the Spirit.' It is frequently presumed by commentators (e.g. Kruse, *2 Corinthians*, 98-101) that Paul's language simply should be understood to mean that God is now experienced by Christians as the spirit. While this is correct, we should go one step further to acknowledge that Paul's language asserts that the spirit is the agent in the new covenant who functions *analogically* to Yahweh as 'lord' in the old covenant. Cf. Fee who argues the phrase τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου is included by Paul in order to 'remove any potential misunderstandings of the previous clause. He therefore circumvents an absolute identification of the Spirit with Yahweh (probably) or with Christ,' *God's Empowering Presence*, 312.

identified *the spirit as the 'lord' to whom Christians turn in conversion*. By identifying the spirit with the κύριος of Exod 34:34, Paul has not simply analogically applied the identical function of YHWH with the spirit, such that the spirit is the indispensable experience of Christian conversion, but has also presented the identity of the spirit in the highest of terms.¹²⁶ Such recognition draws the conclusion that the spirit, as Paul articulates in 2 Cor 3:7-18, *functions as ruler in the first experience of Christians*, who to their perception, is 'lord' and who is responsible for their transformation. Paul thus uses κύριος language of YHWH (2 Cor 3:16), Christ (2 Cor 4:5), and the spirit (2 Cor 3:17-18), associates the language of glory with YHWH (2 Cor 4:6), Christ (2 Cor 4:4) and the spirit (2 Cor 3:8, 18), just as the veil (of misunderstanding) is removed in YHWH (2 Cor 3:16), Christ (2 Cor 3:14) and the spirit (2 Cor 3:16-18). While Paul's identification of the spirit as 'lord' raises broader questions regarding the nature of the relationship between the spirit, and God and Christ, the conclusion remains that the spirit functions as ruler in the experience of conversion. This conclusion directs us to a fuller examination of conversion and the spirit beyond 2 Cor 3:16-18.

3.1.2 Gal 3:1-5, 14; 4:6

The structure of Paul's thought in Galatians broadly parallels that observed in 2 Cor 3:1-18. Nestled between Paul's apostolic defence (1:11-2:21) and two arguments from scripture (3:6-4:20 – Abraham; 4:21-5:12 – Abraham's Children), Gal 3:1-5 is Paul's appeal to the spirit as the experiential evidence that the Galatians do not need to accept Torah observance despite the claims by the agitators (cf. 5:12) that Torah observance was necessary to identify the true children of Abraham. The Galatians' reception of the spirit, a discernible experiential reality, is the identifying marker that they have been included in the people of God apart from law.¹²⁷ To emphasise the reality of the spirit in their experience, Paul asks 6 rhetorical questions, 2 of which include reference to their reception of the spirit when Paul presented the gospel of Jesus Christ crucified (3:1), a gospel that excluded Torah observance as a requirement for

¹²⁶ Martin's comment that in 2 Cor 3:17 "The Spirit" is usually taken as the Holy Spirit, but is a case of his dynamic action rather than the person of the Spirit' drives a rather unnecessary wedge between function and identity, *2 Corinthians*, 71. I go beyond Furnish's rather dismissive assessment that the statement, 'the Lord is the spirit' 'sheds very little light on Paul's view of the Spirit,' *II Corinthians*, 236. Barnett positively quotes Plummer's rejection of the translation 'the Spirit is the Lord' (103-104) from 3:17: 'It is in the interest of Trinitarian doctrine that the possible, but most improbable translation, 'the Spirit is the Lord,' is sometimes adopted. Grammar allows it, for both terms have the article; but the preceding πρὸς κύριον, which shows that ὁ κύριος means Christ, and the order of the words, forbid it,' *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 202, fn. 27. Of course, this argument only functions if it is presumed that the κύριος denotes Christ. If instead, the κύριος is the spirit, as my exegesis has demonstrated, then there is no exegetical nor grammatical reason that inhibits the correlation between κύριος and πνεῦμα that Barnett seeks to avoid. Nonetheless, Barrett is much more positive when he states, 'The Spirit is thus *Lord*, with the right to direct,' *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 123, emphasis original.

¹²⁷ See Charles H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit: A Study in the Argument of Galatians* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1988), 39-52.

Gentile converts (cf. 1:11ff). In 3:2 Paul asks ‘Did you receive the spirit from works of the law, or from the hearing of faith?’ (ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;). Exegetes rightly argue for understanding the phrase ‘receiving the spirit’ as denoting the conversion experience at the hearing of the gospel message of Christ crucified.¹²⁸ Such an interpretation is confirmed in view of 3:3: ‘Having *begun* with the spirit, are you now trying to finish by the flesh?’ (ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε;).¹²⁹ Paul emphasises the reception of the spirit on account of the preaching of the gospel message by using the preposition ἐκ to identify the proclamation of the gospel about Christ as the source of the reception of the spirit for the spirit is received ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως.¹³⁰ Moreover, Paul not only redirects the Galatians’ focus to the past, where they received the spirit at conversion (ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι), but also points to their present experience of the spirit whereby God has given the spirit and continually works miracles in their midst not from works of the law but from the proclamation of the gospel message (ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; 3:5).¹³¹ That the spirit is responsible for the working of miracles in their present experience is a direct consequence of the reality of the spirit received in conversion.¹³²

The spirit received from the hearing of faith and not works of the law (3:2) is followed by the same structural pattern of thought in 3:13-14 and 4:6. In 3:13-14 Christ redeemed believers from the curse of the law ‘in order that the blessing given to Abraham might come to the Gentiles through Christ Jesus, so that by faith we might receive the promise of the spirit’ (ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως). The two ἵνα clauses identify the singular goal to which the redemption of Christ was aimed for the identification of the people of God as the

¹²⁸ James D.G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, BNTC (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1993), 152-153; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC 41 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990), 102-104; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 382-386; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 210-211. David J. Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia: Paul’s Interpretation of Pneuma as Divine Power* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 55, ‘When Paul refers to the reception of the Spirit...he refers not to the *idea* of the Spirit, but to the experience of the *reality* of the Spirit itself,’ (54, emphasis original).

¹²⁹ See the verbs ἐναρξομαι and ἐπιτελέω in Phil 1:6; 2 Cor 8:6, and the aorist form of ἐναρξάμενοι that points back to the moment of conversion which Paul himself can personally attest.

¹³⁰ Arguably ἀκοῆς πίστεως (cf. 3:5) should be translated as ‘hearing of faith,’ that is, the message of Christ crucified. That this translation rather than ‘believing what you heard’ is preferable is grounded in the scope of Paul’s argument which is more focused on the content of the gospel (cf. Christ crucified, 3:1) and Paul’s own role as the one who communicated the salvific message, rather than the subjective response of the Galatians. With Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, 143-149. Pace Sam K. Williams, ‘The Hearing of Faith: AKOH ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ in Galatians 3,’ *NTS* 35 (1989): 82-93; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 212-213; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 102-103.

¹³¹ Longenecker, *Galatians*, 105, understands the participle ἐπιχορηγῶν as a reference back to the Galatians’ conversion, yet the present form makes it likely that Paul is alluding to the Galatians’ ongoing experience of the spirit. So Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 387-389.

¹³² On 3:1-5 more broadly, see Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 54-57.

true children of Abraham is dependent upon the reception of the spirit. Likewise, it was God who sent his son ‘in order to redeem those under the law, in order that we might receive adoption to sonship’ (ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἔξαγοράσῃ ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν, 4:5). The two ἵνα clauses also identify the singular purposes for which Christ came and therefore contrasts slavery to the law with the freedom of adoption as sons of God (cf. 3:23-4:7), a parallel clearly evident in 3:13-14.¹³³ Through the use of a Ὅτι clause, Paul deliberately links the reality of the Galatians’ status as children of God with their profound ecstatic experience of the spirit: ‘Because you are his sons, God sent the spirit of his son into our hearts, the spirit who cries out, “Abba, Father”’ (Ὅτι δὲ ἔστε υἱοί, ἔξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ, 4:6).¹³⁴ It is the Abba cry which identifies not just those who are children of God, but also possession of the spirit as the confirmation of inclusion into the people of God.

In each of these cases, Paul’s use of the aorist verbs λαμβάνω in 3:2, 14 and ἀπολαμβάνω in 4:5 (cf. 1 Cor 2:12; 2 Cor 11:4; Rom 8:15), indicates that adoption and reception of the spirit are multiple ways of denoting the believer’s conversion experience. The spirit is received at their conversion and without reference to Torah because the spirit is the reality of the new covenant. Paul’s stress on the experience of the spirit validates himself as an apostle and serves to convince the Galatians that those who possess the promised spirit, received at their conversion, are identified as the true people of God.

3.1.3 1 Thess 1:4-6

1 Thess 1:4-6 stands within Paul’s thanksgiving and prayer report (1:2-3:13). In 1:4-6 Paul recalls the Thessalonians’ conversion (cf. 1:9; 2:13) and his work with them as apostle (cf. 2:1-9). Paul highlights, by way of reminder, the Thessalonians’ reception of his gospel in the midst of extreme suffering. Their reception of the gospel is due to divine election (εἰδότες,

¹³³ On Paul’s use of the adoption metaphor, and the debate regarding the appropriate cultural and religious influences, see Brendan Byrne, *‘Sons of God’ – ‘Seed of Abraham’: A Study of the Idea of the Sonship of God of all Christians in Paul Against the Jewish Background*, AB 83 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1979), 141ff; Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God*, Parts I, II and III; Marianne M. Thompson, *The Promise of the Father: Jesus and God in the New Testament* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 116ff; Yon-Gyong Kwon, *Eschatology in Galatians: Rethinking Paul’s Response to the Crisis in Galatia*, WUNT 2.183 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 78-100; Trevor J. Burke, *Adopted into God’s Family: Exploring a Pauline Metaphor*, NSBT 22 (Downers Grove: IVP Press, 2006), 21-99, 111-120, 125-151.

¹³⁴ For discussion on Gal 4:6, see Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 66-69; Maleparampil, *The ‘Trinitarian’ Formulae in St. Paul*, 113-144. This causal Ὅτι clause strikes the reader because of its reverse application. The structure of Paul’s argument has been that the Galatians’ sonship is directly the result of the reception of the spirit (cf. 3:1-5, 14, 26, 29), yet here Paul states the reverse, that on the basis of sonship, God has sent the spirit into the hearts of the Galatians. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 114, rightly notes that the ‘sequence of thought...is logical, not chronological.’ This is because 3:1-5 clearly identifies the reception of the spirit simultaneously with conversion. As Longenecker observes, ‘For Paul, it seems, sonship and receiving the Spirit are so intimately related that one can speak of them in either order,’ Longenecker, *Galatians*, 173.

ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ [τοῦ] θεοῦ, τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν, 1:4). 1:5 is Paul’s explanation of how their election came about: ‘because our gospel came to you not with word only but also with power, with the holy spirit and deep conviction’ (ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ καὶ [ἐν] πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ).¹³⁵ There is debate concerning 1) what the dependent clause modifies, and 2) whether the dependent clause should be understood as denoting three separate realities (*with* power, *with* the holy spirit, [*with*] deep conviction) or two realities that stand in apposition (*with* power, *with* the holy spirit and deep conviction). Arguably, the dependent clause modifies Paul’s proclamation of the gospel message, which reflects the same structure of thought from Galatians.¹³⁶ And the dependent clause more aptly is understood to denoting ‘with power’ as standing in apposition to ‘with the holy spirit and deep conviction.’¹³⁷ Such a reading draws the conclusion that in 1 Thess 1:4-6 Paul describes his delivery of the gospel to the

¹³⁵ Interpreting ὅτι as causal. *Pace* Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009), 31, fn. 20. With Peter T. O’Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul*, NovTSup (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 151ff; Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1990), 78.

¹³⁶ The debate is whether ‘with word only’ and ‘with power, with the holy spirit and deep conviction’ is a description of a) Paul’s proclamation of the gospel, b) the signs which accompanied the proclamation of Paul’s gospel, and c) the Thessalonians’ own conversion (See Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, 34-36). That the dependent clause modifies Paul’s delivery of the gospel message (ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν...ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς) appears to be the most appropriate reading in view of Paul’s emphasis upon the effectiveness of his apostolic ministry among them (cf. 2:1). Yet such an interpretation cannot exclude the Thessalonians’ own reception of the gospel which testifies to the effectiveness of Paul’s ministry, thus the dependent clause arguably is provided as a description of the Thessalonians’ own conversion (cf. καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων, 1:9-10) and speaks of the working of the spirit in their experience (cf. 4:8). This is confirmed in 1:6 where the spirit is identified as the source of joy given to the Thessalonians when they ‘welcomed the word’ (δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον), that is the message of the gospel, at their conversion (Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians*, 81).

¹³⁷ The interpretation is dependent upon a textual variant, with one textual tradition including the preposition ἐν as modifying πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ and another tradition excluding the preposition. Fee opts for the earliest manuscript which excludes the preposition, thus reading ‘with power’ and ‘with the holy spirit and deep conviction’ as standing in apposition (Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, 32-33. So too Leon Morris, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Leicester: Intervarsity Press, 1984), 45). That this interpretation is correct is confirmed by a) the context where the spirit is responsible for the Thessalonians’ reception of the gospel (1:6) and b) Paul’s alternative correspondences where δύναμις and πνεῦμα stand in apposition as a description of conversion (1 Cor 2:4; Rom 15:19). That Paul appositionally pairs ‘power’ and ‘the spirit’ leads to the conclusion that his presentation of the gospel to the Thessalonians was also accompanied by miraculous events in the believers’ experience, cf. Gal 3:5 where δύναμις denotes the miraculous working of the spirit; and Rom 15:19; cf. 2 Cor 12:12 (with Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians*, 79; Fee, *Thessalonians*, 35-36). As I have earlier argued, Paul often understands power to be effected by the activity of the spirit. So Wanamaker: ‘It is difficult to separate “in power” from the subsequent words “in the Holy Spirit,” because the source of this power for Paul was the Holy Spirit,’ *The Epistles to the Thessalonians*, 79. Furthermore, I am of the opinion that πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ must be the effect of the gospel proclamation on the Thessalonians by the power of the spirit, rather than a description of the form in which Paul communicates the message. This reading understands καὶ in the phrase ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ καὶ πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ as functioning epexegetically, so that ‘deep conviction’ is perceived as the deliberate working of the spirit in the hearts of the Thessalonians. In this way the spirit not only produces joy at the reception of the gospel (1:6) but is the power who works within the hearts of believers to receive the message by faith. *Pace* Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians*, 79; with Ben Witherington III, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006), 71, fn. 34. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, 35, argues for both Paul’s presentation of the gospel and the Thessalonians’ reception.

Thessalonians, the miraculous signs that accompanied such a proclamation, and the Thessalonians' response to the gospel as the work of the spirit who, through a display of power and deep conviction evidenced in Paul's ministry, brought about their conversion. Like the Galatians, Paul can point the Thessalonians to a discernible point in their experience where the spirit was given to them from God (4:8, cf. 5:19), with joy (1:6) at the hearing of the gospel (1:5), and was the power responsible for their turning to the living and true God (1:9). 1 Thessalonians confirms the reality of the spirit as a dynamic and integral component of the Gentile experience of conversion towards God and in response to the gospel of Christ.

3.1.4 1 Cor 2:1-5; 6:11; 12:13

1 Cor 2:1-5 also reveals Paul's consistent understanding of the spirit as involved in his apostolic ministry of proclaiming the gospel. Paul appeals to his preaching of the gospel message of a crucified Messiah and the Corinthian believers' reception of this gospel message, as evidence of God using what is weak – according to the standards of the contemporary age – to reveal the power and wisdom of God (1:18-2:5).¹³⁸ 2:1-5 thus forms an *inclusio* with 1:18,¹³⁹ and is an expansion of Paul's summary statement in 1:17. Paul argues that he did not come to Corinth with *ὑπεροχὴν λόγου* or *σοφίας* as he proclaimed (*καταγγέλλων*) the 'testimony of God' (*τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ θεοῦ*).¹⁴⁰ His focus was solely on the singular content of the message (that of Christ crucified; 2:2, cf. 1:18-25), his approach was 'in weakness with great fear and trembling' (2:3, cf. 2 Cor 10:10), and his style of ministry confirmed the very nature of the gospel message itself. Paul states, 'My speech (*λόγος*) and my message (*κήρυγμα*) were not with persuasive wise words (*πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις*)'¹⁴¹ so as to reinforce that his message and preaching (*λόγος καὶ κήρυγμα*)¹⁴² did not

¹³⁸ As has emerged in recent research on ancient Corinth, the emphasis in Corinthian culture, particularly on evident displays of rhetoric, is seen to function as the criteria by which some, at least, in the Corinthian congregation have used to judge Paul's own style of ministry, a ministry they adjudged to be weak and deficient. See Michael A. Bullmore, *St. Paul's Theology of Rhetorical Style: An Examination of I Corinthians 2.1-5 in the Light of First Century Graeco-Roman Rhetorical Culture* (San Francisco: International Scholars Publication, 1995). More broadly, Bruce W. Winter, *Philo and Paul Among the Sophists: Alexandrian and Corinthian Responses to a Julio-Claudian Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).

¹³⁹ Note the deliberate frame that hinges on the repetition of the power of God (1:18, *δύναμις θεοῦ*; 2:5, *δυνάμει θεοῦ*).

¹⁴⁰ That *μαρτύριον* is the preferred textual choice over *μυστήριον* is confirmed contextually in view of 1:6 in the thanksgiving (*τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ*) and 1:18, which functions to begin the section of 1:18-2:5 (*Ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ*), where the emphasis is upon the proclamation of the gospel and Paul as its apostle. The occurrence of *μυστήριον* in 2:7 does not invalidate this for Paul only begins to describe the gospel as a 'mystery' in view of Isa 64:4 and the revelation of the spirit in 2:9ff.

¹⁴¹ On 2:4-5 and the variant textual traditions see Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 215-216. Whether *λόγοις* is seen to not be the original, it does not detract in any negative way from Paul's point. Furthermore, *λόγος* is clearly familiar, and indeed integral, to Paul's whole argument in 1:18-2:5.

¹⁴² It is best to read *ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου* as a hendiadys which serves to illustrate Paul's focus on the activity of proclaiming the gospel. To discern here a distinction between the 'form' of the message and its

follow the contemporary methods of rhetoric (cf. 2:1). Despite coming in weakness, Paul's message came 'with a demonstration of the spirit and power' (ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, 2:4).¹⁴³ The 'proof' or demonstration that the Corinthians needed in order to view Paul himself as an adequate minister of the gospel lay in their own experience of the spirit at conversion.¹⁴⁴ The genitive construction ἀποδείξει πνεύματος should be understood to identify the spirit as the proof of the efficacy of Paul's gospel message of Christ crucified.¹⁴⁵ Paul qualifies his reference to the spirit by adding καὶ δυνάμεως, and like 1 Thess 1:5, identifies power as a key description of the spirit's evidential reality.¹⁴⁶ The concrete expression of the spirit's reality is the generation of the Corinthians' faith, a faith that does not rest in 'human wisdom but in the power of God' (σοφία ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ, 2:5). Paul has thus correlated power with Christ (1:24), the spirit (2:4) and God (2:5).

The importance of 2:1-5 within Paul's worldview is evident on the basis of his focus upon the spirit as the key experiential evidence at conversion which produces faith. 1 Cor 6:11 and 12:13 are also informative. In one of the few references in the Pauline corpus to the kingdom of God (1 Cor 6:9-10; cf. Rom 14:17), Paul warns the Corinthians that continued sinful activity will place them in danger of expulsion from the kingdom, and lists representative sins to illustrate such activity. Yet Paul urges the Corinthians 'that is what some of you were' (καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε), pointing to their involvement in such sinful practices before their conversion. Paul contrasts their previous sinful existence with their present status before God: 'but you were washed, but you were sanctified, but you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the spirit of our God' (ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιασθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

'content' is likely to be artificial. For a solid summary, see Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 217-218.

¹⁴³ Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 111-119.

¹⁴⁴ That 2:1-5 denotes the Corinthians' conversion is seen in 2:5 where the purposeful ἵνα identifies their faith as a direct response to the demonstration of the spirit and power. Paul deliberately uses the term ἀπόδειξις, a NT hapax legomenon, which was well known within the schools of rhetoric as a technical term to refer to a 'proof' or that which can be established as evidence (Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 5.10.7; Cicero, *Academia* 2.8). See Winter, *Philo and Paul Among the Sophists*; Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth*, 125; Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 117; cf. *BDAG*, 109. Pace C. Clare Oke, 'Paul's Method Not a Demonstration but an Exhibition of the Spirit,' *ExpT* 67:2 (1955): 35-36.

¹⁴⁵ A careful reading of the commentaries shows that scholars are hesitant to make a firm decision in either interpretive direction: Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clarke, 1999), 33-34; Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 65; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 95, fn. 30; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 222.

¹⁴⁶ Indeed, πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως should be understood as a hendiadys, such that the spirit and power connote the nature of the spirit's activity in the experience of conversion. So Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 65-66; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 95; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 120; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 222, with qualification.

καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, 6:11).¹⁴⁷ The spirit given at conversion clearly demarcates those included in the kingdom of God. Likewise, Paul appeals to the Corinthians' entrance into the Christian community by using two metaphors to describe their reception of the spirit: 'We all were baptised by the one spirit...and we all were made to drink the one spirit' (ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες... ἐβαπτίσθημεν... καὶ πάντες ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν).¹⁴⁸ While the emphasis in the present context is on the Corinthians' present experience of the spirit within the gathered Christian community, Paul here focuses on their conversion through the metaphors of baptism and drinking.¹⁴⁹ He identifies the *one* (ἐνὶ) spirit as the common experience they each shared at the beginning of their Christian life, which serves to remind them that since they each confess 'Jesus is lord' by the inspiration of the spirit (12:3), then they each possess the spirit and therefore they should make room for diverse expressions of the gifts. Without an identifiable moment within their experience, Paul's appeal to a common experience of the spirit at conversion would fail. Thus 2:1-5, 6:11 and 12:13 function within Paul's arguments as key appeals to the spirit in the Corinthians' experience of conversion.

¹⁴⁷ To understand Paul as referring to water baptism here, and not conversion, would weaken his own argument that he did not baptise many of the Corinthians, for in effect Paul would be demarcating those who received baptism by his own hand. In contrast, a reference to conversion makes better sense as a means of identifying with all believers, and is consistent with 2:1-5. 'The aorist focuses the *event* of coming to faith,' Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 453, emphasis original. Dunn makes a strong case for understanding baptism as denoting conversion, not the rite of membership, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 120-123, 'All three verbs refer...to the one event (of conversion-initiation),' 122. So too Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 245-248, 'The three metaphors emphasize the aspects of Christian conversion "regeneration, sanctification, and justification"; and for Paul these are the work of the Spirit in the believer's life, not the result of baptism,' 247. Pace Robertson and Plummer, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 119-120; Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 141-143.

¹⁴⁸ I understand ἐν to function instrumentally, which is consistent with 2:1-5. The clause εἰς ἓν σῶμα I understand to function as identifying the result of the reception of the spirit. The preposition ἐν makes most sense within this context as emphasising the result of what occurs when each member receives the spirit: it is because of the Corinthians' common experience of the spirit that they exist as the one body of Christ.

¹⁴⁹ The metaphors of baptism and drinking the spirit have been interpreted as a reference to the rite of water baptism, but such an interpretation misunderstands the referent of the metaphors. Since there is no evidence that water baptism was associated with the reception of the spirit in Paul's thought, despite the attraction of the Gospel's presentation of Jesus' own baptism, then since Paul so frequently identifies reception of the spirit with conversion (Gal 3:1-5; 1 Thess 1:4-6; 1 Cor 2:1-5; 6:11; 2 Cor 1:22; 11:4; Rom 15:15-19) makes it likely that conversion is denoted by the metaphor of baptism. To appeal to 15:29 mistakenly confuses a contemporary practice of baptism for the dead, which obviously was not the common experience of every member, with an identifiable moment of entry into the Christian life. With Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 127-131; Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 53ff; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 603-605; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 997-998; Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 'Spirit Baptism,' 66-74, 'Spirit Drinking,' 74-80. Pace Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 288-289.

3.1.5 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; 11:4

2 Cor 1:21-22 follows a pattern that has become increasingly observable in Paul's letters.¹⁵⁰ In an attempt to defend his integrity as a minister of the gospel in the face of challenges to his apostleship, Paul reminds the Corinthians that it was due to his ministry, that Christ was preached among them (1:19). As a result of this proclamation, the Corinthians – with Paul (ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν) – are confirmed (ὁ βεβαιῶν) to Christ by God.¹⁵¹ The present tense of the participle βεβαιῶν expresses the reality of their present situation in Christ which is dependent upon Paul's ministry. Yet further Paul leads their focus backwards, through use of the aorist tense, to their conversion and once again appeals to the reality of the spirit by utilising three metaphors to describe their experience.¹⁵² Paul identifies God as the one who 'anointed us' (χρίσας ἡμᾶς), 'sealed us' (σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς), and 'gave us the deposit of the spirit into our hearts' (καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν).¹⁵³ These three metaphors, including the repetition of the deposit metaphor in 5:5 (ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος), express the Corinthians' experience of the spirit at their conversion.¹⁵⁴ So too Paul directly correlates the spirit with the Corinthians' conversion by stating ironically, 'For if someone comes to you and preaches a Jesus other than the Jesus was preached, or if you receive a different spirit from the spirit you received, or a different gospel from the one you accepted, you put up with it easily enough' (εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσει

¹⁵⁰ For an exegetical examination with reference to the distinguishable activity of the spirit, see Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 51-78.

¹⁵¹ Garland is right to note that Paul does not restrict his reference to the giving of the spirit to himself and the apostles only, but also includes the Corinthians, Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 105. Such a restriction would contradict Paul's view of the universal outpouring of the spirit on all (e.g. 1 Cor 12:3-4, 13).

¹⁵² Pace Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 80-81; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 148-150, 297-299; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 27-28 and Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 29-30, who view the point of reference as Christian baptism.

¹⁵³ On the economic metaphors of βεβαιῶ, σφραγίζω and ἀρραβῶν, particularly as they denote the sense of ownership and authenticity, see Kruse, *2 Corinthians*, 76-78; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 291-293; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 153-159; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 111-113; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 207-210.

¹⁵⁴ This is confirmed by Paul's grammatical structure and the overlapping conceptual nature of the metaphors themselves: the two commercial metaphors – seal and deposit – that are joined by καί are to be understood exegetically, for 'the deposit of the spirit' in their hearts – best interpreted as an appositional genitive – is the concrete reality of the seal metaphor (Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 80; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 137; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 28; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 291; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 30; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 208-209). Both economic metaphors are grammatically connected to the anointing metaphor through use of a connective καί (Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 291; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 111, f. 45; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 205-206). Consequently both are conceptually related in view of the frequent use of the metaphor in the Hebrew Scriptures and the LXX to refer to the anointing by the spirit for office (either kingly or priestly) or function. Baptism is more appropriately understood as a metaphor for conversion rather than the rite of water baptism. With Dunn, *Baptism in the Spirit*, 131-134; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 290, 294-296; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 154-159; Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 107-108; Matera, *II Corinthians*, 56-57; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 209; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 111. Pace Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 149, 'If there is an allusion to baptism anywhere in this passage, it is present when Paul describes God as the one who...sealed us and gave us the Spirit...').

ὄν οὐκ ἐκηρύξαμεν, ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ὃ οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε, 2 Cor 11:4).¹⁵⁵ In view of the undeniable experience of the spirit at their conversion (cf. 1:21-22; 3:3, 6 8, 16-18; 5:5), denoted by the aorist ἐλάβετε, this ironic expression seeks to affirm the legitimacy of Paul's apostleship by highlighting their experience of the spirit at conversion as the confirmation that the gospel they received from him was the only appropriate gospel message. It is an ironic expression because there is no other spirit to receive, in Paul's eyes, for the spirit is given only as a response to the very same gospel which he himself proclaimed.¹⁵⁶

3.1.6 Rom 8:15; 15:15-19 [5:5; 8:9-11, 15; 14:17]

The overlap between the spirit, adoption and conversion observed in Galatians is also evidenced in Romans.¹⁵⁷ Paul states, 'The spirit you received does not make you slaves, so that you live in fear again; rather, the spirit you received brought about your adoption to sonship. And by him we cry "Abba, Father"' (οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας ἐν ᾧ κρίζομεν· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ, Rom 8:15). The genitive expression πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας should be understood as denoting the spirit's own role in bringing about adoption since Paul's use of the verb λαμβάνω is used elsewhere to refer to believers' reception of the spirit of God (Gal 3:2, 14; 4:5; 1 Cor 2:12; 2 Cor 11:4).¹⁵⁸ In Rom 8:15 the metaphor of adoption, which is contrasted with the metaphor of slavery (πνεῦμα δουλείας), functions to denote the beginning of the Christian life.¹⁵⁹

Paul also directly associates the spirit with conversion in Rom 15:15-19. Paul states his awareness of the grace of God given to him 'to be a minister of Christ to the Gentiles, serving as priest for the gospel of God' (εἰς τὸ εἶναί με λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, 15:16). Such use of cultic imagery is extended when Paul identifies the purpose of his calling as minister to the Gentiles 'so that the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable, sanctified by the holy spirit' (ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορὰ

¹⁵⁵ For defence in reading πνεῦμα as reference the spirit of God, see Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 344; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 743-744.

¹⁵⁶ Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 506.

¹⁵⁷ Konsmo has ably identified Paul's metaphor of adoption as a significant Pauline metaphor for conversion, a metaphor that is inextricably linked to an experience of the spirit. Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 89-96.

¹⁵⁸ So Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 564-567. Whether the genitive expression intends to portray the spirit which effects adoption or expresses adoption is ambiguous (see Dunn, *Romans*, 452; Burke, *Adopted into God's Family*, 125-151). But the weight of evidence here tends to favour the spirit as effecting adoption in view of the spirit's agency in the conversion of believers which brings about their sonship.

¹⁵⁹ So Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 451; Schreiner, *Romans*, 423.

τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, 15:16).¹⁶⁰ The instrumental ἐν, and the perfect passive verb ἡγιασμένη distinguishes the holy spirit's sanctification of the Gentiles in order to remove their 'uncleanness' (cf. Gal 2:15, ἐθνῶν ἀμαρτωλοί) and set them apart to God. Sanctification functions as an alternative means of identifying the spirit as essential to the conversion experience of the Gentiles. In 15:18-19 Paul expands his understanding of his role as minister to the Gentiles, under the agency of the spirit, by stating 'what Christ has accomplished through me to bring about the obedience of the Gentiles' (ὧν...κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς δι' ἐμοῦ εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἐθνῶν).¹⁶¹ This accomplishment has been realised through Paul's ministry 'by word and deed, by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the spirit of God' (λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος θεοῦ).¹⁶² Consistent with 1 Thess 1:5 and 1 Cor 2:4 (cf. Gal 3:5), power and spirit stand in apposition (δυνάμει πνεύματος θεοῦ, cf. Rom 15:13),¹⁶³ which confirms that 'the power of signs and wonders' connotes the spirit's activity in Paul's proclamation of the gospel 'by word and deed' and effected the conversion of the Gentiles.¹⁶⁴

3.1.7 Summary

These brief forays into Paul's descriptions of his apostolic ministry in preaching the gospel have demonstrated that in his perception and experience, and indeed in that of his converts, the spirit was a discernible influence in conversion as a response to the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ.¹⁶⁵ These passages consistently portray a similar structure of cause and effect – the preaching of the gospel and the reception of the spirit. While 2 Cor 3:7-18 reveals that Paul took the innovative step of identifying the spirit as 'lord,' Gal 3:1-5, 1 Thess 1:4-6, 1 Cor 2:1-5 and Rom 15:16-19 all confirm that the spirit was an indispensable component of the

¹⁶⁰ The 'offering of the Gentiles' is appositional so that the Gentiles are the offering themselves, presented to God through the ministry of Paul. James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, WBC 38B (Waco: Thomas Nelson, 1988), 860; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 890.

¹⁶¹ Paul's expression 'to obedience of the Gentiles' (εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἐθνῶν) is best interpreted as a subjective genitive which is preceded by a preposition of purpose. So Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 513, fn. 93.

¹⁶² In view of the context of 1 Thess 1:4-6 and 1 Cor 2:1-5, it is best to understand the spirit as the agent, thus interpreting the preposition ἐν in the instrumental rather than locative sense. Though some commentators presume 'word' should be paired with 'signs and wonders' and 'deed' with 'the spirit of God' in chiastic form, such an interpretation is too artificial (See Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 629, fn. 473; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 892-893; Schreiner, *Romans*, 768). If there is to be any arrangement, the two prepositional clauses most likely expand in more detail the succinct opening statement such that, like 1 Thess 1:5 and 1 Cor 2:4, these three expressions should be understood together as denoting the phenomena that occurred within the Gentile communities as Paul proclaimed the gospel (cf. 2 Cor 12:12). For references to 'signs and wonders' in the Hebrew Scriptures, which may have influenced Paul, see Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 862-863.

¹⁶³ Pace Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 893, fn. 52.

¹⁶⁴ So Schreiner, *Romans*, 768, 'The dynamic of the Spirit is the means by which Paul achieved all that he did in every area: his speech, his actions, and his signs and wonders. All of these were energized by the Holy Spirit.' So too Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 513; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 629.

¹⁶⁵ See Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 419-425.

conversion experience of Gentiles as Paul preached the gospel and the key power responsible for the adoption of the Gentiles within the people of God. The argument from this presentation is that even though Paul does not describe conversion *towards* the spirit in these specific passages, that the thought is expressed in 2 Cor 3:7-18 makes it likely that the evidential nature of the spirit's work in the proclamation of the gospel confirmed for Paul and his converts that they were indeed 'turning to the spirit' as an identifiable object of experience. Since believers turn to the spirit, receive the spirit of faith, are sanctified by the spirit, and observe the power of the spirit, the spirit was identified as 'lord,' ruler, and sovereign agent inspiring the confession of Jesus as Lord (1 Cor 12:3) and the acknowledgement of God as Father (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15; cf. 1 Thess 1:9).¹⁶⁶

3.2 The Spirit Functions as Ruler within the Believer's Ongoing Experience

The spirit's function as ruler is observed not only in Paul's designation of the spirit as the 'lord' towards whom believers turn to at the *beginning* of the Christian life, but also as an ethical and charismatic guide in the *ongoing* Christian life. Just as the spirit is the indispensable power of conversion, so too is the spirit understood by Paul to be the defining rule and sovereign power over the people of God.

3.2.1 The Ethical Guidance of the Spirit

Though the influence of the spirit in ethics is prominent in Pauline studies,¹⁶⁷ what is not often examined is the extent to which Paul's thinking of the guidance of the spirit in moral transformation is influenced by the Exodus narrative. In the Hebrew Scriptures, the spirit's involvement in Israel's Exodus and wilderness experience is evident through the spirit's identification with the pillar of cloud that led Israel out of Egypt and through the wilderness (Neh 9:12, 19-20; Ps 143:10; Isa 63:9-14; Hag 2:4-5).¹⁶⁸ This identification between the spirit

¹⁶⁶ So Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 425: 'it was generally recognized within the Pauline mission: that reception of the Spirit was the decisive and determinative element in the crucial transition of conversion; and that the presence of the Spirit in a life was the most distinctive and defining feature of a life thus reclaimed by God.'

¹⁶⁷ E.g. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 222-225; particularly Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*.

¹⁶⁸ Pauline scholarship has begun to recognise the significance of a narrative approach for understanding Paul's structure of thought (This is notably articulated by Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, and 'Is Paul's Gospel Narratable?' *JSNT* 27:2 (2004): 217-239. See also Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, Ch. 10, 'The Vindication of the Law: Narrative Analysis and Romans 8:1-11,' 193-216; N. Thomas Wright, 'Gospel and Theology in Galatians,' in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker*, *JSNTSup* 108, eds. L. Ann Jervis and Peter Richardson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 222-239; Witherington, *Paul's Narrative Thought World*; Bruce W. Longenecker, ed. *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002); Douglass A. Campbell, *The Quest for Paul's Gospel*, Ch. 4, 'The Narrative Dimension of Paul's Gospel, with Special Reference to Romans and Galatians,' (London/New York: T&T Clark, Continuum, 2005), 69-94). Yet few scholars have undertaken an extensive examination of the role of the spirit within Paul's narrative worldview (an exception is Ian W. Scott, *Implicit Epistemology in the Letters of Paul: Story, Experience and the Spirit*, WUNT

and the cloud is a rich narrative source which has influenced Paul's theological reflection on the spirit. The story of the Exodus is appropriated by Paul in his typological argument to the Corinthians (1 Cor 10:1-5; cf. 10:6, 11, τύποι), to correlate the experience of Israel and his Corinthian converts, particularly the Lord's Supper (10:14-22), in order to offer a warning of the dangers of eating meat sacrificed to idols within the context of pagan temples.¹⁶⁹ Paul understands Israel's experience of passing under the pillar of cloud and through the Red Sea as a type of Christian baptism, and Israel's eating of the manna and drinking of the water from the rock as a type of Christian communion (i.e. Lord's Supper): Israel were 'under the cloud' (ὕπὸ τὴν νεφέλην) and 'were all baptised into Moses by the cloud and by the sea' (καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, 10:1-2); 'They all ate the same spiritual food and drank the same spiritual drink' (καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα, 10:3-4).¹⁷⁰ Paul deliberately uses the adjective πνευματικός within this typology to denote the activity of the spirit,¹⁷¹ and serves to illustrate Paul's own reflection on the Exodus story as it relates to the spirit, and demonstrates the probability that he considered, with Neh 9:12, 19-20; Ps 143:10; Isa 63:9-14; and Hag 2:4-5, the spirit's identification with the cloud in Israel's Exodus experience.¹⁷²

2.205 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); re-published as *Paul's Way of Knowing: Story, Experience, and the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009)). Though this would be a fruitful area of investigation, I can only identify the way Paul's language on the spirit is shaped by the Exodus story and what this language says concerning Paul's understanding of the identity of the spirit. The influence of the Exodus story on Paul's thought of the spirit has been noted sporadically by scholarship, particularly concerning Romans and Galatians. On Romans see Ignace de la Potterie, 'Le Chrétien conduit par l'esprit dans son cheminement eschatologique,' in *The Law of the Spirit in Rom 7 and 8*, ed. Lorenzo De Lorenzi (Rome: St Paul's Abbey, 1976), 209-278; Wright, 'The Letter to the Romans,' 508-619. On Galatians see William N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18*; Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*. Importantly, Keesmaat, *Paul and his Story: (Re-)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition*, identifies Exodus motifs in Romans and Galatians, particularly as they relate to the spirit (89-95; 133-134; 137-143). Yet these studies do not draw conclusions about the identity of the spirit and are more focused on broader Pauline themes. Michael Li-Tak Shen does not discuss 1 Cor 10:1-5 in any detail, nor emphasises the spirit's activity, *Canaan to Corinth: Paul's Doctrine of God and the Issue of Food Offered to Idols in 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1*, SBL 83 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010).

¹⁶⁹ See the studies by Paul D. Gardner, *The Gifts of God and the Authentication of a Christian: An Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 8-11:1* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994); John Fotopoulos, *Food Offered to Idols in Roman Corinth*, WUNT 2.151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Shen, *Canaan to Corinth*.

¹⁷⁰ In view of Paul's use of the adjective throughout 1 Cor (2:13, 15; 3:1; 9:11; 12:1; 14:1, 37; 15:44, 46, cf. Gal 6:1), the adjective should retain its sense of 'that which pertains to the spirit (of God),' so Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 142-144.

¹⁷¹ So Gardner, *The Gifts of God and the Authentication of a Christian*, 137-143; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 142-144; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 369; Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 448-451.

¹⁷² Though Paul does not make the identification explicit, it is a viable interpretation that Paul identified the spirit with the cloud, despite the fact he does not here use the πνευματικός terminology of the cloud directly, for there is good reason to understand Paul's deliberate distinction between the cloud and the sea as signifying two separate baptisms; passing through the sea denoting water baptism, and passing through the cloud denoting reception of the spirit (cf. 1 Cor 12:13). In this way, Paul identifies a similar pattern in Israel's Exodus experience to that of his Corinthian converts, where just as the spirit (as cloud) led Israel out of bondage in Egypt, through the sea and into the wilderness with Moses to receive the law, where the spirit provided the

1 Cor 10:1-5 is not the only Pauline passage where the influence of the Exodus story has impacted Paul's own reflection on the spirit. There is a generalised pattern that is recognised within Paul's thought by which the Exodus story parallels the experience of believers who have, through Christ, been freed from the law, receive the spirit, and are led by the spirit in the ongoing Christian life.¹⁷³ In an interpretive development that was surely controversial within his Jewish context, Paul understands the Christian experience of being freed from the law as in some sense analogous to Israel experiencing freedom from slavery in Egypt (cf. 'under the law,' Gal 3:23; 4:4-5, 21; 1 Cor 9:20; Rom 6:14-15), and being led by the pillar of cloud through the Red Sea and the wilderness, where Israel was declared to be God's son. This can be diagrammed as follows:

Israel:

Slaves in Egypt	Moses is deliverer	Led by the cloud	Declared Sons of God
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Those in Christ:

Under the law	Jesus is deliverer	Led by the spirit	Declared Sons of God
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This pattern, in relation to the spirit, is most evident in Galatians and Romans, and though Paul's thought is not expressed in such a clear and chronological format, the Exodus narrative can viably be understood as an informing influence on Paul's reflections concerning the spirit's role in Christian experience.¹⁷⁴ While I cannot demonstrate exhaustively that this

necessary means of nourishment, so the Corinthians have received the spirit, undergone baptism, and experience the presence of the spirit in their cultic and ethical life, particularly in the Lord's Supper (cf. 1 Cor 6:11; 11:17-26; chaps. 12-14). Rightly Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 448-451.

¹⁷³ I concur with Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 449 when they state, 'The early church's (and Paul's) understanding of the last supper and the Lord's Supper in terms of the Jewish Passover and the promised second exodus would have made the parallel between the Lord's Supper...and the Israelite's experience in the exodus a natural one for Paul and his readers.' This line of thinking is confirmed by our analysis of Paul's argument in 2 Cor 3:7-18 whereby he utilises Moses' encounter with the presence of Yahweh in Exod 34:29-35, and which presupposes the identification of the presence of Yahweh with the cloud in Exod 33:7-23 (That Exod 32 and Israel's idolatry occurs just prior also indicates the proximity of the cloud and idolatry in Paul's thinking). While 1 Cor 10:1-5 and 2 Cor 3:7-18 are very different contexts, it illustrates the extent to which the Exodus narrative as a whole, and the role of the presence of God in particular, are associated by Paul with the spirit. Of further interest is Paul's use of the term σκῆνος (2 Cor 5:1,4) to refer to the earthly body, a cognate of σκηνή used in the LXX to refer to the tent of meeting (e.g. Exod 33:7-11) and which Paul conceptually relates to the spirit as the one responsible for fashioning the heavenly body (2 Cor 5:5), cf. the verb ἐπισκηνώσει in 2 Cor 12:9.

¹⁷⁴ For defence of this thesis, see Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative*, particularly 209. Wilder builds his thesis from the observations made by J.M. Scott in his *Adoption as Sons of God*, specifically Ch. 3, 121-186. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*, Ch. 4, also supports this reading with reference to Scott, as does Todd A. Wilson, *The Curse of the Law and the Crisis in Galatia: Reassessing the Purpose of Galatians*, WUNT 2.225 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 125-136. The influence of Scott is observed in James M. Scott's edited volume, *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish and Christian Conceptions*, JSJSupS 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), specifically Hafemann's contribution, 'Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3-4,' 329-371.

pattern exists within Paul, since doing so would be beyond the confines of this thesis,¹⁷⁵ I do wish to focus on the particular terms that Paul utilises to describe the believer's experience of following the spirit as a result of their conversion. In doing so it will become evident that the Exodus story and the spirit's identification with the cloud in the Hebrew Scriptures has informed Paul's language and reflection on the spirit's function as a guide within the ethical lives of his converts.

Paul's consistent terminology to describe the spirit within his ethical exhortations in Galatians and Romans confirms his view of the spirit. περιπατέω, 'walk', (Gal 5:16; Rom 8:4 (2 Cor 12:18)); ἄγω, 'led' (Gal 5:18; Rom 8:14); στοιχέω, 'keep in step' (Gal 5:25); and ζάω, 'live' (Gal 5:25; Rom 8:9-11, 13) all denote the ideal by which Christians should strive in their relation to the spirit.¹⁷⁶ Since those in Christ are no longer under the law, the spirit now replaces the law as the medium of sovereign guidance because the spirit is the power of the new creation in the present. Paul's flesh-spirit antithesis in Gal 5:13-26 and Rom 8:1-17 concerns the tension that has arisen as a result of the end of the old covenant and the guiding authority of the Mosaic law, and the beginning of the new, in which the spirit – through faith – is the new boundary marker that identifies the people of God and the new source of life.¹⁷⁷ Such a contrast between the law, denoted by Paul as 'the flesh,' and the spirit is articulated most clearly in Rom 7:5-6: 'For when we were in the flesh, the sinful passions aroused by the law were at work in us, so that we bore fruit for death. But now, by dying to what once bound us, we have been released from the law so that we serve in the new way of the spirit (ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος) and not in the old way of the written code.'¹⁷⁸ This 'new way of the spirit' is conceptualised by Paul as 'bearing fruit for God' (7:4; cf. Gal 5:22-23) in contrast to following the flesh, which 'bore fruit for death' (7:5).¹⁷⁹

The new way of the spirit is an active and experiential engagement with the spirit.¹⁸⁰ The first metaphor Paul uses to express this dimension of experience is that of 'walking.' Paul encourages the Galatians, whom are called to be free from the law (Gal 5:13), to 'walk by the

¹⁷⁵ Wilder's study says much about the condition of being 'under the law' but says very little about the nature of being 'led by the spirit' due to interest in broader biblical theological themes. Wilder's examination of the phrase 'led by the spirit' is focused primarily on the exodus narrative in later texts of the Hebrew Scriptures which identify the spirit's role in the wilderness wandering (with only minor emphasis upon Isa 63), yet does not examine the phrase *within Paul's own context* apart from his conclusion (265-269). When Wilder does turn to examine Paul's argument in Galatians, he stresses the influence of Ps 143:10 but does not extend his analysis of this passage into a thorough-going examination of the work of the spirit (123-174, 182-188).

¹⁷⁶ For a broad summary see Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 876-883; and Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*.

¹⁷⁷ On the spirit's replacement of the law in Rom 8:1-16, see Bertone, 'The Law of the Spirit,' 171-204.

¹⁷⁸ With Fee (*God's Empowering Presence*, 507, fn. 104) and Bertone ('The Law of the Spirit,' 149), ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος is best understood as a qualitative genitive rather than an appositional genitive (cf. Rom 6:4).

¹⁷⁹ For a fuller discussion of Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis, see Chapter 7, 'Eschatological Monotheism.'

¹⁸⁰ Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 110ff; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 294ff.

spirit' so that they will not gratify the desires of the flesh (πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελήσητε, 5:16). So too Paul states that God condemned sin in the flesh 'in order that the righteous requirement of the law might be fully met in us who do not walk according to the flesh but according to the spirit' (ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα, Rom 8:4), an expression pre-empted in 6:4 (οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν).¹⁸¹ The dative expression in Gal 5:16 is best understood instrumentally in view of the following verse (5:17) where Paul develops the nature of the conflict (ἀντίκειται) between the flesh and spirit: 'for the flesh desires what is contrary to the spirit and the spirit what is contrary to the flesh' (ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός). The conflict between the flesh and spirit means that the Galatians cannot do 'whatever they want,' for they must choose either to come under the Mosaic Law or must choose to walk by the spirit.¹⁸² In Rom 8:4 Paul's use of the preposition κατὰ with πνεῦμα adds the sense of walking 'according to' the spirit, and develops an understanding of the spirit as the medium against which the believer measures their conduct.¹⁸³ The one who walks according to the spirit likewise think according to the spirit (φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος), a way of thinking by the spirit (τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος) that leads to life and peace (8:5-8).¹⁸⁴ Paul's use of the verb περιπατέω in Galatians and Romans is consistent also in 2 Cor 12:18 where, in a defence of

¹⁸¹ The verb περιπατέω should not be understood in the literal sense of walking with or beside the spirit (So Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 99-107), for it is clearly a figurative expression which connotes, as Louw and Nida identify (*Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1:504), the broader sense of behaviour, action and the conduct of one's life which is demonstrated by Paul's consistent usage elsewhere (Cf. 1 Thess 2:12; 4:1, 12; 1 Cor 3:3; 7:17; 2 Cor 4:2; 5:7; 10:2-3; 12:18; Rom 13:13; 14:15; Phil 3:17-18). The term is of importance to Paul's argument for it is used as the Greek equivalent to the Hebrew *halak*, a key term in the Pentateuch to refer to one's orientation to the Torah, and formed the conceptual basis for the rabbinic system of following law (*Halakah*). See Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 315-316; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 244; Fee, *Galatians*, 208; More broadly Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 102-105, 'In a general sense, the reader recognizes that Paul does not intend to refer only to the way that a person puts one foot in front of the other as some sort of spiritual exercise. But rather, Paul suggests that walking figuratively represents the totality of one's conduct on earth,' 101.

¹⁸² So John M.G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth: Paul's Ethics in Galatia* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2005), 110-119. Contextually I favour interpreting the ἵνα of 5:17 as a result clause in view of the reality of the Galatians' attempt to choose the path of the law over against the reality of the spirit. *Pace* Longenecker, *Galatians*, 245-246; Fee, *Galatians*, 209-210. Bruce isn't clearly committed, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 244-245. See Jan Lambrecht, 'The Right Things You Want to Do: A Note on Galatians 5:17d,' *Bib* 79 (1998): 515-524. Despite Dunn's understanding of Paul's flesh-spirit antithesis as a tension between fleshly desires and the spirit of God, he has rightly emphasised the degree to which the spirit was an experiential reality, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 294ff.

¹⁸³ Schreiner, 'The use of the participle "walk" shows that the concrete obedience of believers is in mind,' *Romans*, 406. So too Jason Maston, 'The spirit not only frees the human and thereby creates the possibility for obedience. He also functions as the empowering agent through whom believers "please God" (8:8),' *Divine and Human Agency in Second Temple Judaism and in Paul: A Comparative Study*, WUNT 2.297 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 161.

¹⁸⁴ The γάρ that begins Rom 8:5 identifies that what follows (till v. 12, cf. οὗν) clarifies and is an elaboration of 8:4. So Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 425. The genitive expression τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος denotes the believer's mind that is submitted to and under the influence of the spirit who functions as the medium of behaviour for those in whom the spirit dwells (8:9-11).

his character and integrity Paul asks the recalcitrant Corinthians, ‘Did we not walk by the same spirit? Did we not take the same steps?’ (οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι περιεπατήσαμεν; οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴχνεσιν;).

Using a second metaphor, Paul states to the Galatians that ‘if you are *led* by the spirit, you are not under the law’ (εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον, Gal 5:18). This statement clarifies Paul’s argument in the preceding two verses that the Galatians can only choose to walk according to the statutes of the Mosaic Law or choose to walk by the spirit, for being led by the spirit excludes living according to the flesh (i.e. ‘you are not under the law’). The spirit is now the exclusive replacement for the Mosaic Law and the Galatians cannot follow both the spirit and the law concurrently, as their present orientation towards the Mosaic legislation, specifically circumcision, so desires.¹⁸⁵ In a similar expression, though with a different application, Paul states in Rom 8:14 ‘For those who are *led* by the spirit of God are the sons of God’ (ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν).¹⁸⁶ While in the Hebrew Scriptures it is Israel, led by God out of Egypt, who were identified as the sons of God (Exod 4:22; Jer 3:19; 31:9; Hos 11:1), so now the people of God are identified by their reception of the spirit and evidenced by their ‘Abba’ cry (Rom 8:15-17; cf. Gal 4:4-7).¹⁸⁷ In both Gal 5:18 and Rom 8:14, Paul uses the passive form of the verb ἄγω to connote the influence of the spirit, for the believer clearly does not lead themselves but is led by an agency beyond them.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ ‘[W]alking by the Spirit means to follow the leading of the Spirit, which means that Torah observance is totally irrelevant,’ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 438; ‘[L]ife lived in Christ and by the Spirit is incompatible with existence “under law”... These two situations – being led by the Spirit and being “under law” – are mutually exclusive,’ Wilson, *The Curse of the Law and the Crisis in Galatia*, 120.

¹⁸⁶ As Dunn notes ὅσοι can have either a restrictive or an inclusive sense and since ‘it is dependence on the Spirit which is decisive,’ then the ambiguity may be deliberate; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 450. Moo opts for the inclusive sense only, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 498, fn. 7.

¹⁸⁷ So Potterie, ‘Le Chrétien’ and Keesmaat, *Paul and his Story*. Burke, *Adopted into God’s Family*, 125-151, does well to give adequate focus to the spirit within Paul’s metaphor of adoption. Bertone, ‘*The Law of the Spirit*,’ argues bluntly that in those contexts where ἄγονται occurs (Rom 2:4; 8:14; 1 Cor 12:2; Gal 5:18; 1 Thess 4:14) ‘there is no association whatsoever with the Exodus event’ (193) and ‘In Gal 5:18 there can be no greater distance between Paul’s thought and the Exodus event’ (193-194). The supporting reason given is that ‘Central to the Exodus event was the giving of the law’ (194), yet this is precisely the reason that makes the underlying narrative so essential for Paul in view of Paul’s law-spirit contrast. Bertone’s study would have been strengthened had he taken into account the Exodus themes that inform Paul’s emphasis upon those led by the spirit as the sons of God (Rom 8:14-16; cf. Exod 4:22; Jer 3:19; 31:9; Hos 11:1), taken into account Potterie’s key argument, that ἄγειν and its cognates are technical terms to denote the Exodus in the LXX (cf. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 450), and finally, to take into account 1 Cor 10:1-5 which demonstrates that Paul’s thought can include reference to the Exodus event to inform his compositions. Bertone does not demonstrate an awareness of Wilder’s argument (published in the same series) which provides good support, particularly in view of the parallel argument in Gal 4:1-7.

¹⁸⁸ Rabens recognises that 8:13 (‘if by the spirit you put to death the misdeeds of the body...’) is the active equivalent of 8:14 (being led by the spirit), with the stress, clearly indicated by the dative, falling on the spirit’s agency rather than human activity, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 214-215. As Dunn rightly notes, following Käsemann, ‘the most natural sense of ἄγεσθε with such a dative is that of being constrained by a compelling force, of surrendering to an overmastering compulsion,’ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 450. Bertone confirms this reading by emphasising Paul’s use of ἄγονται in 1 Cor 12:2, ‘*The Law of the Spirit*,’ 194-196. Moo is less

The third metaphor Paul utilises is observed in Gal 5:25 when he states, ‘let us keep in step with the spirit’ (πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν). As is commonly noted, στοιχέω contained the meaning of ‘to stand in a row,’ hence ‘to stand in line with,’ and was often used as a military term to denote the discipline of an army.¹⁸⁹ Paul utilises this metaphor to create the sense of the spirit as the embracive measurement and orientation of the believers’ whole existence.¹⁹⁰ Paul’s previous uses of the verb in 4:3, ‘under the basic principles of the world’ (ὕπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου), and 4:9, ‘how is it that you are turning back to those weak and miserable forces?’ (πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα), despite being difficult verses to translate, in context is most likely a broadened expression that denotes the Galatians’ previous pagan experience as analogous to slavery under the law (cf. 3:23, 24-25; 4:1-2). Thus again, like the verb περιπατέω, Paul applies the metaphor of στοιχέω to following the spirit, which stands in basic contrast to slavery under the law (cf. 6:16).

A final metaphor that Paul utilises is that of ‘living.’¹⁹¹ Paul can assume with the Galatians that they ‘live by the spirit’ (εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, 5:25),¹⁹² a seemingly innocuous reference, yet one that points back to 2:14, where to ‘live’ describes Peter’s active Gentile lifestyle. Paul’s use of the metaphor emphasises the spirit’s determination over the Galatians’ lifestyle. Gal 2:19-20; 3:11, 12 (cf. Rom 10:5) are of interest because of the clear contrast that Paul forms between life in God and Christ, and death under the law: ‘through the law I died to the law so that I might live for God’ (2:19). This ‘living’ for God, i.e. life in Christ, is understood experientially in 5:25 as living by the spirit whereby the spirit helps fulfil the ‘law

confident of the spirit’s leading as ‘ecstatic’ or ‘charismatic,’ but his appeal to Gal 5:18 does not take into account such a ‘charismatic’ presentations of the spirit in Gal 3:1-5 and 4:6; *The Epistle to the Romans*, 498-499. Thompson, in *The Promise of the Father*, Ch. 5, argues against reading Paul’s language in Romans 8, particularly Paul’s metaphor of adoption, ‘in *individualistic, subjective, and experiential* terms,’ but instead ‘should be read first in *cosmic, corporate, eschatological, and theocentric* terms,’ 126, emphasis original. One must ask how such categories as these (eight!) are caused to stand in opposition within Paul’s thought, but more importantly, Thompson has neglected to discern that in Paul’s worldview the spirit is an experiential reality and such a perspective influences his argument. So to exclude as a primary means of interpretation an *experiential* reading of Rom 8, which is so occupied with the reality of the spirit, is to misunderstand that for Paul, talk of the spirit is indeed speech relating to Christian experience. Thompson’s emphasis upon Jesus and God, to the exclusion of the spirit, may well be the reason for this line of interpretation. Rabens does well to refute Thompson’s rejection of an experiential interpretation but to also give adequate focus to both the individual and corporate dimensions of Paul’s argument, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 204-209. For a much fuller analysis of the spirit in Paul’s ethical worldview than what I can only briefly note here, and with an emphasis upon the relational experience of the spirit in Rom 8:12-17, see 203-237 of Rabens’ study.

¹⁸⁹ Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 104-105.

¹⁹⁰ Longenecker, *Galatians*, 265-266. Cf. Rom 4:12; Phil 3:16.

¹⁹¹ Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 164-167, conceptually distinguishes between ‘living by the spirit’ and ‘walking by the spirit,’ but such a distinction appears somewhat arbitrary.

¹⁹² Εἰ with the indicative demonstrates that Paul understood the statement (‘If we live by the spirit...’) to be true in their present experience.

of Christ' (6:1-2).¹⁹³ Rom 8 develops this metaphor of living on a much grander scale. Rom 8:12-13 posits a clear dichotomy between living by the law (characterised by Paul as the flesh) and living by the spirit: 'Therefore, brothers and sisters, we have an obligation – but it is not to the flesh, to live according to it. For if you live according to the flesh, you will die; but if by the spirit you put to death the misdeeds of the body, you will live' ('Αρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν, εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆτε, μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν· εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε).¹⁹⁴ Such 'living,' while clearly oriented towards the final outcome, i.e. death or eternal life, is concretely evident in the present experience of allegiance and commitment, either to the flesh or to the spirit, for the thinking of the flesh is death but the thinking of the spirit is life (8:6).¹⁹⁵ Since Paul denies believers live according to the flesh (cf. Rom 7:1-6, 10), the corollary is that both he and the Romans (cf. ἐσμὲν) now live by the spirit, a point that Paul leaves unexpressed yet one which the readers would presume to be true.¹⁹⁶ Thus living by the spirit is the present experience of life which looks forward to eternal life given by the spirit (8:2).

Paul's emphasis on the metaphors of walking, being led, keeping in step with, and living by the spirit, all reflect his recognition that the spirit functions actively in the believer's experience in an analogous way to the experience of Israel led out of slavery in Egypt by the pillar of cloud.¹⁹⁷ These metaphors are clearly synonymous and overlap in application yet what remains significant is that *the spirit replaces the law as the medium of guidance for*

¹⁹³ For broader engagement with the concept of life and ethics in Galatians, see John G. Lewis, *Looking For Life: The Role of 'Theo-Ethical' Reasoning in Paul's Religion* (London/New York: T&T Clark/Continuum, 2005), 146-204; Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*, 78-131, 132-163.

¹⁹⁴ With Moo, τοῦ ζῆν is most likely expegetic, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 493, fn. 116. Again, Εἰ with the indicative demonstrates that Paul understood the statement to be a true fact. So Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 428.

¹⁹⁵ Fee aptly notes, 'Having said that believers are under no obligation to "live according to the flesh," he elaborates "if you *live* thus, you are going to *die*." The "live" in this clause has to do with one's "way of life" in the present; the "die" belongs to the eschatological future,' *God's Empowering Presence*, 558. In this way, Paul's use of the verb ζάω must therefore be understood metaphorically to denote the active behaviour associated with being led by the spirit or the flesh. So Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 222. Paul does not explicitly state in 8:12-13 that the Romans live by the *spirit*, since his focus is upon the outcome of living according to the *flesh vis-à-vis* the spirit. But this can be assumed from 8:9-11, which directly precedes, for the spirit of God *dwells* in believers: 'You are not in the flesh but are in the spirit, if indeed the spirit of God dwells in you' ('Υμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, 8:9)... 'If the spirit...dwells in you' (εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα...οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, 8:11). So Cranfield, *Romans*, Vol. 1, 394; Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 219.

¹⁹⁶ So Cranfield, *Romans*, Vol. 1, 394; Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 219.

¹⁹⁷ Wright summarises well Paul's reflection on the spirit: 'Romans 8 contains one of Paul's greatest expositions of the work of the Spirit, emphasizing constantly the way in which the Spirit's present work anticipates the Spirit's future work of resurrection. In the present passage [Rom 8], it becomes clear that the Spirit "indwells" God's people in Christ, as the *Shekinah* "indwelt" the tabernacle in the wilderness or the Temple in Jerusalem; so we should not be surprised to discover in the following paragraphs that the Spirit takes the role, within the new wilderness wanderings of the liberated people of God, that in the exodus story was taken by the pillar of cloud and fire,' 'Romans' in *NIB*, 581. Though Wright's comments concern Rom 8, they can also be seen to parallel Paul's thought elsewhere, particularly in Galatians.

those who are now the children of God.¹⁹⁸ For Paul, walking after the spirit is demonstrated in his representative list of the fruits of the spirit (Gal 5:22-23).¹⁹⁹ These fruits were the key evidence that one was walking by the spirit and open to the spirit's influence, so Paul perceives an active and direct orientation towards the spirit who influences his, and his converts' ethical experience.²⁰⁰ Identifying this influence thus gives a far richer perspective on Paul's own comprehension of the spirit's function as ruler and guide in Christian experience.

3.2.2 *The Charismatic Guidance of the Spirit*

More than any other Pauline letter, 1 Corinthians 12-14 demonstrates the extent to which the spirit was dynamically active in leading and guiding the Christian community not only as an 'ethical' influence but also a 'charismatic' influence.²⁰¹ In 12:1 τῶν πνευματικῶν connotes the expression of a wide variety of phenomena by the spirit that Paul seeks to clarify for the Corinthians.²⁰² Paul addresses the issue of the Corinthian overemphasis of the expression of

¹⁹⁸ For this conclusion in Galatians, see the argument of Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 110-152 and Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*. Barclay's conclusion (219) that a) Gal 5:13-6:10 'serves as an appeal to the Galatians to let their lives be directed by the Spirit,' and b) 5:13-6:10 'functions as an assurance that the Spirit can provide adequate moral constraints and directions' (emphasis original), further confirms the importance of the reality of the spirit as ruler within Paul's own thought.

¹⁹⁹ Kongsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 108-114. See Gregory K. Beale, 'The Old Testament Background of Paul's Reference to "the Fruit of the Spirit" in Galatians 5:22,' *BBR* 15:1 (2005): 1-38.

²⁰⁰ Dunn is correct to claim, 'when Paul urged his readers to walk by the Spirit and be led by the Spirit we must presume that they shared something at least of the vitality of that experience,' Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 225.

²⁰¹ The question whether the spirit inspires 'charismatic' phenomena or simply functions as a moral guide is anachronistic to Paul. The overlap between charismatic inspiration and ethical participation is most clearly evident in the sanctification of believers (e.g. 1 Thess 4:7-8; 1 Cor 3:16; 6:11, 18-19); in 1 Cor 12-14 as a whole where the issue is the expression of tongues by the spirit without concern for other members of the body, the very same holy spirit who indwells each body as sacred space and influences each person to honour God with their bodies; in Paul's metaphor of the fruit of the spirit which illustrates what it means to 'keep in step' with the spirit in the Christian community; and in Rom 8 where the backdrop to Paul's emphasis on the leading of the spirit lies the end of the law as the norm for determining the people of God. Thus Paul himself does not dichotomise between charismatic experiences of the spirit and the spirit's role in ethics, for the spirit functions as ruler and lord in the totality of the believer's experience. Dunn comments that 'the manifestation of charismata' does not 'make the believer more holy,' and 'There is no immediate causal connection between charisma and sanctification,' *Jesus and the Spirit*, 254, emphasis original. Yet, it should be noted that the manifestations of the spirit function as a means of expressing and demonstrating a sanctified existence. On the relationship between holiness and the spirit in Paul and the breadth of the spirit in both charismatic and ethical activity, see Preben Vang, 'God's Empowering Presence and the Issue of Holiness: A Relational Interpretation of Paul's Pneumatology,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1994); Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 237-241; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 199-342; Ralph P. Martin, *The Spirit and the Congregation: Studies in 1 Corinthians 12-15* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 5-88.

²⁰² In 12:1 Περί δέ (Margaret M. Mitchell, 'Concerning Περί δέ in 1 Corinthians,' *Novum Testamentum* 31:3 (1989): 229-296) signals Paul's switch to the new topic τῶν πνευματικῶν (Cf. 7:1, 25; 8:1; 16:1, 12). This is arguably best read in the neuter gender denoting 'spiritual things.' There is strong debate over whether πνευματικῶν should be interpreted as a masculine (thus referring to spiritual persons) or a neuter (thus referring to spiritual things). In favour of the former is Paul's use in 2:13, 2:15, 3:1 and 14:37 while in favour of the latter is 2:13, 9:11, 10:3-4 and 14:1. Four other occurrences contrast with the body (15:44-46). I take Paul here to be introducing a new topic in 12:1, and just like at 7:1 and 8:1, where 'now about' (περί δέ) is Paul's stylistic means of referencing an issue raised by the Corinthians in their letter, I view πνευματικῶν as a term used by the Corinthians, rather than by Paul. Because of this and the nature of Paul's overall discussion in chapters 12-14 on the preference of prophecy over tongues, I view Paul as referring to that which is expressed phenomenologically,

tongues (1 Cor 12:10; 14:1ff) and τῶν πνευματικῶν signals that Paul connoted this particular manifestation.²⁰³ The fundamental problem for Paul, beyond the essential issue that an overemphasis on tongues resulted in division within community, is the deficient view of the spirit that such abuse implied. By overemphasizing tongues, likely because of their view of tongues as a heavenly language which was the key identification of their supreme state (cf. 13:1ff), the Corinthians were effectively collapsing the *variety* of ways the spirit as expressed. Paul is focused with urging the Corinthians to broaden their understanding of what constitutes spirit activity (τῶν πνευματικῶν) and to emphasise the communal benefits of prophecy. Paul claims that no one can say ‘Jesus is Lord’ except by inspiration of the holy spirit (12:3) in order to illustrate that *all* believers can claim to speak by the spirit since they are each indwelt by the spirit (cf. 1 Cor 6:19).²⁰⁴ It is the spirit’s agency in the confession of the lordship of Christ which becomes the defining criteria of possession of the spirit.

i.e. the neuter interpretation above, which I have translated as ‘manifestations.’ So Robertson and Plummer, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 259; Martin, *The Spirit and the Congregation*, 7-8; Don A. Carson, *Showing the Spirit: A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians 12-14* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1987), 22; Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 255; Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth*, 255-256; Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988), 204; Craig S. Keener, *1-2 Corinthians*, NIBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 100; E. Earle Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, WUNT 1.18 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1978), 24; Siegfried Schatzmann, *A Pauline Theology of Charismata* (Peabody: Hendrickson Pub, 1987), 31-32; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 576 (though he leans towards accepting the validity of both interpretations). Pace Garland *1 Corinthians*, 564; David K. Ekem, “‘Spiritual Gifts’ or “‘Spiritual Persons’”? 1 Corinthians 12:1a Revisited,” *Neotestamentica* 38 (2004): 54-74. In the end, such debate may serve to be superfluous, for as Barrett notes, ‘spiritual persons are those who have spiritual gifts,’ *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 278; cf. Collins, ‘The difference between the two understandings (masculine/neuter) is relatively minor. People of the Spirit participate in spiritual phenomena,’ *First Corinthians*, 447. Thiselton can be placed in this category, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 909-911.

²⁰³ Paul denotes the concept of the phenomena by using the diverse terms πνευματικά, χάρισμα, διακονία, ἐνέργημα/ἐνεργέω, διαίρεσις/διαίρέω, and φανέρωσις. It is a linguistic mistake to label the concept solely as ‘spiritual gifts’ for the term χάρισμα is one of many to denote the concept. The sense ‘gift,’ contrary to many translations, is not intrinsic to the meaning of πνευματικά but has been imposed onto it from χάρισμα. See Max Turner, ‘Modern Linguistics and the New Testament,’ in *Hearing the New Testament – Strategies for Interpretation*, ed. Joel B. Green (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 146-174; Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 255-277 and more broadly, ‘Spiritual Gifts Then and Now,’ *Vox Evangelica* 15 (1985): 7-64; Schatzmann, *A Pauline Theology of Charismata*; Carson, *Showing the Spirit*; Gordon D. Fee, ‘Gifts of the Spirit,’ in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin and Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove/Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 339-347; Kenneth Berding, ‘Confusing Word and Concept in “Spiritual Gifts”: Have We Forgotten James Barr’s Exhortations?’ *JETS* 43:1 (2000): 37-51; Benny C. Aker, ‘Charismata: Gifts, Enablements or Ministries?’ *JPT* 11:1 (2002): 53-69.

²⁰⁴ Paul critiques the particular Corinthian members who viewed speaking in tongues as a (*or the*) sign of their spirit inspiration by emphasizing other expressions (12:4-11) and illustrates their abuse by using the metaphor of the human body to demonstrate that the church (the ‘body of Christ’) is diverse in its design and expression (12:12-26). Paul creates a representative list of spiritual manifestations, with tongues, and interpretation of tongues at the bottom of the list, thus highlighting where the problem lay (12:7-11). See Gordon D. Fee, ‘Tongues – Least of the Gifts? Some Exegetical Observations on 1 Corinthians 12-14,’ *Pneuma* 2:2 (1980): 3-14. Paul urges the Corinthians to ‘eagerly desire the greater gifts’ (ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ μείζονα, 12:31) by following the way of love (12:31b-14:1) which in application includes those ‘gifts’ that edify and build up the community (cf. 12:7), most notably prophecy, for ‘Those who speak in a tongue edify themselves, but those who prophesy edify the church’ (14:4, cf. 2-3, 5, 12, 26-28). See Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech*; Wayne A. Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1999); Elim Hiu, *Regulations Concerning Tongues and Prophecy in 1 Corinthians 14:26-40*, LNTS 406 (London/New York: T&T Clark/Continuum, 2010). On the exegetical issues associated with the decision to choose either the imperative or indicative of the verb ζηλοῦτε in 12:31, and indeed its sense, see Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*,

Beyond the spirit's inspiration of the confession 'Jesus is Lord,' Paul identifies the spirit as responsible for both the distribution and manifestation of a variety of phenomena within the Corinthian church.²⁰⁵ It is the *one* spirit who both inspires confession of the Lordship of Christ (12:3) and who dispenses the variety of gifts in the church ('There are different apportionings of gifts, but the same spirit distributes them,' Διαίρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, 12:4). While Paul does reference Christ ('Lord') and God as involved in the process of distribution (12:5-6),²⁰⁶ he gives prominence to the agency of the spirit: it is 'through the spirit' (διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, 12:8a), 'according to the same spirit' (κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, 12:8b), 'by the same spirit' (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, 12:9a) and 'by the one spirit' (ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι, 12:9b) that the phenomena are given.²⁰⁷ Paul identifies these diverse phenomena through the expression 'the manifestation of the spirit' (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος) which are given to 'each one' for the common good (ἐκάστῳ δὲ δίδοται, 12:7). Thus the singular φανέρωσις, in conjunction with Paul's stress on the 'same' or 'one' spirit (12:8-10) given to 'each one,' discloses his emphasis upon the unity of the source of phenomena which results in a diversity of expression evidenced by Paul's representative list (cf. 12:12-13): 'All these are the work of one and the same spirit, and he distributes them to each one, just as he determines' (πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται, 12:11).²⁰⁸

That it is the spirit who is active in the expression of the gifts is confirmed as Paul develops his argument in 1 Cor 14. 14:1 reveals Paul's understanding of prophecy, rather than tongues, as the 'gift' which the Corinthians should eagerly desire in view of prophecy's capacity to edify all members of the congregation because of its intelligible nature. Those who speak in a tongue 'do not speak to other people but to God. Indeed no one understands them; they utter mysteries by the spirit' (πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ μυστήρια, 14:2). When a believer prays

1024-1025. That the imperative exists as the most viable interpretive option rests upon the function of the verb in Paul's argument whereby he must urge them to be actively oriented towards those manifestations of the spirit that build up the community.

²⁰⁵ See Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulate in St. Paul*, 17-49.

²⁰⁶ The three terms χάρισμα, διακονία and ἐνεργημά each describe the process of διαίρεσις in 12:4-6, which are paired with πνεῦμα, κύριος, and θεός.

²⁰⁷ Paul's use of διαίρεσις in 12:4, 5, 6, in conjunction with διαιροῦν in 12:11, makes the sense most likely that of 'apportionings' or 'dealing out' since Paul is concerned with the phenomena that the spirit effects and is tangibly expressed in the community. See Robertson and Plummer, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 262-263; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 929. Pace Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 586, fn. 13.

²⁰⁸ Because 12:7 and 12:11 frame Paul's list of the phenomena and function as an *inclusio*, it is best to take ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος in 12:7 as a subjective genitive, since in 12:11 it is the spirit who distributes them (cf. 2 Cor 4:2). Scholarship is divided over this exegetical decision, yet in the end the difference is minimal. See Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 212, 'it is difficult to exclude either sense'; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 589 (cf. *God's Empowering Presence*, 164, fn. 290, where he hesitantly opts for the objective genitive). Thiselton states that the genitive 'may perhaps be subjective' but chooses the objective genitive, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 936.

in a tongue, the believer's spirit (τὸ πνεῦμά μου) prays but their mind is unfruitful, that is, lacks comprehension (14:13-15), and such praying in a tongue is described by Paul as 'praising by the spirit' (εὐλογῆς [ἐν] πνεύματι, 14:16),²⁰⁹ which denotes the spirit of God who is responsible for the uttering of such mysteries spoken by the spirit to God (cf. 14:2). In contrast, those who prophesy 'speak to people for their strengthening, encouragement and comfort' (14:3). Though Paul does not explicitly state it, as he does with speaking in tongues (14:2, 16), it is clear that he views prophetic speech as due to the inspiration of the spirit (cf. 1 Thess 5:19-22).²¹⁰

Paul's focus is on the priority of prophecy over tongues and is dependent upon the urgencies of the Corinthian situation. Understanding the nature and function of Paul's *ad hoc* representative lists (12:8-10, 28-30) will illustrate that Paul understood the spirit's involvement within the gathered community to be discernible, comprehensive, and pervasive.²¹¹ The significance from this for my argument rests in the specific focus that Paul gives to the spirit as the agent who is actively responsible for distributing the gifts, particularly prophecy, to each one within the body of Christ, a distribution that rests on the

²⁰⁹ The textual tradition on this verse is divided, with one strand containing the preposition ἐν while the other does not. In view of 12:3 and 14:2, the dative denotes the sense of agency of the spirit regardless of the inclusion of the preposition. See Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 667, fn. 3.

²¹⁰ This is confirmed from 1) 12:10 where prophecy is listed and connoted when Paul states 'All these are the work of one and the same spirit' (πάντα δὲ ταῦτα); 2) 14:1 where prophecy is identified as a particular πνευματικά; 3) 14:12 where Paul urges the Corinthians in view of their eagerness for 'spirits' (πνευμάτων), i.e. πνευματικά (14:1, cf. 12:31, 39), to excel in those gifts that build up the church, a clear reference to prophecy (ἐπεὶ ζηλωταὶ ἐστε πνευμάτων, πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ζητεῖτε ἵνα περισσεύητε); πνευμάτων is a reference to the holy spirit (Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 665-666; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1107), and 4) 14:37, where Paul again identifies prophecy as a particular expression of the spirit, thus forming an *inclusio* with 14:1 (Εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός). The inclusion of ἢ does not create a separate category and therefore dichotomises between prophecy and expressions of the spirit, but instead Paul's phrasing should be understood as identifying prophecy as a more particular expression of the broader concept of manifestations by the spirit. Finally, 5) 1 Thess 5:19-22 demonstrates that these interpretations from 1 Cor 12-14 are consistent with Paul's thought on prophecy elsewhere.

²¹¹ The pervasive activity of the spirit on each individual in the church is a remarkable development within Paul's Jewish context. As I have previously shown from the Hebrew Scriptures and in the writings of second temple Judaism, the prophetic spirit was only given to a select few individuals and on sporadic occasions. Yet for Paul, all those who confess the lordship of Christ possess the spirit (12:3, 13) and each may have a hymn, a word of instruction, a revelation in a tongue or an interpretation (14:26). Potentially all may be inspired of the spirit to prophesy in the church (14:29-32), regardless of gender (11:4-5), so long as the expression of prophecy is ordered (14:33, 40). This point is strengthened by Paul's exhortation to the Corinthians in 14:1 and 39 to eagerly desire prophecy, without delimiting this to any particular group within the Corinthian community. Indeed Paul can conceive of everyone prophesying (ἐὰν δὲ πάντες προφητεύωσιν, 14:24). Moreover, there is no evidence that οἱ ἄλλοι (14:29) refers to an elitist group of prophets within the church whose function it is to weigh the prophecies, for if this was the case, Paul would have addressed his letter far more directly towards them in order to control the order of worship. Paul's deliberate use of πάντες should be understood as Paul's means of leaving room for the sovereignty of the spirit to operate within the church (12:10-11). To be sure, Paul understands that not all are prophets (12:29), but this does not mean that there needs to emerge a view of a specialist group of prophets within the church. On these issues, see Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech*, 251-278, *pace* Wayne A. Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in the New Testament and Today*, rev. ed. (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2000), 51-70, 161ff; Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 182-215.

spirit's own determination (12:11).²¹² That Paul elsewhere in his letters correlates the spirit with the expression of charismatic activity speaks against presuming that Paul's focus on the spirit in 1 Cor 12-14 (cf. 2:4-16) is reliant upon the Corinthian fascination with τῶν πνευματικῶν.²¹³ The spirit is the power responsible for the working of miracles (Gal 3:5), and was active in Paul's apostolic ministry as the power of conviction (1 Thess 1:5) and signs and wonders (Rom 15:19).²¹⁴ The extent to which Paul identifies the spirit as the dispenser of the charismatic gifts demonstrates that the spirit is the active, comprehensible and pervasive agent responsible who functions dynamically as ruler within the gathered Christian community.²¹⁵ Thus the ruling functions of the spirit reflect Paul's perspective on the spirit.²¹⁶

3.3 Summary

I have demonstrated that the spirit was understood within the experience of Paul and his recipients as functioning as ruler and guide. In 2 Cor 3:7-18, Paul identified the spirit as 'lord' in his interpretation of Exod 34:29-35 such that the spirit functions as the 'lord' to whom believers turn to in conversion. The spirit's role in conversion was demonstrated beyond that of 2 Cor 3:16-18 and Paul consistently identified the spirit as playing an integral role in the beginning of the believer's Christian life, particularly through displays of power and miracles. Not only was the spirit integral to the beginning of the Christian life, but the spirit is indispensable in the ongoing expression of sanctification and empowerment. Paul's language

²¹² 'The Spirit chooses what gift shall be given to each Christian, so that none has occasion for boasting, or for a sense of inferiority,' Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 286. Also cited by Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 989. While I will investigate the nature of the relationship between the spirit and God at a later point, it is insightful that Paul uses two different verbs to describe the spirit's dispensing of the gifts, and through the body metaphor, God's placement of the various parts of the human body (καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, 12:18, cf. 28). Moreover, compare Paul's repetition of ἐνεργέω (with ἐνέργημα) and διαιρέω in 12:6 and 11 and his use of the passive δίδοται in 12:7. Yet Carson is wrong to state so bluntly that 'nowhere do these chapters [1 Cor 12-14] explicitly make the Spirit the giver of the spiritual gifts,' *Showing the Spirit*, 34, fn. 52. His point is overstated, does not take into account Paul's focus on the agency of the spirit in distributing the gifts (12:11), and appears to be driven by theological agendas. Thiselton's comment that 'Any account of "spiritual gifts" which is merely Spirit-centred rather than Christomorphic (12:3) and Trinitarian (12:4-6) is untrue to Paul,' (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 989) minimises the extent to which Paul gives priority to the spirit as the agent whom apports the gifts due to his anachronistic theological categories. Note Thiselton's definition of prophecy: 'prophesying in Paul's theology and in his argument in this chapter [Ch. 14] is the performing of intelligible, communicative speech-acts, the operative currency of which depends on the active agency of the Holy Spirit...' *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1094, emphasis original, underline mine.

²¹³ Cf. the collocation χάρισμα with πνευματικόν in Rom 1:11.

²¹⁴ While Paul does not explicitly make the connection, he would have no hesitancy identifying the spirit as the power responsible for producing (κατεργάσθη) the marks of a true apostle – signs, wonders and miracles (2 Cor 12:12).

²¹⁵ Rightly Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 39, 'the gifts, even though they are given to each person, are ultimately the expressions of the Spirit's own sovereign action in the life of the believer and of the community as a whole.'

²¹⁶ '[T]he gifts of the Holy Spirit are inseparable from the very presence and personal action of the Spirit of God,' Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1025; 'charisma is always a specific act of God, of God's Spirit through a man. It is the activity of God, the manifestation of the Spirit; it is the demonstration of Spirit and power....' Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 254, emphasis original.

of 'walk,' 'led,' 'keep in step with,' and 'live' by the spirit, identifies the spirit as the source of moral and ethical guidance, in place of Torah. Likewise the spirit inspires the charismatic expression of a variety of phenomena that evidences the spirit's control, sovereignty, and will in the distribution of such phenomena to believers. The spirit is thus conceived by Paul as a pervasive influence in both ethical and charismatic expression.

4. Conclusion

This concludes my examination of the spirit's creative and ruling activity within Paul's Creational Monotheism. Despite Paul never identifying the spirit's participation in God's initial act of creation, the spirit's resurrection of Christ distinguishes the key creative act of God by his spirit, a creative act which foreshadows the resurrection of all believers in the future. Moreover, the spirit is conceived by Paul as a pervasive influence in the experience of all believers and functions as the indispensable demarcation of those who are included in the people of God.

Chapter Six: The Spirit and Cultic Monotheism

1. Introduction

Paul's cultic devotion was an essential characteristic of his religious experience.¹ A fundamental component of Paul's understanding of the identity of God was not only the affirmation of Creational Monotheism, that God is the sole ruler and creator of all things, but also that he is exclusively worshiped. Cultic Monotheism is the belief in God as creator and ruler of all expressed in devotional activity. In this way, Creational Monotheism and Cultic Monotheism are not separated but are integrally linked since the worship of God, facilitated by cultic experiences, is grounded in who God is (e.g. Rom 1:20-25, 11:36). Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to demonstrate, Paul's Cultic Monotheism had expanded to include Christ as the object of devotion alongside God as recognition of his exalted status.² Worship is the aim of Cultic Monotheism and the end purpose of the devotional act gives clarity to the meaning of the practise itself as a response to the subject of devotion. Defining worship is therefore not so much a matter of terminological precision but identifying expressions of devotion, what such activities indicate of the status of the one to whom devotion is given, and significance given to the devotional experience.³

The aim of this chapter will be to demonstrate the spirit's agency in the worship of both God, and indeed Christ, as Lord. My emphasis on participation is an important aspect of the spirit's function within Cultic Monotheism, for as this chapter will show, Paul never

¹ For a development of this theme, see John P. Heil, *The Letters of Paul as Rituals of Worship* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2011).

² Indeed it has been Dunn's recent claim that Jesus plays a much more prominent role as the one *through whom* believers offer worship *to God*, rather than being the *object of* worship, Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?*, 27-28, 147ff. If it is taken that Dunn's argument is correct, this raises a much more pronounced question as to the specific functional roles of the spirit and Christ within the believer's worship experience of God. Whether or not worship ascribed to Christ reflected a view of the 'divine' status of Jesus is a question that moves far beyond the confines of my own thesis, though the participation of the spirit in the Lord's Supper ('Lord' = Christ; 1 Cor 10:1-5), the confession of Jesus as 'Lord,' (1 Cor 12:3) and Paul's Aramaic expression, *Marana tha*, 'Come, Lord' (1 Cor 16:22), are of interest to this discussion. Noteworthy is Bousset's early claim, which stands at odds with Dunn's own conclusions, that the worship of Christ is an essential component of Paul's thought: 'the worship of God in Christ is not a correct formula for Pauline Christianity: In the Pauline communities the veneration of the Kyrios stands alongside the veneration of God in an unresolved actuality,' *Kyrios Christos*, 209, fn. 150. For defence, see the works of Hurtado and Bauckham, *op. cit.*, and the discussion contained in T. Scott Manor, 'Lord Jesus Christ? The Extent of Early Christian Worship of Jesus,' *ExpT* 122:8 (2011): 386-388.

³ Cf. Ralph P. Martin, *Worship in the Early Church*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 10, who defines worship as 'to ascribe worth to God.' As Martin comments in a later publication, 'While there is no formal definition of what the worship of God means or entails in biblical literature, it can safely be said that in both testament ages worship originates in the understanding of God as creator and redeemer,' Martin, 'Worship,' in *DPL*, 982, emphasis mine. On the difficulties with what the word 'worship' connotes in English, see the discussion in Gordon D. Fee, 'The Holy Spirit and Worship in the Pauline Churches,' in his *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 91-104.

understood the spirit to be the direct object of worship.⁴ This claim does not diminish the integral function of the spirit within the cultic experience of the Pauline communities, nor exclude the spirit from the Unique Divine Identity, for Paul viewed the spirit's work as a vital and indispensable component of the believers' worship of God and confession of the Lordship of Christ. The centrality of the spirit in the worship experience of Paul and his converts should, at the very least, highlight the proximity in Paul's thought between the spirit and worship more generally.⁵ It shall be argued that although Paul never ascribes worship directly to the spirit as object, the act of worship and devotion is directly identified with the inspiration and influence of the spirit. I shall begin by examining Paul's use of cultic imagery, particularly that of the temple, then proceed to the variety of expressions of worship practised in the Pauline communities. In each the activity of the spirit will be distinguished.

2. The Spirit and Cultic Imagery

2.1 *The Spirit and the Temple of God*

A key cultic image within the Pauline communities is that of the temple.⁶ On two occasions Paul identifies the Corinthian church, and by inference, all Christian communities, as the temple of God:

⁴ The observation that the spirit is not the direct recipient of worship may be the reason why discussion on the spirit and worship in the Pauline communities, and early Christianity in general, is so sparse. This lacuna is noted by N. Thomas Wright, 'Worship and the Spirit in the New Testament,' in *The Spirit in Worship - Worship in the Spirit*, eds. Teresa Berger and Bryan D. Spinks (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009), 3. For those studies on worship which do not give any priority to the spirit see Oscar Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship* (London: SCM Press, 1953); Charles F.D. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament*, ESW 9 (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961); Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (London: SPCK, 2002), particularly 47-72; Margaret Barker, *Temple Themes in Christian Worship* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2007). Scholarship has been far more interested in what worship and devotion says about Jesus' status within Paul's monotheistic worldview. See Richard T. France, 'The Worship of Jesus: A Neglected Factor in Christological Debate?,' in *Christ the Lord*, ed. Rowden, 17-36; Bauckham, 'The Worship of Jesus in Philippians 2:9-11,' in *Where Christology Began*, eds. Martin and Dodd 128-139; Hurtado, *At the Origins of Christian Worship*; *idem*, *Lord Jesus Christ*; *idem*, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*; Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, particularly 127-151 and 152-181; Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?*

⁵ Broad exceptions are Fee, 'Some Reflections on Pauline Spirituality,' and 'The Holy Spirit and Worship in the Pauline Churches,' in his *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 33-47 and 91-104 respectively (though his examination relies heavily on Colossians and Ephesians, which lie beyond my own scope); Turner, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament? – Towards an Explanation of the Worship of Jesus,' 167-186, though Turner's interests still remain focused on the worship of Christ rather than the specific function of the spirit; Wright, 'Worship and the Spirit in the New Testament,' 3-24, whose paper approaches the subject from a broad brush-stroke position.

⁶ See Barker, *Temple Themes in Christian Worship*, though with minimal reference to the specific activity of the spirit. It is indeed surprising that Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, does not (deliberately) include any references to the temple imagery in his study of the origins of Christian worship on the basis that 'there is very little literary evidence which provides reliable details of the cult at this period' (35, also noted by Barker, *Temple Themes in Christian Worship*, 19). Furthermore, though he recognises that 'the sacrificial imagery of the Temple certainly did continue to figure in early Christian thought...the source for this was the literary description of the Temple liturgy in the Hebrew Scriptures rather than the institution itself' (35). The lack of reliable evidence of the cult should not hinder our recognition that for Paul – who indeed himself

Do you not know that you are the temple of God and the spirit of God dwells in you? If anyone destroys the temple of God, God will destroy that person; for the temple of God is sacred, and you are that temple (1 Cor 3:16-17)

Do not be yoked together with unbelievers. For what do righteousness and wickedness have in common? Or what fellowship can light have with darkness? What harmony is there between Christ and Belial? Or what does a believer have in common with an unbeliever? What agreement is there between the temple of God and idols? For we are the temple of the living God (2 Cor 6:14-16)

1 Cor 3:1-4:21 is Paul's response to reports of disunity within the young Corinthian congregation caused by a widening factionalism on account of their preference for one leader over another. The use of temple imagery in 1 Cor 3:16-17 is utilised by Paul to correct the internal disunity of the Corinthian church.⁷ 2 Cor 6:14-16, in contrast, concerns the

knew the temple cult – the temple was a central metaphor for the expression of Christian worship. The identification of the church as the temple of the holy spirit remains a significant designation, particularly since the spirit, as this chapter will demonstrate, mediates the presence of both God and Christ. Barker's conclusion is apt: 'Temple or Synagogue? Where were the roots of Christian worship? No matter where the Christians actually assembled, or what they called those gatherings, they thought of themselves as the temple,' 44. For studies that view the temple imagery as significant in the Corinthian correspondence, see Bertil Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); Robert J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); Philip W. Comfort, 'Temple,' in *DPL*, 923-925; John R. Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth: Rhetorical and Archaeological Approaches to Pauline Imagery*, SBL 1 (New York: Peter Lang, 1997); David J. Williams, *Paul's Metaphors: Their Context and Character* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999); J. Ayodeji Adewuya, *Holiness and Community in 2 Cor 6:14-7:1: Paul's View of Communal Holiness in the Corinthian Correspondence* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001); Gregory K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*; Albert L.A. Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple: A Historical Interpretation of Cultic Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006); Konsmo, *Pauline Metaphors of the Spirit*, 114-123. On Paul's use of cultic atonement metaphors as they related to the death of Christ in Paul's thought, see Stephen Finlan, *The Background and Content of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors*, Academia Biblica (Atlanta: SBL, 2004).

⁷ Paul's use of the temple imagery in 3:16-17 is the third image which Paul uses in his rhetoric to correct the Corinthian factionalism that likely preferred the leadership of Apollos (3:3-6, 21-22, cf. 1:10-17; 16:12) over that of Paul. The first metaphor of the *field* of God (θεοῦ γεώργιον, 3:9) and the second the *building* of God (θεοῦ οἰκοδομῆ ἐστε, 3:9), combined the temple imagery function as the justification for Paul's plea for unity. The temple imagery logically flows from Paul's metaphor of the building, whereby he has laid the foundation and Apollos has built on that foundation (3:10), and Paul's building imagery is given specification – that of *God's holy temple* (Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 145-146; *idem*, *God's Empowering Presence*, 113; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 315). The building materials that Paul speaks of in 3:12 provide a useful bridge between the metaphor of building and that of the temple, since such materials would have been used in the construction of the temple itself. As noted by Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 311; Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 245-250; John R. Levison, 'Spirit and Temple in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians,' in *Paul and His Theology*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 193, fn. 9. Paul prefaces his use of the temple metaphor with 'Do you not know...' (Οὐκ οἴδατε, cf. 5:6; 6:2, 3, 9, 15, 16, 19; 9:13, 24) which indicates that the identification of the Corinthian congregation as the temple of God should not be a new association for them. This point reveals that the identification of the church as the temple of God was an affirmation made by Paul that was not simply a product of the exigencies of the present *ad hoc* rhetorical context, but was an important component of his thought and proclamation. With Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, 57; Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 90; Levison, 'Spirit and Temple in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians,' 189-215; Konsmo, *Pauline Metaphors of the Spirit*, 114. Fee is not convinced that this expression is enough evidence to deduce that Paul had already made this point known to the Corinthians previously, since 'that is to put too much weight on what seems rather to be a rhetorical device in this letter,' *God's Empowering Presence*, 114, fn. 101.

inappropriate attendance of pagan temples which Paul views as irreconcilable with the image of the church as God's holy temple.⁸ Paul's application of the temple imagery arguably demonstrates his understanding of the church as the replacement of the Jerusalem temple.⁹ This is confirmed by the integral association that Paul forms between the indwelling spirit and the temple of God through his rhetorical question 'Do you not know that you are the temple of

⁸ That Paul repeats the temple metaphor in 2 Cor 6:14-16 confirms its prominence in Paul's thought. Paul's use of 5 rhetorical questions in quick succession functions similarly to his opening statement in 1 Cor 3:16, 'Do you not know...' for when he asks 'What agreement is there between the temple of God and idols?', the response – 'none!' – is one that Paul can presume on the basis of his use of the temple imagery previously and one that the Corinthians should already be aware. Paul concludes his 5 rhetorical questions by stating 'For we are the temple of the living God' and demonstrates that this imagery is the theological justification for answering each of the questions in the negative. It is on the basis of the church's position as the temple of God that there is no fellowship between the church and pagan temples. For a fuller discussion, see Levison, 'Spirit and Temple in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians,' 207-213.

⁹ Some scholars argue that metaphor is a theological construction and is dependent upon Paul's Jewish context whereby the temple in view is in fact the Jerusalem temple which has now been applied to the Christian church. In this way Paul views the church as the new locus of God's dynamic, self-revealing presence. Conversely, there are those scholars who argue that Paul has in view the Graeco-Roman context whereby the 'temple of God' would simply denote the Christian equivalent of the pagan temples in Corinth and no association with the Jewish temple is implied. It appears an essential component of the latter position that on the basis of the Corinthian context the primary referent that would come to the minds of the Gentile recipients would clearly be the pagan temples (cf. 6:9-11; 8:7, 10; 12:2), and thus a rejection of the Jerusalem temple-replacement interpretation is necessary because such an interpretation is largely irrelevant to a Gentile audience (See Kar-Yong Lim, 'Paul's Use of Temple Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence: The Creation of Christian Identity,' in *Reading Paul in Context: Explorations in Identity Formation. Essays in Honour of William S. Campbell*, LNT, eds. Kathy Ehrensperger and J. Brian Tucker (New York/London: T&T Clark, Continuum, 2010), 189-205, particularly, 195-198; Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth*, 7-23). The problems with this line of interpretation are numerous: 1) It ignores Paul's own Jewish context in favour of the Corinthian context and thus ignores the intent of the author with an over-emphasis upon the recipient's means of interpretation. 2) Paul does not shy away from utilising stories from the Hebrew Scriptures, or ideas dependent upon his Jewish context, in order to correct the Corinthians' behaviour (1 Cor 3:19-20; 5:6-8; 9:8-12; 10:1-13, 18; 11:7-10; 15:3, 45, 54-55, cf. 10:32; 2 Cor 3:7-18; 11:21-23). It goes against the logic of Paul's argument in 2 Cor 6:14-7:1 where his support for the temple imagery is taken directly from a catena of quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures. Similarly, Paul's reference to the temple in 1 Cor 3:16-17 is followed closely by two references from scripture (3:19-20); 3) It does not take into account the Corinthians' own fascination with Jewish narrative and ideas as demonstrated by Paul's own response in 2 Corinthians to the ministry of his Jewish opponents, whom the Corinthians support (cf. his use of Exod 34 in 3:7-18, and his explicit reference to his Jewish credentials in 11:21-23); 4) Importantly, such a reading ignores Paul's deliberate use of temple imagery in 3:9-15 which immediately precedes the temple reference and which leads directly to the image as the climax of Paul's description of the church. The correlation between Paul's description of the materials that constitute the building (specifically gold, silver, wood, and precious stones) directly mirror the description of Solomon's temple (1 Chron 29:2), while Paul's warnings about testing by fire resonate with Malachi 3-4 (particularly 3:1) whereby YHWH will come to his temple to pronounce judgement (*pace* Nijay K. Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul: A New Approach to the Theology and Ethics of Paul's Cultic Metaphors*, BZNT (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 65-66, who does not extend his analysis of temple imagery in 1 Cor 3:16-17 back to the building metaphor, stating that 'Paul begins with a broad architectural metaphor, and progresses towards a temple metaphor...' 67. With Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 245-252). In sum, from Paul's perspective, it therefore is more apt to understand the temple metaphor as being dependent upon Paul's own theological reflection on the church as the new Jerusalem temple. Kongsom expresses it well when he states, 'Paul's theological understanding of the truth of God's presence through his Spirit in Christians is likely rooted originally in the concept of the temple in Jerusalem, but Paul uses the parallels of pagan temples to contextualise his artistic metaphor for the Corinthian audience,' Kongsom, *Pauline Metaphors of the Spirit*, 117, With Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 115; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 65-67, 73-76.

God and the spirit of God dwells in you?’ (Οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν; 1 Cor 3:16).¹⁰

Paul’s use of ναός rather than ἱερόν (cf. 1 Cor 9:13) intentionally connoted the localised holy dwelling of God.¹¹ Since Paul places an emphasis upon the *indwelling* of the spirit confirms that he understood the Corinthian church as the new dwelling place of God’s presence.¹² Consequently, Paul re-centres the cultic experience of the people of God that was previously focused on the Jerusalem temple, its holy of holies and the sacrificial system as a whole.¹³ Paul explicitly describes God’s temple as holy (ὁ γὰρ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιός ἐστιν) which confirms that the cultic heart of the temple is being denoted by the term ναός.¹⁴ Paul’s expression ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν makes reference to the Jerusalem temple much more likely since the καί is expegetic and specifies the image of the temple of God.¹⁵ Paul purposefully parallels the ναὸς θεοῦ with the πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ because the presence of God constituted the temple *as* a temple where God dwelt. Thus by emphasising the dwelling of the spirit in association with the temple, Paul stands within the Jewish tradition whereby the spirit was the integral demonstration that God’s presence was among his people.¹⁶ Paul’s association between the spirit and the temple points back to a rich tapestry of narratives in the Hebrew Scriptures, particularly, as I have already demonstrated, the Exodus story where the spirit was understood as dwelling in the tabernacle, tent of meeting, and indeed the Jerusalem temple.¹⁷ This makes Paul’s identification of the Corinthian church corporately (ἐστε) with God’s temple and spirit’s dwelling unsurprising.

¹⁰ See the broader discussions by Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth*, 128-130; Hogeterp, *Paul and God’s Temple*, 298-300, 311ff.

¹¹ Though there is no clear differentiation in sense evidenced in the First Century BCE, there is enough consistency to support the view that in the LXX ναός was used to denote the sanctuary of the temple whereas ἱερόν was used more broadly to refer to the entire temple precinct, *BDAG*, 470, 665-666; Morris, *1 Corinthians*, 67; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 146, fn. 6; Comfort, ‘Temple,’ 924; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 134; Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1:82; Konsmo, *Pauline Metaphors of the Spirit*, 117-118. Pace Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 65-66.

¹² The noun ναός is derived from the verb ναίειν, ‘to dwell.’

¹³ Robertson and Plummer, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 66.

¹⁴ Fee assumes that ‘As imagery, such language no longer refers to ritual holiness, but to “holy” in the moral-ethical sense,’ *God’s Empowering Presence*, 116. I sense that such a division between ‘ritual’ and ‘moral-ethical’ holiness would not represent Paul’s own thinking since in a very real sense the disunity in the Corinthian church would affect significantly the cultic and ritualistic experiences of the gathered community (cf. 1 Cor 12-14).

¹⁵ So Robertson and Plummer, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 66.

¹⁶ See Hogeterp, *Paul and God’s Temple*, 326-331. Adequate parallels have been identified in Qumran (e.g. 1QS 5.5-6; 8:5-6; 9.3-6; 1 QH 4.19) where the ‘spirit of holiness’ is related with the temple (Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*; Konsmo, *Pauline Metaphors of the Spirit*, 114-115; 119-121; Levison, ‘Spirit and Temple in Paul’s Letters to the Corinthians,’ 193-197); in Josephus, *Ant.* 8.118 where Solomon requests the spirit to fall on the temple at its dedication (Levison, ‘Spirit and Temple in Paul’s Letters to the Corinthians,’ 199-201); and in Philo (*Dreams* 1.149; *Opif.* 136-137) where the soul is the ‘abode of God, his holy temple’ (Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 545; Konsmo, *Pauline Metaphors of the Spirit*, 119).

¹⁷ Isa 63:9-14; Neh 9:15-23; cf. 10:34; Hag 2:1-9.

While Paul can state that the Corinthian church as a whole is the temple of God where God's spirit dwells, Paul also conceives of the individual body of the believer as the temple of the holy spirit:¹⁸

Do you not know that your body is a temple of the holy spirit, who is in you, whom you have received from God? (1 Cor 6:19)

ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστὶν οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ

Paul's emphasis is no longer on the corporate nature of the spirit's indwelling so as to encourage unity within the church, but is now focused upon personal holiness in view of members of the Corinthian church having sexual relations with prostitutes (6:12-20). This focus upon the individual is evident in Paul's continual emphasis upon the body – 8 occurrences of σῶμα – for the problem lay with the Corinthian abuse of the body itself by engaging in illicit sexual relations with prostitutes which defiled their union with Christ, for the 'body is meant for the Lord' (6:13). Paul asks pointedly, 'Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ himself?' (6:15), pre-empting terms that function crucially in Paul's metaphor of the church as the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:12-27).¹⁹ Since 'he who unites himself with a prostitute is one with her in body' (6:16), a point that is given scriptural support from the Genesis creation account (Gen 2:24), the Corinthians cannot be united with the Lord and also united with a prostitute, for such simultaneous union is tantamount to uniting the Lord himself with a prostitute (6:15). The role of the spirit in Paul's argument is crucial for the spirit functions as the medium of union between the Lord and the believer: 'whoever is united with the Lord is one with him by the spirit' (ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πνεῦμά ἐστιν, 6:17).²⁰ Such a point is given theological support by Paul's second appeal to temple imagery. In a deliberate parallel that reinforces Paul's argument that the spirit is the medium by which believers are united to Christ, Paul asks with the identical expression previously applied to Christ (6:15; cf. 3:16), 'Do you not know that your bodies are temples of the holy spirit?' (6:19). Paul also emphasises the theme of holiness as a key component of his appeal for behaviour in keeping with the Corinthians' sanctification by the spirit of God (6:11) for he adds the adjective ἁγίου to the spirit in order to emphasise that it is the *holy* spirit who dwells in the believer's bodies.²¹ The identification of the body as the temple of the

¹⁸ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 136.

¹⁹ Levison, 'Spirit and Temple in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians,' 203-204.

²⁰ Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 259-260; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 469.

²¹ Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth*, 130-134. This point is grasped well by Levison: 'what is at stake is the holiness of the community, not just the holiness of individuals. The metaphor of "a temple of the Holy Spirit"

holy spirit is an integral development in Paul's reflection on the cultic experience of the church.²² It is the church, made up of individual embodied members each possessing the spirit, who now constitute the new temple, and therefore the concept of sacred space has been radically redefined to include not just the corporate gathering of believers but also the believer's body individually. Thus the presence of God is no longer confined to one specific geographical location but is present in and amongst God's people, wherever they may be.²³ Such a reading of 1 Cor 3:19 is confirmed also in 2 Cor 5:1-5²⁴ and Rom 12:1-2.²⁵

The importance of 1 Cor 3:16-17; 6:19 and 2 Cor 6:16 for Paul's view of the church as the new temple remains significant for it demonstrates that the spirit functions as the integral reality of the believer's experience of the presence of God and the presence of Christ in the believer. Believers corporately and individually are temples of the holy spirit, a metaphorical identification that demonstrates that in Paul's understanding the Jerusalem temple, which housed the glory of God, has now been superseded by the reality of the spirit indwelling in the

evokes images of a community at worship...a community permeated by holiness and awe,' 'Spirit and Temple in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians,' 206.

²² Importantly, see Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple*, 336ff; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 73-76.

²³ See further, Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple*, 336-347.

²⁴ In a discussion concerning the tension between present bodily experience and awaiting the resurrected body, Paul describes the present body as literally 'our earthly house of tent' (ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκηνῶν, 5:1; ἐν τῷ σκηνῶν, 4; cf. Wis 9:15), *BDAG*, 929. The term σκηνῶν and is rarely used by Paul (only in 5:1, 4; cf. the verb in 2 Cor 12:9). σκηνῶν deliberately recalls the use of σκηνῶν in the LXX to describe the tabernacle (Exod 25:9; 26:1, 6-7, 9, 12-15, 17-18, 22-23, 26-27, 30, 35; 27:9, 21; etc, especially 1 Chron 9:23), particularly the sacred dwelling of Yahweh as Israel travelled through the wilderness (Exod 33:7-11; 35:21; etc), *BDAG*, 928 (Thrall argues that σκηνῶν denotes the material body in 2 Cor 5:1 and 4. Though identifying a potential connotation of temple symbolism, including the wilderness tabernacle, in view, she eventually rejects this on the basis that 'it would be overloading the imagery,' Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 357-362. Yet it is not clear on what basis we can be certain that a term has been 'overloaded' and therefore rendered void of potential connotations). Though 2 Cor 5:1-5 does not contain explicit reference to the temple, Paul's use of σκηνῶν, which is used rhetorically in order to connote the transitory nature of earthly life, concerns the tabernacle, the significant location of God's dwelling prior to the construction of the temple. In this way, 2 Cor 5:1-5 is arguably identified as relevant within a discussion of temple imagery (Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 256-259; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 90-96). That Paul identifies the bodily indwelt spirit as the one who guarantees the future body (2 Cor 5:5, cf. 1:21-22) confirms that in Paul's thinking the dwelling of God among his people was realised through the agency of the spirit.

²⁵ Paul has established the reality of the indwelling spirit within the believers in Rom 5:5 (cf. the cultic imagery in 5:2); 8:1ff, particularly vv. 9-11, and though Paul does not reference the spirit, Rom 12:1-2 is significant for Paul demonstrates again the convergence of temple cultic imagery with the human body (So Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 116-127). He urges the Roman believers to 'offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God – this is your true and proper worship' (παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν). That 12:1 occurs immediately following Paul's discussion on the question of God's faithfulness in relation to Israel's covenant promises, specifically 'the adoption to sonship...divine glory...the covenants, the receiving of the law, the [temple] service (καὶ ἡ λατρεία) and the promises' (9:4), confirms that Paul has adopted temple imagery and applied it to the Roman congregation (So Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 543-545). Moreover, that Paul follows his reference to the temple cult in 12:1-2 with a repeat of the body analogy again in 12:3-5 speaks of the confluence of Paul's thinking. Furthermore, Paul's use of cultic terms in 15:15-16 supports the proximity of the spirit in Paul's thought. See Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 597-613 and in more detail Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 107-135.

hearts of believers (cf. Rom 8:9-11).²⁶ This discussion is necessary as it contextualises the following discussion on Paul's cultic imagery, for the new centre of worship is redefined as the Christian community comprised of believers indwelt by the spirit.²⁷ I aim in what follows to demonstrate that Paul perceives the church of God and the body of Christ as the temple of the holy spirit, which distinguishes the spirit's functions of inspiring the worship of God and Christ. The identification of the church as the temple of the holy spirit thus situates Paul's use of a variety of cultic images in which the spirit is understood to participate.

2.2 Priestly and Sacrificial Service by the Spirit

One of the more important references in Paul which identifies the spirit's role within Cultic Monotheism is Phil 3:3. In a severe attack on Jewish opponents, Paul warns the Philippians to 'Watch out for those dogs, those evil workers, those mutilators of the flesh' (βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν, 3:2).²⁸ This description parallels one given to the Philippians and functions to explain why believers are the true circumcision:

For it is we who are the circumcision
 We who serve by the spirit of God
 We who boast in Christ Jesus
 We who put no confidence in the flesh²⁹
 ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμὲν ἡ περιτομή
 οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες³⁰
 καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
 καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες

²⁶ Though Rom 8:9-11 does not contain any explicit reference to temple imagery, such a perspective on the spirit *indwelling* the believer surely is not too far from Paul's thinking. So Wright, 'The Letter to the Romans,' 583.

²⁷ Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, recognises this point well. Wright correctly states – on 1 Cor 3:16 but which can be applied without difficulty to 1 Cor 6:19 – 'Though 1 Corinthians 3 is not about worship per se, it is not too much to claim that when we have such a theology of the renewed Temple we are observing the foundation of all that might then be said about the worship that is offered within it,' Wright, 'Worship and the Spirit in the New Testament,' 13.

²⁸ Such a descriptions of the Jewish protagonists is a dramatic reversal of the typical Jewish self-perception that identified Gentiles at 'dogs,' considered themselves holy by virtue of obedience to Torah (cf. ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, Gal 2:16; Rom 3:20), and understood circumcision as the key act that identified them as the unique and distinguishable people of God. So Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 298; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 141-148. On the New Perspective reading of this passage, see Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 43-45, 137-141; Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, 469-490; N. Thomas Wright, *Justification: God's Plan and Paul's Vision* (London: SPCK, 2009), 119-130.

²⁹ Peter T. O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 357-358. The definite article ἡ which modifies περιτομή is used by Paul in the attributive sense to emphasise that 'we, we alone' are the circumcision (O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians*, 358, fn. 71), which is further strengthened by the emphatic first position of ἡμεῖς (Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 298). It makes best sense for ἡμεῖς to refer not only to Paul and Timothy (cf. 1:1; 2:19-24), nor only the Philippians, but a description of all believers (O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians*, 358-359).

³⁰ On the textual debate here see Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 288, fn. 10.

Paul criticises the Jews for their misplaced confidence which was grounded in their ethnic superiority and safeguarded by their commitment to Torah, including circumcision as the key sign of their status as the people of God (cf. Rom 2:28-29). In contrast, believers boast *in Christ Jesus*, and place no confidence in the flesh (σάρξ), a reference to the act of circumcision as a sign of ethnic superiority (cf. 3:4ff).³¹ What is significant about Paul's positive description of believers is that the demonstration of those who now constitute the people of God, regardless of ethnicity (Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 12:13), is directly related to the spirit: Believers 'serve by the spirit of God' (πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες). The verb λατρεύω is difficult to translate into English, though most translations opt for either 'worship' or 'serve.' Louw and Nida define λατρεύω as 'to perform religious rites as a part of worship—"to perform religious rites, to worship, to venerate, worship."³² In the LXX λατρεύω denotes religious service to God (e.g. Exod 23:25; Deut 6:12; 10:12, 20; Josh 22:27) or pagan deities, and is most often used in a cultic context where a deity is worshiped.³³ Paul himself can envisage service being offered to pagan gods (Rom 1:25) and service to God by Israel, presumably in the temple (ἡ λατρεία, Rom 9:4), and yet he can describe his own experience of serving God 'in my spirit' by proclaiming the gospel (ὧ λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου, Rom 1:9) and that of the Romans, through the cognate noun, as offering 'true and proper service' (παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν, Rom 12:1).³⁴ The difficulty with translating λατρεύω as simply 'service' is that it does not draw out the underlying cultic context where *the function of the act is to offer worship to God*, a sense which is added by λατρεύω.³⁵ Therefore, there is justification for understanding the term to denote not just the *act* of service but also the *aim* of that service – the worship of God.³⁶

³¹ Here καυχῶμαι denotes the sense of 'putting one's full trust and confidence in,' Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 301. Paul's use of καυχῶμαι elsewhere is insightful: Paul criticises the agitators in Galatia who boast in the Galatian's flesh, i.e. act of circumcision (Gal 6:13-14); Paul references the Jew who boasts in the law yet dishonours God by breaking the law (Rom 2:23, cf. 2:17); and states that God chose the lowly things of the world so that no *flesh* may boast before him (ὅπως μὴ καυχῆσθαι πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Cor 1:29); cf. Rom 3:27-31 where Paul uses the cognate noun καύχησις and denies that boasting is grounded in the Torah but in faith.

³² Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1:532; 'the carrying out of religious service,' *BDAG*, 587.

³³ O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians*, 360; Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 299-300.

³⁴ Cf. Paul's use of the noun λειτουργία in 2 Cor 9:12, Phil 2:17 and 30, and the verb λειτουργέω in Rom 15:27. Dunn understands these cultic terms to denote acts of worship, Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?*, 13-14. This is also true of Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 116-127.

³⁵ It is this sense which separates λατρεύω from δουλεύω, understood in the metaphorical sense of 'to serve' rather than 'to be enslaved' (Gal 5:13; 1 Thess 1:9; Rom 7:6; Phil 2:22).

³⁶ Fee defines λατρεύω as 'service rendered to God as a form of devotion to him,' *God's Empowering Presence*, 752. Of course, it will not do to make the claim that λατρεύω now is synonymous with προσκυνέω, 'to worship' (cf. 1 Cor 14:25). The significance of Paul's use of λατρεύω is that Paul deliberately utilises the cultic sense associated with the term.

Such service is effected by the spirit of God (οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες).³⁷ This is a significant statement because out of the two key descriptions that Paul chooses to utilise in his argument against his Jewish opponents, one is the reality of the spirit. In view of Paul's conception of the believer's body as the temple of the holy spirit, and the cultic imagery that such a position invokes, combined with Paul's use of λατρείαν in Rom 12:1, it is clear that Paul envisages the believer as offering service *by their own bodies*.³⁸ Paul's description of believers as 'the circumcision' who 'put no confidence in the flesh' is sure to be reflective of Paul's own perception of those in Christ who now are God's temple, and who worship him by the indwelling spirit since no longer are the people of God identified by the cutting of flesh but by the offering of the entire body in service.³⁹ This is an expanded understanding of what the worship of God entails, for even though Paul can conceive of the worship of God within the context of the gathered Christian community (e.g. 1 Cor 12-14), he considers all aspects of the life and experience of the believer as worship, worship that is offered through the agency of the spirit of God (cf. 1 Cor 6:12-20).⁴⁰

Paul applies cultic language not only to the church but also to his own ministry as an apostle of Jesus Christ.⁴¹ Rom 15:15-16 is significant because of Paul's deliberate choice of cultic terms to describe 'the grace God gave me' (διὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, 15:15), which is his calling to 'be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles' (15:16). Λειτουργός, while it can denote simply a 'servant' (e.g. Josh 1:1; 2 Sam 13:18 in the LXX, cf. Rom 13:6) is best taken in its cultic sense of ministering as a priest, particularly in view of his use ἱερουργοῦντα in the following clause.⁴² In a parallel statement, Paul continues, 'He [God]

³⁷ The dative is best understood instrumentally rather than locative, in view of Pauline usage elsewhere. See Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 753. That Paul qualifies the spirit as the spirit *of God* is indicative of his understanding of the service of worship rendered *to God*.

³⁸ So Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 116-127.

³⁹ Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians*, WBC 43 (Waco: Word Books, 1983), 125-126, is mistaken in reading Paul as positing a contrast between external and internal religion, with the Jewish religion descending into a mere external ritual devoid of 'inner devotion and dedication of the heart,' (125) and Christianity more focused on the inward working of the spirit. Paul's focus is not on such an internal/external dualism, but on the basis of Jewish ethnic pride which, in his view, rejects Jesus as Messiah and excludes uncircumcised Gentile 'dogs' from the people of God. It is the spirit, poured out on all – including Gentiles – which for Paul identifies the newly constituted people of God and therefore rejects any sense of ethnic superiority. Since the spirit is given apart from the law (cf. Gal 3:1-5), the law must no longer be that which defines God's people. See Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 299; Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, 469-490, particularly 470-473; and more broadly Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, Part II, 122ff.

⁴⁰ 'This same Spirit is the initiator who enables Christians to serve and please God, in a service of a comprehensive kind that includes not simply prayer or worship in a formal sense but the whole of life,' O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians*, 361.

⁴¹ The use of cultic terms is noted by most scholars, e.g. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 589-861; Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 510-512; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 889-891; Schreiner, *Romans*, 766.

⁴² See Neh 10:39; Isa 61:6 in the LXX. So Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 859; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 889; Schreiner, *Romans*, 766; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 128-129. BDAG defines λειτουργός as 'one engaged in administrative or cultic service' and notes that the term always occurs with 'sacred connotations,' 591.

gave me the priestly duty (ἱεουργοῦντα) of proclaiming the gospel of God' (15:16). The *hapax legomenon* ἱεουργοῦντα is used deliberately by Paul to describe his ministry to the Gentiles in an analogical way to a priest serving and offering animal sacrifices within the temple of God.⁴³ This temple imagery is continued in the purpose clause that follows whereby Paul explains the reason for his priestly ministry.⁴⁴ His apostolic ministry is 'so that the Gentiles might become an offering acceptable [to God], sanctified by the holy spirit' (ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορά τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, 15:16). Thus Paul's priestly ministry is to bring the Gentiles themselves as an acceptable offering to God (Rom 12:1; Phil 2:17; cf. 1 Thess 2:19-20; 3:9, 11-13; 4:8).⁴⁵ This summary of the context leads to the essential point that it is through the agency of the *holy* (ἁγίῳ) spirit that Paul can view the Gentiles as ritually clean and sanctified (ἡγιασμένη), indeed acceptable (εὐπρόσδεκτος). The spirit is directly identified as the agent responsible for a purified sacrifice that is holy and acceptable to God (cf. Rom 12:1-2).⁴⁶ In other words, the fundamental power at work *in* and *through* Paul in his priestly duty as apostle, and the power sanctifying the Gentiles *to* God so they are received *by* God is the holy spirit.

A key illustration of Paul's understanding of the sanctification of Gentiles is evident in Rom 14-15 and the redefinition of purity regulations. Writing to the Roman believers, who comprise both Jew and Gentile converts, Paul must grapple with the tensions that arose due to

⁴³ ἱεουργοῦντα is formed from the nouns ἱερός and ἐργός ('to work as a priest'). '[I]n Philo and Josephus [ἱεουργοῦντα] consistently denotes the priestly offering of sacrifice,' Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 860; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 129-130. Cf. BDAG, 471.

⁴⁴ So Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 511.

⁴⁵ As most commentators recognise, προσφορά denotes the offering that is brought into the temple, and the genitive τῶν ἐθνῶν should be understood appositionally. So Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 860; Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 511; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 890; Schreiner, *Romans*, 767, fn. 7; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 130-131. Cf. BDAG, 887. This image of the Gentiles as a cultic offering many Jews would find blasphemous since Gentiles were considered 'unclean'; though there is some precedence in Hebrew literature (e.g. Isa 66:20); Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 860; Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 511-512; Schreiner, *Romans*, 767.

⁴⁶ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 626-627. On the biblical usage of these key terms, see Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 860-861. Of interest is Rom 5:2 where it is possible that Paul uses a cultic term (προσαγωγή) to describe the work of Christ which has led to the pouring out of the spirit into the heart (5:5). Although not used in the LXX, προσαγωγή denotes the access that one has to approach God's presence in the temple and only appears in the undisputed Paulines here, while the verb προσάγω is used in the LXX to refer to the offering of sacrifices. Since the cognate verb is clearly cultic in its application, since 5:2 has been *preceded* by a discussion on Christ's atoning sacrifice [3:25], and since 5:2 is *followed* by reference to Christ's sacrifice [5:6, 9-11], then the cultic allusion is possible (See Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 247-248 and Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 301, fn. 34 who deny any cultic or sacrificial allusions in Rom 5:2). Consequently, Paul uses Christ's sacrifice (cf. δι' οὗ) as the means by which believers can approach God since his sacrificial death covers sin. The result of this access is that believers can 'boast in the hope of the glory of God' (καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, 5:2), a boasting that is grounded in hope, a hope which itself is grounded in the reality of the spirit, for 'hope does not put us to shame, because the love of God has been poured into our hearts through the holy spirit given to us' (ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς οὐ καταισχύνει, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν, cf. 15:13). The proximity of Paul's spirit language in a cultic context strengthens such allusions. See further Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 111-116.

conflict over the role of food laws as they relate to Gentiles in particular (Rom 14:1-15:6).⁴⁷ Paul's exhortations in Rom 14:1-15:6 for the Roman community to be united, since 'the weak' – primarily Jewish Christians – and 'the strong' – primarily Gentile Christians – viewed traditional Jewish customs, specifically food laws and holy days, very differently, resulted in tensions in the community over table fellowship.⁴⁸ Ultimately, Paul argues that 'the kingdom of God is not a matter of eating and drinking, but of righteousness, peace and joy in the holy spirit' (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βρῶσις καὶ πόσις ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ χαρὰ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, 14:17).⁴⁹ Paul thus understands the reality of the holy spirit, producing such characteristics as righteousness, peace and joy, as a replacement for the Mosaic law and all its forms and customs, including purity regulations relating to the consumption of food.⁵⁰ Significantly, 'for the one serving Christ in this is pleasing to God and receives human approval' (ὁ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ δουλεύων τῷ Χριστῷ εὐάρεστος τῷ θεῷ καὶ δόκιμος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, 14:18).⁵¹ What is significant is Paul's view that the one who serves Christ (δουλεύων τῷ Χριστῷ) is in fact following the leading of the spirit by producing such characteristics that reflect the kingdom of God. Consequently, Gentiles, through the spirit, are 'pleasing to God' (εὐάρεστος τῷ θεῷ).⁵²

Finally, Paul also associates the spirit with a redefinition of offerings, specifically the collection of funds from the Gentiles that provides material support for the poor Jewish

⁴⁷ Such food laws functioned within Judaism to maintain purity, thus some foods were 'clean,' while others considered 'unclean.' Of importance to a Diaspora Jew who did not have access to the Jerusalem temple, such a strong maintenance of the food laws functioned to identify them as the people of God and was an integral part of their cultural and religious identity. For Paul, such food laws were no longer operative but replaced by the work of the spirit, yet there remained a continued tension within the Pauline communities between Jewish believers, whom still held onto such traditions, and new Gentile converts (cf. Gal 2:1ff). This is a significantly large discussion within Pauline studies, and I by no means wish to oversimplify the debate here, see Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*. In application to Romans only, see particularly Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, lxiii-lxxii; 794ff. For a discussion on the cultic themes in this passage, see Kathy Ehrensperger, "'Called to be Saints' – the Identity-shaping Dimension of Paul's Priestly Discourse in Romans,' in *Reading Paul in Context*, eds. Ehrensperger and Tucker, 90-109.

⁴⁸ So Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 795ff; Schreiner, *Romans*, 707-710.

⁴⁹ On the influence of Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God on Paul's thought, see Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 822-823.

⁵⁰ It is clear that the spirit modifies not just joy but all three characteristics, particularly in view of Gal 5:5, 22, 23 where each characteristic is ascribed to the spirit (Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 620; Schreiner, *Romans*, 741), cf. 1 Thess 1:6 where joy is given by the holy spirit.

⁵¹ γὰρ clearly signals the continuation of Paul's thought and ἐν τούτῳ is most appropriately a reference back to the totality of 14:17.

⁵² This is the practical application of his previous claim that those in Christ 'serve in the new way of the spirit, and not in the old way of the written code,' (ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γραμμάτων, Rom 7:6), and indeed of Rom 7-8 as a whole. Paul has also previously used the adjective εὐάρεστος in Rom 12:1-2, which, as we have seen, demonstrates Paul's re-imagining of cultic imagery. Though the two occurrences of the adjective in the LXX do not demonstrate a cultic influence (Wis 4:10; 9:10), comparing Paul's use of the adjective in Rom 12:1, 2 (cf. 2 Cor 5:9) and particularly Phil 4:18 (ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ) demonstrates that a cultic application is surely present in 14:18 whereby sacrifices were considered by God to be pleasing and acceptable. Dunn raises the possibility that in Rom 12:1 (and, I would argue, by extension 14:18), 'Paul perhaps would have in mind those prophetic passages which speak of the unacceptability of sacrifice to God (Hos 8:13; Amos 5:22; Mic 6:7; Mal 1:8, 10, 13),' *Romans 9-16*, 711.

Christians in Jerusalem: ‘if the Gentiles have shared in the Jews’ *spiritual* blessings, they owe it to the Jews to *serve* with them their material blessings’ (εἰ γὰρ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκοινώνησαν τὰ ἔθνη, ὀφείλουσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σαρκικοῖς λειτουργῆσαι αὐτοῖς; Rom 15:27). Just as the adjective πνευματικός denotes the activity of the spirit elsewhere in Romans (1:11; 7:14; cf. Gal 6:1; 1 Cor 2:13, 15; 3:1; 9:11; 10:3, 4; 12:1; 14:1, 37; 15:44, 46) so too must the adjective here refer to the spirit’s work, in a line of thought that mirrors 15:16-17; for the Gentiles have, like the Jewish people, participated in the covenant promises of God by reception of the spirit, and in turn serve (λειτουργέω) the Jews through the collection.⁵³ Paul’s use of the verb λειτουργέω is consistent with his use of the noun λειτουργία in 2 Cor 9:12 to also refer to the Corinthians’ giving to the collection. Moreover, in view of Phil 2:17 and 30, Paul clearly understands financial aid of Christian ministers, given by the Gentiles, as a service (λειτουργία) parallel to the collection itself, yet also described using cultic imagery (cf. 4:18). That Paul uses a key cultic term (λειτουργία and its cognates) confirms that he understood service within the Christian community to parallel the service rendered to God within the Jerusalem temple. Paul thus presents a view of his own ministry as a service to God to sanctify the Gentiles by the spirit, and the Gentiles reciprocation by serving the Jerusalem believers through the collection. Thus Paul has redefined sanctification for the Gentiles in both purity and offering regulations, and has identified the spirit as integral to both expressions of holiness.

In summary, the spirit is clearly an integral component within Paul’s cultic description of those in Christ who serve God through the power of the spirit. Such references to the activity of the holy spirit within a cultic description of Paul’s ministry to the Gentiles is indicative of Paul’s perception of the function of the spirit as the sanctifying power responsible for setting apart the Gentiles to God (1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 6:11), which again is consistent with his view of the church of God now redefined as the temple of the holy spirit (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19). As a result of the priestly ministry of Paul, the Pauline communities composed of both Jew and Gentile please, worship and offer service to God *by the spirit*.⁵⁴

2.3 Baptism, the Lord’s Supper and the Spirit

To this point I have examined Paul’s use of cultic imagery and its application to the believers’ worship of God in and by the spirit which is expressed in the image of the temple of the holy

⁵³ 1 Cor 9:11 is insightful, for Paul, like Rom 15:27, uses the adjective πνευματικός to refer to his ministry among the Corinthians (i.e. the ‘seed’), which should result in material support from them (the ‘harvest’).

⁵⁴ It should be clear from my analysis that such an affirmation of worship by the spirit does not concern a dichotomy between internal ‘spiritual’ worship and external rituals. Such an interior referent to the spirit’s activity is not present in Paul’s descriptions of the spirit. So Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 196-202.

spirit. What remains to be examined is the relationship between the spirit and the believers' experience of water baptism and the Lord's supper. It is arguable that both these early Christian forms were seen as central to the expression of faith in Christ, particularly, if Corinthians is indicative, within the early Pauline communities.⁵⁵ In 1 Cor 10:1-5 Paul engages in a typological argument in order to correct those who wish to continue attending pagan temples. The Exodus narrative (10:1-11, 18) serves as a supporting argument that warns the Corinthians that their participation in idol feasts is in fact equivalent to Israel's idolatry in the wilderness, and since Israel's idolatry brought judgement from God, those attending pagan temples must desist in their behaviour because it contradicts their participation in the Lord's Supper.⁵⁶ Israel's experience of being led out of Egypt by the cloud, through the sea, being nourished by manna and water, and their idolatry – when they created and worshiped the golden calf resulting in an immoral feast of their own – provides clear parallels with the Corinthians. Israel were 'under the cloud' (ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην) and 'were all baptised into Moses by the cloud and by the sea' (καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει, 10:1-2), and 'They all ate the same spiritual food and drank the same spiritual drink' (καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα, 10:3-4). Paul's reference to Israel's baptism into Moses by the cloud and by the sea is, in the Christian context, a reference to water baptism.⁵⁷ Likewise, Israel's consumption of manna, denoted by 'spiritual food' and drinking 'spiritual drink,' typologically parallels the bread and cup of the Lord's Supper.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Paul himself refers to some of the Corinthians whom Paul did baptise, though his emphasis is upon the relative few he did baptise which should inhibit the Corinthians forming particular factions with himself as their rival apostle on the basis of his role in their baptism (1 Cor 1:13-17). So too Paul makes reference to the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 10:14-22 and 11:17-34 (cf. Rom 14:6), a meal that functioned as a central focus when the church gathered for worship (It is clear that Paul's discussion turns in 11:2-14:40 to address problems that are occurring within the gathered community at worship). Notably, both references to water baptism and the Lord's Supper only occur due to the Corinthians' abuse of the forms as a consequence of factionalism within the community.

⁵⁶ On the Lord's Supper in Corinthians, see Panayotis Coutsoumpos, *Paul and the Lord's Supper: A Socio-Historical Investigation*, SBL 84 (New York: Peter Lang, 2005).

⁵⁷ That water baptism is in view in 10:1-4 is confirmed not only by the fact that members of the Corinthian church have previously been immersed in water (1:13-17) but also due to the nature of Paul's argument which emphasises participation with Christ. Baptism itself is a form of this participation (cf. 1:13) where the presumed response to Paul's question, 'Were you baptised into the name of Paul?' clearly must be the name of Jesus Christ.

⁵⁸ That these applications are correct is confirmed in Paul's following discussion where he argues that participation in pagan temple feasts is incompatible with the Christian form of the Lord's Supper (10:21). On the premise that those who eat the sacrifices participate in the altar (οὐχ οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς θυσίας κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσίν;), the cup of thanksgiving in the Lord's Supper is a 'participation in the blood of Christ' (κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ) and the bread a 'participation in the body of Christ' (κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν, 10:16), while conversely, 'the sacrifices of pagans are offered to demons, not to God' (10:20). The result is that those Corinthians who attend pagan temple sacrifices may become 'participants with demons' (οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι). Paul's consistent use of the noun κοινωνία/κοινωνός (10:16, 18, 20) indicates the stress Paul lays not on the activity of eating and drinking in itself, but what such activity facilitates – union with either Christ or demons (Cf. μετέχω 'share/partake in,' 1

I highlight the significance of the spirit in relation to both forms of worship. It is my view that Paul most likely understands the cloud as a reference to the spirit since such an identification finds support in the Hebrew Scriptures (Neh 9:12, 19-20; Ps 143:10; Isa 63:9-14; Hag 2:4-5). This association helps to explain Paul's imagery, for Israel were 'under the cloud' (ὕπὸ τὴν νεφέλην), and 'were all baptised into Moses by the cloud and by the sea' (καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, 10:1-2). Paul deliberately parallels Moses with Christ, into whom believers are baptised (Gal 3:26-27; 1 Cor 1:13; Rom 6:3-4), and parallels the sea with the water into which the believer is immersed.⁵⁹ If the spirit is understood as the cloud, then the application to the Christian context of water baptism becomes clearer for the cloud symbolises the agency of the spirit, since the cloud led Israel out of Egypt and through the sea.⁶⁰ The structure of Paul's typology also parallels baptism into Moses in the cloud and sea with the eating of spiritual food and spiritual drink.⁶¹ By the use of πνευματικός to define the manna of the Exodus, Paul also retrospectively identifies the spirit as the cloud, thus confirming the association. Consequently, the cultic context of 10:1-22, with support from 1:13-17, makes it likely that Paul now associates the spirit with water baptism in his typology of Israel and the Corinthian church.

Furthermore, in Paul's typology πνευματικός modifies both βρῶμα and πόμα and the adjective must denote the activity of the spirit as related to the Christian experience of the Lord's Supper.⁶² Paul uses the adjective πνευματικός to describe the rock from which springs from the drink, and typologically identifies the rock as Christ (ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός, 10:4; cf. 10:9). The clue to Paul's meaning is found in his emphasis in 10:14-22 on believers who participate through the bread and wine

Cor 10:17, 21, 30. So also Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 616). The cultic imagery here is very strong, for the cup of thanksgiving symbolises the blood of Christ, and the bread symbolises the sacrificed body of Christ, and parallels the sacrifices on the altar (τὰς θυσίας, τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου) offered to idols in the pagan temples (εἰδωλόθυτον, 10:18-20).

⁵⁹ Rom 6:3-4 is a curious passage for Paul's language of baptism, which parallels his language of burial and resurrection, is metaphorically applied to the believer's experience of appropriating the work of Christ. Though 6:4 concretely denotes the rite of water baptism (συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον), Paul's focus lies on the metaphorical *application* of the act to the present experience of the believer's death to sin. So Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 139-146.

⁶⁰ Paul can conceptually associate baptism with the spirit (1 Cor 6:11; 12:13) though it must be noted that these applications are metaphorical and concern the reality of conversion rather than water baptism itself.

⁶¹ Paul's use of the adjective πνευματικός within this typology is noteworthy, and in view of the adjective elsewhere, must denote the activity of the spirit. Cf. Paul's use of the adjective throughout 1 Cor to refer to the spirit (2:13, 15; 3:1; 9:11; 12:1; 14:1, 37; 15:44, 46, cf. Gal 6:1), so Gardner, *The Gifts of God and the Authentication of a Christian*, 137-143; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 142-144; Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 448-451.

⁶² Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 449 rightly comment, 'Paul understands the water and manna to have been provided by the Spirit, and he also understands the elements of the Lord's Supper to be food and drink of the Spirit, who communicates the presence of Christ to his community.'

with the body and blood of Christ. Since Paul qualifies the food and drink and the rock as spiritual, Paul understands the spirit as the means by which a believer participates with Christ as they consume the bread and wine. This is consistent with the unity between believer and Christ by the spirit that is reflected in 6:12-20, for believers are the temple of the holy spirit – which stands in stark contrast to the pagan temples whom some Corinthians have been attending – and therefore it is by the spirit that they are united with Christ (6:17) and God (3:16), and conversely, the spirit is the means by which Christ (and indeed God), is present during the Lord’s Supper. This is further supported through Paul’s description of the Corinthian church as the body of Christ (10:17; 11:27-29; 12:12-27; cf. Rom 12:4-8) and by his association between the body of Christ and the spirit.⁶³ The spirit has formed the church as the body of Christ since believers ‘were all baptised [metaphorically in conversion] by one spirit so as to form one body...and...were all given the one spirit to drink’ (12:13).⁶⁴ Paul uses both metaphors of the church – the body of Christ and the temple of the holy spirit – to affirm the unity of the church in the face of factionalism (3:16-17, and 10:17, 11:23-29). Thus Paul can conceive of the spirit as the means by which believers participate with Christ during the Lord’s Supper, and in view of 2 Cor 13:13[14] Paul can also conceive of the spirit as the means by which believers co-exist in unity as the one body of Christ, the temple of God.⁶⁵

This discussion distinguishes the role of the spirit as participating in water baptism and in the Lord’s Supper. While the cultic imagery is less pronounced in water baptism – though the concept of cleanliness and purification may stand behind the form – it certainly emerges observably in Paul’s understanding of the Lord’s Supper, particularly through his typology

⁶³ The body is an important Pauline metaphor for the Corinthian church. See Yung-Suk Kim, *Christ’s Body in Corinth: The Politics of a Metaphor*, PCC (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008) and James D.G. Dunn, “‘The Body of Christ’ in Paul,” in *Worship, Theology and Ministry in the Early Church: Essays in Honor of R.P. Martin*, JSNTSupS 87, eds. Michael J. Wilkins and Terence Paige (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 146-163, who is right to stress Paul’s use of the metaphor as a means of urging unity amongst believers. Though see the study by Lee, who wishes to go beyond simple metaphor, Michelle V. Lee, *Paul, the Stoics, and the Body of Christ*, SNTS 137 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Karl O. Sandnes, *Belly and Body in the Pauline Epistles*, SNTSMS 120 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 181-218, approaches the body in a more literal sense because of a focus on the belly/stomach in Paul’s argument/s.

⁶⁴ Though it is tempting to understand both water baptism and the Lord’s Supper as the forms standing behind Paul’s identification of the activity of the spirit in 1 Cor 12:13, the context speaks against such a view. Paul can use the same two images of baptism and drinking to refer to three different Christian experiences – 1) the Corinthians’ conversion as a metaphorical cleansing of immersion in water (6:11; 12:13, cf. Gal 3:27); 2) the act of baptism as an initiatory rite (1:13-17; 10:1-4; cf. Rom 6:3); and 3) the Lord’s Supper (10:1-4, 14-22; 11:17-34).

⁶⁵ I find Dunn’s minimisation of 1 Cor 10:1-5 as a reference to the Christian rite of water baptism and the Lord’s Supper unnecessary. Though he is right to argue that the Exodus story is simply an illustration that is analogous to present Christian experience rather than a claim that Moses and Israel participated in a pre-existent Christ, his argument, shaped by his conversion-initiation framework does not give due attention to the very real *application* of Israel’s experience to the Christian rites of water baptism and the Lord’s Supper. His explanation of Paul’s use of πνευματικός with reference to the manna and water ‘as an illustration of the spiritual sustenance Christians receive from Christ’ (125) far too vague and misses the deliberate sacramental context of 1 Cor 8-10 as a whole, particularly with reference to the Lord’s Supper (10:14-22). Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 124-127.

with the Exodus.⁶⁶ The sacrificial connotations of Christ's death and the shedding of his blood informs Paul's understanding of the atoning work of Christ, and the function of the Lord's Supper is both the remembrance and proclamation of the Lord's death until he comes (11:26).⁶⁷ Thus, it is through the spirit that believers are baptised into Christ and through the spirit that Christ is present within the community as they partake of the Lord's Supper.⁶⁸

2.4 Summary

Paul's use of cultic imagery is indicative of his understanding of the Christian church as transforming the cultic symbols of the temple cult in Jerusalem and Torah observance.⁶⁹ Paul described his Christian experience in cultic terms, including his apostolic ministry of preaching the gospel (Rom 15:15-16; cf. 1 Cor 9:13-14), because such a description demonstrated a consistency between his Jewish heritage and his faith in Christ (cf. Rom 16:25-27), since it is the same God who, by the spirit dwelt in the temple, and now dwells within the hearts of believers. Indeed, Paul's understanding of the identity of the spirit and the spirit's association with cultic metaphors is reflected in Paul's frequent use of the adjective ἅγιος to describe the spirit (1 Thess 1:5-6; 4:8; 1 Cor 6:19; 12:3; 2 Cor 6:6; 13:13[14]; Rom 5:5; 9:1; 14:17; 15:13, 16; cf. Rom 1:4, πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης). God's people, 'the saints,' (ἅγιος, 1 Cor 1:2; 6:1,2; Rom 1:7; 8:27; 12:13; 15:25-26; 16:2, 15, etc) are called to be *holy* (Rom 12:1) because they are the *holy* temple (1 Cor 3:17) of the *holy* Spirit (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19) and have been sanctified by the *holy* spirit (1 Cor 6:11; Rom 15:16).⁷⁰ Having established the spirit's relation to cultic imagery, in what follows I shall briefly investigate more particular expressions of Christian worship in the Pauline communities that are directed towards God and Christ by the spirit.

⁶⁶ Fee rightly agrees with this reading of 1 Cor 10:1-5: 'we must surely understand Israel's analogy to our Lord's Supper, with its "Spiritual food and Spiritual drink" to be an allusion to Paul's understanding of the Spirit as present when believers eat the bread and drink the wine of their Supper...he [Paul] understands the Spirit's role to be present to create and empower the two-way *koinonia* (participation/fellowship) between believers and their Lord and with one another as they eat the bread and drink the wine,' Fee, *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 99. Paul's use of a typological argument to present the spirit in the believer's experience in the present in some way is also observed in Gal 4:29.

⁶⁷ Christ is the Passover lamb who has been sacrificed (1 Cor 5:7) through crucifixion (1 Cor 1:23) for sins (1 Cor 15:3); cf. Gal 1:4; 3:1, 13-14; 2 Cor 5:21; Rom 3:21-26; 5:1-6:23; 8:3. See Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 208-223.

⁶⁸ Though only giving scant attention to the spirit, this was an important recognition by Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, 20.

⁶⁹ As Wright correctly summarises, 'for Paul, the Spirit picks up both Temple and Torah and, fulfilling both, transcends both. Here we are close to the very heart of Paul's theology of worship and the Spirit,' Wright, 'Worship and the Spirit in the New Testament,' 16. This is not to say that Paul's use of metaphor, imagery and analogy makes his experience any less real for him than that of the Jewish cult, rather the cultic experience has been redefined through Christ and the spirit.

⁷⁰ For a development of Paul's non-atonement cultic images as they relate to his 'Christian' experience, particularly sensitive to the function of metaphor, see Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 205-211.

3. The Spirit and Expressions of Worship

Paul's letters reveal a variety of expressions of worship both within his own experience of devotion, and in the gathered Christian community.⁷¹ The spirit functions as the inspiration for such expressions of worship, expressions that are indeed directed towards God and Christ in recognition of their exalted status.

3.1 Confessions

A significant demonstration of the redefinition of those who now constitute the people of God is understood by Paul to be evidenced in the believer's dual confession – that Jesus Christ is 'Lord' and that God is 'Father.' Importantly, Paul consistently identifies both confessions through the inspiration of the spirit. Paul attempts to convince his Corinthian congregation that 'no one speaking by the spirit of God says, "Jesus be cursed," and no one can say, "Jesus is Lord," except by the holy spirit' (διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει· Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν· Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, 1 Cor 12:3). This confession was pre-empted in Paul's letter opening where Paul greeted the Corinthian church along with all those everywhere who 'call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Cor 1:2; cf. 1 Cor 16:22; Rom 10:9, 12-13). The confession of the Lordship of Christ by the inspiration of the spirit is the measurement for those who indeed are included in the body of Christ. Paul can also claim that both Jew and Gentile, through faith, are sons of God. Paul can state that 'because you are his sons, God sent the spirit of his son into our hearts, the spirit who calls out, "Abba, Father,"' ("Ὅτι δὲ ἔστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ, Gal 4:6). Since the participle κρᾶζον agrees in gender with τὸ πνεῦμα, Paul stresses the spirit as the dynamic inspiration for the confession of the fatherhood of God.⁷² Conversely, Paul can state in Rom 8:15 'the spirit you received brought about your adoption to sonship and by him we cry, "Abba, Father,"' (ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας ἐν ᾧ κρᾶζομεν· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ). Paul

⁷¹ See the broader study by Martin, *Worship in the Early Church*, 28ff and more specifically, Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 199-258. The importance for Paul of the community gathered for worship is most evident in 1 Corinthians, particularly Paul's use of the language of 'gathering' (the verb συνέρχομαι) for the purpose of worship, as seen in 5:5, concerning Paul's understanding that he himself is present with the Corinthian community when they gather; 11:17, 18, 20, 33, 34, concerning the Christian community gathered for the Lord's Supper; 14:23, 26, concerning the expression of tongues; and 14:26, which includes reference to hymns, word of instruction, etc. See Fee, *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 92-93; Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 617-620.

⁷² Longenecker, *Galatians*, 174. If, as Longenecker argues (166-175), Gal 4:4-5 is a pre-Pauline confession that Paul draws from in his argument, with 4:6-7 functioning as his application to the Galatian situation, then it follows that Paul understood the Abba cry of the spirit to be intimately related to the early Christian community's confession, specifically expressed in the early community at worship. In this way Gal 4:6 functions similarly to 1 Cor 12:3 as a means of identifying the new people of God by their public confession.

understands the spirit as the agent who is both inspiration of the believer's confession and also the mediation between the believer and God, 'for the spirit testifies with our spirit that we are the children of God' (Rom 8:16).

Furthermore, Paul includes confessional statements which reference not only God and Christ, but also the spirit. This is observed in 1 Cor 12:4-6 where there are different kinds of gifts but the same spirit; different kinds of service but the same Lord (Christ); and different kinds of working but in all of them and in everyone it is the same God at work. In 2 Cor 1:20-21 Paul can claim that the promises of God are always 'Yes' in Christ and through him (i.e. Christ) the 'Amen' is spoken by all believers to the glory of God. It is God who makes believers stand firm in Christ, anoints believers, and places the spirit into their hearts. It is the reality of the spirit within the hearts of the believers, and the 'Amen' confession spoken through Christ which confirms the promises of God. Moreover, Paul can conclude his strong letter to the Corinthians, which itself seeks for unity between apostle and believers, with a confessional wish: 'May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the holy spirit be with you all' (Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν, 2 Cor 13:13[14]). While Paul normally concludes his letters with a grace wish in the name of Jesus Christ (Gal 6:18; 1 Thess 4:28; 1 Cor 16:23-24; Phil 4:23), here in an *ad hoc* elaboration, as Fee describes it,⁷³ expands on the grace wish so as to include not only God, which in itself is not unusual for his letter openings (cf. Gal 1:3; 1 Thess 1:1; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Rom 1:7; Phil 1:2; Philem 25), but also the spirit directly. That the fellowship of the holy spirit is an integral wish of Paul in view of the tension between the Corinthian community and Paul is clear,⁷⁴ and makes it likely that the genitive expression ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος should be understood as an objective genitive, for it is the spirit who brings about the fellowship and unity in the church (cf. Phil 2:1-2).⁷⁵ The *ad hoc* nature of the expanded grace wish, which has progressed into a confessional statement, confirms that while the spirit can invoke a confession of Christ as Lord or God as Father, Paul could conceive not only of Christ and God being invoked in confessional material but also the spirit.

⁷³ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 362 (cf. 'On Being a Trinitarian Christian,' in *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 24-32).

⁷⁴ See Ralph P. Martin, 'The Spirit in 2 Corinthians in Light of the "Fellowship of the Holy Spirit" in 2 Corinthians 13:14,' in *Eschatology and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of George Raymond Beasley-Murray*, ed. W. Hulitt Gloer (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988), 113-128.

⁷⁵ So Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 505; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 363, fn. 232.

3.2 Prayer

An integral aspect of Paul's own devotional experience which he shares with his converts remains his experience of prayer. Paul often encourages his recipients to pray, particularly on his behalf (1 Thess 5:17, 25; 1 Cor 7:5; 2 Cor 1:10-11; Rom 12:12; 15:30; Phil 1:9; 4:6; Philem 22), just as he prays for them (1 Thess 1:2; 3:9-10; 2 Cor 13:7; Rom 1:9-10; Phil 1:4, 9; Philem 4). Prayer is common in the gathered Christian community (1 Cor 11:4, 5, 13; 14:13, 14, 15).⁷⁶ Significantly, Paul identifies the spirit as participating in the experience of prayer. I have just observed that the spirit was involved in the believers' confession of God as Father (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15), and it is not inappropriate to understand this proclamation as originating in the believers' experience of prayer.⁷⁷ The effect of the spirit's indwelling is for Paul the recognition of the believers' position as a child of God (Rom 8:16), and the cry of 'Abba, Father' is the evidence of this in the believers' experience. The spirit inspires the utterance (ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν) which signifies that the role of the spirit is one that brings revelation of the identity of God as Father to the believer expressed through prayer.⁷⁸ The subtle difference in the spirit's function in the Abba cry as presented in Gal 4:6 and Rom 8:15, whereby in Gal 4:6 it is the spirit who cries 'Abba, Father' and in Rom 8:15 it is the believer who cries by the spirit, reveals Paul's perception of the close relation of the spirit to God and the spirit to the believer. Paul *distinguishes* the spirit from God in his experience of prayer and also *distinguishes* the spirit from the believer, for 'the spirit testifies with our spirit that we are God's children' (Rom 8:16).⁷⁹

⁷⁶ See Gordon P. Wiles, *Paul's Intercessory Prayers: The Significance of the Intercessory Prayer Passages in the Letters of St. Paul*, SNTSMS 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978). Fee comments, 'Continual prayer marked the apostle's life,' Fee, *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 41.

⁷⁷ This is particularly the case if, as a significant strand in scholarship observe, Paul's reference to the Aramaic 'Abba' cry is an allusion to Jesus' own use of the term in his prayers to God (Mark 14:36) and possibly, what is commonly known as the Lord's Prayer. See the classic presentation by Joachim Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1967); also Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 11-40; *idem*, *Christology in the Making*, 22-46.

⁷⁸ Intriguingly, Paul uses the strong verb κράζω to denote the nature of this prayer, choosing to describe the experience as a forceful cry ('The verb used ("cry out") implies an intensity of feeling or fervor of expression,' Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 461; cf. Dunn, 'Spirit Speech: Reflections on Romans 8:12-27,' in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. Sven K. Soderlund and N. Thomas Wright (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 84). This does not mean that all spirit inspired prayers are as intense but it does highlight the particular nature of the spirit's possession and inspiration as a clearly discernible experience that produces an equally discernible and profound expression.

⁷⁹ On Rom 8:16, see Daniel B. Wallace, 'The Witness of the Spirit in Romans 8:16: Interpretation and Implications,' in *Who's Afraid of the Holy Spirit? An Investigation into the Ministry of the Spirit of God Today*, eds. Daniel B. Wallace and M. James Sawyer (Dallas: Biblical Studies Press, 2005), 37-52. Pace Desta Heliso, 'Divine Spirit and Human Spirit in Paul in the Light of Stoic and Biblical-Jewish Perspectives,' in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology*, 156-176, αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα and τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν cannot be identical referents (168-171). Paul's precedent for distinguishing the human spirit from the holy spirit necessitates against this. With Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 454; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 503-504; Schreiner, *Romans*, 426-427.

Rom 8:26-27 gives greater clarity to this close relation:

- A** In the same way, the spirit helps us
(Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται)
- B** in our weakness (τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ἡμῶν)
- B`** for we do not know what we ought to pray for
(τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξώμεθα καθὸ δεῖ οὐκ οἶδαμεν)
- A`** but the spirit intercedes for us through wordless groans
(ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις)
- C** And he who searches our hearts knows the mind of the spirit
(ὁ δὲ ἐραυνῶν τὰς καρδίας οἶδεν τί τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος)
- A``** because the spirit intercedes for the holy ones in accordance with the will of God
(ὅτι κατὰ θεὸν ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἁγίων)⁸⁰

‘In the same way’ (Ὡσαύτως) signals Paul’s continuing thought of the spirit’s role in sustaining hope within the believer’s present experience, an experience which is described as that of ‘groaning’ (στενάζομεν) being characterised by weakness and suffering (8:23-25).⁸¹ The spirit is given to believers as the firstfruits, the assurance of future adoption, and groan as they anticipate the future resurrection. So ‘in the same way’ (Ὡσαύτως) the spirit works within the present experience of weakness. The chiasmic structure of vv. 26-27 clarifies that it is not the particular *method* used in prayer but rather the *content* of prayer that Paul is emphasising,⁸² for it is the believers’ inability to discern the will of God, within the context of the present age, which Paul identifies as the believers’ weakness.⁸³ The chiasmic structure of 8:26 confirms that the spirit’s help (συναντιλαμβάνομαι) is evident in the spirit’s intercession in prayer (ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει). Paul’s reflection on the spirit’s role in prayer distinguishes the spirit’s relation to both God and the believer. On the one hand, Paul understands that the spirit *of God* (8:9-11, 14) completely discerns the will of God while God himself knows ‘the thinking of the spirit’ (τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος). On the other hand, the spirit dwells within the hearts of believers (5:5; 8:9-11) who live in accordance with the thinking of the spirit (οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, 8:5-6). Consequently, believers pray in accordance with the will of God by the spirit. God searches the hearts of believers, and

⁸⁰ For Paul’s chiasmic structure, see Peter T. O’Brien, ‘Romans 8:26, 27: A Revolutionary Approach to Prayer?’ *Reformed Theological Review* 46 (1987): 69; Schreiner, *Romans*, 442-443.

⁸¹ Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 522-523.

⁸² On Paul’s use of προσεύχομαι and its cognates, see 1 Thess 5:17, 25; 1 Cor 11:4, 5, 13; 1 Cor 14:13, 14[x2], 15; Phil 1:9. For the close synonym εὐχόμεαι, see 2 Cor 13:7, 9; Rom 9:3.

⁸³ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 578-579; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 523-526; Schreiner, *Romans*, 443.

knows the mind of the spirit.⁸⁴ The significance of Rom 8:15 and 26-27 is the explicit identification of the spirit *as the medium of union* between God and the believer in the experience of prayer.⁸⁵

Also noteworthy is Phil 1:19. Phil 1:18b-20 begins with a shift in tense from the present joy of Paul (1:18a), to his continued joy despite his imprisonment and the possibility of death ('But also I will rejoice,' Ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι, cf. Phil 4:4-7). The reason why Paul can rejoice despite his imprisonment is given through a primary verb (οἶδα), which is followed by two ὅτι clauses. My focus lies on the first ὅτι clause which is expanded by two prepositional phrases (διά/κατά):

⁸⁴ The precise nature of the spirit's intercession within the believer's experience has been a subject of debate and centres on the key collocation στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις. Paul's use of the noun στεναγμός clearly parallels his use of the verbs συστενάζω in 8:22 and στενάζομεν in 8:23 to describe the present groans of creation in the former, and the groans of believers as they await the resurrection in the latter (See Szypula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 309-333). Thus the 'groans' of creation, the believer, and the spirit's intercession in prayer are representative of the tension between weakness in the present age and future glorification. Paul modifies in 8:26 the noun στεναγμοῖς by using the adjective ἀλάλητος, which occurs nowhere else in the NT nor in the LXX, and which, strictly speaking (!), denotes the sense of 'without speech' (cf. Job 38:14 in the LXX), *BDAG*, 41. Various translators have grappled with this curious term, ranging from 'wordless' (NIV), 'inexpressible' (NAB), 'not utterable' (KJV, ASV, NKJV), 'too deep for words' (NASB, RSV, NSV), 'inarticulate' (NEB), 'cannot be expressed' (Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1:399); and 'unexpressed, wordless' (Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 478). The debate centres on whether Paul means to denote something that is audible and vocalised. There is a minority within scholarship who understand Paul to be referring to the phenomenon of glossolalia (speaking in tongues) whereby the believer vocalises their experience of groaning while others deny such an interpretation, instead favouring a purely inward and thus unvocalised expression. Those who favour a reference to glossolalia are notably Delling, *TDNT*, 1:376; Käsemann, *Perspectives on Paul*, 122-137; Krister Stendahl, 'Paul at Prayer,' *Interpretation* 34 (1980): 240-249; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 579-586, *idem*, 'Toward a Pauline Theology of Glossolalia,' in *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 105-120; Frank D. Macchia, 'Groans too Deep for Words: Towards a Theology of Tongues as Initial Evidence,' *AJPS* 1:2 (1998): 149-173; John A. Bertone, 'The Experience of Glossolalia and the Spirit's Empathy: Romans 8:26 Revisited,' *Pneuma*, 25:1 (2003): 54-65. Most recent commentators rightly challenge the view that glossolalia is denoted by the expression στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις for a variety of legitimate reasons: 1) The most natural sense of ἀλάλητος is 'wordless,' or 'without speech,' thus Paul must denote something that is not audible since speech requires audibility for comprehension and intelligibility; 2) In line with the previous two uses of groaning (8:22-23), Paul must denote a phenomenon that is metaphorical, thus eliminating the necessity for the spirit's groaning to be literally audible; 3) The intercession occurs within the heart of the believer, the place where God searches, and the place where God knows the mind of the spirit, therefore there is no necessity that the intercession must occur audibly; 4) The 'wordless groans' are the active intercession of the spirit and not the believer. Though Paul can denote the same experience of prayer by ascribing the experience both to the spirit and the believer (Gal 4:6 and Rom 8:15), Paul's emphasis is strongly on the distinctive work of the spirit who is interceding on behalf of the believer; 5) To understand 8:26-27, which is clearly applicable to all believers as an essential experience in prayer, as denoting the experience of glossolalia appears to contradict Paul's understanding of tongues as only given to specific members of the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:10, 30). To be sure Paul does express his wish that all believers would speak in tongues (1 Cor 14:5), but it is due to the distribution of the gifts by the spirit that determines whether a particular member receives the gift of tongues. Clearly in actuality not all did; 6) The intercession of the spirit 'through wordless groans' clearly parallels, in the chiasmic structure, the intercession of the spirit 'in accordance with the will of God,' yet the function of tongues appears to be speaking mysteries (1 Cor 14:2), praising God (1 Cor 14:16) and giving thanks (1 Cor 14:17), not aligning the believer with the God's will. For a defence of a select number of these points, see Alexander J.M. Wedderburn, 'Romans 8:26 – Towards a Theology of Glossolalia,' *SJTh* 28 (1975): 372-373; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 478-479; Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 327-328; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 524-526; Schreiner, *Romans*, 445.

⁸⁵ Dunn, 'Spirit Speech: Reflections on Romans 8:12-27,' 82-91.

for I know (οἶδα γάρ)

that this for me will turn out for my deliverance (ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν)

through your prayers and the supply of the spirit of Jesus Christ (διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν δεήσεως καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)

according to my eager expectation and hope (κατὰ τὴν ἀποκαραδοκίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα μου)⁸⁶

Paul's focus lies on his 'deliverance' through the Philippians' 'prayers and the supply of the spirit of Jesus Christ' (διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν δεήσεως καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).⁸⁷ I will offer five exegetical comments concerning this statement.

Firstly, that Paul uses the noun δέησις rather than the cognate noun of προσεύχομαι (cf. Phil 1:9) does not shift the sense of 'prayer' or 'request' which Paul denotes here,⁸⁸ particularly since δέησις is Paul's favoured term for prayer in the letter (Phil 1:4, 19; 4:6; cf. 2 Cor 1:11; 9:14; Rom 10:1). The use of δέησις in 1:4 and προσεύχομαι in 1:9 demonstrate that the terms are synonymous, thus Paul clearly denotes the prayers of the Philippians.

Secondly, scholarship has debated whether the noun ἐπιχορηγία denotes 'supply' or 'help'/'support.' Yet, as Fee argues, the only other occasion in Paul where πνεῦμα occurs with the verb ἐπιχορηγέω, of which ἐπιχορηγία is a cognate noun, is Gal 3:5 (cf. 2 Cor 9:10). The immediate context clarifies that what is denoted is not the spirit given by God to the Galatians for the purpose of help, but the continued supply of the spirit whom the Galatians have already received (Gal 3:2).⁸⁹ Such a comparison makes it likely that Paul also has the sense of 'supply' in mind in Phil 1:19.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ This structure differs from that of Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 128-129, and agrees with the structural analysis by O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians*, 107.

⁸⁷ Scholarship has rightly noted the influence of Job 13:16 (LXX) 'this will turn out for my deliverance' (καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν) on Paul's language, so even though σωτηρία is used exclusively by Paul to denote eschatological salvation elsewhere (1 Thess 5:8-9; 2 Cor 1:6; 6:2; 7:10; Rom 1:16; 10:1, 10; 11:11; 13:11; particularly Phil 1:28; 2:12), Paul's language, which so clearly copies that of Job, is best understood as referring to his present imprisonment, thus the sense of 'deliverance' or 'vindication.' Just as Job awaited his final 'vindication' of his righteousness from God in the face of subtle accusations by his 'friends' (Job 13), so too Paul, though in a different context, awaits God's vindication before a Roman tribunal or by his release from prison. This reading makes the best sense of Paul's use of the singular pronoun τοῦτό which, contrary to many commentators, does not refer back to the immediate context of 1:12-18 (cf. O'Brien) – if this was the case, the plural pronoun would be more appropriate – but to the broader context of his imprisonment. See Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 131, fn. 22.

⁸⁸ *BDAG*, 213, 879.

⁸⁹ See Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 740-742; *idem*, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 132-134. Pace Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 40-41.

⁹⁰ It appears to me that the difference between the 'supply of the spirit' and the 'help of the spirit' is ultimately minimal, since the former implies the latter.

Thirdly, this reading makes it most probable that the genitive expression ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος is objective, for the supply that is given (presumably by God) is the spirit, as opposed to the subjective reading whereby Paul denotes the help that is given by the spirit in his imprisonment.⁹¹

Fourthly, the genitive πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which appears only here in the Pauline corpus, is used deliberately because of Paul's emphasis upon the exaltation of Christ in his body, whether through his death or his continued life (1:20-26).⁹² The genitive is best taken as an objective genitive for the emphasis is not upon the spirit as supplied by Christ – since it is the spirit who has been supplied (by God) in the previous genitive (cf. Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 1:21-22; 5:5) – but on the spirit who mediates the presence of Christ to Paul through the Philippians' prayers.⁹³ In this way, Paul can identify with the sufferings of Christ in his own imprisonment for it is the supply of the spirit of Jesus Christ that gives Paul confidence that his imprisonment will turn out for his deliverance.⁹⁴

Fifthly, Paul's grammar strongly indicates that the Philippians' prayers and the supply of the spirit of Jesus Christ are closely linked. The preposition διὰ clearly modifies ὑμῶν δεήσεως and ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which are themselves modified by the single definite article τῆς and grammatically connected by καί. The καί functions to specify the particular content of the prayer that Paul perceives the Philippians as offering – the supply of the spirit of Christ in Paul's own experience of imprisonment.

That Paul chooses to emphasise the supply of the spirit of Christ as the content of prayer is significant, for Paul understands the spirit to mediate the presence of Christ as he experiences suffering on behalf of his Lord, and the continued supply of the spirit is the sure evidence that the Philippians' prayers are effective and have been heard by God who supplies the spirit. Even though Paul does not state that the spirit inspires the prayer itself, since the supply of the spirit of Christ is the content of the prayer, Paul nonetheless understands that the continued supply of the spirit is the experiential comfort for Paul as he suffers as an Apostle

⁹¹ With Fee, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, 133-134. Pace Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 40-41 and O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians*, 111-112, whose justification for the subjective genitive rests on an unjustified appeal to the gospel tradition that views the spirit as assisting believers. The parallel with Gal 3:5 is a far more justified and consistent parallel for examining Paul's thought.

⁹² The closest parallel is Gal 4:6, 'the spirit of his son,' and Rom 8:9, 'the spirit of Christ.' Nowhere else does Paul use the full name Jesus Christ.

⁹³ With Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 41; Fee, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, 134-135. Pace O'Brien, *Commentary on Philippians*, 112.

⁹⁴ Cf. a similar emphasis by Paul in 2 Corinthians on Christ's sufferings, though in application to Paul's own apostolic ministry; Kar-Yong Lim, *The Sufferings of Christ are Abundant in Us: A Narrative Dynamics Investigation of Paul's Sufferings in 2 Corinthians*, LNTS 399 (London/New York: T&T Clark, Continuum, 2009).

of Christ. On the basis of the structure of Rom 8:26-27, the spirit would be instrumental in interceding between Paul and Christ in his experience of prayer.

Such a reading is confirmed in Rom 15:30-32 where Paul urges the Roman believers to pray on his behalf. Paul states in 15:30:

I urge you [brothers] (Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς [ἀδελφοί])
Through the Lord Jesus Christ (διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)
And through the love of the spirit (καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ πνεύματος)
To strive together with me (συναγωνίσασθαί μοι)
In your prayers to God for me (ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεόν)

Paul appeals to the Roman believers on the two fold basis – through Christ and the love of the spirit. The phrase τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ πνεύματος, recalling Rom 5:5, is best understood as a genitive of source, since Paul, through the preposition διὰ, attempts to identify the grounds of his appeal; thus it is the spirit who generates the believers' love for each other and for Paul.⁹⁵ The concrete evidence of the spirit's generation of love is observed in the believers' offering of prayer to God (πρὸς τὸν θεόν) on Paul's behalf. In other words, the inspiration of the spirit is the impetus for the believers' prayers to God for Paul. That Paul is the recipient of believers' prayers makes Rom 15:30 parallel to Phil 1:19.

The preceding discussion examined both Paul and the early Christian community's experience of prayer, with particular focus on the spirit's role in inspiring prayer to God as Father (Rom 8:15), interceding for believers in the midst of their inability to discern the will of God (Rom 8:26-27), and the spirit mediating the presence of Christ in prayer (Phil 1:19), and finally, prayer offered to God on Paul's behalf by the inspiration of the spirit (Rom 15:30). Paul affirms that such experiences of prayer were attributed to the inspiration of the spirit and reflects his understanding of the spirit as mediating both God and Christ as the object of prayer.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 878; Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 523; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 632-633; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 909; Schreiner, *Romans*, 781-782.

⁹⁶ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 866, fn. 19, remarks, 'It has sometimes been noted...that the Spirit is never invoked in prayer, as are the Father and the Son...The role of the Spirit in prayer is a different one; he is our divine "pray-er," the one *through* whom we pray, not the one *to* whom prayer is directed.' So too W. Bingham Hunter, 'Prayer,' *DPL*, 731, 'For Paul prayer originates in the indwelling Holy Spirit who gives the believer assurance of adoption,' 732.

3.3 Praise

In addition to *confessions* and *prayer*, a third characteristic of Paul's expression of devotion to God and Christ are expressions of *praise*. A key phenomenon that Paul addresses, and which provides an entry into such expressions of praise, is the phenomenon of speaking in a tongue (λαλῶν γλώσση). Paul perceives the phenomenon of tongues as an expression of praise to God and declares that he himself speaks in a tongue more than the Corinthians (1 Cor 14:18).⁹⁷ This stresses the high frequency and priority that he himself gave to the expression in his own devotional experience.⁹⁸ In what follows I will demonstrate that Paul identifies the spirit as the agent who inspires the expression of tongues which illustrates the inspirational nature of the spirit's activity in directing all expressions of praise to God.

In 1 Cor 12-14, Paul must strive to convince the Corinthians that their overemphasis upon the expression of tongues is in fact inhibitive to the worship of the community since tongues are unintelligible to those who listen.⁹⁹ Because tongues are unintelligible, the community is not encouraged and cannot participate in the expression by glorifying God. Paul must carefully distinguish between the expression of tongues, which are unintelligible and necessitate an interpretation, and prophecy, which by itself is intelligible, thus Paul makes it very clear that 'those who speak in a tongue do not *speak* to other people *but to God*' (ὁ γὰρ λαλῶν γλώσση οὐκ ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ ἀλλὰ θεῷ, 14:2) whereas 'those who prophesy *speak to people* for their strengthening, encouragement and comfort' (ὁ δὲ προφητεύων ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ οἰκοδομὴν καὶ παράκλησιν καὶ παραμυθίαν, 14:3). Paul uses two analogies – musical instruments (14:7-8) and language (14:9-11) – to illustrate that comprehension by a hearer is an integral part of appreciation for what is said by the speaker and therefore applies this practically to the Corinthian congregation (14:13-19; cf. διό, 14:13). Since the aim of the Corinthians should be to strive for those expressions that build up the church (12:31; 14:1, 12) 'those who speak in a tongue should pray that they may interpret what they say' (ὁ λαλῶν γλώσση προσευχέσθω ἵνα διερμηνεύῃ, 14:13). Practically, Paul posits negatively that 'if I

⁹⁷ Offering praise to God, particularly in the form of doxologies or service, is not uncommon for Paul (e.g. Gal 1:5, 24; 1 Cor 6:20; 10:31; 2 Cor 1:20-21; 9:13-15; Rom 11:33-36; 15:6, 9-11; 16:27; Phil 1:11; 2:11; 4:20; cf. Rom 1:21).

⁹⁸ That Paul strongly urges the Corinthian church, in view of their abuse of tongues, to not completely stop the expression of tongues (1 Cor 14:39), and his personal use of the phenomenon (14:18), demonstrates that tongues were of benefit. See Fee, 'Tongues – Least of the Gifts?', 3-14.

⁹⁹ For works that engage with 1 Cor 12-14 and focus on the expressions of the spirit within the Corinthian community, specifically prophecy, tongues and healing, see Arnold Bittlinger, *Gifts and Graces: A Commentary on 1 Corinthians 12-14* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1967); David Hill, *New Testament Prophecy* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1979); Martin, *The Spirit and the Congregation*; David E. Aune, *Prophecy in the Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983); Schatzmann, *A Pauline Theology of Charismata*; Carson, *Showing the Spirit*; Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in the New Testament and Today*; Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech*; Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 184-215; 222-230; 247-248; particularly 255-277. More broadly, Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 200-258.

pray in a tongue, my spirit prays but my mind is unfruitful' (ἐὰν [γὰρ] προσεύχωμαι γλώσση, τὸ πνεῦμά μου προσεύχεται, ὁ δὲ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπός ἐστιν, 14:14), but provides the positive solution: 'I will pray with my spirit, but I will also pray with my understanding; I will sing with my spirit, but I will also sing with my understanding' (προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι, προσεύξομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῖ ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῖ, 14:15). In this way, the expression of tongues, which only edifies the individual, must be deprioritised so that prophecy, which edifies others through comprehension and understanding, can be expressed, thus fulfilling Paul's encouragement for the Corinthians to pursue those gifts that build up the church for the greater good.

What makes this passage so informative concerning expressions of worship in the gathered Christian community is the *array of terms* that Paul uses to connote the expression of speaking in tongues. Paul's frequent use of the verb λαλέω in 1 Cor 14 (24 occurrences; cf. 4 occurrences in chaps. 12-13) to describe 'speaking in a tongue' (14:2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 18, 23, 27, 28, 39) as well as prophecy (14:3, 19, 29, 30), combined with the phenomenon of praying (14:13, 14, 15; cf. 11:4, 5 and 13), singing (14:15), praising (14:16) and giving thanks (14:17), strongly confirms the audible nature of the expressions. It is the audible nature of these expressions which accounts for the degree of overlap in Paul's language to describe the variety of phenomena. A close reading of Paul's argument throughout chapter 14 reveals that while Paul can clearly differentiate between the phenomena of tongues and prophecy (after all, this is the crux of his argument), Paul's expression 'to speak in a tongue' (λαλέω γλώσσα), is synonymous with the expressions 'speaking mysteries [to God]' (λαλεῖ μυστήρια, 14:2), 'praying in a tongue' (προσεύχωμαι γλώσση, 14:14), 'praying with my spirit' (προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι, 14:15) and 'singing with my spirit' (ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, 14:15). Consequently, these examples are used by Paul because they focus on the diverse nature of the expression of tongues. Paul's following references to 'praising' (εὐλογῆς, 14:16) and 'giving thanks' (εὐχαριστεῖς, 14:17) draws the focus not on the expression itself but on the *aim or goal* of the expression – *to praise and give thanks to God*.¹⁰⁰ Despite this subtle shift in focus, the phenomenon is still the same, for both are obviously a reference to speaking in

¹⁰⁰ Though Paul does not explicitly identify God as the subject who receives praise and thanks, this can be presumed on the basis of 14:2 where tongues are spoken directly to God and 14:18 where Paul, in a deliberate continuation of the term from 14:17, thanks God that he speak in tongues more than all the Corinthians. Praising and giving thanks are used synonymously by Paul in this context. Fee states (on 1 Cor 14), 'vv. 16-17 indicate that such prayer in the Spirit may take the form of "blessing God" and "thanksgiving," *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 45. So too Thiselton, 'Blessing God is virtually synonymous with offering a thanksgiving in this context, even if theologically blessing God may include both *praise* and thanksgiving, which are not identical in other contexts,' *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1114, emphasis original. It is possible that giving thanks is a specification of praising God. If this is admitted, it still does not change the observation that Paul is connoting the same phenomenon.

tongues in view of Paul’s practical concern for the congregation who, because of their lack of comprehension of a spoken tongue, are relegated to the same uninformed state as a potential inquirer who cannot participate in giving thanks (14:16-17). These observations demonstrate that Paul can refer to the expression of tongues using a variety of terms without any sense that each description was describing an alternative phenomenon.¹⁰¹

Importantly, Paul highlights the spirit’s role in apportioning the variety of phenomena (expressions of prophecy, tongues and interpretation of tongues; 12:10) according to the spirit’s own determination (1 Cor 12:4, 8-11). That Paul describes all such expressions as ‘the manifestation of the spirit’ (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος, 1 Cor 12:11) given for the common good serves to distinguish the dispensing and inspiring activity of the spirit. Indeed, the reason why Paul begins his correction of the Corinthians’ abuse of tongues by stating ‘no one who is *speaking* by the spirit of God [ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν] says, “Jesus be cursed,” and no one can *say* (εἰπεῖν), “Jesus is Lord,” except by the holy spirit’ (12:3), is not just to make the claim that each believer by their confession of the lordship of Christ possesses the spirit – and therefore each member must be given room to express their gift (cf. 12:12-31) – but to prepare for Paul’s discussion in chapter 14 on tongues and prophecy. That the spirit inspires the expression of tongues is explicitly confirmed by Paul in 14:2, ‘those who speak in a tongue do not speak to other people but to God. Indeed, no one understands them; they speak mysteries by the spirit’ (ὁ γὰρ λαλῶν γλώσση οὐκ ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ ἀλλὰ θεῷ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀκούει, πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ μυστήρια). This is further evidenced in 14:16 where Paul’s statement, ‘when you are praising by the spirit’ (εὐλογῆς [ἐν] πνεύματι) is a reference to the expression of speaking in tongues in the community *by the holy spirit*.¹⁰² That the spirit of

¹⁰¹ My analysis reads Paul as offering the following description of uninterpreted tongues:

Expressed by speech – including prayer and singing > *Content* is a mystery > *Expressed* for the *purpose* of praise and thanksgiving to God.

¹⁰² Paul’s use of πνεῦμα in 14:14 and 14:15 must be a reference to the spirit of the believer and not the holy spirit. This is evident since Paul himself adds the qualifier μου (τὸ πνεῦμά μου) to identify the believer themselves as the one who is praying. Furthermore, the dative expressions προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι and ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι in 14:15 must again refer to the believer’s own spirit, not only because v. 15 follows so closely from v. 14, but because ὁ νοῦς, which parallels τὸ πνεῦμά μου (14:14), and μου τῷ νοί (14:15x2) must refer to the believer’s mind. These expressions which refer to the believer’s own spirit must denote the unintelligible nature of tongues since the spirit stands in contrast to the mind, the organ of intelligibility. Thus Paul makes a subtle distinction between the believer’s own spirit and mind in support of his argument that tongues only edify the believer’s spirit, while the mind is edified through comprehension as a prophetic utterance is given. Conversely, that ‘praising God by the spirit’ clearly refers to the expression of tongues, and stands in parallel to ‘speaking mysteries by the spirit’ in 14:2, strongly supports the view that Paul denotes the holy spirit in 14:16. The arthrous τῷ πνεύματι and τῷ νοί in 14:15 stand as Paul’s means of clarifying that the spirit in question is the human spirit of 14:14, thus the anarthrous πνεύματι of 14:16, like 14:2, denotes the holy spirit. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 670-672. While Fee is surely correct that Paul likely conceives of the believer praying by the inspiration of the holy spirit (cf. 14:2, 16), it will not do lexically to translate πνεῦμα in 14:14 and 15 as ‘S/spirit,’ for Paul’s specific focus here lies on the distinction that exists between the human spirit and the believer’s mind, Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 670. This criticism is also noted by Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1113, but even he denies a reference to the holy spirit here (1114).

God is referenced, rather than the believer's spirit (cf. 14:14-15), is made clear by 12:3 where believers speak by the spirit of God, 12:10 where tongues are given by the holy spirit, 12:13 where believers have received the spirit, and the adjective πνευματικά in 12:1; 14:1, 37 which denotes the activity of the spirit in the community. Mirror reading Paul's argument also informs us that the Corinthians' choice of expression was tongues, thus when Paul states to the Corinthians in 14:12, 'Since you are zealous of πνευμάτων,' the phenomena in mind must at least include tongues effected through the spirit. Both references to the spirit in 14:2 and 16, which identify the spirit of God as the means by which tongues are expressed, inform how we read 14:12 so the plural πνευμάτων denotes the inspiration of the spirit in the manifestation of the gifts, thus connoting the phenomenon of tongues.¹⁰³ Moreover, not only does Paul identify the inspiration of the spirit in the expression of tongues, but also in prophetic utterances. This is justified in 12:10, where prophecy is listed as a manifestation of the spirit; 12:28, where God (presumably through the spirit, 12:11) has appointed prophets in the church; 14:1, where prophecy is a particular expression of πνευματικά; 14:12, where πνευμάτων is a reference not only to tongues, but in view of Paul urging the Corinthians to 'excel in those [= πνευμάτων] that build up the church,' he must understand prophecy as an expression of the spirit; and explicitly in 14:37 (cf. 1 Thess 5:19-22), where prophecy is identified as a particular expression of the spirit (Εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός).¹⁰⁴

These exegetical observations allow me to form the following conclusions. Since Paul has used a variety of terms to describe the singular phenomenon of tongues, and since Paul has explicitly identified inspired speech, particularly speaking in tongues and prophecy, as being expressed by the inspiration of the spirit (λαλεῖ μυστήρια; εὐλογῆς [ἐν] πνεύματι), then it is evident that Paul understands *all such audible expressions of worship to be inspired by the spirit*.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, praying and singing are only two additional expressions that Paul has utilised in his discussion but he also makes note in 14:6 of other expressions of worship that are to be used for the building up of the church: 'revelation' (ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει), 'knowledge' (ἢ ἐν γνώσει), 'word of instruction' (ἢ [ἐν] διδαχῇ, cf. διδασκάλους and διδάσκαλοι in 12:28-29), and a hymn (ψαλμόν, 14:26). It would not be amiss to assume, on the basis of the logic of Paul's discussion, that Paul would have also ascribed such expressions to the inspiration of the spirit despite him never making the spirit's inspiration of these expressions explicit. This is confirmed when Paul ascribes a 'word of knowledge' explicitly to the spirit in 1 Cor 12:8

¹⁰³ So too Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 666.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 595; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 964-965.

¹⁰⁵ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 199-258, certainly moves towards this conclusion, and more forthrightly, Fee, *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, 98.

(λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα), and in 14:15-16 when singing a hymn in my spirit (ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, 14:15) is paralleled with praising by the holy spirit (εὐλογῆς [ἐν] πνεύματι, 15:16). The cumulative evidence reveals that *the spirit functioned as the dynamic inspiration of all expressions of praise and devotion directed to God and Christ*. This reveals Paul's own comprehension of the function of such (intelligible) expressions. Confessing the lordship of Christ was a sign of his exalted status (12:3) and distinguished Christ as the object of devotion. Charismatic expressions also aim to *worship God* (προσκυνήσει τῷ θεῷ) and to demonstrate that God is truly among his people (ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστιν, 14:22-25).¹⁰⁶ The response 'God is really among you' is clearly a response to the effectiveness of the prophetic utterance that brought about a conviction, *an utterance that is the purpose of the inspiration of the spirit*. Yet, it is more than that. It is a recognition that the spirit of God is also undeniably in their midst and confirms Paul's affirmation that the Corinthian church is indeed the temple of the holy spirit, the sacred place where the spirit of God dwells among them (τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἴκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, 1 Cor 3:16; cf. 6:19). In this way Paul understands the spirit as the indispensable experiential reality that brings about not only the inspiration of the gifts for the purpose of praising God and Christ, but also the dramatic conversion of Gentiles who fall down and offer worship to the one true and living God, the creator and ruler of all.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has stressed the dynamic function of the spirit in Paul and the Pauline communities' devotional experience of God and Christ. Worship has been understood as those activities which reflect devotion to God and Christ, activities that are grounded in God's function as ruler and creator of all. It has been consistently demonstrated that the spirit was God's presence in the early Pauline communities as they expressed their worship since Paul conceives of the church themselves as existing as the temple of the holy spirit.¹⁰⁷ Such an identification is the leading metaphor which functions as an *entrée* into Paul's use of cultic imagery to describe his own ministry and the service of all believers as analogous to the

¹⁰⁶ This is the only occurrence of προσκυνέω in the Pauline corpus, thus indicating Paul's intentionally dramatic use at this point in his argument. It is significant that Paul hypothesises concerning the effectiveness of prophecy in the community by comparing an inquirer's reaction to both tongues and prophecy. Speaking in tongues would only confuse the inquirer, leaving them in a state of incomprehension (14:16). Conversely, if an inquirer or an unbeliever enters the church 'while everyone is prophesying' (δὲ πάντες προφητεύουσιν, 14:24), the result is that, because of their conviction of heart, 'they will fall down and worship God, exclaiming, "God is really among you,"' (καὶ οὕτως πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνήσει τῷ θεῷ ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστιν, 14:25).

¹⁰⁷ On the spirit as the presence of God in Paul, see Manuél Ceglarek, *Die Rede von der Gegenwart Gottes, Christi und des Geistes: Eine Untersuchung zu den Briefen des Apostels Paulus*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 911 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011).

Jewish temple cult. The spirit is thus seen to be actively and dynamically involved in the worship experience of the early Christian community, present in baptism and the Lord's Supper, inspiring confessions of the Lordship of Christ and the fatherhood of God, interceding for the people of God in prayer, and inspiring expressions of praise in the gathered community. Worship was offered *in, by and through* the agency of the spirit.¹⁰⁸ This decisively affirms that the spirit was a central experiential reality of Pauline worship. Yet there emerges rare occasions where the spirit is invoked directly in confessional forms (e.g. 1 Cor 12:4-6; 2 Cor 13:13[14]). These rare occasions are not enough to justify the assertion that Paul and his communities actively and consciously offered devotion directly to the spirit as object of worship.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the spirit is even identified by Paul as confessing 'Abba, Father' to God himself (Gal 4:6). Of course, that the spirit is never worshipped directly does not exclude the spirit from the Unique Divine Identity on the basis that the requirements of Cultic Monotheism have not been fulfilled, for it can safely be assumed that the exclusion of the

¹⁰⁸ Turner, 'It would seem, then, that experience of the Spirit drives the worship of Jesus at every level - in understanding *who* he is (he is 'Lord of the Spirit'), in bringing his presence and activity which evoke the response of prayer and worship, and in direct inspiration of that worship,' Turner, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament?,' 184. Rightly Ross, 'because the Holy Spirit is the one who enables all spiritual service, all genuine worship must be by the Spirit. Without falling into the error of denying the physical part of worship, we must recognize that worship is to be spiritual - inspired by the Spirit, empowered by the Spirit, genuine and life-giving because it flows from the Spirit,' Allen P. Ross, *Recalling the Hope of Glory: Biblical Worship from the Garden to the New Creation* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2006), 67. Wright has offered a curious assessment of the spirit and worship in the NT, which engages in a broad sweep of Pauline thought, by concluding: 'I have highlighted the way in which the early Christians understood their Spirit-led worship in terms of a Temple theology, and to a lesser extent a Torah theology, in which the tabernacling presence of God was both the *object* of worship and the *enabler* of that worship,' Wright, 'Worship and the Spirit in the New Testament,' 23, emphasis mine. Whether the spirit is directly understood as the 'tabernacling presence of God' is not clarified by Wright at this point, but his preceding discussion strongly points in favour of such an interpretation. Wright's analysis of Paul clearly demonstrates that the spirit participated in the worship experience of the early Christians - as the 'enabler of that worship' - but he has not shown how the spirit - as the tabernacling presence of God - was the 'object of worship.'

¹⁰⁹ Dunn is surely correct when he states, '*what we do not find is any hint that worship was offered to the Spirit of God. Neither in the language of worship nor in the practice of worship do we find it thought to be appropriate that the Spirit should be seen as the one worshipped or to be worshipped,*' Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?*, 74, emphasis original (cf. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 228, 'There is no evidence in the New Testament that the Spirit was worshipped or received prayer'). Of noteworthy importance, Dunn has argued that 'at the time of Jesus the practice of worship would have included at least four elements' (30). These four elements are identified as 1) Prayer; 2) Hymns; 3) Sacred space, sacred times; sacred meals; sacred people; 4) Sacrifice and the surrendering of material goods. These elements establish the criteria by which it is examined whether such cultic devotion was offered directly to Jesus (29-58). What is significant concerning Dunn's categorization is that in view of my examination into the spirit's role within a Pauline understanding of worship, the spirit can be seen to be intimately involved in all four of these elements - an examination that Dunn does not undertake. The spirit is an essential reality in the believer's experience of prayer (e.g. Rom 8:26-27); the spirit inspires hymns and expressions of praise to God (e.g. 1 Cor 14:2, 16, 26); the church is conceived as the temple of the holy spirit (e.g. 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19); and the spirit mediates the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper (e.g. 1 Cor 10:1-5). Furthermore, Dunn identifies key terms in the language of cultic devotion which reflect a deliberate effort on the part of the early Christians to offer worship to God. Included in his analysis are the following terms (or their cognates): προσκυνέω, λατρεύω, επικαλέω, εὐχαριστία, all of which I have demonstrated as, at various points in Paul's thought, to be the result of the inspiration of the spirit (1 Cor 14:25; Phil 3:3; 1 Cor 1:2; 1 Cor 14:16). While these observations of mine do not contradict Dunn's conclusion that the spirit was never worshipped *directly*, they do give more prominence to the role of the spirit within the worship of the Pauline communities which is missing from Dunn's work.

spirit was never a danger to Paul. In sum, it is the correlation between the act of worship and the inspiration of the spirit that distinguishes for Paul the discernible activity of the spirit that is distinguished from God and Christ as objects of devotion. The significant degree to which Paul can differentiate the activity of the spirit from God in his cultic experience identifies an emerging prominence to the spirit.

Chapter Seven: The Spirit and Eschatological Monotheism

1. Introduction

The final inquiry that is necessary in order to complete Bauckham's framework of the Unique Divine Identity is that of Eschatological Monotheism. Eschatological Monotheism was the expectation of the universal recognition of the Lordship of God as ruler and creator over all things, and the fulfilment of the kingdom of God. In Paul's context, God's covenantal faithfulness is revealed in Christ's defeat of death, the sign that the new creation has begun. Eschatological Monotheism is the expectation of God's future climactic activity when Christ returns in glory to conquer the powers of sin and death (1 Cor 15:20-26) when God will be 'all in all' (1 Cor 15:28). The supreme power that opposes the kingdom of God is indeed the power of death, a power that has been defeated by God through the victory of Christ Jesus (15:54-57) but which still holds sway over believers as they stand in the tension between overlap of the ages. The hope of the future resurrection became the decisive event which would mark God's complete universal reign, for 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God' (1 Cor 15:50).

It is the contention of this chapter that *the spirit plays a central role as the agent who defeats death by giving life to all believers through the resurrection*. The activity of the spirit in the eschatological climax of God's salvation history is not surprising *for the spirit is essentially an eschatological concept, the power of the new creation brought into the present*.¹ The outpouring of the spirit marked the dawn of the new age and immediately the connection between the spirit's activity and God's eschatological plan becomes evident. My inquiry into Eschatological Monotheism will be twofold. Firstly, it will demonstrate the creative function of the spirit in the universal resurrection of all believers. Secondly, it will demonstrate the activity of the spirit as ruler within the experience of believers as the power of the new creation opposing the flesh, that is, the law corrupted by sin and which results in death. The noteworthy conclusion from my preceding investigations into the spirit's role as creator and ruler is that these categories are not mutually exclusive but are interdependent. In Paul's eschatological framework, walking according to the spirit (in the present) is conceived as traversing on the path of righteousness that will lead to eternal life given by the spirit through

¹ See e.g. Clark H. Pinnock, 'The Concept of the Spirit in the Epistles of Paul' (Unpublished PhD Thesis; University of Manchester, 1963); Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul*, 17-14; Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit*, 86; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 308-318; Vos, 'The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit'; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 803-826; Turner, 'The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,' 56-61; *idem*, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 112-127.

the resurrection of the body (in the future). Creational monotheism, within the context of Paul's thought on the spirit, is seen to be concerned with the twin affirmation of the spirit's role as creator and ruler, and is a mirror for Eschatological Monotheism whereby God through the agency of the spirit in raising Christ from the dead has defeated death and will also give life to all believers through this same spirit. I shall firstly examine the concept of the new creation, which will then be followed by an examination of the spirit's role in the resurrection of the dead and as the power of the new creation in the present.

2. The New Creation

Two passages are of importance to Paul's eschatological framework:

Gal 6:15: 'neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything, but a *new creation*,'
(οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστὶν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις)

2 Cor 5:17: 'If anyone [is] in Christ, [there is] *new creation*. The old has passed, behold, the new has come,' (ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρήλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινὰ)

Paul's language of 'new creation' (καινὴ κτίσις) occurs only in these two passages.² Yet the precise meaning of this gnomic phrase has been the subject of recent studies.³ The disagreement centres on whether an interpreter should understand καινὴ κτίσις cosmically or soteriologically/anthropologically. The arguments for and against these positions centre on exegetical and theological considerations, but also reflect to a significant degree interpretative

² It is probable Paul's thought has been influenced by references to creation in Isa 43:18-19; 65:17; and 66:22, and other possible parallels in Judaism. See Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 420-422.

³ These studies have highlighted disagreement as to how an interpreter should understand this language (see Ulrich Mell, *Neue Schöpfung: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie zu einem soteriologischen Grundsatz paulinischer Theologie*, BZNW 56 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989); Moyer V. Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul's Letters and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); T. Ryan Jackson, *New Creation in Paul's Letters: A Study of the Social and Historical Setting of a Pauline Concept*, WUNT 2.272 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010)). Entering this debate fully would take us beyond the confines of this thesis, but this debate is relevant for it is necessary for us to define more precisely what Paul intended when using the language of 'new creation.' For brief summaries of the debate, see the work by Edward Adams, *Constructing the World: A Study in Paul's Cosmological Language* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000). This debate is illustrated by the opposing arguments of Hubbard and Jackson, who in independent studies on Paul's new creation thought, differ as to whether Paul had a cosmological or anthropological application in his use of this cryptic phrase. Hubbard negates any cosmological reference and instead reads Paul as referring to a new creation of the person, thus *there is a newly created being*. Hubbard, *New Creation*, on 2 Cor 5:17 see 177-183 (who follows Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 426-428), on Gal 6:15 see 222-232. This is the result of the work of Christ within the individual. Conversely, Jackson, though recognising that Paul's language of 'new creation' must have implications to the individual, does not restrict καινὴ κτίσις without reference to the cosmos. Thus, for Jackson, Paul's understanding of a new creation references believers, but is extended to include all animate and inanimate life. Jackson, *New Creation*, on 2 Cor 5:17 see 136-147, on Gal 6:15 see 90-111.

assumptions.⁴ Yet the preferred reading of Paul, in my view, must include reference to cosmic creation, beyond that solely of the salvation of believers, in a way which parallels the evidence from Second Temple Judaism that stands as the context within which Paul's thought is situated. The broader context of Paul's arguments in Galatians and 2 Corinthians that frame these new creation references arguably support this conclusion.⁵ Gal 6:15 and 2 Cor 5:17 thus

⁴ This is most clearly seen in Hubbard's analysis where he, following a significant strand in scholarship, divides between ecclesiological, cosmological, anthropological and soteriological categories in his interpretation of new creation. One must therefore ask on what grounds we can delineate between these categories and whether such categories reflect distinctions which were held by the Apostle himself. It seems clear to me that such categories are extrinsic to the Apostle's thought and are reflective of modern distinctions. Furthermore, Hubbard fails to include Rom 8:18-25 in his analysis, and while he may be entitled to do so on methodological grounds – since the collocation *καινή κτίσις* does not appear outside Gal 6:15 and 2 Cor 5:17 – this results in a skewed analysis of the concept in Paul. Paul's thinking on the renewal of creation, including believers as the children of God, is not solely contained in such a cryptic phrase and can be articulated outside of such specific terminology. Rom 8 is arguably 'cosmological' and 'soteriological/anthropological' in scope which evidences the fact that Paul's thinking can be pushed in such a direction. While it is nevertheless a truism to concede that interpreting Rom 8 must not be determinative for Gal 6:15 and 2 Cor 5:17, since the meaning of *καινή κτίσις* must be established by the co-text in which it occurs, the point still remains that any attempt to arbitrate such conceptual distinctions within Paul's thought is fraught with difficulties.

⁵ This reading stands on exegetical grounds, based upon the following arguments. Firstly, Gal 6:15. 1) *καινή κτίσις* in Gal 6:15 is informed by v. 14, where *κόσμος* has a universal reference, based upon Paul's previous use in 4:3 (*τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*) and 4:9, which arguably can be taken as possessing an inanimate sense, and Paul's common use of the term elsewhere (1 Cor 1:20, 21, 27, 28; 2:12; 3:19, 22; 4:9, 13; 5:10; 6:2; 7:31, 33, 34; 8:4; 11:32; 14:10; 2 Cor 1:12; 5:19; 7:10; Rom 1:8, 20; 3:6, 19; 4:13; 5:12-13; 11:12, 15; Phil 2:15). Paul's use indicates a far broader reference than simply reference to humanity. Thus *κόσμος* and *κτίσις* overlap in sense to a degree in their reference to the universe. Gal 6:14 demonstrates Paul's awareness that in Christ he has been crucified 'to the world' and the world has been crucified to him, that is, its forms that demarcate it from the new creation. The reality is for Paul that Christ's death and resurrection has cosmic effects. *Pace* Hubbard has misunderstood the extent to which Christ's death and resurrection has impacted the cosmos, cf. Hubbard, *New Creation*, 230. See also the critique of Hubbard by Jackson, *New Creation*, 88; 2) This is further supported by Paul's use of the *σχῆμα* terminology both in Galatians (4:3, 9; 5:25; 6:16) and elsewhere (1 Cor 7:31; Rom 4:12; Phil 2:7; 3:16). 1 Cor 7:31 connects the sense of *σχῆμα* with *κόσμος* to create the expression 'form of this world' (*τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*) which is passing away (Note that it is the *σχῆμα* that is passing away, not the *κόσμος* itself). This makes it likely that Paul's deliberate use of the verb *στοιχεῖω* to parallel *περιπατέω* in 5:25 and 6:16 (cf. Rom 4:12; Phil 3:16) gives a much more cosmic scope to his perspective on living within the present age dominated by the flesh. That 6:16 follows on the heels of 6:15, and is directly connected – since *τούτῳ* refers to the 'rule' of v. 15 – then it follows that Paul sees a close relationship between the present forms of this creation, and that of the new creation. 3) The phrase *καινή κτίσις* is therefore paralleled with *τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ* (1:4) and forms an *inclusio* to Paul's letter as a whole. The agitators who seek circumcision, argues Paul, are reverting back to patterns that characterise the present age. In Christ, the new age has come and such forms are relativised and no longer necessary. What matters is Christ's death and resurrection that signals the inbreaking of the new age that brings new life, resulting in the renewal not just of ethical or social forms, but the renewal of all things. For a more developed discussion that supports this exegesis, see Jackson, *New Creation*, 90-100. Adams is right to label Paul's new creation thought in Galatians as 'apocalyptic,' Adams, *Constructing the World*, 231. Secondly, 2 Cor 5:17. 1) 2 Cor 5:17 flows out of Paul's discussion in 5:14-15 that Christ has died for all, therefore all who believe now live for him. Verses 16 and 17 are two distinct yet related outcomes of living for Christ that concern a change in perspective, signalled through the repeated *ὥστε* that marks the beginning of both verses (Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 424). This signals that in Paul's mind, 'new creation' is closely tied to Christ's death and resurrection life. 2) In verse 16 no one, including Christ, is regarded any longer *κατὰ σάρκα* because, as verse 17 emphasises, *ἐν Χριστῷ* there is a *καινή κτίσις*. This pairing of *σάρξ* with *καινή κτίσις* strongly indicates that Paul is making an eschatological contrast for *σάρξ* denotes here a perspective on Jesus that is representative of standards of the present age (cf. 2 Cor 1:17; 10:2-3; 11:18). 3) This eschatological contrast has a significant impact upon his opponents' perspective not only on Christ but also Paul's apostolic ministry which is characterised by weakness and suffering. Paul's rhetoric is aimed at shifting the Corinthians' current perspective, framed by the standards of the present age, to that of the new age, inaugurated by Christ's death and resurrection. Paul's argument appears to be a) the Corinthians' perspectives are tainted by the values of this age but since b) the new creation is now

assert that Christ's death and resurrection marked the beginning of the καινή κτίσις in the present and a key correlation between the new creation and resurrection is formed. The inbreaking of the new age is therefore not simply a soteriological phenomenon but is a whole new reality.⁶ For Paul, the 'new creation' is the fulfilment of the promise of the 'new heavens and new earth' (Isa 65:17; 66:22). Rom 8:18-22 supports this assertion because of its explicit connection between the renewal of creation and the resurrection of all believers.⁷

here through Christ's death and resurrection, and since Christ must be viewed from the perspective of the age to come, therefore c) Christ's weakness and suffering is the defining standard which validates Paul's own ministry (cf. the function of ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν in 5:16 as identifying the new creation realised through Christ's death and resurrection, and which is personalised in Paul's conversion, Thrall, *Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 414-415; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 96). 4) τὰ ἀρχαῖα is consequently a reference to the passing of the old creation and the former way of viewing Christ that was characterised by the standards of the present age, and γέγονεν καινά is the reality of the new age in the present and its impact upon understanding the identity of Christ. If, as Jackson argues, Isa 65:17 stands in the background of Paul's thinking, a cosmic view is indeed to be preferred (cf. Jub 4:26). This is strengthened by Paul's reference in 5:19 to God reconciling the *cosmos* and in 2 Cor 6:2 where Paul cites Isa 49:8, 'now is the day of salvation.' So Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 96, though he opts for reading 5:17 as referring to 'new creatures.' 5) The conditional conjunction and the indefinite pronoun which forms εἴ τις, is Paul's deliberate ploy to leave open the application of what follows as a reflective test for the Corinthians themselves. The important ἐν Χριστῷ language functions as Paul's thrust to stress the participatory nature of no longer living κατὰ σάρκα for their view of Paul must be conditioned by the new creation. 6) The significance of this reading of 2 Cor 5:14-17 is that Paul is not placing a heavy emphasis on the redemptive work of Christ, though this becomes significant in 5:18-21, but upon whether the Corinthians allow the reality of the new creation to change their standards of measurement. If the Corinthians now live for Christ (cf. 5:14-15), then they should not regard anyone κατὰ σάρκα (5:16) since the new creation has come ἐν Χριστῷ (5:17). Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 117-119, supports reading 2 Cor 5:17 cosmically and consistently with 2 Cor 3.

⁶ As Vos remarks (which is applicable to Gal 6:5), 'The καινή κτίσις spoken of in II Corinthians 5:17 means the beginning of that new world-renewal in which all eschatology culminates,' 'The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit,' 93-94.

⁷ Beyond Gal 6:15 and 2 Cor 5:17, κτίσις and its cognates only occur elsewhere in Romans. Significantly, there are 7 occurrences in Romans with 5 of these appearing in Romans 8:19-39 alone. This high concentration is informative. Unlike Gal 6:15 and 2 Cor 5:17, Paul stresses the reality of suffering as creation and the children of God are still subject to the present age characterised by sin and death. It is for this reason that Paul did not include the collocation καινή κτίσις for his emphasis is upon the present experience of the point at which the hope of the fullness of God's victory over death meets the dire reality of death's sting. While I shall have more opportunity to examine Rom 8 in more detail below, I simply wish to illustrate the point here that there is a clear connection between the renewal of creation and the redemption of all believers. This is Paul's essential point in 8:18-25: 'The creation waits in eager expectation for the children of God to be revealed' (ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαταδοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται, 8:19). There is debate as to the referent of τῆς κτίσεως as interpreters vary as to whether by this term Paul has in mind 1) all animate life, 2) all inanimate life in the cosmos, 3) all humanity, 4) unbelievers, or 5) angelic beings. Contextually, I find it difficult to support options 1, 3, 4 and 5 on the basis that a) Paul views creation as not responsible for its own state of decay, therefore Paul would not make this statement of animate life, b) Paul's use of personification naturally leads to an interpreter understanding option 2 as the referent, c) Paul's heavy use of κόσμος in Rom 3-5 makes it likely that he is applying in Rom 8 the reality of the effects of sin over the created order, thus κόσμος and κτίσις overlap in sense. In this way κτίσις must denote all inanimate life (See Olle Christoffersson, *The Earnest Expectation of the Creature: The Flood-tradition as Matrix of Romans 8:18-27*, Coniectanea Biblica (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1990), 33-36; Adams, *Constructing the World*, 175-178; Harry A. Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation: Nature in Romans 8:19-22 and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, LNTS 336 (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2007), 176-181; Jackson, *New Creation*, 151-155). Even though creation is not responsible for its state of decay, it waits to be liberated from its bondage and 'brought into the freedom and glory of the children of God' (εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ, 8:21). Using personification, Paul describes all of creation (πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις) as groaning and suffering the pains of childbirth (συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει) until the present time (ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν). This dynamic imagery is utilised by Paul to graphically portray creation as also anticipating the future resurrection when all believers will undergo the redemption of their bodies (8:23). See Adams, *Constructing the World*, 174-186.

Paul's assertion that Christ's resurrection marked the beginning of the new creation determines that the complete fulfilment of the new creation will be realised by the resurrection of all believers.

3. The Spirit will be Creator by Raising Believers from the Dead

I have already established that Paul understood the spirit to be the agent who raised Christ from the dead (1 Cor 15:44-46; Rom 1:4; 8:9-11). Because it is clear in Paul's thought that the resurrection of Christ forms the basis for the resurrection of all believers (1 Cor 15; Rom 5-8),⁸ it is therefore reasonable to expect that since the spirit was the active agent of God in the resurrection of Christ so too will the spirit be involved in the resurrection of all believers (2 Cor 4:14; Rom 6:23; 8:11; cf. 1 Cor 15:38).⁹ I shall argue that the spirit is the central agent who is responsible for the resurrection of believers and thereby maintain the importance of the spirit's creative identity within Paul's worldview.¹⁰ Indeed, the spirit resurrecting the body, the body that was mortal, suffering decay, and under the power of sin, is the temporal corollary of the spirit as creator, apart from the formation of creation and the resurrection of Christ.

3.1 Galatians

It is important to recognise from the outset that Paul does not explicitly refer to resurrection in Galatians using the term ἀνάστασις.¹¹ Gal 6:8, a short but tremendously important reference, nonetheless demonstrates that at an early stage Paul understood the spirit was recognised as

⁸ This is the strength of the study by Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia*.

⁹ Scholarship has been divided on the spirit's role in the resurrection of not only Christ but also all believers. This is due in part to debate over crucial exegetical and textual decisions (particularly Rom 8:11) and a lack of consensus as to what Paul intends to infer through his use of metaphors that describe the spirit's presence within the believer as the firstfruits (Rom 8:23) or first instalment (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5) of the resurrection. Fee, for example, understands Paul as simply identifying the spirit as the *guarantee* of the resurrection of believers as opposed to the *agent* responsible for the resurrection, since it is *because* of the spirit's present in believers that they can be assured of the resurrection by God's power: 'the Spirit is not the *agent* of our resurrection, but its *guarantor*,' Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 808-811, here 808, emphasis original. Fee never clarifies why in Paul there exists the agency of the power of God in the resurrection of believers while also affirming that power is closely related to the spirit (824-826). In what follows, I shall aim to give evidence that Fee's denial of the spirit's role in the resurrection of believers is exegetically flawed.

¹⁰ For scholarly inquiries into the resurrection within Paul's thought that give due attention to the agency of the spirit in raising believers from the dead, see particularly Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, and further, Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*; *idem*, *Resurrection and Redemption: A Study in Paul's Soteriology*, 2nd ed. (Phillipsburg: P&R Pub, 1987), 66-73; Murray J. Harris, *Raised Immortal: Resurrection and Immortality in the New Testament*, MTL (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1983); J.A. Schep, *The Nature of the Resurrected Body* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964); Bieringer and Koperski, eds., *Resurrection in the New Testament*; Lane G. Tipton and Jeffrey C. Waddington, eds., *Resurrection and Eschatology: Theology in Service of the Church: Essays in Honor of Richard B. Gaffin, Jr.* (Phillipsburg: P&R Pub, 2008).

¹¹ Noted by Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 224. On the term as denoting the resurrection from the dead, see *BDAG*, 71-72. This should not halt any further inquiry into the matter for what Paul does speak of is 'eternal life' for Paul's focus, in contrast to say, Corinthians, lies not on the nature of the future life – as an embodied state – but on its reality.

the agent in generating life for believers. It is necessary to briefly contextualise this verse within the letter as a whole. In a significant association that strengthens his argument against the Galatians' desire to pursue Torah observance, Paul had previously identified righteousness with life (3:21).¹² Because the law cannot impart life, righteousness is no longer defined by Torah observance but is now defined by faith in Jesus Christ (2:15-16, 21) just as the life-giving function of the law is now ascribed through faith in Christ (3:10-12).¹³ Paul provides such a heavy polemic against the law as a justification for why the law was not opposed to the promises of God (3:21), and the corollary is that since the law could impart neither life nor righteousness,¹⁴ the promise, which is given through faith, can (3:22). Thus Paul has created a contrast between Torah (equated with death) and faith in Christ (equated with God's promises, blessing, righteousness and life). This brief summary allows us to draw some important threads of Paul's argument together.

Firstly, Paul clearly associates the spirit with the promise in 3:14.¹⁵ That this verse is Paul's first use of ἐπαγγελία (cf. 3:16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 29; 4:23, 28) and in this first use associates the promise with the spirit, indicates that the spirit is a primary datum of the promises of God given to Abraham.¹⁶ This is confirmed in 4:28-29 where Isaac, the child of promise, is the son born according to the spirit.

Secondly, Paul understands many positive benefits given to the believer through faith: the promise (3:22), righteousness (2:16; 3:8, 24) and also, importantly, the spirit (Gal 3:2, 14). The law no longer functions to impart any benefits to the people of God for neither

¹² A - For if a law had been given
 B - that could impart life (ζωοποιῆσαι)
 B` - righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)
 A` - would certainly have come by the law

¹³ This statement is given scriptural support in Hab 2:4 ('the righteous by faith will live') and Lev 18:5 ('whoever does these things will live by them').

¹⁴ Note Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*: 'Righteousness by faith is for Paul so closely bound up with true life that the two terms – "righteousness" and "life" – can in practice be used interchangeably,' 162; 'ζωοποιέω is practically synonymous with δικαιόω. To be justified (by faith) is to receive life (by faith),' 180. So too, Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 193: "to reckon righteous" and "to make alive" are two sides of the one coin.'

¹⁵ 3:14: 'in order that we might receive the promise of the spirit by faith' (ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως). Paul's genitive expression τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος is likely exegetical and suggests that the spirit is the promise, so Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 168; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 123-124; Sam K. Williams, 'Promise in Galatians: Reading of Paul's Reading of Scripture,' *JBL* 107:4 (1988): 712. Further, that 3:14 is structured according to two parallel ἵνα clauses, the promise of the spirit is identified with the blessing given to Abraham, just as it is identified with the inheritance (3:15-18). So Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 179-180.

¹⁶ See the discussion in Williams, 'Promise in Galatians,' 709-720. Pace the argument of Kwon, *Eschatology in Galatians*, 101-129, who argues that in Galatians, 'promise' and 'blessing' are distinct in Paul's thought and argument, as is the promise given to Abraham and the promise that is the spirit. Though Kwon acknowledges that Gal 4:29 posits an association between the promises to Abraham and the spirit, Kwon argues that that this association is simply an *analogy* to the Galatian's present experience of the flesh. Yet, with the majority of commentators, Paul's link between the promised spirit and faith confirms that the connection between the spirit and the promise given to Abraham, the man of faith, is stronger and more central than Kwon allows.

life (3:21), righteousness (2:16, 21; 3:11) nor the spirit (3:2, 3) come through the law but only through faith.

Thirdly, in 5:5 Paul for the first time in the letter makes a significant association between righteousness and the spirit – whom the Galatians have received through faith (3:2, 3, 5, 14; 4:6).¹⁷ Paul states in 5:5, ‘for we, by the spirit, from faith, eagerly await the righteousness for which we hope’ (ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα). The coalescence of the key terms of spirit, faith and righteousness within Paul’s thought thus converge here in an expression of the expectation of the fulfilment of the promises of God.¹⁸

This preceding discussion sets an appropriate context for 6:8, which without such a contextualization, would view Paul as making an arbitrary reference to eternal life: ‘the one who sows to their flesh, from the flesh will reap corruption; the one who sows to the spirit, from the spirit will reap eternal life’ [ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν, ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον].¹⁹ Paul’s use of the sowing and reaping metaphor is used to summarise two contrasting ways of living (by the spirit or by the flesh) through two prepositional phrases. The Galatians either

¹⁷ On the spirit and justification, see Sam K. Williams, ‘Justification and the Spirit in Galatians,’ *JSNT* 29 (1987): 91-100. More broadly, Frank D. Macchia, ‘Justification Through New Creation, The Holy Spirit and the Doctrine by which the Church Stands or Falls,’ *Theology Today* 58:2 (2001): 202-217; *idem*, *Justified in the Spirit: Creation, Redemption, and the Triune God* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010); Jeffrey Anderson, ‘The Holy Spirit and Justification: A Pneumatological and Trinitarian Approach to Forensic Justification,’ *ERT* 32:4 (2008): 292-305.

¹⁸ What Paul denotes is clearly in the future, which makes his choice of δικαιοσύνη a curious one, since it is presumed that the Galatians already possess the status of ‘righteous’ on the basis of their faith in Christ (Gal 3:1-5), yet this can be explained by the fact that the Galatians’ desire to come under Torah as a display of their status as children of Abraham, ironically, puts their righteous status at risk (5:4). Thus the puzzling reference to the future aspect of righteousness is explained by the fact that 5:5 prepares for Paul’s upcoming imperative to continue to walk according to the spirit (5:13-6:10), for the spirit is the evidence that the Galatians are already the true children of Abraham (3:1-5, 14; 4:6) despite the future vindication of their righteous status. It is for this reason that Paul uses δικαιοσύνη rather than ζωή, which would have been a more appropriate term to denote the future reality. Dunn, following Williams, rightly notes that 3:14 demonstrates that in Paul’s thought righteousness and the spirit are of a piece, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 179. His reading of 5:5 flows from this understanding, 269-270. If there is to be any conceptual differentiation between righteousness and life in Paul’s argument, righteousness is the verdict given to believers by God at the last judgement (5:5, cf. Rom 2:5-16), which then results in eternal life (6:8). So Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 231-232. For a more sustained exegetical examination of the relationship between the spirit and justification, see Williams, ‘Justification and the Spirit in Galatians.’

¹⁹ This passage summarises 5:13-6:10, which is evident by the number of themes that re-emerge here that have previously occurred in 5:13-6:6, notably, Paul’s σὰρξ/πνεῦμα contrast, the repetition of an agricultural metaphor which relates to the activity of the spirit (καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος/σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα), and more immediately, ‘doing good’ (6:9) which references back to 6:1 (restoring a believer caught in sin), 6:2 (bearing the burdens of others), 6:6 (providing financial support for teachers). See Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 465; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 280-281. Thus 6:7-10 summarises Paul’s flesh/spirit contrast and is his final appeal to choose the way of the spirit rather than the way of the flesh, for in view of Paul’s previous claim that the Galatians’ reception of the spirit has not come through the law but faith (3:1-5; 5:5), 5:13-6:10 functions practically to confirm the reality of this claim in the Galatians’ experience.

sow *into* [εἰς] the flesh or sow *into* [εἰς] the spirit.²⁰ Sowing into the flesh results in a harvest from (ἐκ) the flesh, a harvest which Paul describes as ‘corruption’ (φθορά). ‘Corruption,’ as fitting the agricultural metaphor, must be the antonym of life, and denotes death.²¹ ‘Sowing to the flesh’ describes the way of life that is dictated by the Mosaic law. In contrast, ‘sowing to the spirit’ describes the way of life that is defined by the spirit. ‘Sowing to the spirit’ is equivalent to walking according to the spirit (5:16), living by the spirit (5:25), keeping in step with the spirit (5:25) and producing the fruit of the spirit (5:22-23). If a believer sows to the spirit, they will reap a harvest from (ἐκ) the spirit.²² The negative corollary of the future reality of eternal life is not inheriting the kingdom of God (5:21) and corruption (6:8) – for those who sow to the flesh – and conversely, the positive parallel of eternal life is righteousness (5:5) and the new creation (6:15) – for those who sow to the spirit.

Consequently, Gal 6:8 is important because *Paul explicitly states that from the spirit believers will receive eternal life* (ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος...ζωὴν αἰώνιον).²³ In this statement, many of Paul’s previous concepts coalesce, specifically, righteousness (5:5), the kingdom of God (5:21), and new creation (6:15), all which connote the reality of eternal life.²⁴ Thus all that was identified with the law – God’s promises, righteousness, and life – is now no longer associated with it precisely because that way of life ends in death since it brings a curse (3:13). All these benefits are now associated with the spirit. The underlying rationale – which Paul only explicates in his climactic argument – must be that the association with the spirit is essential because it is the spirit who gives this life. In this way, 5:5 and 6:8 are very closely associated in Paul’s reflection, since both concern a contrast between the law and the spirit. Since righteousness and life are virtually synonymous in this letter, Paul makes it very clear that the spirit, as the promise of life (3:14, 21) and the source of life (6:9) is the agent who gives righteousness (5:5) and eternal life (6:8) in the future.

²⁰ As Fee states, ‘In terms of the metaphor, these [flesh/spirit] are the two kinds of ‘soil’ *into* which one puts the seed, *from* which one reaps the harvest,’ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 466, emphasis original; so too Longenecker, *Galatians*, 280-281.

²¹ Witherington, *Grace in Galatians*, 431-432. It is in this way that φθορά can carry the sense of ‘destruction.’

²² That Paul uses the future tense in all four occurrences of θερίζω (θερίσει, 6:7, 8[x2]; θερίσομεν, 6:9) confirms that the reaping will occur in the future.

²³ Ζωὴν αἰώνιον is used only by Paul here and in Rom 2:7; 5:21; 6:22, 23, parallels that are insightful in view of Paul’s repeated emphasis upon eternal life as the reward for holiness, righteousness and doing good.

²⁴ Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 169-185. Longenecker also similarly observes that “‘Being made alive,’ ‘being in Christ,’ ‘being led by the Spirit,’ and ‘being righteous (both forensically and ethically)’ are for Paul cognate expressions,’ *Galatians*, 144.

3.2 1 Corinthians 15

Without doubt, 1 Cor 15 is Paul's most sustained discussion on the resurrection of the dead and therefore will play a vital role within my inquiry.²⁵ I have already given an extensive structural summary of 1 Cor 15 in my analysis of the spirit's agency in the resurrection of Christ, so I shall refrain from repetition and focus my inquiry on those specific verses where the spirit relates to the resurrection of believers. 1 Cor 15 as a whole concerns the Corinthian denial of the resurrection of the dead.²⁶ The problem the Corinthians had with the resurrection of believers concerns specifically the problem of *bodily* resurrection (15:35-58).²⁷ As I have already argued, the two questions of 15:35 – How are the dead raised? With what kind of body will they come? – amount to a singular rebuttal of the notion of the resurrection of the dead. Rather than existing as two unrelated questions, the second is a specification of the first

²⁵ For an extensive examination of the structure of 1 Cor 15 with particular focus on 15:44b-49 and the role of the spirit in the resurrection, see Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 15-31. More generally, though with reference to the agency of the spirit, see Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*, 77-92; Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia*. More broadly, with a focus on the resurrection and change, see Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15*. I find myself in agreement with many of the conclusions drawn by Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 88-105.

²⁶ That at least some in the Corinthian church deny the resurrection of the dead is evident in Paul's explicit identification of the Corinthian position in 15:12: 'But if it is preached that Christ has been raised from the dead, how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?' (Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται, πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν τινες ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν). Paul's response sharply reveals how central the resurrection of Christ is for the gospel that he proclaims (15:1-11) and if the resurrection of believers is denied, as the Corinthians do, then this is paramount to a denial of Christ's own resurrection (15:13), the latter position one which the Corinthians clearly do not hold. On the range of possible interpretations as to why some of the Corinthian members denied the resurrection of the dead, see the survey in Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1169-1178. Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, 104-136, is likely correct that it is 'the strong,' the social elite, who have an intellectual problem with the resurrection of the dead, since many of the contentious issue in the letter can be traced to their influence. For an earlier examination that rightly emphasises the role of religious experience, see Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection*, 233-295. For the significance of death as a major theme in 1 Cor 15, see de Boer, *The Defeat of Death*, 93-140.

²⁷ See Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God* for defence of this claim, and most commentators, e.g. Fee, Thiselton, Collins, Garland, etc. The crucial problem which Paul identifies is the resurrection of *the dead* (ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, 15:12, 13, 21, 42). In all four occurrences of ἀνάστασις, Paul modifies the noun with the adjective νεκρός, and so too with the frequent verb ἐγείρω, connoting the resurrection, Paul concerns the raising to life of the dead (15:12, 15, 16, 20, 29, 32, 35, 52). In those cases where ἐγείρω is not modified by νεκρός, it is presupposed that the object is being raised *from the dead* (15:4, 13, 14, 17, 42, 43, 44; cf. 6:14). Furthermore, when Paul references the resurrection of the dead in 15:42, he presupposes that the discussion concerns the *body* that has died (i.e., is sown [σπείρω], which becomes explicitly articulated in 15:44, σπείρεται σῶμα). Cf. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 775-778. Fee makes a subtle distinction regarding the phrase 'raised from the dead,' 'referring not to his [Christ] being raised from death itself but from among those who have died,' 740-741. Whether Paul understands the Corinthian criticism of resurrection to be a resurrection from among the dead, or resurrection from death itself, is, in the end, far too overly subtle, for death itself is not the problem directly, but the generation of life from the consequence of death. Thiselton is correct to note that ἐκ νεκρῶν does not intrinsically denote a rotting corpse, i.e., dead body (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1217), but such an association is certainly intended by Paul when he begins to address the resurrected body in 15:35ff. Wright is correct when he states bluntly, 'When Paul said "resurrection", he meant "bodily resurrection",' Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 314; furthermore, 'Egeiro and anastasis were words in regular use to denote something specifically distinguished from non-bodily survival, namely, a return to bodily life,' (330, particularly fn. 56). For a summary of Paul's use of σῶμα with both literal and metaphorical senses in 1 Cor, though consistently connoting the physical body, see Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 90-94.

and concerns the *agency* by which such a phenomenon can occur.²⁸ The Corinthians' rebuttals reveal the fundamental problem: *the difficulty of dead bodies regaining life*.²⁹

In continuity with Gal 6:7-8, Paul utilises agricultural metaphors to describe life after death.³⁰ The heart of Paul's critique of this Corinthian position is that Christ's resurrection – which they affirm – is the assurance that all believers will be resurrected – a point they deny. This is because Christ is 'the firstfruits of those who have fallen asleep' (15:20).³¹ Paul then repeats his use of the agricultural metaphor of sowing (15:36-44) distinguishing that which is harvested from what is sown, for a seed needs to die before new life can grow (15:36-37).³² Paul applies the seed imagery to the resurrected body, and differentiates between the seed that is sown and the body (σῶμα) that will be resurrected (15:38), for just as there are earthly bodies so there are heavenly bodies (15:38-41). Paul uses the seed imagery to argue that only in death (i.e. sowing) can the resurrection occur, for death marks the beginning of the harvest (15:42-44a).³³

A necessary and integral component of Paul's argument was to adequately convince the Corinthians of the reasonability of a dead body being raised to life and the agency by which this is achieved. This occurs in 15:42-46. My previous analysis established a chiasmic shape to Paul's argument in 15:36-49, and demonstrated a focus on both the sequence of the events (death, then life/Christ, then believers/natural, then spiritual) and the substance of the

²⁸ So Robertson and Plummer, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 368; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 280; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 780; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1261-1262; Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 343; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 727. The adverb πῶς carries the sense in this context of 'in what way?', 'in what manner?', thus the questions that discredit the idea of the resurrection of the body concern the difficulty, indeed the impossibility, of dead bodies being raised to life. So Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 799-800.

²⁹ Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 779; Kistemaker, *1 Corinthians*, 566.

³⁰ While Paul does not explicitly refer to the resurrection in Gal 6:7-10, it is immediately clear that the concept of eternal life is not contradictory with the reality of the resurrection. Though Gal 5:5 and Gal 6:8 refer to 'righteousness' and 'eternal life' respectively, it is certain – most particularly in view of Paul's reflection in 1 Cor 15 – that the declaration of the righteous status of the believer, and the granting of eternal life is achieved by the spirit through the resurrection of the body. So rightly Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 331; Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 222.

³¹ The scriptural basis for this claim lies in Paul's Adam-Christ analogy. Since death came through Adam, so the resurrection of the dead will be through Christ: 'For as in Adam all die, so in Christ all will be made alive' (15:22). An essential point for Paul is the sequence of these events, for Christ, the firstfruits, has been resurrected, and 'then, when he comes, those who belong to him' (15:23). Thus Paul's argument posits the resurrection of *Christ* as the basis for the general resurrection of *all believers* (15:12-28) which includes an appeal to their practice of baptism for the dead as a contradiction of their own denial of the future resurrection (15:29-24); Martin, *The Spirit and the Congregation*, 89-142. On Paul's use of the firstfruits metaphor (ἀπαρχή), see Rom 8:23; 11:16; 16:5; cf. 1 Cor 16:15; Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 350-351; Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia*, 49-50; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1223-1224. While the firstfruits metaphor has its origins in the Hebrew Scriptures whereby the first sheaf of wheat was offered as sacrifice to God in recognition of the full harvest, Paul applies the practice metaphorically to Christ's resurrection as assuring the resurrection of believers.

³² Morris, *1 Corinthians*, 219. On Paul's use of the seed metaphor, see Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1263-1264.

³³ Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 281 succinctly summarises Paul's focus here, 'Paul sharply emphasizes: 1) The necessity of death as the condition of life; 2) The discontinuity between the present and the future life.' Though, I would add that Paul's emphasis falls on both the continuity *and* discontinuity.

resurrected bodies (natural bodies verses spiritual bodies). The hinge of the chiasm was structured around Paul's scriptural support (Gen 2:7) which sees Paul return to the Adam-Christ typology (cf. 15:21-22) and which functions to tie together the nature of the resurrected body with the reality of Christ's own resurrection. What Paul develops is the *agency* by which the dead are raised, since this appears to be where the Corinthian problem with the resurrection lies, and his answer to the question 'With what kind of body will they come?' (15:35) is with a *σῶμα πνευματικόν* (15:44-46),³⁴ which he has prefaced with an explicit statement of the resurrection: 'so it will be with the resurrection of the dead' (15:42). 15:44-46 evidences a coalescence of the major themes of sequence, substance and agency which is centred on Christ's own resurrection. Paul's argument firstly addresses sequence, for he argues that there must first be a natural body, then a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. With the resurrection of the dead (ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν, 15:42), believers, like a seed that is sown, must first undergo death in order for life to follow (15:36): the body is sown (σπείρεται) perishable, it is raised (ἐγείρεται) imperishable; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*), it is raised a spiritual body (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*).³⁵ Thus the very problem the Corinthians had with resurrection – the raising to life of *dead* bodies – is the necessary first step in the resurrection of the *dead*: in order for a body to come to life it must first die.³⁶ Since 44b repeats the natural/spiritual contrast which concludes 42-44a, this must reflect Paul's specific focus and emphasis.³⁷ The repetition of the natural/spiritual contrast differs from the previous contrast because Paul's argument shifts from the sequence – first a *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, then a *σῶμα πνευματικόν* – to the reality of the resurrected body and its substance: if there is a *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, then there is a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*.³⁸ Both these themes – of sequence and

³⁴ So rightly, Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 727ff.

³⁵ Wright correctly states, "Resurrection" does not refer to some part or aspect of the human being *not* dying but instead going on into a continuing life in a new mode; it refers to something that *does* die and is then given a *new* life,' Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 314, emphasis original.

³⁶ Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 91, fn. 13, attempts to minimise this point by arguing that Paul does not use the imagery of 15:35-49 as an *analogy* for resurrection but an *illustration* of the principle of bodily transformation. Additionally, in view of 15:51ff where Paul appears to deny the necessity of death for the resurrection by referring to the transformation at the parousia. It can be countered that there is not much material difference between an analogy and an illustration of a broader principle, for the seed analogy is the embodiment of the principle itself. Furthermore, Paul can speak of the death of the body (15:35-50) in conjunction with the parousia (15:51-56) for these are distinct points in time that are applicable to the believer depending on their bodily state at Christ's return. Noteworthy is Yates' own comment on Rom 8:13 much later in his argument that 'resurrection life first requires death' (164).

³⁷ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 567.

³⁸ Brodeur is correct to note that the adjectives, with the -ικός suffix, are understood as pertaining to or characteristic of the noun which it modifies, Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 94-103; so too Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 28-32. Thus the clue as to their sense lies with the nouns themselves, ψυχή and πνεῦμα, and since these nouns, in adjectival form are paired with σῶμα, Paul must be describing the particular relationship between the physical body and the power that animates that body.

substance – originate in Christ’s own resurrection from the dead which is evident in Paul’s application of the ψυχικόν/πνευματικόν language to Adam and Christ respectively. Quoting Gen 2:7 in midrashic fashion, Paul states that the *first* Adam became a ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, while the *last* Adam (Christ) became a πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν. So Paul’s Adam-Christ analogy addresses both the question of sequence – Adam first then Christ, the last Adam – and also substance – Adam represents the formation of the ‘natural’ body while Christ represents the formation of the ‘spiritual’ body, thus contrasting two forms of being.³⁹ As Paul states clearly to the Corinthians: ‘The spiritual did not come first, but the natural, and after that the spiritual’ (15:46).

The significance of this brief summary of 15:42-46 lies in the central role of the spirit in both the sequence and the substance of the resurrected body. There are only four references to the spirit and they occur in a close cluster in 1 Cor 15:44-46, yet these references are placed around the scriptural support for the resurrection of Christ which forms the central basis for the resurrection of all believers.⁴⁰ Paul’s deliberate use of the adjective πνευματικός, which in view of Paul’s use of the adjective elsewhere in the letter clearly denotes the activity of the spirit (2:13[x2], 14, 15; 3:1; 9:11; 10:3, 4[x2]; 12:1; 14:1, 37),⁴¹ is the response to the agency by which believers also are raised from the dead: Since this is true of Christ, it is the foundation for the future resurrection of all believers by the spirit.⁴² Paul’s earlier statements in 15:22, ‘as in Adam all die, so in Christ all will be made alive’ (πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται), and in 15:36, ‘what you sow does not come to life unless it dies’ (σὺ δὲ σπείρεις, οὐ ζωοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ), finds its concrete application in the reality of the spirit as the agent of their resurrection.

³⁹ See Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 103-124.

⁴⁰ As I have concluded previously, Paul’s reference to Christ as the last Adam, who became – at his resurrection – a πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, is an anthropological description of the new form of being which Christ inherits that is fit for the heavenly environment. So Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 788-790, *idem*, ‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11’; Turner, ‘The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,’ 63. For discussion on Paul’s use of πνεῦμα in 15:45, see Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 374; Dunn, ‘1 Corinthians 15:45,’ 154-166; Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*, 86-87; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 569-571; Kistemaker, *1 Corinthians*, 574-576; Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 120-122; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1283-1285; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 735; Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 88-105; Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 818-821.

⁴¹ Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1275, strongly asserts, ‘I have no doubt whatever that Paul uses the adjective πνευματικός in its regular Pauline sense to denote *that which pertains to the Holy Spirit of God*,’ emphasis original. This is reflected in most commentaries.

⁴² While I find myself in agreement with many of Yates’ conclusions, his argument lacks appropriate reference to the role of the description of the resurrected body as σῶμα πνευματικόν. Yates’ argument appears far more focused on the expression πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν in 15:45, which is due to his emphasis upon the spirit as the spirit of life, yet noting the significance of σῶμα πνευματικόν in a more sustained and prominent argument would have greatly aided his conclusions concerning the identity and function of the spirit in the new creation. Moreover, his exegesis of 1 Cor 15 gives very little direct engagement with role of the spirit in the believer’s resurrection of the dead, after all, σῶμα πνευματικόν is Paul’s own description of the nature of the resurrected body as a response to the confusion made by the Corinthians, a point which would have significantly strengthened his work. Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 88-105.

Paul understands that what is sown in death is the σῶμα ψυχικόν and what is raised from the dead is a σῶμα πνευματικόν. The σῶμα πνευματικόν is Paul's direct response to *how* the dead are raised.⁴³ Thus the crux of the Corinthian problem with the resurrection of dead bodies to life is addressed by Paul with reference to the spirit as the *agent* whom raises the perishable, dishonoured, and weak body – a natural body that is characteristic of the present age – to a body raised imperishable, in glory, in power and characterised by the spirit who is the life of the age to come.⁴⁴ The σῶμα πνευματικόν therefore denotes the function of the πνεῦμα in vivifying and animating the body for its heavenly existence (15:47-49). The spirit is the power of life that creates a body for the new creation that has overcome death.⁴⁵ This presents the spirit not simply as the key characteristic of the heavenly environment *vis-à-vis* the 'natural' earthly environment, but the spirit itself as the active agent in creating and forming the resurrected body.⁴⁶

⁴³ So Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 347-356, followed by Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 811.

⁴⁴ In this way I find myself in agreement with Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 354: 'It is the most elegant way he can find of saying both that the new body is the *result* of the Spirit's work (answering "how does it come to be?") and that it is the appropriate *vessel* for the Spirit's life (answering "what sort of a thing is it?"). In fact, this is the first point in which *pneuma* has been mentioned in the whole chapter, because it is at last the point where Paul is giving his answer both to "what sort of body will it be?" and also "how will God do it?,"' emphasis original.

⁴⁵ As with Paul's use of the adjective πνευματικός in 2:13-15, Paul's πνευματικός/ψυχικός dichotomy does not denote a material/non-material divide, but rather denotes the active agency of the spirit in contrast to that which is characteristic of the present physical and corruptible creation. Consequently, σῶμα πνευματικόν more aptly refers to the spirit's role in creating and animating the resurrected body; with Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 372-373; Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*, 85-86; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 567; Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 94ff; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1276-1281; Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 348-352; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 734; Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 88-105 (though he pays too little attention to Paul's description of the body as a σῶμα πνευματικόν); Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 816-818; *pace* Robertson and Plummer whose interpretation of Paul's πνευματικός/ψυχικός dichotomy is excessively dualistic, *The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 372-374 and Morris, *1 Corinthians*, 223. Brodeur's conclusion is surely correct and worth quoting: 'when Paul teaches that the risen body is spiritual, he means that it has been created by God through the agency of the Spirit and formed for heaven, the ideal and appropriate environment for the new creation,' 124. Kistemaker, *1 Corinthians*, 573-577, does not identify the spirit as the agency of the resurrected body but simply comments that the resurrected body will be 'spirit filled.' It is difficult to discern what role the spirit plays in 'filling' the resurrected body. Furthermore, Kistemaker states that 'Paul stresses the fact that Christ through the Holy Spirit gives life,' (576) yet this is the reverse sequence in Paul's mind, for more accurately Paul views God, through the spirit, as giving life to Christ, and also to believers.

⁴⁶ Though Fee rightly denies interpreting πνευματικός in the sense of 'spiritual,' i.e., 'non-material' (Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 786), he still falls prey to a similar linguistic fallacy by understanding the adjective to denote the 'supernatural,' that is, 'the life of the Spirit in the age to come,' (786) which is 'a transformed body appropriate to eschatological spiritual life,' (791). Similarly Lewis, *Looking for Life*, 132-141, argues that the σῶμα πνευματικόν is a *reality in the earthly life* for it is 'an earthly body appropriate to the realm of the spirit – that new age that has descended upon those who still live an earthly life' (136). Moreover, my argument exists as a much more focused examination of the role of the spirit in the *agency* of the resurrection of the dead in contrast to Engberg-Pedersen who, while rightly giving due attention in a general manner to the relation between the spirit and resurrection, ignores any sense of agency of the spirit in 1 Cor 15 and instead focuses upon Paul's supposedly material conception of the spirit in view of Stoic influences. Indeed Paul does give focus to the substance of the resurrected body, but the role of the spirit in this regard is not, as Engberg-Pedersen argues, the *substance into which believers will be transformed* since *pneuma*, as a Stoic concept, is the substance of heaven itself. See Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material*

The spirit is understood to be the dynamic power responsible for the resurrection of Christ and is the power of the Corinthians' own future resurrection. This framework identifies the spirit as life-giving.⁴⁷ It is curious that Paul never explicitly argues to the Corinthians in chapter 15 that their present experience of the spirit should confirm the reality of the future resurrection as he explicitly does to them at a later time (e.g. 2 Cor 1:20-21; 5:5).⁴⁸ This absence is because Paul's deductive argument is focused on the reality of Christ's own resurrection as the grounds for the future resurrection of all believers and his emphasis lies there. Yet Paul's argument reveals a much fuller understanding of the role of the spirit within the Corinthians' experience in view of all that has preceded in the letter. Paul's focus upon the σῶμα πνευματικόν, though brief, strongly speaks in favour of taking into account his earlier correlation between the Corinthians' own bodies and the reality of the spirit. Such a correlation between the believer's body and the reality of the spirit is evidenced in Paul's view of the believer's body as the temple of the holy spirit (6:12-20) and the church as a whole as the body of Christ (10:16-17; 11:17-34; 12:4, 7-11).⁴⁹ Consequently, Paul's argument in 15:44-46, even though only referencing the spirit in a concisely condensed passage, is of fundamental importance to Paul's view of the spirit as indwelling the believer's

Spirit (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 8-38. Such readings by Fee, Lewis and Engberg-Pedersen misunderstand the σῶμα πνευματικόν language for it is not a body created simply for the environment of the spirit but a body resurrected by the spirit. Their interpretations do not give specific attention to the active agency of the spirit in the resurrection process and consequently result in a denial of the agency of the spirit in either Christ's or the believer's resurrection. Fee himself simply views the spirit as the reason or guarantee of the future resurrection. See further 786-790, and Fee, 'Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9.' Harris summarises well when he states, 'The adjective *pneumatikon* ("spiritual") does not mean "composed of spirit," as though "spirit" were some ethereal, heavenly substance. Rather, it signifies "animated and guided by the spirit," with *pneuma* ("spirit") denoting either the Spirit of God or the human spirit as revitalized by the divine Spirit,' 'Resurrection and Immortality in the Pauline Corpus,' in *Life in the Face of Death*, ed. Longenecker, 153. That the adjective relates to the "Spirit of God" is clear from Harris, *Raised Immortal*, 143-149. These observations speak strongly against the conclusions of Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, 104-136, who attempts to deny that the complete body is resurrected, with *sarx* and *psyche*, components of the human person being shed at the resurrection, with only the *pneuma* remaining (128). Paul's argument, and his talk of the σῶμα, certainly does not demonstrate such neat divisions.

⁴⁷ So Barrett rightly states, 'The resurrection means the Spirit, and Spirit is...not merely alive but creatively life-giving,' (Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 374).

⁴⁸ Though note the firstfruits metaphor which is applied to Christ's own resurrection (15:20-23), and which functions to assert the sense of 'guarantee' in its application, Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 748-749. That Paul uses the firstfruits metaphor of Christ's resurrection subtly hints at the assurance of the spirit's work in the future, particularly since the firstfruits metaphor is conceptually related to the sowing and harvest metaphor used of the spiritual body as both come from the agricultural world. See Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul*, 19-25, 31-33.

⁴⁹ As Wright comments, 'The present unity of the church is important not least because it will thereby anticipate the perfect harmony of the resurrection world, when members of the *soma Christou*, the Messiah's body, who have each exercised their *pneumatika*, spiritual gifts, are finally raised to life, to be given the *soma pneumatikon* (15.44-46), the entire body energized and animated by the divine Spirit,' Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 295. For an examination of 1 Cor 6:12-20 with particular focus on the resurrection, see Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 288-290.

bodies in the present and who will, in the future, function as the agent whom brings about their resurrection from the dead in order to join Christ.⁵⁰

3.3 2 Corinthians

The presentation of the resurrection of the dead in 1 Cor 15 provides a significant backdrop for an analysis of the resurrection in Paul's second letter to the Corinthians. Because of the centrality of the spirit in 1 Cor 15:44-46, it is unsurprising that the spirit's agency in the resurrection is repeated. Though Paul never uses the term ἀνάστασις in 2 Cor, he does use the verb ἐγείρω to identify God as the one who raises Christ and believers from the dead (1:9; 4:14; 5:15) and connotes the future resurrection by the spirit (1:21-22; 3:6; 4:13-15 and 5:1-5).

Paul states that God is the one who 'anointed us, sealed us, and gave us the deposit of the spirit into our hearts' (χρίσας ἡμᾶς...ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν).⁵¹ The metaphor ἀρραβῶν, which is explicitly identified with the indwelling spirit (ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος),⁵² is future orientated, for the nature of the metaphor itself speaks of the full payment at a later time but which is assured because a deposit has already been paid. The underlying focus of Paul's use of the metaphor lies in the reality of the spirit, given into the hearts of believers at conversion, as the assurance of the fulfilment of God's promises. Though Paul does not state it here, what the spirit guarantees includes the future resurrection. The movement of Paul's discussion from 1:21-22 passes swiftly to 3:3 where Paul identifies the spirit as the 'spirit of the *living* God' (πνεύματι

⁵⁰ See Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, chap. 2.

⁵¹ As I have previously argued, the three economic metaphors (βεβαίω, φραγισάμενος and ἀρραβῶνα), with the metaphor of anointing (χρίσας), all denote the singular activity of the spirit in conversion (cf. the aorist tenses) through Paul's use of the repetitive καί which grammatically signals their connection (Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 291; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 111-113; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 30; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 208-209). Thus while the spirit is explicitly identified with the metaphor of the deposit, the anointing and sealing of believers is also extended to the activity of the spirit. In view of Paul's use of the metaphors which are used of conversion, there is not much concrete difference between the metaphors as they simply speak of conversion using subtle nuances: 'Anointed' (χρίω) is used in the Hebrew Scriptures and the LXX to refer to the anointing by the spirit for office (either kingly or priestly) or function and reflects Paul's understanding that the spirit has been poured out on all, inclusive of Gentiles. The economic metaphors of βεβαίω, σφραγίζω, and ἀρραβῶν, though each individually carrying a specific sense (confirmation – to verify as true, seal – proof of ownership, and deposit – the first instalment of a full payment due completely at a later time), are used deliberately because of what they connote: the concept of *assurance*. For discussion on these economic metaphors, see Kruse, *2 Corinthians*, 76-78; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 291-293; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 153-159; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 111-113; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 207-210; Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 162-179.

⁵² The genitive ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος is most aptly understood as an exegetical genitive, for the spirit itself is the deposit given to believers at their conversion. So most commentators, e.g. Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 158; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 291; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 11, fn. 45; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 30; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 208. BDAG, 134.

θεοῦ ζῶντος) and declares in 3:6 that ‘the spirit gives life’ (τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ, cf. Gal 3:21; 6:8; 1 Cor 15:22; 36; 45). In view of Gal 6:8 and 1 Cor 15:44-46, ‘life’ is resurrection by the spirit. Paul traverses to 4:7-18 where it is the ‘spirit of faith’ (4:13) which confirms to Paul that Christ has been raised from the dead and will also raise up all believers.⁵³

Such sporadic references prepare for Paul’s arrival at 5:1-10 where the expectation of the heavenly body is explicitly assured by the spirit (5:5). The movement from 4:7-18 to 5:1 is evidence that the spirit is bound up closely within Paul’s reflection on the future resurrection of believers within the context of Paul’s defence of his ministry that is characterised by

⁵³ This interpretation is supported by the similarity of thought between 1:21-22 and 4:13-15. The latter passage points to Paul’s possession of the ‘spirit of faith’ (Ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως) which consequently results in Paul’s belief (πιστεύομεν) and speech (λαλοῦμεν), that is, the apostolic proclamation of the gospel which concerns what Paul ‘knows’: the one (i.e. God, cf. 1:9) who raised the Lord Jesus from the dead will also raise us with Jesus and present us with you to himself (εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ καὶ παραστήσει σὺν ὑμῖν), Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 74. Contextually, scholarship has often been focused on Paul’s use of Ps 116:10 (κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα, Ps 115:1 in the LXX) and determining whether the phrase τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως denotes the inspiring role of the holy spirit or the human spirit. For those commentators who view the holy spirit, see Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 323-324; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 286; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 240, fn. 7; Michael Byrnes, *Conformation to the Death of Christ and the Hope of Resurrection: An Exegetico-Theological Study of 2 Corinthians 4:7-15 and Philippians 3:7-11*, TGST 99 (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 2003), 82-84. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 351-352 is non-committal. That Paul intends to denote the spirit of God rather than the human spirit is clear from 1) the unusual grammatical form of τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως to denote the human spirit; 2) the common association between the holy spirit and faith (Gal 3:2, 5; 5:25; 1 Cor 12:9). Surprisingly, Yates comments in a footnote, ‘Although I take the reference to in 4:13 as a reference to the divine spirit, and not merely a “disposition” of faith, this mention of the spirit does little to advance our understanding of the spirit’s work,’ Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 116, fn. 39. For those commentators who view the human spirit see Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 338-339; Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 235; Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 362-364, does not make a judgement about whether the spirit of God is in view for he is far more focused on Paul’s application of the Psalm itself. So too Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 89-91 makes no comment in his commentary; Matera, *II Corinthians*, 112 prefers the human disposition to be in view but declares that the reference to the spirit of God ‘cannot be excluded.’ The more significant examination should concern the close proximity in Paul’s thought between the spirit as generating the faith of the believer (cf. Gal 3:1-5; 1 Cor 2:4-5) and being the present reality that confirms what Paul ‘knows,’ i.e. the content of what he proclaims – that God will raise believers just as he has raised Christ from the dead. E.g. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 323-324, who discusses 4:13 and 4:16 without reference to 4:14-15. Grammatically, it is ‘more natural to see τὸ αὐτὸ as anticipating the formula κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον,’ as Harris comments (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 351), yet Paul’s reference of the spirit does not concern simply the inspiration of the Psalmist, an inspiration which Paul shares, but the role of the spirit in the formation of Paul’s faith and speech. Barnett rightly notes that 4:14 develops the content of what Paul believes, yet does not relate this back to the ‘spirit of faith,’ (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 241). Paul understands his ministry, which is characterised by weakness and suffering, as a symbolic manifestation (φανερωθῆ) of the death and life of Christ. It is in his body (ἐν τῷ σώματι), his mortal flesh (θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν), the centre of his sufferings, that such a manifestation occurs and though the Corinthians view Paul’s sufferings as a sign of weakness, Paul claims that suffering is the means by which the death of Christ is at work in him in order that life is at work in them (4:7-12, Byrnes, *Conformation to the Death of Christ*, 45-122). The ‘life of Jesus’ (ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) must refer to the future resurrection for it to be an appropriate correlation to the ‘death of Jesus’ (τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) and that 4:7-12 is followed by Paul’s proclamation of the death and resurrection of Christ, which guarantees the resurrection of believers (4:13-14) confirms this (Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 322; Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 339-337; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 236; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 346-347). In this way, 1:21-22 and 4:7-15 are parallel for the spirit is observed to be both the experiential evidence and the confident assurance in Paul’s mind, so much so that he can claim that such ‘light and momentary troubles are achieving for us an eternal glory that far outweighs them all’ (4:17). Because of these observations, it is viable that Paul understands that God will raise believers to be with Jesus (4:14) by the power of the spirit. This is certainly consistent with Paul’s thought thus far (Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:44-46).

weakness and suffering.⁵⁴ The conclusion of 4:17-18, with reference to that which is eternal, i.e. the resurrection identified in 4:14, leads smoothly into 5:1-10 which concerns the present tension of awaiting the resurrected body and the maintenance of confidence within this tension.⁵⁵ Indeed Paul's whole prior discussion on the suffering experienced in his body due to his apostolic ministry leads him to focus forward to the resurrection. I shall restrict my examination to 5:1-5 only, and focus my own inquiry on the role of the spirit, and do not wish to minimise the complex questions that these short verses raise.⁵⁶

Paul speaks often of the resurrected *body* (σῶμα), but such language frames 5:1-5 (at 4:10; 5:6, 8, 10) and does not occur in 5:1-5 itself. Instead, Paul uses the metaphors of a 'house' and 'clothing' to describe the body (cf. 4:14).⁵⁷ 5:1 concerns a dual contrast. The first is between the present body, which Paul describes (lit.) as 'our earthly house of tent' (ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκηνῶντος)⁵⁸ and the future resurrected body, which is a 'building from God' (οἰκοδομήν ἐκ θεοῦ), 'unmade by hands' (ἀχειροποίητον), an 'eternal dwelling in the heavens' (οἰκίαν...αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς).⁵⁹ The second contrast is between the present earthly body which is 'pulled down' (καταλυθῆ) and the heavenly body which believers 'have' (ἔχομεν).⁶⁰ The former contrast between the earthly and heavenly dwellings coincides with the dismantling of the earthly body in death,⁶¹ and the assurance of the

⁵⁴ That scholarship differs on identifying the appropriate division in Paul's argument at this point demonstrates the close relation between the content of what precedes and what follows, e.g. Furnish, Thrall and Harris view 4:7-5:10 as a distinct section, whereas Barnett, Wright and Byrnes view a significant division between 4:7-15 and 4:16-5:10. Martin views a division between 4:7-18 and 5:1-10. Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 55-67, argues for 5:1-5 as a distinct pericope, which elaborates on the theme of hope.

⁵⁵ Harris rightly notes that the γάρ of 5:1 refers back to that which precedes – to the immediate comment, 'what cannot be seen is eternal' (4:18) and 'the assured hope of the resurrection in the event of death' (4:14), Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 366. Similarly, Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 256. The link in 5:1 to 4:14 and the resurrection of Christ and believers is fundamentally important, particularly since Paul makes use of the same verb (Οἶδαμεν/εἰδότες).

⁵⁶ For a basic summary of 5:1-5, particularly the linguistic and conceptual ties with 4:16-18, see Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 364-369. On the critical questions relating to 5:1-5 see the commentaries, and particularly the study of Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 75-152.

⁵⁷ So Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 370, 'οἰκία, like σκεῦος (4:7), is a metaphor describing the σῶμα.' Also, e.g. Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 256ff; Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 82.

⁵⁸ The description is likely an exegetical genitive, thus 'tent' is a specification of the kind of 'house.' So Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 82; Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 86.

⁵⁹ For the particular, and different, senses of οἰκία, οἰκοδομήν, and οἰκίαν, see Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 81ff, though each image is concretely applied to the singular concept of the human body.

⁶⁰ Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 257.

⁶¹ Commentators rightly note that Paul uses the verb καταλυθῆ of death in order to continue the metaphor of a dwelling, thus Paul does not infer that the building is destroyed, but in a continuation of the σκηνῶντος imagery, the picture is of a *dismantled* tent (e.g. Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 102-103; Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 258; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 371; Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 89-90, though he gives too much attention to the [apparent] influence of Mk 14:58 and stresses the sense of καταλυθῆ as connoting death; *pace* Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 82). In this way, Paul, though using different imagery, maintains the delicate balance between continuity and

believer's possession of the heavenly body, for the former is transitory while the latter is permanent. 5:1 is followed by two balanced καὶ γάρ clauses (5:2-3; 5:4) that centre on the believer's present 'groaning' for the heavenly dwelling. Paul introduces the metaphor of clothing and merges the two images together so that to be clothed is equivalent to possessing the heavenly dwelling. He again repeats the statement that believers groan, longing to be clothed with the dwelling from heaven.⁶²

Paul states in 5:5, 'Now the one who fashioned us for this is God, who has given us the deposit of the spirit' (ὁ δὲ κατεργασάμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο θεός, ὁ δούς ἡμῖν τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος). 5:5 functions as an explanation of how it is that believers 'have' (ἔχομεν) – understood not as denoting a reality in the present but the future possession of a heavenly dwelling at death – an eternal house in heaven (5:1).⁶³ While κατεργασάμενος ... αὐτὸ τοῦτο points immediately back to 5:4 (cf. δέ of 5:5) – the ἵνα clause, that which is mortal may be swallowed up by life – and connotes the groaning and burdens of the present earthly body,⁶⁴ the swallowing up by life is concretely achieved through the possession of a heavenly dwelling (cf. also the use of the verb κατεργάζεται in 4:17) and therefore it is reasonable to conclude that αὐτὸ τοῦτο points back to 5:1-4 on a broader level.⁶⁵ Since the heavenly dwelling is a 'building from God' (οἰκοδομήν ἐκ θεοῦ), it is God himself, the one who raised Jesus from the dead and will also raise believers (4:14), who has given (δούς) the

discontinuity between the present body and the resurrected body which he articulated in 1 Cor 15:36ff. Yet this view of καταλυθῆ as denoting death, thus implying that the resurrection occurs at *death*, appears to contradict Paul's earlier explicit statement in 1 Cor 15:52 that the dead are raised at the *parousia*. Paul has already spelled out that death is the 'doorway' to the resurrection (1 Cor 15:36ff) so 2 Cor 5:1 is not contradicting Paul's earlier reflection on that point (So Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 103) for allocating a different time when the resurrected body is received does not amount to a contradiction of the reality of the resurrected body itself. See Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 362; Murray J. Harris, 'The Interpretation of 2 Corinthians 5:1-10 and its Place in Pauline Eschatology' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 1970); Ben F. Meyer, 'Did Paul's View of the Resurrection of the Dead Undergo Development?' *TS* 47 (1986): 363-387; Paul Woodbridge, 'Time of Receipt of the Resurrection Body – A Pauline Inconsistency?' in *Paul and the Corinthians: Studies on a Community in Conflict: Essays in Honour of Margaret Thrall*, SNT CIX, eds. Trevor J. Burke and J. Keith Elliott (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 241-258.

⁶² 5:2, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ στενάζομεν τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες; 5:4, καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκίηνει στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι, ἵνα καταποθῆ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς. On the significance of the verb στενάζω for Paul's eschatological framework (cf. Rom 8:23), see Szypula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 101-105, and for a more extensive examination of 5:2-4, see 98-142. It is tempting to see a clear parallel with Rom 8:23 which also speaks of the groaning of believers who have the firstfruits of the spirit, which is emphasised by Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 295-299 ('one is surely warranted in concluding that the association of mortal *sighing* with the Spirit's presence, which is explicit in Rom 8, is implicit in 2 Cor 5,' 296). Yet, the specific focus of Paul in 2 Cor 5:1-5 is not simply on the presence of the spirit as interceding on behalf of believer's in their weakness, as Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 265-267 appears to think, but is on concretely demonstrating how the spirit functions as the agent who swallows up death by giving life (cf. 2 Cor 3:6). This is achieved through the heavenly dwelling, the clear point of 5:1-5.

⁶³ See the nuanced discussion in Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 375-380.

⁶⁴ So Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 265; Szypula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 144-145.

⁶⁵ Szypula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 145-147.

first instalment that is the spirit (ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος)⁶⁶ as the means of assuring the Corinthians of the heavenly dwelling.⁶⁷ In view of Paul’s previous reflections on the promises of God as they relate to the spirit (cf. Gal 3:14, 21) and in view of Paul’s use of the same metaphor applied to the spirit in 2 Cor 1:22, *it is clear that this future promise is the resurrection of the body.*⁶⁸ Even though Paul does not identify the spirit as the agent who *brings about* the resurrection, since the metaphors simply connote the spirit as the assurance of its reality, nonetheless, in light of the σῶμα πνευματικόν in 1 Cor 15:44 and the concrete means by which ‘the spirit gives life’ (2 Cor 3:6), the differentiation in sense between ‘agent’ and ‘guarantor’ is only slight and is explained because of Paul’s creative use of alternative metaphors.⁶⁹

Of specific interest is Paul’s description of the body as a ‘tent’ (5:1, ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκηνῶν; 5:4, ἐν τῷ σκηνῶν). While there are strands in scholarship who would wish to understand the noun σκῆνος as simply denoting the body itself in view of parallels in Wis 9:15, it is likely that Paul used the term with dual significance – to be applied to the body, yet to also allude to the transitory nature of the tent of meeting, which was assembled and dismantled as Israel journeyed through the wilderness (commonly denoted in the LXX by the noun σκηνή).⁷⁰ Paul’s two-fold use of the σκῆνος vocabulary, combined with his broader

⁶⁶ Like 1:22, ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος is best taken as an exegetical genitive. So most commentators, Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 157; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 293; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 392; Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 147.

⁶⁷ Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 145, ‘It is clear...that the Holy Spirit plays a crucial part in the earthly life of Christians working towards the final goal – the absorption of the temporary aspect of life by immortality. The Spirit’s presence confirms for believers the design of God and the certainty of v. 4c.’

⁶⁸ Matera, *II Corinthians*, 123 is therefore correct to argue that a reference to the resurrected body is in view.

⁶⁹ While the metaphor of ἀρραβῶνα creatively identifies the spirit itself as the first instalment of the future resurrection (see Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 148-149), this raises important questions as to the nature of the first instalment (cf. Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 263, ‘the Spirit received in this life is only a guarantee of this future transformation, not the actual transformation’), yet Paul never goes beyond the metaphor itself here. What is clear is that the spirit is the assurance of the future resurrection, and though Paul does not say so here, the believers can be guaranteed of the resurrection because the same spirit who indwells them now is the very same spirit who will raise their dead bodies to life, cf. Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 108, ‘What the Christian has now is a present possession, which promises more to come...To be sure, Paul describes the Holy Spirit as the instrument of God for the renewal of the “inner man”...But also Paul is sure that the saving power that raised Jesus from the dead is also available to people in the present (Rom 8:11).’ Similarly, Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 149, ‘For him [Paul] the Spirit is above all an eschatological reality, the life-giving power of the New Age present and active already in this age.’ Yates has the right of Paul’s logic throughout 2 Cor 3-5, ‘As in 2 Cor. 3:6 the spirit is tied to the giving of life in 5:4-5. Here, however, there is no clear indication of agency; the spirit is the “guarantee” of future life to come. Failure to mention the agency of the spirit, however, ought not to obscure the implicit logic of the text. There is, in fact, no better way to read the text than to assume that the life-giving work of the spirit, so briefly described in 3:6, is here being fleshed out in terms of the spirit’s role in the resurrection of the dead,’ Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 117.

⁷⁰ Pace Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 357-362. That Paul first uses σκῆνος as a specification of the ‘earthly house’ (ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκηνῶν), to my understanding confirms that Paul wishes to do more than denote the body, which the imagery of dwelling already infers, for the exegetical genitive, by its very grammatical structure, specifies the *kind* of dwelling. Rightly Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 88, ‘If both words [οἰκία and σκῆνος] refer to the human body, there

imagery of building/dwelling (οἰκία, οἰκοδομήν, οἰκίαν, οἰκητήριον), is a subtle preparation for Paul's reference of the indwelling of the spirit in 5:5 and adds a transient sense which connoted the perishable nature of the corrupt body.⁷¹ Furthermore, Paul's use of the tent (σκῆνος) and house/building/dwelling imagery (οἰκία, οἰκοδομήν, οἰκίαν, οἰκητήριον) is consistent with his previous identification of the believer's body (σῶμα) as the temple of the holy spirit (τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν, 1 Cor 6:19) who dwells (οἰκέω) in them (ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, 1 Cor 3:16; cf. Rom 8:9-11). Thus Paul uses a variety of images of the believer's body as indwelt by the spirit of God, the same spirit that is the deposit who ensures the future resurrection of believers whereby they will possess an eternal dwelling in heaven. Though Paul has shifted the metaphors, the heavenly dwelling is clearly the resurrected body and is consistent with Paul's presentation in Gal 6:8 and 1 Cor 15:44-46.⁷²

3.4 Romans

The resurrection plays a central role in Paul's letter to the Romans.⁷³ Paul uses the language of resurrection (ἀνάστασις) on only two occasions (Rom 1:4; 6:5) but frequently identifies God as the one who raised (ἐγείρω) Jesus from the dead (4:24, 25; 6:4, 9; 7:4; 8:11, 34; 10:9; cf. 13:11). The centrality of the resurrection of Christ is evident in Paul's thought because it is through the resurrection of Christ that eternal life is given as the reward for the righteous (Rom 2:7;⁷⁴ 5:21; 6:22-23). Rom 8:1-30, as is well known, functions as the solution to the reality of death (5:12-21), sin (6:1-23) and the problem of the law in failing to impart righteousness and life (7:1-25), which is framed by an inclusio (5:1-11; 8:18-39). The solution

would certainly be an unwarranted tautology here.' Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 102 sees it as a possibility that Paul was writing the letter near the time of the Feast of Tabernacles or Booths.

⁷¹ Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 370-371 comments, 'For a Jew, σκῆνος would be naturally associated with the desert wanderings of the Israelites after the exodus and the "festival of booths" celebrated for seven days during the seventh month of each year. And to a Christ, the term would allude to the tabernacle...as the locus of God's presence among his people during the wilderness wanderings (e.g. Exod 40:34-38) and then to the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ as the mode of God's presence in believers during their pilgrimage of faith to the Promised Land of Christ's immediate presence.'

⁷² Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 97-102, 112-113, Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 324-327 and Matera, *II Corinthians*, 118ff, rightly argue that there is no contradiction in Paul's thought on resurrection between 1 Cor and 2 Cor for Paul's new language can be explained on the basis of the particular exigencies of the situation, particularly his own emphasis upon death as a future possibility in his own experience. Longenecker similarly argues that while Paul's language evidences a clear shift, nonetheless, Paul's thought is 'constant,' 'Is There Development in Paul's Resurrection Thought?' in *Life in the Face of Death*, ed. Longenecker, 171-202. J. Ramsey Michaels rightly observes that Paul's thought of discontinuity between the present and future body, in the sense that death demarcates a distinction between them, is consistent between 1 and 2 Corinthians, 'The Redemption of our Body: The Riddle of Romans 8:19-22,' in *Romans and the People of God*, eds. Soderlund and Wright, 93-97.

⁷³ For a strong study that rightly emphasises the role of resurrection within Paul's thought in Romans, see J.R. Daniel Kirk, *Unlocking Romans: Resurrection and the Justification of God* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2008).

⁷⁴ Compare with Gal 6:7-10, where the spirit is explicitly referenced as granting eternal life.

to the power of sin and death is the work of Christ in declaring believers righteous, thus making the law obsolete (7:4-5, 25; 8:1-4). With Paul's previous reflections in Galatians standing in the background, we see Paul's assertion that righteousness *leads* to life (5:17, 18, 21; 8:10; cf. 4:25).⁷⁵ Life is ultimately expressed in the resurrection of believers (2:7; 5:10, 17, 18, 21; 6:4, 22, 23; 8:2, 6, 10; 11:15) because Paul understands Christ's own death to be the fundamental righteous act which forms a parallel between resurrection and righteousness that leads to life. In this way the themes of righteousness, life and resurrection coalesce in Paul's reflection around the death and resurrection of Christ himself. Likewise, Paul conceives of the spirit as the assurance of and agent who generates righteousness and life (Gal 6:8, 1 Cor 15:44-46, and 2 Cor 1:22; 3:6 and 5:5).

I have already analysed the role of the spirit as the power responsible for the resurrection of Christ (Rom 1:3-4; 8:11) and therefore the role of the spirit as the agent of life is firstly evident in raising Christ from the dead.⁷⁶ Rom 8 is replete with references to the spirit's role in granting life but is primarily concerned with the role of the spirit in the resurrection *of believers* since Paul's focus lies on the benefits for those who are in Christ.⁷⁷ 8:1-4 functions as a declarative conclusion for all that Paul has stated in 5:12-7:25,⁷⁸ but primarily as a summary statement for Paul's argument to follow (8:5-30).⁷⁹ Since the two-fold genitive expression ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς should be interpreted as standing in some form of relation to the law of sin and death, which itself is evident in the contrast that is

⁷⁵ It is possible to interpret εἰς δικαιοσύνην ζωῆς in 5:18 as an exegetical genitive, but in view of the distinction made in 5:21 (διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν) between righteousness and life, with righteousness leading to life, it is best understood as a genitive of result. So Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 341, fn. 126. But it should be noted that such distinctions are minor in view of the similar use of language and prepositions in 5:18 and 21. On Paul's use of righteousness language, see δικαίωμα (1:32; 2:26; 5:16, 18; 8:4); δικαιοσύνη (4:25; 5:18); δικαιοσύνη (1:17; 3:5, 21, 22, 25, 26; 4:3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 22; 5:17, 21; 6:13, 16, 18, 19, 20; 8:10; 9:30, 31; 10:3, 4, 5, 6, 10; 14:17). For Paul's use of life language see ζωὴ (2:7; 5:10, 17, 18, 21; 6:4, 22, 23; 7:10; 8:2, 6, 10, 38; 11:15); ζῆλον (Rom 1:17; 6:2, 10, 11, 13; 7:1, 2, 3, 9; 8:12, 13; 9:26; 10:5; 12:1; 14:7, 8, 9, 11).

⁷⁶ Kirk summarises it well when he states, "The life that the Spirit gives is located "in Christ Jesus," whom the Spirit himself raised to new life (Rom 1:4; 8:11). The Spirit as the giver of resurrection-life stands over against the law, controlled by sin and death, which Paul now sees as incapable of granting the life that it held out," *Unlocking Romans*, 127. See further 125-129.

⁷⁷ Πνεῦμα occurs 21 times throughout the chapter, with 8:2, 6, 10, 11, 13 explicitly identifying the spirit with life. For an exegetical examination of Rom 8:11, the spirit and resurrection, see Maleparampil, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*, 145-175 (though he incorrectly states that Rom 8:11 is the only text where Paul attributes the resurrection of believers to the agency of the spirit, 163-164, 173) and Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency in the Resurrection of the Dead*, 163ff. On the spirit as signalling the development of God's salvific plan in Rom 8, see Bertone, 'The Function of the Spirit,' 75-97. On the relation between the spirit as giving life in contrast to the law which brought death in Rom 8, see Bertone, 'The Law of the Spirit,' particularly 171-204. For a cogent summary of Rom 5-7, which prepares for an engagement with the spirit and life in chap. 8, see Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 127-142, and for the significance of Ezek 36-37 see 143-147. On broader antecedents which provide a context for Paul's view of the spirit as life, see Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul's Letters and Thought*, 113-122.

⁷⁸ Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 469-485. While Schreiner, *Romans*, 398-399 is surely correct that the ἄρα of 8:1 immediately points back to the victorious exclamation of 7:24-25 and further 7:6, the major themes of death, sin and the law indicate that Paul's argument back to chap. 5 is in view.

⁷⁹ So Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 521.

created between the life and sin/death, 8:1-2 identifies the spirit as the solution, with Christ, for the problem of ‘the law of sin and [and the law of] death’ (ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου).⁸⁰ Understanding the genitive τῆς ζωῆς as modifying the spirit rather than the law, the expression πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς is most aptly taken as a genitive of source – it is the spirit who gives life.⁸¹ Thus this statement, like 2 Cor 3:6, directly identifies life as the key function of the spirit.

While 8:2 makes evident the spirit’s role in giving life, 8:4 reveals the spirit’s relation to righteousness. 8:4 is the conclusion of Paul’s dense summary of 8:1-4, and Paul finishes with a focus on the flesh-spirit antithesis, for this is the primary theme which dominates his thinking from 8:5 through to 8:13. Paul’s contrast between the spirit who gives life and the law that brought sin and death again appears in 8:4 where, on the premise of the activity of God sending Christ to atone for sin (8:3), the ‘righteous requirement of the law’ (τὸ δικάϊωμα τοῦ νόμου) is fulfilled in those who don’t walk according to the flesh but ‘walk according to the spirit’ (περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα, 8:4). 8:4 clearly associates righteousness (δικαίωμα) with the spirit, for the righteous verdict of the law – whose role was to identify those whom were ‘righteous’ – is now fulfilled by walking according to the spirit, and in this way the life-giving function of the law – which was intended to bring life but instead, brought

⁸⁰ Because of the broader structure of Paul’s argument where the spirit applies the work of Christ, and in this specific context where 8:2 explains (γάρ) the reason why there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus (8:1), the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ in 8:2 is best taken with the verb ἠλευθέρωσέν. In this way, condemnation and freedom function in parallel. With Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 418; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 523-524; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 473, fn. 21; Schreiner, *Romans*, 401; Jewett, *Romans*, 481; pace Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 136-137. The genitives τῆς ἀμαρτίας and τοῦ θανάτου are both modified by τοῦ νόμου. Many commentators focus in 8:2 on the difficulty of Paul’s use of νόμος as it relates to the spirit, with one strand identifying Paul’s comments in 8:2 as irreconcilable with e.g. 7:6, where the law (‘letter’) stands in sharp contrast to the spirit, and 7:10 where Paul understands the law to have brought death and not life. Therefore these commentators opt for reading the sense of νόμος (in the expression ‘law of the spirit’) as rule or principle. In contrast, others see no immediate inconsistency, particularly in view of 7:14 where Paul identifies the law as πνευματικός, posit that ‘the law of the spirit’ must denote the Mosaic law in some way (e.g. Wright, ‘The Letter to the Romans,’ 576-577). See the references in Jewett, *Romans*, 480-482 and the discussion in Bertone, ‘*The Law of the Spirit*,’ 172-181 and Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 138-141. Such a debate, while significant, is beyond the scope of this thesis, but a good approach which seeks a balance in the discussion by giving due attention to the role of the spirit in giving life is see Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 125-142. Note the comment of Fay regarding Rom 8:2, ‘While the majority of commentators spend time talking about the relationship of the Spirit to the law...one needs to note that the Spirit is characterized by life,’ Fay, ‘Was Paul a Trinitarian?’ 340.

⁸¹ Hahn, ‘Pneumatology in Romans 8,’ 77; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 525-526; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 473, who understands τῆς ζωῆς as an objective genitive; Schreiner, *Romans*, 400, who comments that the genitive indicates that ‘the result of the Spirit’s work is “life.”’ Similarly Byrne, *Romans*, 242 reads the genitive as qualitative, thus ‘leading to eternal life.’ Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 378, ‘the law of the life-giving Spirit.’ Paul’s contrast between the spirit/life, and sin/death is not strict, for sin and death are connected via a καί whereas spirit and life are connected through a genitive construction (πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς). The genitive construction poses a much more intimate relation between the spirit and life, which, of course, is the primary point Paul wishes to make concerning the function of the spirit in Rom 8.

death (7:10) – is actualised through the spirit.⁸² The righteous verdict of the law is indeed the verdict of life.⁸³ Just as Paul understood Christ’s death to function as the righteous act that results in righteousness leading to life for believers (e.g. 5:16-18), he can now conceive of the spirit as also participating in this same activity: *walking according to the spirit will result in a declaration of life for those in Christ.*⁸⁴ This re-confirms the association between the spirit and life in 8:2, and the association between righteousness and life in Paul’s thought generally.⁸⁵ Furthermore, since the Romans are ‘in the spirit’ (ἐν πνεύματι) and not ‘in the flesh’ (ἐν σαρκί), the result of ‘walking according to the spirit,’ which Paul further describes as

⁸² Dunn notes that Paul’s previous two uses of δικαίωμα in 1:32 and 2:26 have clearly been used in reference to Gentiles, *Romans 1-8*, 423. A reference to the Gentiles is also implied in 5:16 and 18, though Paul’s emphasis is upon the universal rewards of Christ’s death.

⁸³ The singular δικαίωμα should not be understood to denote a specific commandment which the Gentiles can follow (e.g. covetousness), nor the Christian law of love, nor indeed the generalised summary of the intent of the law, but the just declaration which following the law produced. Wright correctly comments that the phrase τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου ‘refers to the verdict that the law announces rather than the behavior which it requires,’ Wright, ‘The Letter to the Romans,’ 577. Since the noun δικαίωμα includes the -μα suffix, Paul’s emphasis must lie on the result of the verb δικαίωω, ‘to act justly,’ thus ‘to acquit’ or a ‘just decree.’ See the three senses in *BDAG*, 249. The acquittal or just decree is indeed the pronouncement of life itself which is a consequence of what the law functioned to bring. Moo, for example (*The Epistle to the Romans*, 481-482), affirms that the sense of ‘just decree’ fits the context, and interprets the decree not as life but in fact as death – the ‘sentence of judgment executed on sin in Christ (v. 3) “fulfils” that “decree of the law” which demands death for sin,’ (481). Yet he rejects this sense on the basis that Paul’s language of walking according to the spirit speaks not of the decree itself but on the ‘just requirement,’ that is, a summary of that which the law demands in active behaviour. There are two problems with Moo’s argument. Firstly, his reading of the context as fitting the ‘just decree’ of judgement misunderstands the comparison that Paul wishes to make between the purpose of the law and the achievement of Christ. That which ‘the law was powerless to do’ (8:3) because it was weakened by the flesh is indeed the giving of life (8:2), and so Christ condemned sin in the flesh so that the verdict of life could be given through the spirit. Thus 8:3-4 expands the statement of 8:2 and describes how the spirit gives life – by replacing the law and fulfilling its function. Secondly, Moo misunderstands the nature of walking according to the spirit which is not meant to fulfil what the law requires but in fact leads to the righteous declaration, a declaration that results in life. Walking according to the spirit is how one is identified as part of the people of God and it is because of the indwelling spirit (8:9-11) that God will give life through the spirit to believers. This use of δικαίωμα therefore speaks of the *status* which the law functioned to declare of God’s people, a status which is now given to Gentiles despite the totality of the Mosaic law not being followed (e.g. circumcision). Such a reading resolves many of the difficulties commentators face in attempting to understand Paul saying that Christians in some way fulfil the requirements of the law, which stands as a contradiction to his arguments elsewhere, e.g. Galatians, where circumcision, food laws and special days are explicitly argued against, but particularly Rom 14:14-17 where Paul rejects the Jewish food laws and instead claims that ‘the kingdom of God is not a matter of eating and drinking, but of righteousness, peace and joy in the holy spirit.’ Walking according to the spirit has clearly replaced observance of the law and righteousness now comes through the spirit. 13:8-10, whereby the love command fulfils the law, does not provide justification against this reading of 8:4 for the emphasis in 8:1-13 is upon the *outcome* of walking according to the flesh (i.e. following the law) versus walking according to the spirit, and this outcome is the eschatological reality of life or death. This is consistent with Gal 5:5 where righteousness, which is clearly paralleled with life, is considered a future declaration through the spirit. Pace Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 383-385; Byrne, *Romans*, 237; Jewett, *Romans*, 485.

⁸⁴ On the background of Paul’s use of the metaphor of ‘walking,’ see Robert Banks, ‘“Walking” as a Metaphor of the Christian Life: The Origins of a Significant Pauline Usage,’ in *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis A. Andersen’s 60th Birthday*, ed. Edgar Conrad and Edward Ewing (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 303-313. Banks argues that Paul’s versatile use of the term περιπατέω was influenced by the Pharisaic tradition, the practical effects of life in Christ, and indeed his own Christian experience, a triadic influence Banks identifies as an amalgamation of tradition, revelation and experience (313).

⁸⁵ Cf. Dunn, *Baptism in the Spirit*, 148, on Rom 8: ‘justification or right relationship and the Spirit are so closely connected for Paul – so close that each can be describes as the result and outworking of the other (vv. 4, 10) – that we can draw up a similar equation: gift of Spirit = gift of righteousness.’

‘thinking according to the spirit’ (φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος... τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος), is life and peace (τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη, 8:5-8).⁸⁶ Since Paul describes the opposite thinking – the mind controlled the flesh – as death (θάνατος), it is clear that Paul has a *future* focus here and speaks in a similar line of thought, though using different imagery, to Gal 6:8 where sowing to the spirit results in eternal life while sowing to the flesh results in death. The life in question must therefore be understood as eschatological life.⁸⁷

8:9-13 develops the thesis statement of 8:2 that ‘the spirit gives life’ more explicitly to the resurrection.⁸⁸ Paul has already identified the spirit with life at 8:2 and 8:6, and the spirit with righteousness at 8:4, but in 8:9-11 Paul makes the claim that the believer’s present experience of the indwelling spirit not only gives *assurance* of life but also is *the very power whom gives this life by giving life to mortal bodies* – in this way making the crucial identification between life and the resurrection. Paul’s focus in 8:9-11 is on the reality of the indwelling of the spirit within the believer as the confirmation of their own resurrection. Believers are ἐν πνεύματι, and the spirit οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, a point repeated twice and expressed through the participle ἐνοικοῦντος [ἐν ὑμῖν], which references both previous designations by combining the preposition ἐν with the verb οἰκέω.⁸⁹ Paul’s use of εἶπερ indicates that being in the spirit is not a universal experience but is dependent upon an active walking according to the spirit (8:4ff). This confirms not only that the εἶπερ conditional statement is true, but that the conditional sentence ‘if the spirit...dwells in you’ - must also be taken as true in the

⁸⁶ The γάρ that begins 8:5 develops in the following verses what Paul means by ‘walking according to the spirit’ in 8:4. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 487, fn. 80.

⁸⁷ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 426; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 486-488; Schreiner, *Romans*, 412.

⁸⁸ 8:9-13 is composed of 6 first class conditional sentences – which presuppose an affirmative response to the rhetorical questions – and therefore illustrates the close unity of these verses in Paul’s argument. For a detailed analysis of these verses which arrives at similar conclusions to my own, see Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 177-232.

⁸⁹ The difference in sense between Paul’s use of οἰκέω and ἐνοικέω is not significant and can be explained on the basis of Paul’s intent to vary his style of expression. Curiously, Paul cannot only denote the reality of the indwelling of the spirit, but can vary his description of both the spirit and the experience of indwelling itself. Simultaneously Paul can describe the spirit individually (ἐν πνεύματι), but can also describe the spirit with reference to God as ‘the spirit of God’ (πνεῦμα θεοῦ), ‘the spirit of the one...’ (τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ) and ‘his spirit’ (πνεύματος αὐτοῦ) who dwells in believers. Somewhat surprisingly here, Paul can also describe the spirit as ‘the spirit of Christ’ (πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ) and simply describe Christ as dwelling in the believer, using the identical language of the spirit (Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν). Clearly ‘having’ the spirit of Christ (πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει) is synonymous with Christ in the believer, an experience which itself is synonymous with the spirit in the believer. These varying descriptions of the spirit can be explained on the basis that God and Christ are present to the believer *as* spirit, and which importantly signals that the spirit in the believer is the anchor from which Paul’s argument sways to and fro as he highlights the benefits that God’s saving work in Christ has for those who are in the spirit. See the examinations by Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 195-196; Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, chap. 10. Paul’s description of ‘Christ in you’ must surely mean, because of the synonymous parallel with the ‘spirit of God in you’/‘the spirit of the one...in you’/‘his spirit in you’ – ‘Christ in you by his spirit.’ So Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 548.

believer's experience. Since the spirit's activity is focused on the σῶμα, as evidenced in 8:10-11, the location of the spirit's indwelling is the human body in its totality.⁹⁰

Paul identifies the *problem* of the mortality of the body corrupted through the power of sin, and posits the *solution* as the spirit⁹¹ who gives life *through righteousness* (διὰ δικαιοσύνην, 8:10).⁹² 8:10 is an explicit development of how it is that the indwelling spirit who gives life stands in contrast to the law of sin and death (8:2). For those who are in the flesh and have their minds set on the flesh, the end is death, whereas the spirit is life (8:6).⁹³ The repetition of the key themes of 8:1-8 are developed here by the application of the flesh, sin and death to the human body (σῶμα).⁹⁴ Paul's reference to the σῶμα confirms that he conceives of life and death as related to the functionality or dysfunctionality of the *physical*

⁹⁰ Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 187; Jewett, *Romans*, 498-493.

⁹¹ With the majority of commentators, it is clear that it is the spirit of God, not the human spirit that Paul denotes here. The contrast that Paul creates between the spirit and the body is not an anthropological dualism whereby the human body is dead but the human spirit is alive. Paul's use of the noun ζωή should be understood as life, and not the sense of 'alive,' which is consistent with Paul's use of the noun throughout the letter (2:7; 5:10, 17, 18, 21; 6:4, 22, 23; 7:10; 8:2, 6, 38; 11:15). The contrast between the body and the spirit speaks of the spirit of God as the agent who gives the body life, which is consistent with 8:2, 6, and which 8:11 confirms. So Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 390; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 431-432; Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 309; Byrne, *Romans*, 245; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 492; Schreiner, *Romans*, 414-415.

⁹² Paul does not qualify δικαιοσύνη here, therefore the question arises as to whether the righteousness is that of Christ, God or the believer. Since it is implausible that Paul would conceive of life as the reward for the believer's own righteousness, and though he can conceive of the spirit as giving righteousness to the believer, the structure of Paul's thought in Rom 8 as a whole makes it more plausible that since righteousness has so often been understood by Paul to denote God's own righteousness evidenced as a gift in the death and resurrection of Christ (1:17; 3:21; 5:15-21), it seems most appropriate to understand righteousness in the same way here. Further, since Paul contrasts that which is bound by death and sin with the spirit as the divine power of life, righteousness must refer to divine righteousness, here denoting the righteousness of God demonstrated in Christ. Thus it is because of Christ's atoning death that believers are justified by God and it through the spirit that new life is given (cf. 1:17; 5:21), two expressions that are two sides of the same coin for Paul. This demonstrates that 8:10 is a restatement of 8:1-4 where freedom – and no condemnation – are given through what God has done in Christ Jesus by giving life through the spirit. So Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 210-212; Schreiner, *Romans*, 415; Wright, 'The Letter to the Romans,' 584-585. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 430, Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 551-552 and Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 166-170 understand the reference to be Christ's own righteousness. Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 310 wishes to cover all options by viewing righteousness as the imputed righteousness given to the believer as well as the righteousness of God. Byrne, *Romans*, 240-241, 245, assumes that the righteousness is the believer's and views the spirit's role in 8:9-11 as generating righteousness which itself guarantees life. Byrne does not make any explicit reference to Paul's understanding of the spirit as the agent who raises believer to life. In fact, Byrne's commentary on Rom 8:1-13 as a whole makes very little comment on the spirit's role as the giver of life, consequently, this important theme is minimised in his reading of Paul in favour of the spirit creating righteousness, that is, moral transformation, within believers. The problem is that this reading undercuts Paul's understanding of the broader cosmic role of the spirit and the specific agency of the spirit in the resurrection.

⁹³ Paul does not supply the verb here since its absence provides a neat symmetry with πνεῦμα ζωή διὰ δικαιοσύνην. Paul simply states σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν. Therefore it is difficult to discern if Paul meant a past reference (the body was dead because of sin), a present reference (the body is dead because of sin) or a future reference (the body will be dead because of sin). In view of Paul's 'now' and 'not yet' framework, which becomes evident in Rom 8:18ff, Paul would have no difficulty affirming that these three senses are all true at some point in the believer's experience. See Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 203-206. Yet this cannot be applied to the expression πνεῦμα ζωή διὰ δικαιοσύνην, for Paul's use of the future ζωοποιήσει in 8:11 clarifies that in 8:10 Paul must be referring to the future life given at the resurrection.

⁹⁴ J. Ramsey Michaels observes the association of sin and death with the body in Romans, 'The Redemption of our Body: The Riddle of Romans 8:19-22,' in *Romans and the People of God*, eds. Soderlund and Wright, 99-99.

body. While Paul can conceive of the body dead to sin in a figurative sense (e.g. 12:5),⁹⁵ here the stronger thrust, which is consistent with the majority of occurrences of σῶμα in Romans (1:24; 4:19; 7:4; 12:1, 4), is of the body that is dead through sin (σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν). That is, the sinful body is caught in a condition that is destined for death, despite the present body still being alive.⁹⁶ This demonstrates that Paul is concerned with the ultimate eschatological fate of those who are in Christ and in this way intends the physical death of the human body (8:10, 11, 13, 23).⁹⁷ This interpretation gives the parallel between the body that is dead through sin and the spirit who gives life through righteousness more clarification, for the spirit stands in stark contrast to sin responsible for the death of the mortal body (θνητὰ σώματα). Thus ‘the spirit [is] life’ (τὸ πνεῦμα ζωή) must apply in the opposite sense to the death of the human body – the giving of life to the mortal body. Indeed, in Christ’s own death the mortality of the body was manifest, and it is on the basis of God’s righteousness revealed in Christ’s resurrection by the spirit that the same spirit will defeat death.

The spirit gives life to believers through the resurrection of the body (8:11).⁹⁸ 8:11 forms the basis for why 8:10 is in fact true: *if the spirit dwells in the believer, then God will give life (ζωοποιήσει) to mortal bodies (τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν) through his spirit (διὰ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ).*⁹⁹ Since the spirit does indeed indwell believers (οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν/ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ὑμῖν) – a reality that can be experientially corroborated – then believers can be confident that they too will be raised by the spirit. The two-fold repetition of God as the one who raised Christ from the *dead* (τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν/ὁ ἐγείρας

⁹⁵ Despite 6:6-7 evidencing the death of the believer as a participation in the death of Christ – thus the death of the believer is figurative – that Paul explicitly states in 6:5, ‘If we have been united with him in a death like his, we will certainly also be united with him in a resurrection (ἀναστάσεως) like his’ shows that the physical death of the believer and their future resurrection is the practical outcome of the work of Christ. The life of Christ has begun in the present, that is, the power of sin is being combatted through the power of the sin, yet the ultimate victory over sin and death will be realised at the resurrection.

⁹⁶ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 431; Byrne, *Romans*, 239-241, 245; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 491; Schreiner, *Romans*, 414; Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 149, fn. 23. Jewett, *Romans*, 491-492, in view of 6:6-11, assumes that in 8:10 Paul references the ‘destruction of the sinful body in baptism’ (491), yet this does not give due attention to the concrete impact of death on the physical body, which is minimised through the metaphorical association between the death of Christ and the believer’s baptism. The impact of sin and death on the body has been noted prior in 6:6-7 (σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας), and 12 (ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι) where Paul stresses that in death one has been set free from sin, that is, representatively through Christ’s own crucifixion, and consequently believers are exhorted not to let sin reign in their mortal bodies. Indeed those under the law are still in need of rescue from the body of death (ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου, 7:24) for only in Christ is sin truly dealt with.

⁹⁷ So Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 196-199.

⁹⁸ Schreiner, *Romans*, 415.

⁹⁹ I have previously given justification (Chapter 5, ‘Creational Monotheism’), with the majority of commentators (e.g. Barrett; Dunn; Bruce; Cranfield; Fitzmyer; Ziesler; Brodeur; Moo; Schreiner, etc; *pace* Fee) that the genitive construction found in one textual tradition (διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος, **8**, A, C, 81, 104, 256, 263, 436, 1319, 1506) is to be preferred in contrast to the dative. That the genitive most appropriately reflects Paul’s wider thought is confirmed in our previous analysis of Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:44-46 and 2 Cor 3:6 where the *agency* of the spirit in giving life is clearly evident (cf. the agency of God’s *glory* which Paul perceives as active in the resurrection of Christ).

Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν) illustrates Paul's reflection on the resurrection and functions as the demonstration that God will do the same for believers once they experience the death of their bodies, the very condition identified in 8:10.¹⁰⁰ Paul's two-fold repetition of God as the one who has raised Christ from the dead is framed by two references to the spirit, for the spirit is the spirit of *the one* who raised Christ (δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος) and is further described as *his* spirit (πνεύματος αὐτοῦ). The spirit is thus explicitly identified as the agent through whom God will raise believers to life following the death of the body. Thus the τὸ πνεῦμα ζωῆ of 8:10 is expanded and given clarification in 8:11, for just as God has raised Christ from the dead through his spirit, so too will the spirit give life to mortal bodies by raising believers from the dead at the future resurrection.¹⁰¹

These exegetical comments confirm that Paul identifies *the reality of the indwelling spirit* (1) *as the solution to the problem of death in the body* (2) *through the giving of life by spirit at the future resurrection* (3).¹⁰² The emphasis is clearly upon the reality of the spirit dwelling within the believer as the *assurance* and *agent through whom the resurrection will*

¹⁰⁰ Rightly, Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*, 67, 'This doubly underscored reference to the Father as the one who raised Jesus from the dead shows Paul to be reasoning on the basis of the analogy between Christ and believers in the experience of resurrection: what the Father has done for the one he will also do for the others.'

¹⁰¹ The future tense of ζῶποιήσει makes this certain (So Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 432; Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 214; Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 158). Paul's use of καί with the verb ζῶποιήσει subtly points to Paul's consistent view of the spirit as the agent who raises the dead, for καί must carry a sense of intensification and is most aptly seen as identifying that what is true of Christ must be true for believers. See Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 391; Byrne, *Romans*, 246, 'The object "mortal bodies" shows that the verb [ζῶποιήσει] must refer to resurrection.' While Jewett, *Romans*, 492-493 notes that most commentators understand the verb as referring to the future resurrection, but because of his emphasis upon the believer's death to sin through baptism, he understands the benefits of the spirit's life-giving work as life in the present. The line in Paul's thought between life in the present and life in the future is evidently blurred – at least, never clarified by Paul – yet the context, and importantly the future tense of the verb, strongly speaks in favour of the future resurrection whereby the ultimate experience of life is brought about by the spirit. Curiously, while Cranfield affirms that Paul is referring to the future resurrection (391), he comments on Rom 6:1-14 in a short article published following his commentary that 'it is a resurrection that is in mind' and that 'Paul does think that the people he is addressing have already been raised from the dead in some sense,' Charles E.B. Cranfield, 'Romans 6:1-14 Revisited,' *ExpT* 106:2 (1994): 41, also noted by Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 161. Yates himself addresses this question of the tension between present and future life fairly, 157-173. One of the quirks of Brodeur's examination of the spirit's agency in the resurrection of the dead is that he argues that Paul conceives of 'life' in both figurative and literal terms in Romans (see Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 208-209, 214-215; 220-222). He views Paul's use of ζωῆ in Rom 8:38 as the only literal use of the word in the letter so that a figurative understanding of life is designated 'eschatological life' in all other occurrences (though he does conceive of the verb ζῶ as used in a literal sense also). Since life is therefore eschatological, it is, for Brodeur, soteriological, and consequently figurative. Yet this does not stop him from associating life with the resurrection, for he comments 'ζωῆ is both present life, allowing us to live in freedom as children of God and future life, allowing us to share in the glory of Christ's resurrection,' Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 209. Brodeur simply does not comprehend that in order for Paul's association between resurrection and life to be consistent that life must be understood in a literal sense, for resurrection is a literal event that determines physical existence. To be sure life in the present is not a reality, for life is only fully experienced as resurrection life in the future, that is, the redemption of the body. Brodeur's conception of life as simply 'eschatological life' is too vague and in the end, such a view becomes distanced from Paul's understanding of resurrection, a move which weakens Brodeur's argument as a whole.

¹⁰² These conclusions, it is hoped, will give more exegetical weight to the similar study by Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 147-151.

occur (8:2, 6, 10, 11). Indeed the very reason why believers can be assured and trust the guarantee of future resurrection is because the spirit who indwells them is the agent through whom new life will be given if they ‘put to death the misdeeds of the body’ (8:13).¹⁰³

The final reference to the spirit’s role in the resurrection of believers in Rom 8 is observed in v. 23 which occurs in the context of Paul’s discussion on the tension between present suffering and future redemption (8:18-30).¹⁰⁴ Creation, Paul claims, ‘waits in eager expectation for the sons of God to be revealed’ (8:19) and is ‘groaning as in the pains of childbirth’ (πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει, 8:22) and is used to illustrate the tension that exists within Paul’s worldview, between the ‘already’ and the ‘not yet’ whereby all creation yearns for the future revelation of believers.¹⁰⁵ 8:23 sees Paul applying the imagery of ‘groaning’ to the experience of believers: ‘we ourselves, who have the firstfruits of the spirit, groan inwardly as we wait eagerly for our adoption as “sons,” the redemption of our

¹⁰³ The question of 7:24 ‘Who will rescue me from this body of death?’ is answered decisively in 8:9-11, for it is the spirit who will give life to the body. 8:9-11 therefore functions as the basis which not only demonstrates God’s own faithfulness and righteousness, but as the fundamental reason why believers should walk according to the spirit. Paul can declare that the Roman believers are ‘in the spirit’ and not ‘in the flesh’ (8:9), yet he also claims through a final condition sentence (8:12-13), which signals a conclusion of the main lines of argument from 8:5-11, that ‘we have an obligation – but it is not to the flesh, to live according to it. For if you live according to the flesh, you will die; but if by the spirit you put to death the misdeeds of the body, you will live’ (ὀφειλέται ἔσμεν οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν, εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆτε, μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν· εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε, 8:12-13). He exhorts the same believers who are ‘in the spirit’ to actively pursue the spirit since they are not debtors to the flesh but to the spirit. The consequence of living according to the spirit is that believers put to death the misdeeds of the body in order that they will live (Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 222-230). In a much fuller statement than Gal 6:8, Paul, in 8:1-13, has identified the spirit as the agent who leads believers in their present Christian walk and who is the agent who will give life through the resurrection, that is, will raise their dead bodies to life. See Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 169-172 for an argument that 8:12-13 should be included with 8:9-11 as a single unit of thought on the basis of the 6 conditional sentences. Commentators generally note a division at 8:12 on the basis of Paul’s use of Ἄρα οὖν which signals that Paul is bringing his thought to a conclusion, a division which is further confirmed by Paul’s use of ἀδελφοί. That Ἄρα οὖν is a strong marker for a development in Paul’s thought, combined with the observation that Paul includes a further conditional sentence in 8:17 provides evidence that Brodeur’s analysis is probably incorrect, though this does not change Paul’s reflection on the spirit and life. Yet we should not go to the further extreme of identifying 8:12-17 as a separate section which minimises the connection with what precedes, e.g. the structural analysis of Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 446ff, who even makes the statement that the Ἄρα οὖν of 8:12 ‘indicates a compelling conclusion drawn from what has just been said’ (447) and Schreiner, *Romans*, 395-396, 418. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 472 is likely correct that 8:13 forms a clearer break because of Paul’s use of the adoption and children themes, such that 8:5-9 and 8:12-13 function as an *inclusio* since they concern the flesh/spirit antithesis. Similarly Byrne, *Romans*, 234ff.

¹⁰⁴ On this passage as a whole, with particular attention to the role of the spirit in this tension, see Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, chaps. 4-6.

¹⁰⁵ This is the strength of the study by Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*. Thus Paul points forward to a future time which he denotes through a variety of images, notably revelation, adoption, and redemption. Believers who are led by the spirit of God are sons of God (8:14) yet creation waits for the sons of God to be revealed (8:19); the spirit bears witness that believers are the children of God (8:16) yet creation will experience the freedom of the children of God (8:21); believers have received the spirit of adoption (Rom 8:15) yet wait for ‘redemption of our bodies’ (τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν, 8:23). Paul has already identified believers who are led by the spirit as the sons of God (8:14), the spirit who is not the spirit of slavery (πνεῦμα δουλείας) but the spirit of sonship (πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας, 8:15) and who inspires the cry of ‘Abba, Father’ (8:16), descriptions that are reliant upon the metaphor of adoption. On this metaphor, see Byrne, ‘Adoption as Sons of God’ 288-284 (cf. Byrne, *Romans*, 248-254); Burke, *Adopted into God’s Family*, 46-71, 125-151; Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God*, 221-266.

bodies' (τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες, 8:23).¹⁰⁶ Paul posits a close relation between the spirit and the redemption of the body. Paul's reference to the body recalls the condition which the body is caught in by sin, a condition which results in death (6:6, 12; 7:24), yet through the power of the spirit will be given life through the resurrection of the body (8:2, 10-11, 13). The genitive expression τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν therefore most aptly is taken as an objective genitive, for it is the body itself that is redeemed, and the event at which the redemption takes place is synonymous with the completion of the adoption to sonship, namely, the resurrection.¹⁰⁷ Paul uses again the firstfruits metaphor (ἀπαρχή), which he previously used of Christ's resurrection in 1 Cor 15:20, 23 (cf. Rom 11:16; 16:5), as the assurance of the resurrection of all believers, and recalls his use of agricultural imagery in Gal 6:7-10 and 1 Cor 15:42ff to connote the resurrection.¹⁰⁸ Paul applies the firstfruits metaphor to the believer's present experience of the spirit in a way which expresses the same point made in 8:9-11 but using a different image: the present reality of the indwelling spirit is the assurance that the future resurrection of the body will occur.¹⁰⁹

3.5 Summary

My examination of Gal 6:8 and Rom 8:2, 6, 9-11, 13, 23 has demonstrated that in Paul's reflection the spirit is clearly associated with life. Yet Paul conceives of life not in abstract terms but as the future resurrection of the body which will be destroyed because of the presence and power of sin, a power which the law itself could not overcome. The spirit emerges as the agent who raises the dead to life and transforms believers through the gift of a

¹⁰⁶ With most commentators, the participial clause is best taken as causal, with Byrne, *Romans*, 264. For a discussion on Rom 8:19-22 as it relates to the redemption of the body in 8:23, see Ramsey Michaels, 'The Redemption of our Body: The Riddle of Romans 8:19-22,' 92-114. Clearly the genitive τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος is exegetical for the spirit is the firstfruits itself, the first of the harvest which ensures the existence of the whole field of wheat to be harvested. Byrne, *Romans*, 264; Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 184; Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 520, fn. 61; Schreiner, *Romans*, 438 ('appositional'); Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 284-285. Jewett, *Romans*, 518, fn. 103 prefers a possessive genitive, though he admits that an exegetical genitive 'has a similar implication.' Pace Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 154-155, who because of his eagerness to ascribe a closer relation between the spirit and cosmic creation, understands the spirit to bring about the firstfruits, which include the groaning of believers and creation.

¹⁰⁷ Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Vol. 1, 419.

¹⁰⁸ On the metaphor of firstfruits (ἀπαρχή), see Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 473-474; Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 180-187, though the sacrificial connotations would only fit the context here with difficulty. Paul's use of the ἀπαρχή metaphor demonstrates its synonymy with ἀρραβῶν in 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 355-364. Jewett, *Romans*, 518-520, rightly emphasises the bodily resurrection but also insightfully connects the redemption of the body with the whole transformation of creation. Similarly, Ramsey Michaels, 'The Redemption of our Body: The Riddle of Romans 8:19-22,' 92-114, understands well the relation between the resurrection of the body and Paul's language of creation (κτίσις), which he argues is an open term to refer to *creation* and the *creature*.

resurrected body (Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:44-46; 2 Cor 1:22; 3:6; 5:1-5; Rom 8:9-11, 23).¹¹⁰

Christ's own resurrection by the spirit is therefore the defining assurance that the spirit will also raise believers to eternal life through the resurrection of the body, for the spirit is the firstfruits of the redemption of the body, the agent through whom God will raise mortal bodies to life. This event, which lies in the future, is an essential characteristic of Paul's Eschatological monotheism and which expresses the sovereignty of God who is creator and his power over death and decay. In this way, the spirit is the spirit of life and the agent of resurrection who will participate in the future creative activity of God.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ This conclusion is followed by many scholars: 'The spirit... is the great power of life, the element of the resurrection; God's power of creation is given to us through the Holy Spirit,' Oscar Cullmann, 'Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead: The Witness of the New Testament,' in *Immortality and Resurrection: Death in the Western World: Two Conflicting Currents of Thought*, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Macmillan Company, 1965), 26, which summarises his *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?* (New York: Macmillan, 1958); Gaffin, *The Centrality of the Resurrection*, 66-74; Harris, *Raised Immortal*, for a concise summary, see his 'Resurrection and Immortality in the Pauline Corpus,' in *Life in the Face of Death*, 147-170; Hubbard rightly focuses on the spirit as the spirit of life, consistent with the Jewish antecedents, in his analysis of the new creation in Paul's thought, *New Creation in Paul's Letters and Thought*, 113-122, cf. his comments: 'Paul's new creation expresses a reality *intra nos* not a reality *extra nos*, and functions as an alternative formulation of his central Spirit affirmation – *the Spirit creates life* (1 Cor. 3.6; cf. 2 Cor. 5.6; Rom. 7.6; 8.2, 10-11; 1 Cor. 15.45; Gal. 3.22-23; 5.25),' 232, 'it is not insignificant that "Spirit" and "life" are virtual synonyms in Paul,' (90); Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 208, 'in Romans 8, 10, when Paul declares that "the Spirit is life" he means that the Holy Spirit is in fact the origin of life, both present and future,' cf. 243-249; more fully, Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*. For an examination of Phil 3:10-11 and the resurrection of Christ, see Byrnes, *Conformation to the Death of Christ*, 175-257, particularly 274-276 on the spirit.

¹¹¹ This conclusion – that the spirit will give life to believers – raises a question regarding the relationship between the spirit and the cosmic creation. My examination of the antecedents within Hebrew and Jewish religion demonstrated that the spirit was conceived to participate in YHWH's creation of the world and while I recognise that nowhere in Paul does he explicitly identify the spirit as involved in the creation of the cosmos, there are hints that such a view may have been held by him. *Firstly*, Paul's thought in Rom 8 moves from the spirit's role in resurrecting believer's bodies (8:2, 6, 9-11, 13) to the anticipation of creation (κτίσις) which 'waits in eager expectation for the children of God to be revealed' (8:19). That creation itself will be 'liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the freedom and glory of the children of God' (8:21) in a way which is analogous to the experience of believers (8:23) hints that there is a close causal connection between the redemption of creation and believers. That the spirit is explicitly the power who raises believers from the dead, the one who brings about the redemption of the body, posits that the spirit may in Paul's thought have been conceived as operating in the redemption of creation. Since creation, believers and the spirit all groan (8:22, 23, 26), Paul's linguistic ties connect the experience of creation and believers together very tightly, a tie which can conceivably be identified as the power of the spirit: If believers are caught in the tension between the present experience of the mortal body and the future redemption of the body so that they groan, and if creation also groans in anticipation of liberation, and if the solution to the problem of sin, bondage and decay is the spirit, it is not difficult to take the small step by acknowledging the spirit as the power who renews creation. *Secondly*, and in a close development from the previous point, the spirit's agency in the resurrection of the dead is itself a valid identification of the spirit's cosmic role, for believers themselves are creatures within the created order. Significantly, in Paul's reflection in 1 Cor 15 on the role of the spirit in the resurrection of Christ and believers, Paul turns to the creation account to support his presentation of God's creative account, the underlying logic being that the creation itself demonstrates God's consistency in the resurrection of the dead. Moreover, the spirit's life-giving role is deliberately paralleled with the creation of Adam in Gen 2:7, which confirms that in Paul's thought the climax of God's creation of all things was the creation of Adam, and since the spirit is the power by which the last Adam was raised to life, the penultimate expression of God's activity of sustaining the cosmos and defeating the power of sin is displayed in the activity of the spirit (cf. Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 97). *Thirdly*, as I have already demonstrated, the spirit is conceived by Paul as the power of the *new* creation who operates in the present by defeating the powers of sin and death. This is evident in Paul's thought whereby the concept of the new creation parallels very closely Paul's view of the new covenant. Since the spirit is the life-giving power of the new covenant in contrast to the law, the new creation exists where the spirit is present. This correlation between the new covenant and the new creation speaks of the spirit's function as the

4. The Spirit will be Ruler as the Power of the New Creation in the Present

I shall advance the argument that the spirit is the power of the new creation who has broken into the present age characterised by sin, and is now the defining rule of the people of God, such that following the guidance of the spirit will result in the complete fulfilment of the new creation, concretised in the resurrection of the body. This argument will be focused upon the spirit-flesh antithesis in Paul since in both contexts in which Paul explicitly uses the phrase *καὶνὴ κτίσις* (Gal 6:15; 2 Cor 5:17), and in the singular context where *κτίσις* plays an integral function in Paul's discussion on creation (Rom 8), we observe that *σάρξ* plays a key role. Paul's *σάρξ/πνεῦμα* antithesis, it will be argued, is an eschatological contrast between the present creation and the new creation.¹¹²

4.1 Paul's *σάρξ-πνεῦμα* Antithesis

It is well known in Pauline studies that the *σάρξ/πνεῦμα* contrast is considered a central component of Paul's perspective of the spirit. In what follows I aim simply to demonstrate not that this is indeed a truism, but to underline the fundamental reason as to why this contrast is so central within Paul's eschatological thought. *Σάρξ*, 'flesh,' occurs 72 times in the Pauline letters thus indicating the term's prevalence both within Paul's polemical arguments and within his thought more broadly.¹¹³ A range of senses is usually attributed to the term but the

spirit of life, not just to believers in a personal resurrection, but as the reality of the whole created order. These points, while clearly going beyond any explicit Pauline statement coalesce to present a possible summary of the relation between the spirit and cosmic creation in Paul's thought. Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, presents a solid analysis of the spirit's relation to the new creation within Paul's thought, but the specific focus on the cosmic creation is more presumed than argued for in Rom 8 on the basis of Paul's Jewish background, specifically at 151-155. Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 249-255 confidently arrives at a similar conclusion to mine from his analysis of Rom 8. Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 171-224, makes an excellent case for the 'solidarity' between humanity and creation in his analysis of Rom 8:19-22, but does not go beyond these verses and consequently the spirit is not in view in his examination. The relation between the redemption of creation and believers, specifically, the *inclusion* of creation within the redemption of humanity, is the focus of Gibbs' study, Jeff G. Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption: A Study in Pauline Theology*, SNT XXVI (Leiden: Brill, 1971). Gibb's analysis of Rom 8:19-23 is noteworthy for its attention to the spirit in Paul's argument of chapter 8 as a whole. So too Szygula, *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 233ff observes strong ties between the spirit and creation.

¹¹² While I do agree with many of Yates' conclusions, particularly the close proximity in Paul's thought between the spirit and the new creation, Yates' argument would have been strengthened had he given more attention to the antithesis in Paul between the spirit and the flesh, particularly as the antithesis is eschatological in nature. See Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*. My following argument gives substantial support to Yates' own conclusions.

¹¹³ *Σάρξ* occurs 26 times in Romans; 18 in Galatians; 5 in Philippians; 22 in the Corinthian Correspondence; once in Philemon. The adjective *σάρκινος* appears in Rom 7:14; 1 Cor 3:1 and 2 Cor 3:3, while the adjective *σαρκικός* appears in Rom 15:27; 1 Cor 3:3; 9:11; 2 Cor 1:12 and 2 Cor 10:4. Defining *σάρξ* has proven for scholars to be a difficult task, not least because there exists disagreement concerning not just the definition of the term, nor its varied and complex usage in Paul, but also in the influences behind Paul's thinking on the concept, whether this influence be that of Hellenism (dualism) or Judaism (either Qumran, Philo, Apocalypticism, or the traditions of the Hebrew Scriptures). While I cannot here give a full analysis of the term nor the background behind its development in Paul, there does exist grounds for affirming that Paul's thinking on *σάρξ* is influenced

most common discussion concerns whether the term denotes in a neutral sense flesh or a pejorative sense of moral weakness,¹¹⁴ that is, there is a spectrum from σάρξ as denoting physical life to σάρξ denoting human existence in all its weakness. Neither Fee nor Dunn, for example, clarifies how it is that there exists a ‘development’ in Paul’s thought from a purely physical sense to σάρξ, to σάρξ as denoting a way of life in the present age characterised by weakness.¹¹⁵ I wish to posit that scholarship has difficulty defining σάρξ because they have

not by Hellenism but from his Jewish context. While there are parallels in Philo and Qumran, these do not reflect direct influence, and therefore the most likely influence from Judaism rests in Paul’s apocalyptic framework. My analysis of σάρξ will demonstrate the validity of this position. For a history of the σάρξ/πνεῦμα contrast see Jewett, *Paul’s Anthropological Terms*, 49-95; in Galatians see Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 178-215; Walter B. Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997), 5-11, 154-156.

¹¹⁴ Σάρξ can denote 1) flesh - the physical flesh of either humans or animals; 2) a body - the physical body; 3) people - humans as physical beings; 4) a human - humanity’s physical nature; 5) a nation - a nation or race who share similar physical properties; 6) human nature - the psychological aspect of human nature, in contrast to the spiritual nature; 7) physical nature - human nature, but with reference to physical nature of human life; 8) life – physical life. Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 93.615 (See Schweizer in *TDNT*, 6:98-151; Anthony C. Thiselton, ‘Flesh (σάρξ),’ *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, Vol. 1, ed. Colin Brown (Exeter/Grand Rapids: Paternoster Press, 1975), 671-682). The complexity heightens when the debate is observed between Dunn and Fee who disagree over the extent to which σάρξ in Paul is either neutral, denoting simply physical characteristics, or pejorative, denoting moral weakness. Instead of a clear distinction in sense, Dunn asserts that ‘σάρξ in Paul has a “spectrum” of meaning, and individual uses are often less like a point in the spectrum and more like a range of meaning within the spectrum,’ Dunn, ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ 130. The range of meanings within the one spectrum are for Dunn 1) the ‘more or less’ neutral sense denoting the physical body without negative connotation, 2) the sense of weakness, both physical and moral, such that sin works through the flesh and is hostile to God, 3) σάρξ in opposition to a superior realm, mode of existence, or pattern of conduct, Dunn, ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ 130-137; also Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 62-66. Despite sense 1 above, Dunn only affirms a strictly neutral [moral] sense to σάρξ in 1 Cor 10:18. Thus Dunn attempts to define various senses within one simple spectrum which still retains the sense of weakness that is connected to the physical notion of the flesh (This is because Dunn wishes to affirm a pejorative sense to κατὰ σάρκα in Rom 1:3-4, thus if he can argue that in all [but one] occurrences of σάρξ the sense of weakness is retained, then this enables him to understand Rom 1:3-4 as connoting the weakness of the flesh). Conversely, Fee criticises Dunn for reading the pejorative sense of weakness into neutral occurrences within Paul, such as connoting physical human descent or the reality of living ‘in the flesh’ as a reference to present human life in the human body, Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 818. The difference between Fee and Dunn would then appear to be disagreement over which particular occurrences of σάρξ connote a pejorative sense, since Fee does not deny that in many cases this is precisely the sense σάρξ carries. In terms of linguistic conventions and semantic sensibilities, Dunn errs by reading back into the original sense of σάρξ (physical flesh) the moral connotations that have developed semantically from this basis. In this way, Fee is surely correct to note a differentiation in sense between neutral and pejorative senses of σάρξ in Paul on linguistic grounds.

¹¹⁵ Both Dunn and Fee, while establishing their respective viewpoints on Paul’s σάρξ terminology, attempt to draw broader conclusions about which category adequately defines the term in its entirety, though both argue that Paul’s contrast between σάρξ and πνεῦμα plays a significant role. Fee argues that σάρξ is an anthropological term, but through a process of development, was understood in an eschatological sense (Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 817). Fee sees a progression from σάρξ denoting human creatureliness (without negative moral connotations), towards humanity in its fallen creatureliness (with negative moral connotations), a progression that climaxes with an eschatological sense ‘which has completely lost its relationship to the physical,’ (819). For Fee, the flesh has gained an eschatological sense because of its contrast with spirit, thus there are two kinds of existence – one that belongs to and is conditioned by the present age that is passing away (the flesh), the other describing the believer’s new eschatological existence in the spirit (820-822).

Dunn himself denies that σάρξ is a cosmic power, or evil substance, or that in a psychological sense it denotes human sensuality (Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 66). With Fee, he acknowledges that Paul’s use of σάρξ, particularly the expression κατὰ σάρκα, is primarily defined by the contrast with κατὰ πνεῦμα (in those contexts that concern the spirit-flesh antithesis) and ‘is to be understood not so much in anthropological terms as in eschatological terms,’ (Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 477). The precise parting of the ways between Fee and Dunn is based upon their conflicting interpretations of Rom 7-8 for Dunn argues that Rom 7 describes present Christian experience in the flesh where in contrast Rom 8 describes the believer in the spirit

misunderstood the term by not recognising that in Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis σάρξ can connote *the Mosaic law*, which asserts that the debate whether σάρξ carries a neutral or moral connotation in Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis is misguided. Both Fee and Dunn have understood σάρξ as in some sense *disconnected* from the Mosaic Law, despite their correctness in recognising Paul's σάρξ terminology determined by his perspective on the spirit and understanding Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis in eschatological terms.¹¹⁶ The context of Paul's σάρξ terminology is the tension between the old and new covenants and their correlation with the old and new creation. The following argument will demonstrate that σάρξ denotes the Mosaic law, a fundamental reality in the old age that is subject to physical corruption, but now superseded through the spirit who is the power of the new creation. Thus Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis demonstrates that Paul is convinced that the new creation has come.

4.1.1 Galatians

Paul's earliest reflection on σάρξ is observed in Galatians and as Jewett has helpfully argued, the situation in Galatia heavily influenced Paul's polemical use of the term.¹¹⁷ Without attempting to resolve the issues related to identifying Paul's opponents in Galatia ('the agitators,' ἀναστατοῦντες, 5:12), what remains clear is that the Galatians have been influenced in adding Torah observance as the key evidence that they, as Gentiles, are included in the people of God.¹¹⁸ One of the significant and central signs of this inclusion for a Jew is circumcision and Paul's strong rhetoric against this practice identifies the problem (5:1-12; 6:11-15), along with purity regulations (2:11-14) and the adherence to special festival days (4:8-11). The prominence of σάρξ within Galatians and the clear parallel between σάρξ and

(an interpretation Fee denies). Rom 7-8 is therefore describing Christian experience but from two different angles, one from the view of this present age characterised by the flesh, the other from the view of the spirit who is from the age to come, in this way, believers are both in the flesh and in the spirit. The difficulty is that Dunn, in contrast to Fee, can affirm the physical sense of σάρξ in all occurrences of the term (to some degree still affirming an anthropological dimension despite his previous comment), and yet, with Fee, argues that the term makes better sense in an eschatological context. This brief summary of both writers' perspectives on Paul's use of σάρξ demonstrates their *difficulty* in adequately defining the appropriate sense of σάρξ in Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis.

¹¹⁶ This very much applies to Bertone, 'The Law of the Spirit,' 136-141 who correctly understands the eschatological context of σάρξ, and who correctly observes the parallel between the law and the flesh in Paul, but he only goes so far as to state that both the flesh and the law form parts of the old covenant/present age such that they are paralleled but never tied together in any definitive way.

¹¹⁷ See Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 95-116, though I don't agree with Jewett's reconstruction of the two-fold threat against the Galatian congregation (i.e. Judaizers and Libertines), particularly since he is writing pre the 'New Perspective.' On the spirit-antithesis in Galatians, see William Barclay, *Flesh and Spirit: An Examination of Galatians 5:19-23* (London: SCM Press, 1962); Martyn, J Louis. 'Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians,' *NTS* 31:3 (1985): 410-424; Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*.

¹¹⁸ Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul* (various essays); *idem*, *The Epistle to the Galatians*; Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 36-74; Fee, *Galatians*; Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 19-31.

the law,¹¹⁹ makes it is probable that the agitators favoured the term themselves by finding scriptural support in Gen 17 for circumcision as denoting the sign of those faithful to the Mosaic covenant – the ‘covenant in your flesh.’¹²⁰ Paul responds by identifying circumcision with the old covenant and demonstrates that the old covenant has been superseded by Christ and the spirit (cf. 4:21-31). Torah observance is therefore no longer the sign that one is included in God’s people, as it once was, but such a sign is now evident in faith in Christ (2:15-21; 3:2, 5, 6ff, 26; 5:6). Paul rhetorically utilises the term σάρξ in order to capitalise on the sense the term creates, for σάρξ can denote that which is physical (‘flesh’). Paul’s problem with circumcision is the confidence that is placed in the act rather than on faith in Christ and the work of the spirit, and in this way Paul must refocus the Galatians from placing confidence in an act that is not only ethnically ostracizing, but is superseded in the new creation by Christ and the spirit.¹²¹

Surveying Paul’s use of σάρξ in Galatians demonstrates that Paul has indeed deliberately used σάρξ to respond to the claims of the agitators. Paul asserts in 6:12-13 that the agitators are attempting to convince the Galatian converts of the need for circumcision since they wish to impress ‘in the flesh’ (‘Ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί; ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ καυχῶσινται’). Paul, as he has already demonstrated (5:7, 12), is capable of word plays relating to circumcision, and indeed here identifies circumcision as occurring ‘in the flesh,’ that is, as a physical emasculation of the body. Paul therefore *connotes* the act of circumcision through the term σάρξ since the agitators presumably used the term for circumcision in their boasting to the Galatians.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Σάρξ and its cognates occurs at Gal 1:16; 2:16, 20; 3:3; 4:13, 14, 23, 29; 5:13, 16, 17, 19, 24; 6:8, 12, 13.

¹²⁰ See Gen 17:1-14, cf. Ezek 44:7-9. Barclay notes that the LXX has added references to σάρξ in contexts related to circumcision (Gen 34:24; Jer 9:25) and notes the association between σάρξ and circumcision in Sir 44:20; Jud 14:10; Jub 15:13-33 and 4 Ezra 1:31, Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*, 180, fn. 4. The most cogent evidence of the agitators’ use of σάρξ is Paul’s use in 3:3, where Paul clearly denotes circumcision without any reference to the act at this point in the letter, despite circumcision being a prominent theme (2:3, 7, 8, 9, 12).

¹²¹ So Jewett, *Paul’s Anthropological Terms*, 95ff. For Qumran references that evidence a sectarian parallel to the thought of Paul, including a critique on the Jewish assumption of covenant membership, see Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*, 187-191.

¹²² Paul’s use of σάρξ as denoting something physical, in the sense of circumcision, has been subtly prepared for in Paul’s prior arguments. 1) In 1:16 Paul states that he did not consult with σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι in order to validate his experience. Paul denotes by σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι any human person, yet the use of σάρξ is deliberate since the term appears within the context of Paul’s revelation of Christ which a) has convinced him of the reality of the new creation in the present, and b) by implication, connotes his Law-free gospel. 2) In 2:20 Paul can state that ‘now I live in the flesh...’ (ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί), and can describe his own body as experiencing the ‘weakness of the flesh’ (ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός), presumably an illness ‘in my flesh’ (ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου) which was a trial to the Galatian believers (4:13-14). He clearly views his experience of suffering as one of perishability and deliberately chooses to denote his weak body through σάρξ rather than σῶμα, possibly continuing his rhetoric against circumcision as ‘in the flesh.’ 3) In 2:16 Paul addresses the crux of the Galatian issue by stating ‘no flesh will be justified by works of the law’ (ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιοθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ). This use of σάρξ to refer to humanity, in conjunction with his negation of the justifying power of the law, is intentional, particularly if Paul has indeed deliberately alluded to Ps 143:2 (LXX 142:2), by inserting the phrase ἐξ ἔργων νόμου and substituted πᾶς ζῶν with πᾶσα σάρξ in order to counter the claims of the agitators (So Jewett, *Paul’s*

Paul's contrast between the flesh and the spirit in 5:13-6:10 forms a polarity between two measurements of behaviour that is mutually exclusive.¹²³ Those in Christ are defined by the spirit as evidence that they are included in the new covenant people of God, while those under the old covenant are circumcised in the flesh as the evidence that they are the children of Abraham (cf. 3:6ff).¹²⁴ The continuity between Paul's preceding criticisms of the agitator's affirmation of circumcision (5:1-12, which is 'in the flesh') should not be missed when Paul encourages the Galatians in 5:13 that since they are free from Torah, as their experience at conversion confirmed (3:1-5), they should not use their freedom to indulge the flesh (μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῆ σαρκί). Paul parallels σάρξ and νόμος, and identifying this connection is integral to comprehending Paul's use of the flesh-spirit antithesis.¹²⁵ In 5:13-14 Paul affirms that since the whole law (πᾶς νόμος) is fulfilled in the 'one word' (ἐνὶ λόγῳ) – loving your neighbour as yourself (Lev 19:18) – then the Galatians do not need to submit to the one act of the circumcision of the flesh (cf. 5:2-4), but can demonstrate Torah's fulfilment in their midst by following the guidance of the spirit (cf. 5:5-6).¹²⁶ In 5:16-17 Paul contrasts walking according to the spirit with the flesh so that not gratifying the desires of the flesh

Anthropological Terms, 97-98 who is followed by Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 119-122). This sets up Paul's argument against circumcision that occurs 'in the flesh,' a deliberate rhetorical ploy which utilises the sense of σάρξ to connote the Mosaic Law and portrays the act in a deliberately negative light. Paul's use of σάρξ in this context anticipates Paul's later contrast between σάρξ and νόμος (5:13-6:2).

¹²³ The first contrast occurs in 3:3 where in a series of antithetical parallels Paul rhetorically asks the Galatians 'After beginning with the spirit, are you now trying to finish by the flesh?' (ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε). This contrast is between the Galatians' experience of the spirit at their conversion when they believed Paul's gospel message (3:2) and their present attempts to identify themselves as part of God's people through circumcision, so in a very physical, and literal sense, the Galatians 'by the flesh,' that is, through circumcision, have attempted to add a sign of their new covenant status beyond that of the spirit who they have received through faith. Here Paul chiasmatically parallels ἐξ ἔργων νόμου with σάρξ, as a foreshadowing of his later parallel in 5:19 where the language of τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός is clearly paralleled with ἐξ ἔργων νόμου in 2:16. So too πνεῦμα is here paralleled with ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως (cf. 3:5, 14) which also stands in apposition to ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, thus not only confirming a strong antithesis between the flesh and the spirit, but also a strong correspondence between the flesh and the works of the law (cf. 5:13-14, 17-18, 19-23; 6:12-13). Furthermore, in 4:21-31, Paul contrasts two covenants through his allegorical interpretation of the slave Hagar and the free Sarah. Paul identifies Ishmael as 'born according to the flesh' (κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται) whereas in contrast the son born of Sarah was born of the promise (4:23) and born 'according to the spirit' (4:29). Thus the son born 'according to the flesh' remains in slavery and parallels the Galatians who, through the agitators, are in Paul's mind being drawn back into slavery through circumcision (cf. 4:3, 8-9; 5:1). Paul's addition, 'thus also now' (οὕτως καὶ νῦν), pinpoints the application to the Galatian converts where the agitators, by asserting the necessity of circumcision, are also persecuting the Galatians (and indeed Paul himself), who are 'born' by their conversion according to the spirit (cf. 3:1-5). See Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 123-124.

¹²⁴ 5:13-6:10 is not an arbitrary attachment to the main body of the letter, nor a collection of disconnected paraenesis, but is indeed a vital continuation of Paul's argument. This was demonstrated decisively by Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*.

¹²⁵ Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 165, helpfully identifies a 'movement' from σάρξ to νόμος in 5:13-6:2: 1) σάρξ (5:13) to νόμος (5:14); 2) σάρξ (5:16-17) to νόμος (5:18); 3) σάρξ (5:19) to νόμος (5:23b); 4) σάρξ (5:24) to νόμος [τοῦ Χριστοῦ] (6:2).

¹²⁶ Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 148. On the fulfilment of the law in 5:13-6:10, see Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*, 106-145. It is significant that Paul's language of 'walking' and 'keeping in step with' the spirit was commonly used to describe the active guidance of the law in the Hebrew Scriptures and in Judaism. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 295.

(πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελήσητε, 5:16) is no longer submitting to circumcision and the Torah with its requirements and traditions (5:18).¹²⁷ If the Galatians are led by the spirit, they are not under law (εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἔστε ὑπὸ νόμον, 5:18), and do not need to submit to circumcision.

This argument demonstrates that the correlation between σάρξ and νόμος is maintained precisely because σάρξ is used by Paul to connote the state of circumcised slavery to the ritual badges of Judaism.¹²⁸ Paul has carefully contextualised the term σάρξ to function as a *metonym* for circumcision in order to aid his condemnation of circumcision as a sign of the authentic people of God. It is clear that Paul parallels the flesh with the law, but his use of σάρξ terminology in 5:13-6:10 is used precisely because of the *connotation* that Paul attaches to σάρξ, that is, the Galatians' *destructive exercise* of circumcision which results in the

¹²⁷ Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 126-128. This correlation between σάρξ and νόμος is further confirmed when Paul parallels the phrase ἔργων νόμου (2:16; 3:2, 5, 10) with τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς in 5:19. Moreover, Paul states 'Those in Christ have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires' (οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, 5:24), which clearly parallels 2:20 (cf. 3:1; 6:14) where Paul asserted 'I have been crucified with Christ and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me,' an existence which is set in tension with his experience of living in the flesh (ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί). Having been crucified with Christ (Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι, 2:20) is identical to having 'died to the law' (ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, 2:19), therefore Paul is referring to the same objective reality when he claims that those in Christ have 'crucified the flesh' (τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν, 5:24). This means that the desire of the flesh (ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς, 5:16) does not connote internal passions or psychological impulses but is specifically the 'desire' to submit to circumcision (cf. the two occurrences of ἐπιθυμία in 5:16-17 are singular, denoting the desire for circumcision, which indicates that the plural τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις of 5:24 is a generalised statement). I find J. Barclay's argument that the reason Paul included a discussion on the fruit of the spirit in contrast to the works of the flesh was as a result of the Galatian community struggling with the apparent 'vagueness' of Paul's Torah-free gospel as a moral guide, unconvincing. The decisive reason why Barclay must adopt this position is because of his misunderstanding of Paul's use of σάρξ since he assumes that the term is deliberately ambiguous and for Paul denotes 'what is merely human' (206), despite admitting that σάρξ can be used to refer to "'self-indulgence,'" "the tissue cut in circumcision," and "humanity"' (204). Barclay adopts 'what is merely human' as his umbrella category while opting for 'self-indulgence' as the particular sense of σάρξ in 5:13-6:10 without firm evidence from the text itself. I would argue that the context favours the reading of σάρξ as denoting circumcision, without reference to the flesh as the internal sinful impulses at work within the individual. The consequence of this reading is that there exists no evidence then that the reason behind Paul's moral maxims is based on the Galatians' lack of confidence in the spirit as an adequate moral guide. 5:13-6:10 is a repetition of Paul's previous theological and scriptural arguments that faith, not circumcision, is the key sign of those who are included in the people of God (3:6-5:12), an argument which is framed via an *inclusio* that identifies the spirit as the experiential confirmation (3:1-5; 5:13-6:10). This removes any sense of discontinuity between 5:13-6:10 and what precedes, for Paul is not introducing a 'new' sense of σάρξ as denoting sinful passions, nor is he attempting to convince the Galatians of the sufficiency of the spirit as a moral guide in place of Torah, arguments which have difficulty explaining 5:13 as a new direction in Paul's argument. Instead, Paul deliberately parallels the fruit of the spirit and works of the flesh (as denoting the law) in order to make the argument that the Galatians will still fulfil the law through the spirit. Lying behind Paul's reference to the spirit is not a defence of the spirit in reply to the moral ambiguity posited by the Galatians (as Barclay asserts), but is in fact the risk of ethnic divisions that circumcision and Torah observance would create. In this way, Barclay's argument itself rests on a mistaken method of mirror reading and explains why he thinks Paul does *not* in fact respond adequately to the Galatians' quest for moral advice concerning the sufficiency of the spirit (170). Paul does not appear to be responding to such an issue. Cf. Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 213.

¹²⁸ So, rightly, Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 146, 'the occasion or opportunity (ἀφορμὴν) for τῇ σαρκί in 5:13b is an occasion to emphasize *circumcised* flesh or bodily tissues,' emphasis original. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*, 140-161, also follows Russell's analysis and views σάρξ as connoting the Mosaic Law.

negative demarcation of the people of God in such a way that ultimately divides between Jew and Gentile. This ultimately reflects Paul's polemical portrayal of σάρξ as *denoting the circumcised body* but also *connoting the exercise of the law which is representative of the present age and all its forms*. It is because of this connotation to σάρξ that we should understand Paul's criticism of the Galatians because in his view their desire for circumcision is tantamount to sowing towards the present age characterised by sin (1:4) for 'Those who sow to their flesh will from the flesh reap destruction (ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν, 6:8) from the world in all its corruptibility (cf. 6:14).¹²⁹ Paul and the Galatian believers have crucified the flesh by leaving Torah observance behind through Christ and the spirit.¹³⁰ Paul's point therefore is that by adding circumcision the Galatians will not in fact identify themselves as the true people of God, nor experience the means to overcome evil, for they will deny the work of Christ (5:2, 4) and experience a regression back to forms that characterise the present age.¹³¹ By adding circumcision they will be ὑπὸ νόμον (5:18), and return to the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4:3), the ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα which will enslave them (4:9). In contrast, if the Galatians follow the spirit (πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν) and produce the fruit of the spirit they will 'reap eternal life' (6:8) and 'inherit the kingdom of God' (5:21), for the spirit has been poured out 'in the fullness of time' (4:4), from the age to come (6:8), and participates in God's redemptive activity in Christ to rescue both Jews and Gentiles from the present evil age (1:4) which stands in tension with the new creation (6:15).¹³² It is here at this climactic standpoint that Paul can place such confidence in

¹²⁹ So Ernst Käsemann, 'On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic,' in his *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM Press, 1969), 108-137; Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 95-116; Martyn, 'Apocalyptic Antinomies'; Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 98-105, 199-209; Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*.

¹³⁰ I concur with Russell's argument in *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, that Paul's flesh-spirit antithesis does not denote an internal duality within an individual, but an external contrast between the patterns of two communities – the pattern of the Judaizers (flesh, denoting circumcision and Torah observance) and the pattern of the Christian community (faith in Christ and the activity of the spirit) – though I disagree with Russell with regard to his acceptance of πνεύματι as a dative of 'rule' or 'direction' rather than agency. Moreover, Russell's argument is far too focused on Paul's covenantal framework and does not give sufficient attention to Paul's new creation thought and how this relates to the flesh-spirit antithesis. This is curious in light of Russell's emphasis upon the flesh-spirit antithesis as originating from Paul's eschatological framework.

¹³¹ Since 'the works of the flesh' are identified with 'the works of the law,' it is difficult to conceive of Paul as asserting that the sinful activities of 5:19-21 are indeed the patterns of behaviour indicative of Judaism, as Russell asserts, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 160-161. It is more plausible that Paul uses this vice list as a mirror of the Galatians' own pagan past (cf. 4:8) in order to emphasise that adding circumcision and the Torah would not provide the means to overcome sin since Torah and the flesh are characteristic of the present age, for such empowerment is only found in the spirit who has brought the kingdom of God into the present. So Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 205.

¹³² Such realities are the defining evidence that the new creation has dawned since the spirit has been poured out on the Gentiles. Since the expectation arose that the Torah would be written on the hearts of God's people by the spirit (Ezek 36:22-32; 37; Jer 31:31-34), Paul could observe the reality of the renewal of God's people, inclusive of Gentiles, as taking place through the spirit whom has replaced the Torah. See Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*.

the spirit *for the spirit is the reality of the new creation in the present.*¹³³ The clear antithesis between σάρξ and πνεῦμα in Galatians must be understood within an apocalyptic framework. Such an emphasis on the spirit *makes sense of Paul's reference to both circumcision and the new creation:* 'neither circumcision nor uncircumcision means anything; what counts is the new creation' (6:15; cf. 6:12-14). It is the reality of the spirit that confirms the new creation since living by the spirit has superseded the old age of circumcision and 'works of the law' in its entirety.¹³⁴

4.1.2 1-2 Corinthians

Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis is also developed in the Corinthian Correspondence. The Corinthians, not many of whom are wise κατὰ σάρκα (1 Cor 1:26), were measuring Paul's ministry by the standards of the present age. Consequently, Paul cannot address them as πνευματικός but as σάρκινος (1 Cor 3:1) for their consequential jealous and quarrelling behaviour denotes them as fleshly (1 Cor 3:3). The contrast between the spirit and flesh is here understood as the apocalyptic dualism between the values of the present age and the spirit as the power of the new creation, just as in 9:11 the contrast between the 'spiritual' (πνευματικά) seed sown and the 'material' (σαρκικά) harvest is a question of perspective on Paul's ministry from either an evaluation from the present age or the age to come.¹³⁵

¹³³ Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*, 205. For a broader argument but with an overlapping conclusion, see David J. Lull, 'The Spirit and the Creative Transformation of Human Existence,' *JAAR* 47:1 (1979): 39-55. For a fuller analysis see Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*. This reading parts ways significantly with the argument of Bruce W. Longenecker, who understands the flesh as in some sense connected to the spiritual powers, "Until Christ is Formed in You": Suprahuman Forces and Moral Character in Galatians,' *CBQ* 61 (1999): 92-108.

¹³⁴ This is confirmed in 6:16 which serves to deliberately continue from 6:15 (cf. τούτῳ refers to the 'rule' of v. 15). Noted by Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 129. Those who 'follow the rule' (καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχίσουσιν) – that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision means anything (cf. 5:6) – are indeed the 'Israel of God' (τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ) and the confirmation that one indeed follows the rule and is to be identified as the 'Israel of God' is by the spirit since Paul has deliberately used the verb στοιχέω in 5:25 to unequivocally denote following in the way of the spirit or living in harmony with the spirit to characterise life in the new creation, a theme previously seen in 5:16 and 18. In this way, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε (5:16), πνεύματι ἄγεσθε (5:18), ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος (5:22) and ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν (5:25), are all expressions for Paul that denote a way of life by the direction of the spirit that is characteristic of the new creation.

¹³⁵ In 1 Cor 6:16, Paul quotes Gen 2:24 where 'two will become one flesh' (οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν) in order to argue that having sexual relations with a prostitute is a becoming one with her in *body* (οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ ἐν σώμα ἔστιν). Since the Corinthians' own *bodies* are members of Christ (οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἔστιν), then their sexual relations are tantamount to uniting a member of Christ with a prostitute. Paul envisages that the means by which the Corinthian community are one with Christ is ἐν πνεύματι, for their *bodies* are a temple of the holy spirit (ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔστιν οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ). The synonymous parallelism between the body and flesh is clear, yet Paul can also view the nature of the believer's union with Christ through the spirit as in the same way as that of a man and woman uniting themselves physically. The spirit-flesh antithesis is thus here not a negative contrast *per se*, but represents two different bodily modes of existence, the flesh representative of the present age, whereas the union with Christ by the spirit is representative of the new creation.

Though there are other contexts within 2 Corinthians that are essential to Paul's use of σάρξ, my focus will only be restricted to Paul's spirit-flesh dualism. That Paul's thought concerns the inbreaking of the new creation is stated explicitly in 5:17: 'If anyone [is] in Christ, [there is] new creation. The old has passed, behold, the new has come' (ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινὰ). That σάρξ connotes the present age and its forms is confirmed in the previous verse when Paul declares that 'we regard no one κατὰ σάρκα. Though we once regarded Christ κατὰ σάρκα, we do so no longer' (2 Cor 5:16).¹³⁶ As Bertone comments, 'Paul equates σάρξ with ἀρχαῖα and contrasts them with καινὰ.'¹³⁷ This relation between σάρξ and the new creation finds its antecedents in 2 Cor 3:3 and the activity of the spirit.¹³⁸ The Corinthians are Christ's letter, 'written not with ink but with the spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets that are hearts of flesh' (ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξίν καρδίαις σαρκίνας). The parallelism between 'written not with ink' and 'not on tablets of stone' clearly refers to the Mosaic law (cf. 3:6; Exod 31:18, Ezek 11:19; 36:26-27, and Jer 31:31-34). Paul's parallel between 'the spirit of the living God' and 'tablets that are hearts of flesh' is, on this occasion, appositional not antithetical. Paul emphasises the

¹³⁶ Cf. 2 Cor 1:17; 4:11; 5:16; 7:1, 5; 10:2, 3; 11:18; 12:7. While the Corinthian congregation has a history of behaviour that Paul categorises as identified with 'the flesh,' it is clear from 2 Corinthians, where Paul explicitly refers to the new creation (5:17), that such a charge of living κατὰ σάρκα is now levelled at Paul himself by his opponents. Such a charge of living κατὰ σάρκα is one that Paul must defend himself against in view of his apparent weak apostolic ministry (2 Cor 1:12, 17; 10:2-4, cf. 11:18; 12:7) and such a defence explains Paul's focus upon the death of Christ as the pattern, or model, of his own ministry (On this significant theme in 2 Cor 4:7-15, see Byrnes, *Conformation to the Death of Christ*. Not only do the Corinthians view Paul 'according to the flesh,' but so too Paul previously viewed 'Christ according to the flesh.' The emphasis in Paul's argument on the death and resurrection of Christ as characteristic of Paul's own ministry (cf. 4:10-14 which clearly parallel σῶμα and σάρξ) is revisited in 5:14-17, and it is no accident that Paul's language of σάρξ reappears here. Since Paul, and by inference the Corinthians, no longer lives for himself but for 'him who died for them and was raised again' (5:15), then 'from now on we know no one according to the flesh. Even if we have known Christ according to the flesh, we now know him no longer' (Ὡστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα· εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκουμεν). Knowing Christ 'according to the flesh' is often understood to mean a judgment that is made according to human standards that is in keeping with the present age (Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 125-127; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 820-821). But Paul also refers to his own experience where he had judged Jesus according to his own Jewish nationalistic framework that was characterised by boasting in the possession of Torah to define the people of God and the people to whom the Messiah would come. Thrall argues that Paul is referring to his pre-Christian Jewish perspective of Christ but only refers to Paul's supposed problematic view of Jesus as a crucified Messiah, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 416-420. Like Galatians, σάρξ here denotes not simply circumcision (which is not a point of contention in the Corinthian church), but the whole attitude towards the law and Judaism's self-identity that was characteristic of Paul's pre-Christian experience. Since Jesus was a crucified Messiah (cf. 1 Cor 1:18ff) then for the typical Jew, including the pre-Christian Paul himself, *the law itself* nullified the reality of Jesus' own claim; yet for Paul, the resurrection demonstrated Jesus' status as Messiah, a reality which he personally experienced (Gal 1:11-16; 1 Cor 1:9; 15:8). Therefore the resurrection has marked the decisive change between knowing Jesus κατὰ σάρκα, that is, knowing Jesus, who as a circumcised Jew, is interpreted within his Jewish framework with all its biases, and knowing Christ as Lord according to his death and resurrection.

¹³⁷ Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*, 138.

¹³⁸ As Hubbard has stated, 'Many commentators have sensed a connection between Paul's new-creation statement in 2 Corinthians 5.17 and his Spirit language, though no serious attempt has been made to correlate the two,' *New Creation in Paul's Letters and Thought*, 183.

life-giving nature of the spirit (3:3, 6) upon the human heart which defeats the power of death ‘for the letter kills’ (3:6, cf. 3:7, ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου).¹³⁹ The *new covenant* (καινῆς διαθήκης, 3:6, cf. 1 Cor 11:25; Jer 31:31-34) brings life and stands in clear contrast to the *old covenant* (παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, 3:14) that brings death (cf. 2:15-16, 4:3-4). The old and new creations are specifically paralleled in Paul’s thought to represent the old and the new covenants (2 Cor 3:6, 14), most notably through Paul’s repetition of the adjective καινός to describe the reality of the new covenant (3:6) and the new creation (5:17).¹⁴⁰ Because Paul identifies the new covenant with the new creation, Paul’s flesh-spirit antithesis concerns an apocalyptic dualism between the defining rule of the law and the spirit as the power of the new creation. The new covenant is intimately associated with the new creation and life, and stands in marked contrast to the old covenant that is characteristic of the present age and death.¹⁴¹ Paul’s addition of the adjective σάρκινος, the appositional parallel of the spirit with fleshly hearts (καρδίαῖς σαρκίνας, 3:3), and the attribution of authentic faith to the power of the spirit (4:13),¹⁴² indicates that in Paul’s mind the spirit is the ‘life-giving’ power of the new creation (3:6, cf. 3:3 πνεύματι θεοῦ ζῶντος), the ‘deposit’ (ἄρραβῶνα) and ‘seal’ (σφραγισάμενος) who has been poured into the heart (καρδία, 1:22; 3:3) and guarantees the future resurrection (5:5, cf. 1:22; 1 Cor 15:44-46).¹⁴³

¹³⁹ This close parallel with Rom 2:27-29 is confirmed through Paul’s use of γράμμα as denoting the law, which itself is also closely associated with circumcision itself (2:27, διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς). That Paul identifies true circumcision as ‘circumcision of the heart, by the spirit, not by the letter’ strongly indicates that 2 Cor 3:1-6 follows Paul’s reasoning here. Furthermore, Rom 7:6 also contrasts the ‘new-ness of the spirit’ and the ‘old-ness of the letter’ (ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος) which in context refers to dying to the law, which itself is equivalent to no longer being controlled by the flesh (7:4-6).

¹⁴⁰ This is observed not just in 3:1-6, but is expanded in 3:1-18 where the glory of the ministry of the spirit supersedes that of the old covenant under Moses (3:14), for just as Moses would meet with the Lord (YHWH) in the tent of meeting, so now Christians turn to the spirit at conversion and experience freedom (3:16-18). In this way Paul’s reference to the new creation in 5:17 should be seen as the supersession of the old covenant and all its forms. Both these arguments support the claim that the new creation for Paul is a cosmological reality, not just a cultic shift, nor a change in attitude, but the reality of the new age that has broken into the present through the power of the spirit. Hubbard does well to recognise the overlap between new creation and new covenant in Paul, particularly in relation to the spirit’s life-giving role, Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul’s Letter and Thought*.

¹⁴¹ Scott Hafemann, ‘The “Temple of the Spirit” as the Inaugural Fulfillment of the New Covenant Within the Corinthian Correspondence,’ *Ex Auditu* 12 (1996): 29-42; Sigurd Grindheim, ‘The Law Kills but the Gospel Gives Life: The Letter-Spirit Dualism in 2 Corinthians 3.5-18,’ *JSNT* 84 (2001): 97-115.

¹⁴² Pace Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1, 338-339, who views πνεῦμα as denoting an inner disposition rather than the spirit of God. Her argument that Paul never refers to the spirit when mentioning biblical quotations, and that in 4:13 πνεῦμα does not carry emphasis (339) does not take into account the significant focus of 3:1-18 and 5:5 directly on the spirit. It is not beyond Paul to refer to the spirit of God in contexts which do not appear to have the spirit’s work in direct focus (e.g. 1:22; 6:6). That Paul can identify faith as given by the spirit (1 Cor 12:9) and that 4:13 occurs within a context where resurrection is in view (cf. 1:22; 3:6; 5:5) confirms this interpretation.

¹⁴³ The use of the adjective σάρκινος to modify καρδία (cf. 3:2) deliberately invokes Ezek 11:19 and 36:26-27 and points towards the spirit as the replacement of Torah observance. What is striking is that Paul can now use the sense of the adjective σάρκινος to connote the *positive exercise* of the law which is contrasted with the negative and hardened hearts (i.e. ‘tablets’) of stone characteristic of the old covenant. Though the adjective σάρκινος does not directly denote circumcision in this context, a look forward to Rom 2:28-29; 7:6 reveals that circumcision, the spirit, and the heart correlate in Paul’s thinking. Paul has shifted from a negative connotation in

4.1.3 Romans

I now turn to Paul's letter to the Romans which contains Paul's most developed reflection on the spirit-flesh antithesis, found in Rom 7:5-6, 14 and 8:1-13, though we should not neglect 1:3-4 and 2:28-29. Due to limitation in space, I cannot give these passages the exegetical detail that they deserve, but nevertheless a broad summary will demonstrate that, like Galatians, Paul uses σάρξ as a metonym for circumcision and the law. That this view of σάρξ can be sustained is evidenced in 2:28-29, though possibly prior in 1:3-4.¹⁴⁴ Paul asserts 'A person is not a Jew who is one visibly, nor is circumcision visibly in the flesh,' (2:28, οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερωῖ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερωῖ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή).¹⁴⁵ This physical act of circumcision of the flesh is an outward sign that does not define the people of God. For Paul, a 'person is a Jew who is one inwardly and circumcision is circumcision of the heart, by the spirit, and not by the letter,' (2:29, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομή καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι). Paul contrasts ἐν σαρκί with both ἐν πνεύματι and καρδίας, and parallels the flesh with the law since circumcision is *not* ἐν σαρκί and *not* γράμματι.¹⁴⁶ What emerges here is a *distinction* between flesh and circumcision since Paul *denies* that true circumcision is ἐν σαρκί. This point does not contradict my previous argument for circumcision by a Jew not 'in Christ' *is* concretely evidenced ἐν σαρκί.¹⁴⁷ In this way, a) both

Gal 5:16-18 to a positive connotation in 2 Cor 3:3 but what remains consistent in both contexts is that the spirit-flesh antithesis concerns the dualism between the old and new covenants which are evidence of the old and new creations since Paul's reflection in 2 Cor 3:3 is the positive affirmation of the spirit who writes the law on the hearts of believers.

¹⁴⁴ Paul's use of κατὰ σάρκα in 1:3-4 is clearly paralleled with κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης to contrast two forms of existence embodied in Christ's death and resurrection – existence in this life that is characterised by corruptibility and ultimately death, and existence through resurrection that is characterised by life and incorruptibility. The function of κατὰ σάρκα in the creedal formula denotes the very real fact of Jesus' own circumcision since κατὰ σάρκα modifies in some way that Christ is 'from the seed of David.' It is consistent for Paul to have used the κατὰ σάρκα phrase from the creedal formula (cf. Gal 4:22, 29), as denoting Jesus' Jewish identity through the circumcision of the flesh (cf. Rom 4:1; 9:3, 5), yet this does not reveal the full rhetorical force of the phrase within the context of the phrase's antithesis with κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης. Using antithetical parallelism to contrast κατὰ σάρκα with κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης, Paul demonstrates that he is not simply denoting Jesus' Jewish identity but is indeed identifying him with humanity, the weakness of the flesh that is characterised by corruptibility since it exists within the present age. This contrast, pre-empting Paul's reflection in Rom 7:4-8:13, is indeed a contrast between the present creation and the new creation that finds its penultimate identification in the resurrection of Christ through the spirit. It is Christ who has taken on flesh under the power of sin and suffers death in the body, but he is the first to experience the resurrection from the dead to new life by the spirit as a sign that the new creation has dawned (cf. 8:2-3).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. the repetition of φανερός from Gal 5:19 in the context of a discussion relating to the 'works of the flesh,' which are paralleled by Paul with the 'works of the law' (Gal 2:16).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Rom 7:6 where Paul identifies νόμος with γράμμα.

¹⁴⁷ As Bertone notes (*The Law of the Spirit*, 143-144), "'circumcision of the heart" is a fundamental perspective of Deuteronomy and was familiar in Jewish thought.' He references Deut. 10:16; 30:6; and Jer. 4:4; 9:25-26; Ezek 44:9; 1QpHab. XI,13; 1QS V; 1QH II, 18; XVIII, 20; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.305. This reveals that 'Paul is communicating the idea that becoming a "Jew" (i.e., a member of God's covenant community) is a matter of being created anew and experiencing moral regeneration through the Spirit of God,' 144, an emphasis Paul understands many contemporary Jews to have lost in their insistence upon the external act of circumcision.

Paul's parallelism between σάρξ and γράμμα and his negation confirms the *typical* Jewish perspective that σάρξ denotes circumcision since circumcision is a physical act upon the flesh, and b) for those in Christ, Paul's use of σάρξ emphasises the indwelling spirit in the heart as the distinctive sign of the people of God (cf. Rom 5:5; 8:9-11) which makes physical circumcision obsolete. Rom 2:28-29 and the redefinition of circumcision confirm that Paul can utilise the sense of σάρξ beyond simply circumcision and connote the law as a whole.¹⁴⁸

With clear parallels to Galatians, Rom 7:4-8:13 develops Paul's reflection on the relationship between death (chap. 5), sin (chap. 6), Torah and the flesh, all in contrast to the power of the spirit who brings the new creation. Paul asserts explicitly in 7:4 that those in Christ are no longer under the law. This summary statement of Paul's argument in 7:4-8:30 is applied separately to the flesh (7:5, which is expanded in 7:7-25 in relation to the law) and to the spirit (7:6, expanded in 8:1-30), but becomes a confronting antithesis in 7:14 and 8:1-13 particularly.¹⁴⁹ What becomes much more explicit in Romans is that the flesh itself is the medium through which *sin* has performed its destructive work, for 'when we were in the flesh the sinful desires through the law were at work in us, so that we bore fruit for death' (7:5, ὅτε γὰρ ἤμεν ἐν τῇ σαρκί). The contrast is that 'now, by dying to what once bound us, we have been released from the law so that we serve in the new way of the spirit, and not in the old way of the letter' (7:6). If, as we have argued, σάρξ can be used as a metonym for circumcision, but which also can be a synecdoche for the law as a whole, then Paul's statement 'we were in the flesh' (7:5a) is in fact paralleled with 7:4 and 7:5b, so that being 'in the flesh' is equated with being 'under the law.'¹⁵⁰ Since believers have 'died to the law

¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, 2:28-29 also looks forward to the conclusion of 1:18-3:20 where Paul alludes to Ps 143:2 (LXX 142:2) in 3:20. He loosely cites 'before him from works of the law all flesh will not be made righteous, for through the law we have knowledge of sin' (διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιοθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας). The deliberate pairing of 'flesh' with 'works of the law,' which are Pauline additions to Ps 143:2, again develops the negative view of the flesh. See Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 141-142. The deliberate addition of σάρξ by Paul is not often given the emphasis that it is due, particularly in contexts of discussions relating to Paul's δικαιοσύνη language. See, for example, Richard B. Hays, 'Psalm 143 and the Logic of Romans 3,' *JBL* 99:1 (1980): 107-115, who in his intent to argue for δικαιοσύνη as denoting God's saving activity, did not appeal in any way to Paul's deliberate, and pejorative, reference to the flesh. The occurrence of σάρξ in 4:1-2 is also noteworthy: Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν εὐρηκέναι Ἀβραὰμ τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα; εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς θεόν. I follow Hays, in translating 4:1 as 'What then shall we say? Have we found Abraham (to be) our forefather according to the flesh?' See Richard B. Hays, "'Have we Found Abraham to be our Forefather According to the Flesh?'" A Reconsideration of Rom 4:1,' *Novum Testamentum* 27 (1985): 76-98. The phrase κατὰ σάρκα clearly denotes more than simply Abraham as the forefather of the Jewish people. Paul wishes to undercut any sense that circumcision, as a key sign or 'work' (ἐξ ἔργων) has any role in defining the people of God (i.e. identifying the righteous) through the giving of circumcision to Abraham since it is through faith that they are demarcated. Paul's use of κατὰ σάρκα thus intentionally denotes, with 2:28-29 and 3:20, the typical Jewish association between circumcision and σάρξ that Paul developed in Galatians. So too this could be applied to 9:3 and 5.

¹⁴⁹ Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 145, but with modification; Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*, 117ff.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Gal 2:19-21; 5:24. So too Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 222. At this point, Paul is restating similar themes from Galatians that being 'in the flesh' results in death (Gal 6:8). But here, Paul subtly adds that sin was working through the law (τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου) and unlike Galatians,

through the body of Christ' (7:4), sin has been overcome and believers have been released from being 'in the flesh,' that is, being 'under the law.'¹⁵¹ On the positive side, bearing fruit for God (7:4) is contrasted with bearing fruit for death (7:5), and parallels serving in the new way of the spirit (ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος, 7:6).¹⁵² Paul once again demonstrates the identification of σάρξ with the old age (παλαιότητι) and πνεῦμα with the new age (καινότητι).¹⁵³

The single occurrence of σάρκινος in 7:14 and the occurrences of σάρξ in 7:18 and 25 are informative as a backdrop for Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis in 8:4ff (cf. Rom 6:19). Paul asserts in 7:14 'We know that the law is πνευματικός; but I (ἐγώ) am σάρκινος, sold as a slave to sin.'¹⁵⁴ Again we observe the antithetical contrast between σάρξ and πνεῦμα appearing but *what is novel is that Paul has now aligned the law with the spirit (cf. 8:2, 4) and contrasted the law with the flesh.*¹⁵⁵ The sense Paul establishes is that the law is 'spiritual' in its origin just as the 'I' is 'fleshly' in its origin. Paul appears somewhat eager to salvage a negative view of the law by ascribing the origin of the law as by revelation from the spirit and affirms the inherent goodness of the law (7:12, 16), and he highlights sin as the real destructive power. The negative identification between sin and the flesh is further described in 7:18, 'I know that good itself does not dwell in me, that is, in my flesh' (Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ οἰκεῖ ἐν ἐμοί, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου, ἀγαθόν), which is paralleled with 'sin living in me' (7:17, cf. 7:20), and in 7:25 where, like 7:14, Paul separates the flesh from 'God's law' (cf. 8:7) but identifies it with the 'law of sin.' So we see a progression whereby σάρξ can denote circumcision, and by extension the law as a whole (Galatians), but now also describe the 'I' under the power of sin in a way whereby σάρξ is differentiated from the law (Romans). This indicates that in Romans the flesh is not identical with the law but connotes *how the law is*

Paul associates the desires with sin rather than the flesh (cf. Gal 5:16-17). This is because Paul wishes to defend the inherent goodness of the law by identifying sin as the power responsible for the inability of the law to produce righteousness and to credit the positive function of the law to identify sin, which 7:7-25 demonstrates. See 7:1 (ὁ νόμος ἁμαρτία;), which stands as the defining question by an interlocutor, cf. 7:23 (τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας), 7:25 (νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας) and 8:2 (τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου).

¹⁵¹ On the function of 7:1-6 within the broader context of Rom 7-8, with particular focus on the spirit's relation to the law, see Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*, 117-155.

¹⁵² With Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*, 149; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 507, fn. 104, and Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 275-276, I understand the prepositional phrase ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος as a qualitative genitive.

¹⁵³ Paul presents the same broader structure of thought to Galatians. Paul's reference to bearing fruit for God and serving in the new way of the spirit clearly parallels the 'fruit of the spirit' (Gal 5:22), and being in the flesh and bearing fruit for death clearly parallels sowing to the flesh and the harvest of destruction (Gal 6:8). And also parallels the structure of 2 Cor 3:3 and 5:17.

¹⁵⁴ On the identity of the 'I' in Rom 7:7-25, see Jan Lambrecht, *The Wretched 'I' and Its Liberation: Paul in Romans 7 and 8*, Louvain Theological and Pastoral Monographs 14 (Louvain: Peters, 1992); Michael P. Middendorf, *The 'I' in the Storm: A Study of Romans 7* (Saint Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 1997).

¹⁵⁵ On the tension between the spirit's positive and negative contrast with the law in Rom 7-8, see Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*.

exercised.¹⁵⁶ Thus ‘the flesh’ is now seen to be the ‘I’ who has both broken and misused the law under the influence of sin. Therefore σάρξ *still retains reference to the exercise of the law but in a way which defies its proper use by adhering to forms that characterise the old covenant*.¹⁵⁷ Paul’s explication of σάρξ in Rom 7 sharpens the connotation of the flesh as the abuse of the law and in this particular way is consistent with his use of σάρξ in Galatians where σάρξ, denoting circumcision, connoted the destructive division between Jew and Gentile on the basis of upholding the works of the law. So what appears contradictory in Paul is instead resolved (retrospectively) in the dual affirmation that the flesh is identified with the *exercise* of circumcision and the law as a whole, and specifically *adds the sense of weakness and destruction* which characterises the present age and its forms.

That the flesh is the wrong exercise of the law and the medium of sin is confirmed in 8:3-4 where, expanding on Rom 1:3-4, Paul identifies the spirit and Christ as the solution to the problem of sin and the law: ‘For what the law was powerless to do because it was *weakened by the flesh*, God did by sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh and concerning sin he condemned sin in the flesh in order that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who do not walk according to the flesh but according to the spirit.’¹⁵⁸ Paul’s use of σάρξ increases dramatically in conjunction with his references to πνεῦμα in 8:4ff which is significant, particularly in view of the fact that as σάρξ becomes prominent (8:3[x3], 4, 5[x2], 6, 7, 8, 9, 12[x2], 13), νόμος recedes from the foreground (8:2[x2], 3, 4, 7). Why this is significant is because in Rom 7:7-25 Paul wishes to identify the problem of sin’s abuse of the law for one still under the law, but in Rom 8:1-17 wishes to give particular focus to the

¹⁵⁶ The metonymic function of σάρξ certainly allows linguistic room for such a differentiation. This makes sense of 2:28 where ‘A person is not a Jew who is one visibly, *nor is circumcision visibly in the flesh*,’ (τῶ φανερωῦ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή). Here Paul also differentiates circumcision and the flesh, but does so in light of those Jews who would *boast* in the law (ὄς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, 2:23; cf. 3:27-4:3) and view circumcision itself as the defining identity marker of Judaism, even with lesser regard for other requirements of the law (2:25-27).

¹⁵⁷ Since Paul’s argument in Galatians deliberately identified the flesh with the law, that Paul wishes to subtly differentiate the two in Rom 7-8 should be seen as an outworking of his agenda to identify sin and not the law as the real power at fault in bringing condemnation. Thus Paul goes to great lengths to argue that the law itself is ‘holy, and the commandment is holy, righteous and good’ (7:12), yet identifies the problem of sin working in the flesh, which demonstrates that in Paul’s mind the problem is not so much with the law itself but with its abuse. Indeed, this is not inconsistent with his argument in Galatians where the flesh concerns the exercise of circumcision towards wrong aims – excluding the uncircumcised from the people of God.

¹⁵⁸ That sin is the problem is confirmed through Paul’s three-fold use of ἀμαρτία, and significantly Paul identifies the flesh as ‘sinful.’ This most likely is not making a statement about the status of the flesh itself, but rather flesh as the medium through which sin has worked. The surprise here is that Paul can identify Christ as coming ‘in the likeness of sinful flesh,’ a statement that safely distances Paul from identifying Christ himself with sin and yet affirms that Christ has become fully human in the sense of taking on the flesh in all its weakness and corruptibility (cf. 1:3-4). In this way, God has ‘condemned sin in the flesh,’ that is, in Christ’s own flesh, as representative of all (Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 480-481). We should note that σάρξ is not to be understood here as simply denoting Jesus’ incarnation where he has come fully ‘in the flesh,’ but rather denotes the correct way that the law should have been followed. There is therefore no sense here that ‘the flesh’ refers to the evil impulses that exist within an individual, for Paul’s focus is specifically, in a Jewish context, on the abuse of the law under the power of sin.

believer who is in Christ and indwelt by the spirit of God for ‘through Christ Jesus the law of the spirit of life has set you free from the law of sin and death’ (8:2).¹⁵⁹ Rom 8:1-13 should therefore be understood as a contrast with Rom 7:7-25 between life in the flesh, and life in the spirit; that is, a contrast between life under the law and life in Christ.¹⁶⁰ Believers now live according to the spirit (κατὰ πνεῦμα), not, as those under the law, according to the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα), and 8:5-9 and 12-13 make it clear that for Paul these are two mutually exclusive modes of existence, for living according to the flesh results in death (8:6, 13), and living according to the spirit results in life (8:2, 6, 9-11, 13).¹⁶¹ For a Jew under law, the mind that wishes to serve ‘God’s law’ is set in contrast to σάρξ who cannot submit to the law because of sin (7:25). So too in 8:7 (cf. 8:5) the *thinking* of the flesh is hostile to God and does not submit to God’s law. Those in the spirit are under no obligation to the flesh to live in accordance with the flesh (ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν, 8:12) since they now have the spirit; it is living according to the spirit that puts to death the practices of the body which results in life (εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε, 8:13). Thus living according to the flesh and the practices of the body are precisely those sinful actions which abused the law and condemned the body to death (8:3, 10, 11). In

¹⁵⁹ On the exegetical difficulties in 8:2, with particular attention to the relation between the spirit and Paul’s use of νόμος, see Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*, 172-181. Whatever the precise sense of νόμος in the expression γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς, whether denoting the Mosaic Law, a rule, or principle, the larger picture still remains that Paul’s emphasis is on the life-giving function of the spirit.

¹⁶⁰ So Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*, 117ff. From my exegetical analysis of Rom 7-8, the debate over the extent to which Paul envisaged that believers were no longer ‘in the flesh’ but now ‘in the spirit’ can be resolved. Dunn, for example, argues that flesh itself is not evil (rather, it is sin working through flesh) and therefore believers live in the flesh/according to the flesh as real realities in their experience. Since the coming of the spirit, believers are now both in the flesh and in the spirit, a tension that is as a result of the eschatological nature of the spirit’s indwelling. It is in this way that Dunn can conceive of a struggle between the flesh and spirit as eschatological realities, and finds support particularly from Rom 7-8 where the ‘I’ of Rom 7 denotes the Christian still caught by the power of the flesh, whereas Rom 8 is the reality of the spirit (see Dunn’s ‘Jesus – Flesh and Spirit,’ and *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 62-70, 472-482). Conversely, Fee argues that life ‘in the flesh’ is not the same as living life ‘according to the flesh’ (*God’s Empowering Presence*, 823) and denies any overlap in the spheres of flesh and spirit so that there does not exist such a concept as a struggle between the flesh and spirit. Being ‘in the flesh’ and ‘in the spirit’ are two mutually exclusive states (816-822). Both arguments have their respective strengths, yet what appears determinative is that Paul can, in a given context, conceive of the flesh as a metonym for the exercise of the law, as I have argued, a point that neither Dunn nor Fee (nor indeed the majority of commentators) recognise. In the end, Fee is surely correct that living ‘according to the spirit’ and ‘according to the flesh’ are mutually exclusive states, but this conclusion is reached via a very different exegetical path. Rom 7, as I have demonstrated, clearly parallels one who is still under the law, and since the flesh is a metonym for the law itself, Paul’s spirit-flesh contrast in Rom 8 does not parallel a Christian who experiences an eschatological tension between the corruption of the flesh and the life of the spirit (*pace* Dunn); nor does Rom 8 demonstrate a distinction between one who is living ‘in the flesh’ but not living ‘according to the flesh’ (which is an arbitrary distinction made by Fee based on 2 Cor 10:2-4); but Rom 8 contrasts one who is outside Christ and lives according to the flesh, that is, under law, with one who is in Christ and lives according to the spirit.

¹⁶¹ Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*, 171-204. Cf. Russell, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians*, 222, ‘The clear thrust of Paul’s argument [Rom 7-8] is that the redemptive historical era of νόμος/σάρξ has been superseded by the historical redemptive era of Χριστός/πνεῦμα. The sense of condemnation that is described in Rom 7:15-24 is therefore that which *previously occurred during the era of the Mosaic Law...*’ emphasis original. See further, 221-224.

contrast, the problem of sin and death working through the law is overcome by the power of the life-giving spirit when believers walk (8:4) and live (8:5) according to the spirit, set their minds on the spirit (8:6), are in the spirit (8:9), and are led by the spirit (8:14).¹⁶² Thus *conformity to the spirit replaces the law as the new principle of guidance.*¹⁶³

Living according to the law leads to destruction and it is only through the power of the spirit that this destruction is overcome, for the spirit is the life of the new age broken into the present to halt the destruction of sin (7:6; 8:2, 6, 10, 11, 13, 23). Rom 7-8 demonstrates the close proximity of the new creation with the new covenant in Paul's thought. Since those in Christ have died to the law they are released to serve in the newness of the spirit and not the oldness of the letter (7:6), a statement that is synonymous with living *κατὰ πνεῦμα* (8:4-13). Thus the new covenant is a covenant that brings life to bodies corrupted by sin (8:10), bodies that will be resurrected by the power of the spirit (8:10, 11, 23). It is no surprise that *σάρξ* disappears from Paul's discussion when he moves towards the present reality of those who are led by the spirit (8:14-17) and the future renewal of creation (8:18-30), while references to the spirit remain (8:14, 15[x2], 16[x2], 23, 26[x2], 27).¹⁶⁴ Paul brings his attention to the present reality of life in the spirit which guarantees the future resurrection of the body in conjunction with the renewal of creation (8:9-11, 19-25), thus demonstrating that in Paul's mind, living according to the spirit by the new covenant in the present is the sure sign that the new creation is a present reality despite the fact it is yet to be completely fulfilled. In this way, the new creation is indeed the life that for Paul the spirit brings (8:6, 9-11, 13, 22-23) which stands in contrast to the flesh which characterises the present age.¹⁶⁵

4.1.4 Summary

This bird's eye view of the spirit-flesh antithesis in Paul has been an attempt to demonstrate a twofold argument, firstly, that in Paul's thinking *σάρξ* connotes the old covenant that is part of the present age characterised by weakness and corruptibility, and secondly, that the spirit is the power of the new creation who brings life through the new covenant.¹⁶⁶ The essential

¹⁶² It is well known that Paul's use of the verb *περιπατέω* parallels the concept of conforming to the Mosaic Law evidenced in e.g. Exod 16:4; Lev 26:3; Jer 44:10.

¹⁶³ Bertone, *The Law of the Spirit*, 171ff.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Paul's exhortation to the Roman believers in 13:14. Such activities of the flesh described in Rom 13:13 find similarities with the 'works of the flesh' in Gal 5:19-21, and also like Gal 5:13-6:10, Rom 13:8-10 affirms the fulfilment of the law in those who love others. For Paul, the reality of the imminent resurrection (cf. Paul's use of *ἐγερθῆναι* in 13:11) is the sign that they are living in the last days of the present age and therefore those in Christ no longer live under the law but participate in a new covenant.

¹⁶⁵ This is the strong argument of Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 143-156.

¹⁶⁶ What is remarkable in Paul is that many of his diverse references to the spirit assume the spirit as the power of the new creation. Paul considers his apostolic ministry to display the presence of the spirit (1 Thess 1:5-6; 1 Cor 2:4-5; 9:11; 2 Cor 11:4; Rom 15:16, 19, 27) who is given from God (1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 6:19; Rom

component of this contrast is that σάρξ, particularly when contrasted with πνεῦμα, connotes the physical act of circumcision as a metonym for the law. The reason why Paul has chosen σάρξ to stand in contrast to πνεῦμα is precisely because the term, while originally denoting circumcision of the flesh, came to connote weakness and corruption because of its association with the old covenant that brings death since it is characteristic of the present age under the power of sin. Σάρξ thus stands as a central lexical tool that brings together Paul's creation theology and covenantal theology for the old covenant had been corrupted by the power of sin that is characteristic of the present age, its exclusivity, and leads to death. Conversely, the spirit is the power of the new covenant, the sign of the new creation that is inclusive of Jew and Gentile and brings life for all in Christ.¹⁶⁷ The spirit-flesh antithesis is so central to Paul because the reality of the spirit's opposition to the flesh is the evidence that the new creation is now in the present.¹⁶⁸

The significance of this exegetical path as it relates to the broader context of my argument is that Paul's spirit-flesh antithesis is so prominent in Paul *precisely because it represented the struggle for defining clearly the key determining measurement for defining the people of God*. The struggle was between the law as the key guiding principle of the old covenant and the spirit as the power of the new covenant; a struggle between walking, being led by, keeping in step with, and living by the *law*, or walking, being led by, keeping in step with, and living by the *spirit*; a struggle between the exclusivity of the law and the inclusivity of the spirit; a struggle between the power of sin and the power of the spirit. Consequently, *the spirit is as an eschatological concept, the power of the new creation broken into the*

5:5) to form one body made of Jew and Gentile (1 Cor 12:13) such that in 1 Cor 2:6-16 it is the spirit of God, not the spirit of this world (2:12), who is given, in order that a Christian may understand the mystery of the gospel, 'a mystery that has been hidden and that God destined for our glory before time began,' a mystery that 'none of the rulers of this world' understand (2:7-8). Moreover, the spirit generates the appropriate character representative of the redeemed people of God (1 Cor 4:21; 6:9-11; 2 Cor 6:6; 12:18; 13:14; Rom 12:11; 14:17; 15:13, 30; Phil 1:27; 2:1, 3) which has replaced the necessity of the law.

¹⁶⁷ I find it difficult to accept the view that Paul conceived of the flesh as a cosmic power, as Jewett argues, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 101-103, 114-116 (also viewing the flesh as possessing a psychological dimension. Such a view of the cosmic nature of the flesh is traced back to the thought of W. Baur and also finds expression in Bultmann's view of the flesh as a 'sphere.' Yet identifying the flesh as a cosmic 'sphere' or 'power' disconnects any sense of physicality with the concept of flesh, which cannot be sustained lexically, and disassociates σάρξ from Paul's explicit identification with the law. While Jewett is correct to note that the flesh is characteristic of the present aeon, it does not follow that it must be considered an independent cosmic power. It is true that Paul does indeed ascribe independent activity to the flesh, since it has desires, exerts an influence over believers, and can be the object of activity (Gal 5:13, 16-17, 24; 6:8; Rom 7:5; 8:5-8, 12; 13:14), yet Paul's language has developed into that of personification as a way of explaining the dynamic experiences of corrupt embodied existence whereby the law has been abused. The very act of living in the flesh, and living according to the flesh, is the very real activity of an embodied person under the influence of sin, exercising the law in an abusive manner. The flesh therefore is Paul's reference to the human person from the standpoint of their fallen creatureliness. In this sense, the flesh can be understood in the sense of a power (though not a *cosmic* power), that is, an influence on the embodied person since it is characteristic of the corruptibility and weakness of this creation. Dunn rightly denies a cosmic reading of Paul, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 66-67.

¹⁶⁸ Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 110, 'Paul's assumption regarding the shift of the aeons remains the mainspring of the argument; proof of the presence of the new aeon is the gift of the spirit.'

present, the ruler and guide in the believers' experience. The spirit has taken the place of the law as the defining principle of the people of God.

5. Conclusion

This examination has been concerned with demonstrating the function of the spirit in Paul's eschatological thought. It has demonstrated that the spirit is the creative power by which God will raise all believers from the dead, and the guiding power of the new creation in the present. What emerges from this examination is that the spirit's eschatological creative and ruling activities merge in Paul's thought for *walking according to the spirit results in the future resurrection.* Thus the two threads of this chapter are woven tightly together.¹⁶⁹

The eschatological resurrection of believers is consequently *the demonstration of the spirit's role as creator* and also *the demonstration of the spirit's legitimacy as ruler in the believer's experience.*¹⁷⁰ These dynamic activities of the spirit overlap for it is by walking according to the spirit that believers will be raised from the dead.¹⁷¹ 'Life' is once against

¹⁶⁹ A succinct summary will be helpful. *Firstly*, since the life that Paul denotes in Rom 8:2, 6, 10, 11, 13 is eternal life (cf. Rom 5:21; 6:22-23), a point which is confirmed by Gal 6:8, and since eternal life is the resurrection of believers, clearly then the resurrection has not already occurred. There must remain a future aspect to life in the spirit which is as yet unfulfilled. *Secondly*, Paul's statement that believers live by the spirit in the present (Gal 5:25; Rom 8:12-13) is synonymous with alternative statements of the believers' current orientation towards the spirit, for believers are exhorted to walk according to the spirit (Gal 5:16; Rom 8:4), to be led by the spirit (Gal 5:18; Rom 8:14), and to keep in step with the spirit (Gal 5:25). Thus 'life in the spirit' in the present concerns an active awareness and allegiance to the dynamic guidance of the spirit as ruler in their experience. *Thirdly*, such life in the spirit is deliberately contrasted with living according to the flesh as the power of the present age (Gal 5:16-17; 6:8; Rom 8:4-8, 12-13). Living according to the flesh is one's orientation towards and one's existence determined by the Mosaic Law, where *σάρξ* plays a metonymic function (Gal 3:3; 5:13-15, 18; Rom 8:4ff) and makes better sense of the contrast in Paul's thought between the spirit and the flesh, and the spirit and the law (Gal 3:2, 5; Rom 7:6; 8:2, 4; cf. 7:14). *Fourthly*, Paul understands the law as being enslaved under the powers of sin and death (Gal 3:13, 21; Rom 7:1-8:4). The spirit replaces the law because the spirit gives life in contrast to the law which brought death (Gal 6:8); the spirit can defeat the power of sin while the law remains in bondage to sin (cf. Gal 3:2-5; 3:14; 4:6-7; 4:29; 1 Thess 1:5-6; 1 Cor 2:4; 3:1; 6:11; 2 Cor 3:3, 6; 17-18; 4:13). *Fifthly*, possession of the spirit is synonymous with the declaration of righteousness (Gal 5:5). While a present status given to believers through God's faithfulness in Christ (Rom 5:1) and through the spirit (1 Cor 6:11), righteousness is the final verdict that leads to eternal life for those who walk according to the spirit (Gal 5:5; 6:8; Rom 8:4, 10).

¹⁷⁰ My argument critiques Wainwright, who states, 'In no passage of the New Testament is the Spirit described as agent in the new creation. Paul speaks of a new "creation" or "new creature", but does not mention the Spirit in the same context,' *The Trinity*, 232. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 188, affirmatively quotes Thomas Rees, *The Holy Spirit*, 84f, 'One notable limitation of the sphere assigned to the Holy Spirit in the New Testament... is that it is nowhere described as the agent of creation or as a cosmic principle.' Davies concludes that Paul denies any cosmic significance to the spirit.' While this may be true in relation to the *initial* creation (by this I mean cosmic formation and the generation of life), I have demonstrated that this is not the case with regard to the *new* creation.

¹⁷¹ Indeed, Gunkel in his early examination of the spirit, was rightly perceptive that 'Christian conduct and eternal life are thought of as two separate activities of the Spirit, which, however, stand in organic connection with each other. The result of walking in the Spirit is eternal life, just as surely and naturally as fruit results from the seed,' Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 107. Cf. 'For Paul, Christian existence within the new, pneumatic state, and the new moral life are not separate entities. Rather, the concept ζωή encompasses both. Thus in the same context the apostle can use ζωή in one instance to accent the moral life, and in the other the new state of existence' (108). It must be noted that Gunkel argues for 'life' as both a present and a future reality, 106-111.

demonstrated to be an essential characterisation of the spirit's function.¹⁷² Apart from revealing that Paul's understanding of the spirit is intimately linked to his eschatology, such

¹⁷² The definition of 'life' as resurrection life whereby death has been defeated allows us to recognise that the tension between the present age and the age to come must exist in the believer's experience for they must first undergo death in the body in order to experience the life of resurrection. Paul describes 'life' as both a present and a future reality. Paul can identify believers as already justified through Christ and the spirit (1 Cor 6:11; Rom 5:1) but also awaiting righteousness through the spirit (Gal 5:5); believers are adopted as sons of God through the spirit (Rom 8:15) but also await adoption through the spirit (Rom 8:23); believers are already redeemed (Rom 3:24) yet await redemption, the redemption of their bodies, through the spirit (Rom 8:23); believers are joined to Christ through the spirit as in marriage (1 Cor 6:17) yet they are considered still only betrothed to Christ (2 Cor 11:2). See Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 309-310; *idem*, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 416-419; 461-498. These various metaphors are used to describe the tension between present and future existence but it is necessary to define 'life' more adequately in relation to the spirit. Paul rarely associates *present* 'life' and the spirit apart from Gal 5:25 and Rom 8:12-13, and in these contexts, 'life in the spirit' arguably concerns an active awareness and allegiance to the dynamic guidance of the spirit as ruler in their experience and *not* future 'life' in resurrection since death must first come (cf. Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency*, 246; Dunn, *Baptism in the Spirit*, 150). This has only *presently* been experienced by Christ's own resurrection as the firstfruits. Note Paul's twofold use of the present tense of the verb ζάω to describe the present orientation of the believer (Rom 8:12-13), while he uses the future tense of the verbs ζάω and ζωοποιέω to describe the work of the spirit (Rom 8:11, 13). I would argue that Paul's statement in 8:10 (πνεῦμα ζωῆ διὰ δικαιοσύνην) should not be understood as referring to present life, for the use of the future ζωοποιήσει in 8:11 clarifies that the life Paul has in mind is the future resurrection life. Consequently, the predominant focus in Paul between spirit and life is the future resurrection. It is at this point that I view Lewis' argument that, at least with regard to 1 Cor 15:35-58, earthly 'life' is being transformed by the *present reality* of the σῶμα πνευματικόν in the believer's experience, misguided. He argues, 'The σῶμα πνευματικόν... characterizes the spiritual body of the risen Christ... This includes the *earthly* body (individual and social) that is *even now* being transformed into new life,' Lewis, *Looking for Life*, 136, emphasis original. For Lewis, because of the reality of the σῶμα πνευματικόν in the present, 'The logic of Paul's reasoning suggests that Christ-conforming conduct and the practice of spiritual discernment are the means by which believers (in their earthly existence) *presently participate* in experiences of the life of the heavenly realm,' (137, emphasis original). My exegesis of σῶμα πνευματικόν, which is supported by the majority of scholarship, views the σῶμα πνευματικόν as received following death as this is the logical foundation of Paul's complete argument in response to the Corinthian denial of dead bodies being raised to life by the spirit. Lewis has confused the contrast between the σῶμα ψυχικόν and the σῶμα πνευματικόν as one which is a reality in the present rather than an eschatological contrast between the earthly and heavenly bodies. What is lacking most in Lewis' analysis is the awareness that 'life' in this context is understood as *resurrection* life. I find Szypula's argument that 'The divine gift of the Spirit allows the eschatological transformation to begin already in the earthly reality,' *The Holy Spirit in the Eschatological Tension of Christian Life*, 169, rather overstated for it ignores the nature of the 'eschatological transformation' as defined by the resurrection of life once death has been conquered. Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, 157-175, offers a solid analysis of the relation between present and future life but he too overextends his conclusion. He states, 'the spirit has brought new life; the eschatological resurrection of the dead has begun, and *it is now partially experienced* by those indwelt by the spirit' (170, emphasis mine). I would argue that the spirit is indeed the evidence of the new creation in the present, but to go beyond this claim to state that the resurrection of the dead is 'partially experienced' by believers this side of death contradicts Paul's strong emphasis upon life as defined in relation to death itself. His stress upon the partial realisation of life in the present is dependent upon Rom 6:1-14 and a somewhat literalistic reading of the passage and argues that Paul urges believers to 'live *in accordance with the new life that has already been granted, if only in part*' (160, emphasis original) thereby understanding 6:1-14 as a statement regarding a real change in the nature of the believer's present life. Paul's discussion in Rom 6:1-14 concerns the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection, but the application of these benefits, particularly resurrection with Christ, cannot occur until the general resurrection. A significant point in this regard is the role of Rom 6:3-4 in Paul's thought: 'don't you know that all of us who were baptised into Christ Jesus were baptised into his death? We were therefore buried with him through baptism into death in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, we also might walk in newness of life' (ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν). This final expression – walking in the newness of life – clearly pre-empted Paul's later discussion on serving in the new way of the spirit (ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος, 7:6) which is equated with walking according to the spirit (περιπατοῦσιν...κατὰ πνεῦμα, 8:4). Though it is tempting to understand Paul's correlation between walking in the newness of life with walking according to the spirit in the present, it is more appropriate, in view of the development of Paul's argument in Rom 8, to conceive of walking by the spirit as climactically culminating in the resurrection of believers thus clarifying that the newness of life

an argument highlights the spirit's activity in creating and ruling as an agent of God. It reveals that the spirit is integral to God's eschatological activity in resurrection for the resurrection will be the concrete declaration of God as the universal ruler and creator of all things. Since it is the spirit who has raised Jesus from the dead and will raise believers in the new creation, the spirit is shown to be active in demonstrating God's universal status as ruler and creator of all things by conquering the enemy of death and legitimising God's own faithfulness and covenantal righteousness.

of 6:4 is future orientated, a point confirmed by the future verbs ἐσόμεθα in 6:5 ('If we have been united with him in a death like his, we will certainly also be united with him in a resurrection like his') and συζήσομεν in 6:8 ('if we died with Christ, we believe that we will also live with him'). These two verses stand in parallel and confirm that the newness of life is indeed the resurrection. This sits well with the context whereby 6:3-4 parallels the experience of Christ – in death and resurrection – with the experience of believers. Believers too will face death and will, through the spirit, be raised to life. Yet this is still a future reality for life is eternal life (5:21; 6:22-23). Yates' more literal reading of the passage fails to recognise that in Paul the newness of life is a reference to the future agency of the spirit in the resurrection. Margaret E. Thrall approaches this perspective, 'Paul's Understanding of Continuity Between the Present Life and the Life of the Resurrection,' in *Resurrection in the New Testament*, 283-300.

Chapter Eight: The Identity of the Spirit within Paul's Christian Monotheism

1. Introduction

The argument of this thesis has been that in Hebrew and Jewish monotheism the spirit was not an intermediary figure that stands outside the identity of God (such as exalted patriarchs and principal angels), but is in fact, an aspect of God himself. It demonstrated that the categories of Hebrew and Jewish monotheism have influenced Paul's view of the spirit.¹ This was demonstrated by utilising the categories of R. Bauckham, specifically, Creational, Cultic and Eschatological Monotheism, contemporary *terms* that denote the *concept* of Paul's comprehension of God's own unique identity. This argument results in the straightforward conclusion that in Paul's worldview the spirit is included in the Unique Divine Identity of God on the basis that the spirit fulfils those ruling and creative activities that define God's own identity. But it is this basic point that, at first glance, appears to make my thesis redundant, for if the spirit is so clearly to be identified with God – which is an undisputed consensus – then it seems redundant to re-walk the same old paths once again. The spirit is often defined as '*God's own personal presence and activity in the world,*'² yet this statement is sufficiently vague enough to be understood as simply the mode of God's power in creation³ or in some way distinguishing the spirit from God.⁴ This chapter will utilise the framework of the Unique Divine Identity as a means of nuancing the spirit's identity particularly in relation to God and Christ and will note those unique functions that distinguish the spirit. If function is determinative for identity, then it follows that how we speak of God and Christ must be consistent with our descriptions of the spirit.⁵

¹ Of course, this statement also presumes that the categories of Jewish monotheism are fixed, as Bauckham has argued.

² Lodahl, *Shekhinah/Spirit*, 41, emphasis original.

³ For example, Lampe, *God as Spirit*.

⁴ For example, Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament*, Cf. Wainwright, who affirms the spirit as distinct within the New Testament which provides the grounding for later Trinitarian developments, states, '(Paul's) mind was not yet prepared for the acknowledgement that the Spirit was God. His thought about the Spirit was moving in the same direction as his thought about Christ, but had not advanced so far. Although he acknowledged in Rom. 9.5 that Christ was God, he never gave such honour to the Spirit,' *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 227; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*; or Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*.

⁵ Hans Hübner has ably articulated the questions addressed by this thesis and the direction of its argument. His words are worth citing in full: 'If we really are to accept that the divine Spirit is a Person, when we direct our "You" to the Spirit are we doing the same as when we do so to God as "You"? It may also be helpful to ask about the *function* of the Holy Spirit: what does the Spirit *do*? What does the Spirit do to us, and to God's creation? Do the biblical writers talk about the activity of the Spirit of God as they do about God's activity? To this must be added the question whether something of what constitutes the *being* and essence of the Spirit becomes clear as a result of the answer given to the question of what the Spirit *does*. The fact remains that to a large extent the question about the being of God is largely answered, in terms of biblical discourse and discussion, by referring to what God does. In other words, *nature and function* in biblical thinking are in the

The purpose of this chapter will therefore be to give a more nuanced investigation of the spirit's identity *within* the Unique Divine Identity of God, which specifically concerns the nature of the spirit's relation to God and Christ. If we are to investigate whether the spirit possessed a distinct identity within Paul's Christian monotheism, then this inquiry is a necessary one. In this chapter I focus on those logical structures of Paul's thought which inform his perception of a) those functions of the spirit that are identical to both God and Christ, and b) those functions that are unique to the spirit. The purpose of examining these activities is to examine how the framework of the Unique Divine Identity informs Paul's understanding of the spirit's relation to God and Christ since God's own unique identity is defined by such divine functions. Consequently, there are two determining questions for my inquiry that concern the activity of the spirit. Firstly, what functions are the same in relation to a) the spirit and God, and b) the spirit and Christ? Secondly, what functions are unique to the spirit in relation to a) God and b) Christ? I shall structure my inquiry by first examining the relation between the spirit and God, and secondly, examining the relation between the spirit and Christ. Within each of these discussions, I shall offer an overview of the data concerning the relation between the spirit and God and Christ, then synthesise the data by highlighting those functions of the spirit that are the same and those functions of the spirit that are unique.

2. The Relation Between the Spirit and God

Paul conceives of the closest of relations between God and the spirit. Paul can refer to the spirit as 'the spirit of God' (1 Cor 2:11, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Rom 8:9, 14; 15:19; Phil 3:3), 'his [God's] spirit' (1 Thess 4:8; Rom 8:11) and 'the spirit of his [God's] son' (Gal 4:6). Such a relation is not surprising since Paul stood within the Jewish tradition where the concept of spirit was an important 'bridge' term used to denote the activity of God himself in his dynamic engagement with creation. The spirit did not describe the inner being of God and did not refer to a being separable from YHWH himself but was an extension of YHWH's own personality. The placement of Paul within this tradition, however, does not *a priori* argue that the spirit is the mode of God's activity in Paul's Christian monotheism but simply stands as the influence for Paul's logical perception of the activity of the spirit which places the spirit in the closest of relations with God himself. It remains to be seen whether Paul's Jewish perspective is an adequate concept to describe the relation between the spirit and God in Paul's own thought as reflected in his Christian experience. In order to examine

largest possible measure not terminologically separated and this can be said not only in regard to God,' Hans Hübner, 'The Holy Spirit in Holy Scripture,' *The Ecumenical Review* 41:3 (1989): 324-328, here 325.

the nature of this relation, I shall compare those roles which overlap between the spirit and God with those that are unique to the spirit alone.

2.1 The Identical Functions of the Spirit and God

Even though Paul can identify God himself in the believer (1 Cor 14:25; 2 Cor 6:16), he more prominently speaks of the spirit's indwelling (1 Cor 3:16; 1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 1:22; Rom 8:9; Rom 8:9, 11).⁶ Since the spirit is the spirit of God, Paul conceives of a movement from God to the believer that is fulfilled by the reality of the spirit for Paul understands that believers receive into their hearts the spirit from God himself (Gal 3:5; 4:6; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 6:19; 2 Cor 1:22; 3:3; 5:5; Rom 5:5). As the giver of the spirit, a fundamental relation is formed between the spirit and God. Because of this relation, there appears in Paul's thought a continuity between the activity of God himself and the spirit whom he has sent. This evidential movement between God and the spirit is demonstrated by the spirit's fulfilment of many of the same functions as God himself, a recognition that has stood at the heart of this thesis and which has been consistently demonstrated in relation to God's function as ruler and creator. Yet there are more specific functions which Paul credits to both God and the spirit that are framed within the Unique Divine Identity.⁷

2.1.1 Creational Monotheism

As a result of Paul's ministry of proclaiming the gospel of God (1 Thess 2:2, 8-9; 2 Cor 11:7; Rom 1:1; 15:15-19; cf. 1 Thess 2:4) believers turn to both God (1 Thess 1:4, 8-10) and to the spirit (2 Cor 3:16-18) at their conversion. Indeed, Paul can identify the spirit as the κύριος to whom believers turn (2 Cor 3:16-18). That Paul can denote the spirit through the lexeme κύριος remains one of the most insightful descriptions of Paul's perception of the spirit's relation to God since κύριος is frequently used to denote God himself.⁸ Further, Paul refers to his presentation of the gospel message as a 'demonstration of the spirit and power' which is synonymous with 'the power of God' (1 Cor 2:4-5; cf. Rom 15:19). This power of God is equated with the generation of faith in the heart of the believer, a faith which elsewhere stands in close relation to the reception of the spirit (Gal 3:2, 3, 5, 14; 5:5, 22; 2 Cor 4:13).

Paul often can ascribe qualities to both God and the spirit, qualities that reflect God's own sovereignty over believers. Paul's prayer to the Romans that 'the God of *hope* fill you with all joy and peace' results in an overflow of *hope* which is 'by the power of the holy spirit' (Rom

⁶ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 827ff.

⁷ For a similar direction, though without evident reference to the Unique Divine Identity, see Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 35-40.

⁸ See Fee, *Pauline Christology*.

15:13; cf. 5:2-5). Such joy (cf. 1 Thess 3:9; Rom 15:32) and peace (1 Thess 5:23; 1 Cor 14:33; Rom 5:1; 15:33; 16:20; Phil 4:7, 9)⁹ that comes from God is in other contexts said to be given by the spirit (Gal 5:22; 1 Thess 1:6; Rom 8:6; 14:17). Paul can identify love as a key characteristic of God (2 Cor 13:11, 14; Rom 1:7; 5:8; 8:39) yet also ascribes love to the spirit (Gal 5:22; Rom 15:30; cf. 2 Cor 6:6; Phil 2:1), indeed God's love is poured into the hearts of believers through the holy spirit (Rom 5:5). It is God who declares Jews and Gentiles righteous through faith (Rom 3:28-30) yet the kingdom of God is a matter of righteousness in the spirit (Rom 14:17), since believers have been justified by the spirit (1 Cor 6:11) and by faith await righteousness through the spirit (Gal 5:5). God sanctifies believers (1 Thess 5:23) just as the holy spirit sanctifies the Gentiles as an offering to God (Rom 15:16). So too the law is both the law of God (Rom 7:22; 8:7) and of the spirit (Rom 7:14; 8:2).

2.1.2 *Cultic Monotheism*

Within the cultic experience of believers, the church is identified as the temple *of God* as well as the temple *of the holy spirit* (1 Cor 3:16-17; 6:19, cf. 2 Cor 6:16). Both God and the spirit distribute the charismata and direct the church as the temple of God and his spirit, for the manifestations are the work of the spirit who distributes them to each person just as he determines (1 Cor 12:4, 7-11), which is synonymous with Paul's view of God who places the various members in the body just as he wills (1 Cor 12:6, 18, 24, 28; cf. Rom 12:3).

Curiously, Paul lists the spirit *alongside* God as the dispenser of the charismata by stating, 'There are different kinds of gifts, but the same spirit... There are different kinds of working, but in all of them and in everyone it is the same God at work' (1 Cor 12:4, 6). Evidently in Paul's thought the spirit functioned as the presence of God, for the Christian community is God's temple on the basis of the spirit's indwelling, the same spirit whom believers have received from God and dwells within their individual bodies.¹⁰

2.1.3 *Eschatological Monotheism*

Concerning the activity of God and the spirit within the new creation, Paul identifies God as the one who has raised Jesus from the dead (Gal 1:1; 1 Thess 1:10; 1 Cor 15:15; 2 Cor 4:14; Rom 4:24; 8:11; 10:9) and the one who will also raise believers (2 Cor 4:14; Rom 6:23; 8:11; cf. 1 Cor 15:38) by giving a resurrected body which Paul describes as a building from God (2 Cor 5:1). Paul can speak of agency in the resurrection for it is God's power (1 Cor 6:14; 2 Cor

⁹ Cf. the peace wish which characterises Paul's letter openings: Gal 1:3; 1 Thess 1:1; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Rom 1:7; Phil 1:2; Philem 3.

¹⁰ Ceglarek, *Die Rede von der Gegenwart Gottes, Christi und des Geistes*.

13:4) and glory (Rom 6:4) by which God has raised Christ from the dead, the same power which will also raise believers (2 Cor 13:4). As I have argued extensively, Paul identifies the spirit as the one who also raises Christ (1 Cor 15:44-46; Rom 1:3-4; 8:11) and believers from the dead (Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:44-46; 2 Cor 1:22; 3:6; 5:5; Rom 8:2, 6, 9-11, 23).¹¹ Indeed, Paul can describe the spirit as ‘the spirit of the living God’ (2 Cor 3:3, cf. 1 Thess 1:9), for it is God who gives life to the dead (Rom 4:16) which stands in parallel to the spirit who also gives life through the resurrection (Gal 6:8; 2 Cor 3:6; Rom 8:2, 6, 10, 11).

2.1.4 The Relevance of Prepositions for Identifying the Spirit’s Agency

These references illustrate the identical functions that Paul credits to both God and the spirit. Yet these examples, brief as they are, demand a more nuanced examination. A more nuanced analysis will reveal that in those cases where God and the spirit engage in the same functions the spirit operates as the *agent* of God.¹² Most of the examples I have just given of the identical functions of God and the spirit can be explained by pointing to Paul’s use of prepositions to distinguish the spirit’s activity.¹³

1) God’s love is poured into the hearts of believers *through* the holy spirit (διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, Rom 5:5); 2) The means by which God himself distributes the charismata among the community by placing the members of the body as he determines (12:6, 18, 28) is *through*, *according to*, and *by* the spirit (διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι, 12:8-11) such that Paul can describe the phenomena as ‘manifestations of the spirit’ (12:7); 3) God fills believers with joy and peace ‘*by* the power of the holy spirit’ (ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου, Rom 15:13); 4) God’s joy is given by the holy spirit (μετὰ χαρᾶς πνεύματος ἁγίου, 1 Thess 1:6);¹⁴ 5) The Corinthians were washed, sanctified, and justified *by* the spirit of God (ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Cor 6:11) just as all Gentiles are sanctified *by* the holy spirit (ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, Rom 15:16); 6) Paul’s own proclamation of the gospel to the Gentiles, which he describes as ‘the gospel of God’ (Rom 15:16), a ‘service to God’ (Rom 15:17) and ‘faith in God’ (1 Thess 1:8), and their experience of turning to God from idols (1 Thess 1:9) is ‘*by* the power of the spirit of God’ (ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος θεοῦ, Rom 15:19), ‘*by* a demonstration of the spirit and power’ (ἐν

¹¹ The agency of God, described by Paul as ‘power’ and ‘glory,’ is likely to denote the spirit because of the association between the spirit and power and glory in Paul’s thought. Power: Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4-5; 12:10, 28, 29; 14:11; 15:43; Glory: 1 Cor 15:43; 2 Cor 3:18.

¹² So Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 829-831.

¹³ Paul and philology is beyond the scope of my thesis, but on the various senses associated with Greek prepositions, particularly the spatial meanings, see Murray J. Harris, *Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012), e.g. 28-32.

¹⁴ With Fee, I understand the genitive to specify the spirit as the source of joy, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, 37, fn. 46.

ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, 1 Cor 2:4) and ‘by power and by the holy spirit’ (ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, 1 Thess 1:5). Such expressions are equated with Paul’s description of his preaching as enabling faith in believers ‘by the power of God (ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ, 1 Cor 2:5; cf. 1:18); 7) Paul identifies the spirit as the power of the believer’s transformation at conversion for it is the spirit *from* (ἀπό) whom this metamorphosis originates (2 Cor 3:18); 8) Finally, the resurrection of Christ from the dead is ‘according to the spirit of holiness’ (κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, Rom 1:4) and God will raise believers from the dead *through* his spirit who indwells believers (διὰ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, Rom 8:11); if believers sow *to* (εἰς) the spirit then they will reap eternal life *from* (ἐκ) the spirit (ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, Gal 6:8). Gal 6:8 is an important reference because it is one of the rare occasions when Paul uses the preposition ἐκ to identify the spirit as the *source* of divine activity.

These examples demonstrate that in Paul’s thought the activity of the spirit stands in some sense logically discernible within the operations of God *for he can distinguish the activity of the spirit from God through prepositions*. This mirrors Paul’s understanding of the dynamic movement of the spirit sent *from* God *to* believers. God is the sender of the spirit *into* (εἰς, 1 Thess 4:8) and *in* (δουὶς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, 2 Cor 1:22) the hearts of believers, for they receive the spirit *from* God (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Cor 2:12/ἀπὸ θεοῦ, 1 Cor 6:19). Thus *the spirit functions as an agent of God by effecting God’s own activity*. This sense of agency appears the most viable interpretation of Paul’s use of prepositions and explains his thought where the spirit and God fulfil identical functions that define the unique identity of God.

2.2 The Unique Functions of the Spirit in Relation to God

The identical functions of God and the spirit are not surprising considering that Paul conceives of the spirit as the spirit *of God* yet it is necessary to move beyond this observation and to acknowledge the degree to which Paul can denote the spirit without reference to God or any other qualifier that determines the spirit’s relation.¹⁵ The ubiquity of Paul’s references to the spirit alone is, statistically speaking, a somewhat remarkable observation and surely must be taken seriously as reflective of Paul’s own comprehension of the spirit’s distinguishable activity. Paul can reference the spirit as the subject of frequent verbal and participial phrases (1 Thess 5:19; Gal 5:16-18, 25; 6:8; 1 Cor 2:10-14; 3:16; 6:11; 12:11, 13; 2

¹⁵ See Gal 3:2, 3, 5; 4:29; 5:5, 16, 17[x2], 18; 25[x2]; 6:8[x2]; 1 Thess 5:19; 1 Cor 2:4, 10[x2], 13; 12:4, 8[x2], 9[x2], 11[x2], 13[x2]; 14:2, 16; 2 Cor 3:6[x2], 17, 18; 11:4; Rom 2:29; 7:6; 8:4, 5[x2], 6, 9, 13, 16, 26[x2]; Phil 2:1.

Cor 3:6; 12:18; Rom 5:5, 7:6; 8:4, 14-16, 23, 26-27). This is all the more remarkable when it is observed that Paul can reference the spirit *alongside God* in a way suggestive of a more identifiably distinct function of the spirit (e.g. 1 Cor 12:4-6; 2 Cor 13:13[14]). The reference to the spirit *alongside* God himself must be noted even if simply to explain the problem of tautology.¹⁶ The previous analysis of the identical functions between God and the spirit observed that Paul can conceive of the spirit as sent from God to the believer, which results in an overlap between those functions undertaken by God and the spirit. The following discussion will demonstrate that Paul also conceives of a movement *from* the believer back *towards* God that is fulfilled through the agency of the spirit. The spirit plays an integral role within Paul's conception of Creational, Cultic and Eschatological Monotheism, specifically evident within the activities of revelation, ethical activity, the believer's expressions of worship and prayer, and in the final resurrection.

2.2.1 Creational Monotheism

The specific activity of the spirit is discerned in the spirit's role in revelation. It is clear from 1 Cor 2:6-16 that the spirit is fundamental in revealing the message of wisdom which is the mystery of the gospel of Christ crucified (1:18, 23-24; 2:2). This wisdom is declared in the presentation of the gospel and is identified as God's own wisdom (λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν, 2:7; cf. 1:21), a mystery hidden yet demonstrated in the cross of Christ (1:17, 23) for Christ himself is the power of God and the wisdom of God (Χριστὸν θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν, 1:24). While the wisdom of the world cannot understand the mystery of Christ crucified (1:20-25) Paul understands that God has revealed this mystery by his spirit (2:10). Believers have not received the spirit of the world but the spirit from God (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, 2:12) such that the 'natural man' (ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος), i.e. the one who does not have the spirit, cannot understand the wisdom of God because it is discerned by the spirit (πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται, 2:14). The one with the spirit speaks by the spirit and can understand the things of the spirit (ἃ καὶ λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες, 2:13).¹⁷

The role of the spirit in revealing the wisdom of God is not surprising since Paul has already associated the spirit with the reception of the gospel message (2:1-5). The gospel is the power of God (1:18; 2:5) and the wisdom of God (1:21; 2:7) which concerns the message of Christ, who himself is the power of God and wisdom of God (1:24). What remains

¹⁶ See the argument of Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 35-40.

¹⁷ For a good summary of the spirit's function in this passage, see Simo Frestadius, 'The Spirit and Wisdom in 1 Corinthians 2:1-13,' *JBPR* 3 (2011): 52-70.

innovative is not the revelatory role of the spirit but how Paul characterises the spirit's relation to God: 'The spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God. For who knows a person's thoughts except that person's own spirit within? In the same way no one knows the thoughts of God except the spirit of God' (2:10b-11). Paul conceives of the spirit as the one who comprehends the mind of God and makes known God's thought through the use of an analogy, which by its own design reflects on the spirit's relation to God (1 Cor 2:10b-11). The analogy is that of the human person, specifically the person's mind and spirit which is applied to the relation between the mind of God and his spirit. Rather than positing a form of Platonic dualism which posits a dichotomy between the spirit and the body, Paul instead focuses on the inability of someone to comprehend another's thoughts without some medium of communication. Without any expression, only the person's spirit within possesses the knowledge of that person. In the same way, without revelation by the spirit of God, the mystery of God is unknown.¹⁸ Due to the nature of the analogy which posits a clear correlation between the human spirit and God's own spirit, the *premise* of the analogy is the intimate relation between God and his spirit, and the *application* of the analogy is that no one can know the thoughts of God except by the spirit. Paul uses the analogy to identify the spirit as the medium of God's revelation and mystery.¹⁹ It could be conceivable to shy away from pressing Paul's analogy in a literal manner and to ignore the analogy on the basis that drawing such conclusions regarding the specific relation between God and the spirit addresses questions beyond Paul's intention of the analogies themselves.

In contrast, Paul's use of the analogy is arguably the very means by which his own reflection on the identity of the spirit is revealed for his letters are surely pedagogical and pastoral in nature. It is possible to interpret the analogy loosely by arguing that according to Paul the spirit understands the mind of God because the spirit is indeed God himself in the same way that the human spirit and the human mind constitute the one individual. But such an interpretation minimises the logical differentiation between the spirit and God evident in Paul's reflection, and indeed collapses and ultimately negates Paul's argument itself. The logical differentiation between the spirit and God is needed for the analogy's consistency, particularly as it applies to the believer's own experience of revelation: believers can comprehend the truth of the gospel – the mystery of God – since God reveals it through the

¹⁸ For this interpretation, see Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 257-260. This view is against Heliso, 'Divine Spirit and Human Spirit in Paul in the Light of Stoic and Biblical-Jewish Perspectives,' 156-176, who relies far too heavily upon an interpretation of Paul's antecedents for the assertion that the human spirit and the holy spirit are identical referents. The whole scope of this study is an argument against such a reading.

¹⁹ Frestadius, 'The Spirit and Wisdom in 1 Corinthians 2:1-13.'

spirit. Importantly, *the spirit actively searches and knows the thoughts of God*.²⁰ It is difficult to conceive that Paul would presume that the Corinthians would not take the differentiation between the spirit and God literally in his use of the analogy, particularly since their experience of the spirit as revealer of divine wisdom would substantiate the spirit's revelatory function.²¹ Thus again, there is a movement from God > spirit > believer whereby the spirit who comprehends the thoughts of God, makes these known to believers, and a movement from believer > spirit > God whereby the spirit inspires the believer's faith towards God since the believer arrives at an understanding of the wisdom of God on the basis of the spirit searching the deep things of God.

Since the spirit indwells the hearts of believers, the role of the spirit as the medium of ethical guidance in the believer's experience must be noted. The influence of the spirit over the believers' ethical living is paramount in view of Paul's understanding that believers must walk and be led by the spirit so as to receive resurrection life. The comprehensive scope of the spirit's lordship over the believer's experience is evidenced by Paul's view of the spirit as replacing the normative rule of the law, for if believers follow the spirit they will not gratify the flesh, that is, they will not be under law (Gal 5:16-18; Rom 8:4). The function of the law was to determine the culturally specific behaviour of those who were identified as the people of God, yet for those in Christ, those who are led by the spirit are demarcated, by their behaviour, as the children of God (Gal 4:6; 5:16, 18, 22-25; 6:8; Rom 8:4-17). Thus the leading of the spirit identifies and distinguishes the discernible activity of the spirit in the believers' experience.

2.2.2 *Cultic Monotheism*

Cultic monotheism also reveals the shape of Paul's thought concerning the distinctive role and activity of the spirit. The spirit functions to facilitate worship directed towards God. Since the community of believers are themselves the temple of the holy spirit, the spirit is indispensable to the worship offered to God in recognition of his identity as creator and ruler. Those who speak in tongues speak *by* the spirit *to* God (1 Cor 14:2) and believers praise God *by* the spirit (1 Cor 14:16); so too believers, who are the true circumcision, worship God *by the spirit* (Phil

²⁰ Mary Healy makes the interesting assertion that in 1 Cor 2:9-12 Paul appeals to the principle 'common in the ancient world, that "like is known by like,"' ('Knowledge of the Mystery: A Study of Pauline Epistemology,' in *The Bible and Epistemology: Biblical Soundings on the Knowledge of God*, eds. Mary Healy and Robin Parry (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), 134-158). That is, since the Spirit is 'like' God then through the Spirit's revelation of God to the believer, they can possess divine knowledge of God (148). While this principle remains unsubstantiated in Healy's article, it does helpfully point towards the implicit logic of the analogy whereby the intimate relation between the Spirit and God is presumed ('the like,' yet which also contains the logic of differentiation between two subjects ('like known by like').

²¹ Frestadius, 'The Spirit and Wisdom in 1 Corinthians 2:1-13.'

3:3). Such expressions of worship by the believer are orientated and offered to God himself, yet in this dynamic movement the spirit plays an integral role by inspiring speech and guiding worship to God. This observation compels us to acknowledge that *in Paul's own reflection, there is a logically distinct activity of the spirit which is fundamentally differentiated from God who is the object of worship.*²² The function of the spirit as inspiring the worship of God in the community makes the activity of worship overcome such a difficulty. The observation that the spirit never receives worship within the community does not exclude the spirit from the Unique Divine Identity, but does become an essential point in distinguishing the unique function of the spirit from God as the object of worship, for the spirit inspires such devotion in the dynamic movement from the believer back towards God. The centrality of the spirit within this movement from the believer to God is revealed in the structure of Paul's thought whereby believers worship God through the spirit, and identifies the community as the temple of God and the temple of the holy spirit.

In the same way as the spirit facilitates worship directed to God, so too does the spirit inspire prayer that is also directed to God alone. It is by the spirit the believer can cry out 'Abba, Father' (Rom 8:15). It is through the indwelling spirit that believers are urged by Paul to pray towards God (Rom 15:30), an activity which is reflected in Paul's own experience (Phil 1:19). The most evident portrayal of the distinctive function of the spirit is in Rom 8:26-27 where Paul states that 'he [God] who searches our hearts knows the mind of the spirit because the spirit intercedes for the holy ones in accordance with the will of God' (v. 27). What makes this passage so significant is that Paul presents a very similar structure of thought as in 1 Cor 2:10b-11 yet does so without reference to an analogy. Significantly, Paul identifies that 1) God searches the heart of the believer, where the spirit dwells; 2) the spirit possesses thought which can be discerned by God; and 3) the spirit makes intercession to God on behalf of the believer, an intercession which is consistent with the will of God. The necessary basis from which Paul can guarantee the believers that their prayers are received by God, despite their weakness, is because of the *unity* between God and the spirit whereby when God searches the believers' hearts he knows the mind of the spirit. Yet in conjunction with this assumption of the unity between God and the spirit, there exists a *logical differentiation* and a *specific function* that is credited to the spirit. Believers can be confident that their prayers are comprehended by God because God searches the mind of the spirit who indwells the hearts of believers, thus the spirit intercedes to God on their behalf for the spirit knows the will of

²² It would be problematic for Paul to presume that God not only requires but also facilitates and produces the worship and devotion that is directed towards himself.

God.²³ Consequently there exists a differentiation between the *mind* of the spirit and the *will* of God, a differentiation between the active intercession of the spirit and the searching of the spirit's *mind* by God. Paul's expression 'the mind of the spirit' (τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος) cannot be reduced to the thinking that the spirit produces in the believer (cf. Rom 8:6), for it is the spirit's intercession in accordance with the will of God which constitutes the φρόνημα of the spirit.²⁴ In the only occurrence in the NT, Paul attributes to the spirit an *intermediary* role between the believer and God in the experience of prayer and deliberately distinguishes the activity of the spirit from God: it is the spirit *itself* who intercedes (αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει, 8:26).²⁵ The spirit intercedes on behalf of believers *towards* God such that the spirit is the medium of union (cf. Rom 8:15-16). Paul's attribution of the faculty of thought to the spirit is a development that must be given its due weight, particularly as the 'mind' (φρόνημα) of the spirit is differentiated from the 'knowing' (οἶδεν) of God, and the 'mind' of the spirit is differentiated from the weakness of believers.²⁶ Such differentiation in Rom 8:26-27 demonstrates the spirit fulfils a particular function that is distinct from that of God.²⁷

Finally, Paul can identify the spirit as the one who cries out prayer *to God* as 'Abba, Father' (Gal 4:6). Though this statement can be paralleled with the believer's cry in Rom 8:15, it is significant that Paul leaves the spirit's activity unqualified and standing in direct relation *to God* as object.

The movement from God > spirit > believer > spirit > God is clearly delineated as a reality in the believer's experience of prayer, and indeed worship, more broadly. Thus within the context of the cultic experience of the Pauline churches believers worship God *in and by*

²³ Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 63-64.

²⁴ So Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 526, fn. 100

²⁵ E.A. Obeng, 'The Spirit Intercession Motif in Paul,' *ExpT* 95 (1984): 360-364; *idem*, 'The Origins of the Spirit Intercession Motif in Romans 8:26,' *NTS* 32 (1986): 621-632; Julie L. Wu, 'The Spirit's Intercession in Romans 8:26-27: An Exegetical Note,' *ExpT* 105 (1993): 13; Bertone, 'The Function of the Spirit,' 87ff, particularly 88; James E. Rosscup, 'The Spirit's Intercession,' *TMSJ* 10:1 (1999): 139-162, '[Rom 8:26-27] is the only reference to the Spirit of God interceding by prayer, whether in the OT, Jewish apocryphal or pseudepigraphical books, rabbinic writings, Qumran literature, or any known source up to Paul's words in Romans 8,' (139, fn. 1); Ben Holdsworth, 'The Other Intercessor: The Holy Spirit as *Familia*-Petitioner for the Father's *Filiusfamilia* in Romans 8:26-27,' *AUSS* 42:2 (2004): 325-346; Timothy Wiarda, 'What God Knows When the Spirit Intercedes,' *BBR* 17:2 (2007): 297-311, especially 301-302; Bonnie B. Thurston, "'Caught Up to the Third Heavens" and "Helped by the Spirit": Paul and the Mystery of Prayer,' *SCJ* 11 (2008): 223-233; Daniel P. Leyrer, 'The Holy Spirit's Assistance and Intercession in Our Prayer Life,' *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 106:1 (2009): 52-56.

²⁶ Dunn, 'Spirit Speech: Reflections on Romans 8:12-27,' 82-91, is happy to utilise English prepositions to designate the distinction between the spirit and God in Rom 8:26-27. In this more generalised reflective article, Dunn states, 'The Spirit is in tune with God. That is, the Spirit working deep at the root of human inarticulateness, the Spirit working deep at the root of creation's futility and the believer's frustration, is working with God, as part of and in accordance with God's will (8:27),' (89). Dunn's earlier use of 'mind-set' to translate φρόνημα and his reference to the 'attitude' of believers to denote such a mind-set did not give due weight to the agency of the spirit. *Romans 1-8*, 493.

²⁷ So too, Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 575-586.

the spirit, delineating a unique activity of the spirit that is logically differentiated from God himself as object of worship.

2.2.3 *Eschatological Monotheism*

Finally, Paul makes a deliberate – and careful – contrast between the spirit and the flesh since the spirit is correlated with the new creation while the flesh is correlated with the present age characterised by sin and death. The significance here is that Paul uses language of spirit to describe believers' experience of being led by the spirit in the new covenant and removing the Mosaic Law as the medium of guidance in the old covenant. It is noteworthy that Paul distinguishes the spirit as the power against the flesh for Paul's language of spirit is demarcated from his language of God when he references the flesh.

2.3 *The Nature of the Spirit's Relation to God*

The preceding examination demonstrates that there is evidence in Paul's thinking that the spirit and God fulfil the same functions (this, of course, is what confirms the spirit as included in the Unique Divine Identity), but it was also seen that Paul can identify unique functions of the spirit that stand logically differentiated from God himself, most clearly evident in the cultic devotion offered to God as subject by the spirit. An examination of Paul's use of prepositions confirms that Paul demonstrates a subtle differentiation between the spirit and God in their relation, and in those cases where God and the spirit fulfil the same functions *the spirit is the agent of God*.²⁸ The recognition of the agency of the spirit is a less than satisfactory point at which to end such a discussion, however. It is necessary to examine whether Paul understood the spirit in the same way as Hebrew and Jewish monotheism, where 1) the spirit was the dynamic extension of God's personality, and 2) the spirit was not separable from God, or whether he understood the spirit to possess a distinct identity from God.

2.3.1 *(In)Appropriate Categories of Interpretation*

The debate over the nature of the spirit's relation to God concerns whether the spirit should be thought of as the dynamic power of God, the effect by which God works, or whether it is more accurate to speak of the spirit in personal terms and attributed 'personhood.' Bultmann made the well-known and often cited distinction between the *animistic* understanding of the

²⁸ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 829-831.

spirit (a personal power) and the *dynamistic* understanding (an impersonal force).²⁹ Such a dichotomy is also commonly categorised as a hypostatic verses a dynamic conception, or an ontological verses functional conception.

The twin poles in this debate can be illustrated by the opposing conceptions of G. Lampe and G. Fee. Lampe can say that when speaking of the spirit ‘We are speaking of God himself, his personal presence, as active and related,’ and asserts that the spirit is not an ‘impersonal influence’ or a ‘hypostasis’ but the mode of God’s activity.³⁰ Fee views the spirit as God’s personal empowering presence, and can assert that the spirit is a person alongside God.³¹ Lampe has attempted to avoid the dynamistic conception of the spirit and its impersonal danger by identifying the spirit with God, while Fee has attempted to avoid the animistic conception of the spirit and its danger of removing the spirit too far from God by identifying the spirit as God’s own presence. Commendably, both positions have sought to resolve the tension between the antithetical animistic and dynamistic conceptions of the spirit.³² So it is necessary to query whether such antithetical categories as ‘animistic’ and ‘dynamistic,’ or ‘power’ and ‘person’ are appropriate to Paul’s framework of thought. The appeal to these categories ultimately stems from the wish to identify the spirit as the mode of God’s activity (power) or as distinct from God (person). As this thesis has maintained, the framework of the Unique Divine Identity posits that such antithetical categories are dialectical since function (power/dynamism) is determinative for identity (person/animism), and *vice versa*. This framework points to the necessity of resolving the debate concerning the spirit’s identity by reference to the spirit’s unique functions. Lampe has not observed the degree to which Paul credits unique functions to the spirit that distinguish the spirit from God, while Fee has not explained how the spirit’s identical functions with God do not distinguish the spirit from God.

2.3.2 *Identical Functions Include the Spirit within the Unique Divine Identity*

I have already demonstrated that the spirit is included within the Unique Divine Identity by fulfilling those creative and ruling activities that define who God is. But if the framework of the Unique Divine Identity posits that function is determinative for identity, the logic that since God and the spirit fulfil identical functions then it follows that the spirit is the mode of

²⁹ Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 Vols., (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 1.153-164, particularly 1.155.

³⁰ Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 208; cf. 11, 81.

³¹ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 827ff.

³² Cf. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 200-204, who accepts both descriptions of the spirit but still understands the spirit as personal (‘But Bultmann rightly makes a contrast between the two attitudes to the Spirit,’ 203).

God's activity and is not separable from God, appears attractive. But if Bauckham's thesis that Christ is also included within the Unique Divine Identity by fulfilling God's divine functions is upheld, then it must be recognised that reducing the spirit to the mode of God's activity may be reductionist or erroneous. At this point, we can only assert simply that the spirit is decisively conceived by Paul as standing *within* God's own Unique Divine Identity, and however the spirit is conceived must be determined by this parameter.

2.3.3 *Unique Functions Distinguish the Spirit within the Unique Divine Identity*

The frequency with which Paul can identify the spirit as the subject of verbal and participial phrases (1 Thess 5:19; Gal 5:16-18, 25; 6:8; 1 Cor 2:10-14; 3:16; 6:11; 12:11, 13; 2 Cor 3:6; 12:18; Rom 5:5, 7:6; 8:4, 14-16, 23, 26-27) necessitates that the question of the development of the spirit's identity can only be answered by recognising those distinctive and unique functions of the spirit that distinguish the spirit from God. I have demonstrated that Paul can conceive the spirit as knowing the mind *of God* (1 Cor 2:11) and, conversely, conceive of the spirit as possessing a mind which *God himself* can know (Rom 8:26-28).³³ Paul's cultic experience confirms the pattern whereby the spirit inspires worship directed towards God for the spirit can cry out to God (Gal 4:6). Paul's thought has expanded so that the spirit has emerged as relating to God as the object of worship and the recipient of the spirit's activity.³⁴ So, too, the spirit is the power who leads believers in their ethical walk, and is the present guarantee of the future resurrection.

³³ Since Paul does not present his thoughts on the nature of this relation anywhere else in his letters, these passages remain vital for any inquiry. The very nature of Paul's arguments resists the imposition of any hesitant hermeneutic that seeks to interpret Paul's language in a metaphorical manner for his thoughts are presented in straightforward discursive prose without reference to an analogy (at least in Rom 8:26-27), thus revealing the structures of Paul's thought regarding the relation between the spirit and God. There are, of course, similarities here with the argument of Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 827-845, particularly 834-836; *idem*, 'Paul and the Trinity,'; *idem*, 'Christology and Pneumatology,' yet it should be clear that my method of arriving at these conclusions are different to Fee. This also against Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 81. Noteworthy is the comment of Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 479-480, concerning the 'fascinating' conception of God and the spirit presented in Rom 8:27, 'Such was the tension within the Jewish concept of God already before Christian reworking of Jewish monotheism – "a kind of movement between God himself and his Spirit" (Michel). The fact that Jewish monotheism could encompass such a stretching of its twofold assertion of divine immanence and divine transcendence suggests that it had more room for the Christian reexpression in a trinitarian direction than is usually recognized.' I would make explicit here that it is indeed Paul's experience of prayer which is the impetus for 'the Christian reexpression.'

³⁴ Such expressions of worship produced by the spirit (e.g. inspired speech) is itself not a novel development, for as we have seen, such phenomena were seen to be produced by the spirit in the literature of the Hebrew Scriptures and in Judaism. Yet even though such inspiration was not previously evidence of a distinct identity of the spirit in this literature, Paul's conception of worship differs substantially in 1) view of the degree to which a *demarkation* is made in the relation between the spirit and God, and 2) the *prominence* that is given to the spirit's role within the community's devotion and worship. The spirit is at the forefront of the community's devotional experience and the corporate nature of the spirit's inspiration of the individual believer's participation in worship is a more evidential awareness of the distinctiveness of the spirit.

Recognising that Paul can credit the spirit with functions that are distinct from the functions of God himself results in the following conclusion.

‘Spirit’ and ‘God’ cannot be understood as denoting a singular identity, for doing so would be tautological and would amount to a reductionist reading since Paul’s language is inconsistent with the semantic and theological implications of mere synonymy. Paul himself invalidates the conception of the spirit as the mode of God’s activity or the extension of God’s personality for he distinguishes between the activity of God and the activity of the spirit by noting their distinct engagement *towards each other* through discernible functions in a fashion that goes well beyond mere personification. The differentiation between the mind of God and the mind of the spirit develops significantly the assertion that the spirit is the dynamic extension of God’s personality for *Paul’s language asserts a discernible individuation of the spirit’s own identity that can be comprehended by God himself*. Arguing otherwise would collapse Paul’s own pattern of thought. Paul’s language can be understood to give more definition to the spirit’s individual activity *vis-à-vis* God himself thus justifying the argument that the agency of the spirit in Paul does not mean the spirit is the mode of God’s activity. The logical differentiation between the spirit and God evidenced by distinctive functions must legitimise the conclusion that the spirit is distinct from God and the spirit is distinguished from the unique activity of God himself. If there are activities effected by the spirit towards God, then the spirit cannot be the mode of God’s activity.

This conclusion modifies the conception of the spirit in Hebrew and Jewish monotheism and present Paul as innovatively developing the identity of the spirit.³⁵ Within the Unique Divine Identity the spirit is presented by Paul as standing in relation to God in a way which maintains the intimate relation found in Hebrew and Jewish religion and yet significantly modifies this by affirming the distinctiveness of the spirit.³⁶ The consequence of

³⁵ If it is argued that the spirit was understood in Jewish monotheism as a hypostasis, then Paul’s conception of the ‘distinct’ identity of the spirit as an innovative development loses much of its force. However, the argument of this study has been that it is highly unlikely Paul would have understood the spirit to be a hypostasis in Jewish monotheism and he would have been consciously aware of the difference between this conception and that of personification (this against McGrath, *The Only True God*, 47ff). As I will argue below, the true exigency of the spirit’s development can be traced to the formative relation between the spirit and Christ.

³⁶ Schweizer implies such tautology when he defines the spirit as ‘the action of God himself...God himself at work granting us life and service...God himself at work within us,’ *The Holy Spirit*, 84-85. This sense to the spirit’s identity is the primary argument of Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 81, 208. Lampe is surely correct to remove Paul from the highly developed language and conception of the spirit reflected in the later creeds, particularly the doctrines of the Cappadocians and Augustine (210ff), yet his presumption that any development of the spirit’s identity as ‘deity’ is post-scriptural (217) does not recognise the early framework of Paul’s thought whereby the spirit’s relation to God within the Unique Divine Identity at least is a First Century AD attempt at framing the similar question. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 836 concludes, ‘There can be little question that Paul sees the Spirit as distinct from God.’ Fee’s argument would be stronger if he gave more attention to the Hebrew and Jewish background to Paul’s conception of the spirit and noted the development from the spirit as a mode of God’s activity towards his affirmation of distinction. This argument differs from that of Wainwright who argues that Paul’s conception of the spirit is in the same vein as the view of the spirit in Judaism: ‘The Spirit in Paul is

this for my discussion is an affirmation of the spirit's own individual identity in Paul for *if the spirit fulfils the same functions as God and yet is differentiated from God, then in Paul's thought the spirit has an individual identity that is distinct from God himself*. However, two caveats are necessary. Firstly, this claim does not mean that the spirit stands outside of God's own unique identity. Secondly, that the spirit is not worshipped directly but stands in relation to God in Paul's cultic experience through discernible functions reveals that the spirit is not the mode of God's activity. What at first appears to jeopardise the spirit's inclusion in the Unique Divine Identity actually reveals a distinction in the spirit's relation to God.³⁷ The affirmation of the spirit's distinct identity is a claim to an *expansion* of the unique identity within Paul's thought. The framework of the Unique Divine Identity has itself been expanded such that while the divine functions define *God's* unique identity, the spirit's participation necessitates that the framework itself has become an objective criterion for both God and the spirit.

Consequently, such debates concerning the nature of the spirit's existence, such as the dichotomies between power vs. person, dynamistic vs. animistic, hypostasis vs. dynamic, or ontology vs. function are anachronistic in relation to Paul since the categories and concepts associated with these ideas do not reflect the framework of Paul's thinking. For Paul, what the spirit does defines who the spirit is. More specifically, this thesis contributes to the debate concerning whether the spirit is purely divine power and action, or exists as personal, by bringing into focus the spirit's relational activity, for since the spirit fulfils the same functions as God but also is both the subject and object of activity towards God (e.g. the spirit knows

very much on a par with these Judaistic concepts. The Spirit of God leads men and drives them, but there is little suggestion that the Spirit responds to God. Even when Paul describes the Spirit as making intercession, the Spirit does this through the mouth of man, when he enables a man to pray,' *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 220, cf. 223. Wainwright has not taken due note of the degree to which Paul individualises the activity of the spirit in relation to God and minimises the specific activity of the spirit by subsuming the spirit's activity within the believer's act of prayer. This leads to his conclusion that 'Paul's language about the Spirit can be understood only when we realize that he had not truly isolated the Spirit as a distinct person,' (220). This is true if we are using the language of 'person' yet my exegesis clearly does isolate the distinctive activity of the spirit in relation to God himself, and at least opens the avenue for pursuing Paul's use of language as evidence of his perception of the spirit's distinctiveness.

³⁷ Even though the spirit never receives exclusive worship from the believer, the degree to which the spirit featured as the power of cultic worship strengthens the spirit's inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity, despite the spirit never fulfilling a key feature of Cultic Monotheism. Worship was a response to, and recognition of, God as creator and ruler. Paul and his communities' experience of the spirit must, by association, recognise that since the spirit was active in the worship experience itself – the spirit was sovereign as the giver of gifts and inspired the believers' confession and prayer – then pragmatically the spirit functioned as creator and ruler in their experience. The spirit's function as agent of God and Christ seemed to necessitate that the spirit's identity had not developed to a point where neither Paul nor his communities offered explicit worship directed to the spirit for such activity would have *reshaped* their own experience of worship offered to God and Christ through the spirit.

the mind of God, and God knows the mind of the spirit), then how we speak of God must equally apply to the spirit.³⁸

Though the argument for the spirit's distinct identity from God is not a novel argument within scholarship, it is the concept of the Unique Divine Identity which resolves much of the tension that is involved in the debate for as this thesis has demonstrated, following the work of Richard Bauckham, the concept of God in Hebrew and Jewish religion is not reducible to a question of numbers, as a modern concept of monotheism would imply, but rests upon the specific functions that are integral to defining the Unique Identity of God. That Paul can affirm the spirit's participation in those same creative and ruling functions which categorise God as unique while at the same time affirming the spirit's unique activity and identity alongside God is only considered a logical paradox if the *a priori* concept of monotheism, with its strict numerical basis, determines the discussion.³⁹ Indeed, the affirmation of plurality within the identity of God is an integral component of who God is according to Paul's Jewish antecedents. Paul does not demonstrate any hesitancy to ascribe such unique functions to the spirit nor to indicate any breach of his commitment to the one God of Israel (and the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ) by differentiating the spirit from God.

2.4 Summary

I have demonstrated that within Paul's thought there has emerged a development in the spirit's identity in relation to God. While the spirit and God have been observed to fulfil many of the same functions, a closer analysis has revealed that the spirit often stood as the agent by which God fulfilled such functions. There also emerged a pattern within Paul's thought that demonstrated the spirit's distinctive functions within the Unique Divine Identity, mediating the believer's experience of worship, prayer, revelation and ethical behaviour which are

³⁸ This comment finds affinity with Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*.

³⁹ It is necessary to (again) clarify my use of the term 'identity' for the assertion that the spirit now possesses a distinct 'identity' from God *within* the Unique Divine Identity needs explanation. I have previously offered two distinct senses to the term 'identity.' Identity₁ denotes the framework of the 'Unique Divine Identity' which distinguishes the *source* of the divine activity from all other reality. Identity₂ denotes the *agency* of the spirit and identifies those unique functions that distinguish the spirit from God (and Christ). To assert that the spirit is included within the Unique Divine 'Identity' but now possesses a distinct 'identity' is to use the term 'identity' with these two distinguishable senses. God is the source of the divine activity that distinguishes himself from all other reality. The spirit is the agent of God who fulfils such divine activity but who *also* can be distinguished from God through unique functions. The essential point is that such unique functions that distinguish the spirit from God do not qualify the spirit to be understood as an intermediary being (like exalted patriarchs or principal angels) but as standing clearly on the side of God, for the spirit still fulfils those specific creative and ruling activities that define the Unique Divine Identity (Identity₁) but expressed in the spirit's independent action, often, *towards* God. This does not also mean that the spirit stands alongside God in the sense that the spirit is not subservient to God but it does recognise the degree to which the spirit's 'identity' (Identity₂) is distinct from God's 'identity' (Identity₂) within the Unique Divine Identity (Identity₁) such that the spirit can be discerned to produce particular unique functions that do not find their origin in God as their source.

offered to God. In a concise statement, the spirit fulfils those unique functions which include the spirit within the Unique Divine Identity of God and yet the spirit fulfils alternative unique functions that differentiates the spirit from God within the Unique Divine Identity.⁴⁰ Since the determining criterion of identity is function, then the spirit's unique functions emerge as the means of identifying the spirit's unique identity. Consequently, the spirit is not the mode of God's activity and the spirit is distinguished from God the Father such that he conceives of the spirit as the mediating agent between the believer and God. Paul has included the spirit within the Unique Divine Identity *of God* but has distinguished the spirit from *the Father*, which does not break the boundaries of Paul's Christian monotheism, but stands as a novel *development* and *expansion* of the Unique Divine Identity.⁴¹

3. The Relation Between the Spirit and Christ

I have demonstrated the extent to which God and the spirit are seen to fulfil the identical functions within Paul's worldview. I have also demonstrated particular instances where Paul has distinguished the spirit's unique functions from God. The consequence of this argument is that the spirit is distinguished from God. The present task is to now examine the relation between the spirit and Christ and to query whether Paul differentiates the spirit from Christ.⁴²

⁴⁰ It should be noted that in Bauckham's own work, it is inferred that the spirit is a personification or a characteristic of God since his analysis of the spirit is not developed beyond the Hebrew and Jewish contexts. It is precisely at this point in which my own development of Bauckham's framework is evident. This gives a more holistic picture of the framework of the Unique Divine Identity.

⁴¹ This conclusion must identify the potential criticism that the multifarious nature of Second Temple Judaism, and the ambiguity of the relation between Jewish monotheism and intermediary figures, weakens any sense of development in Paul's Christian monotheism. This becomes acute if in fact the spirit was already conceived in Jewish monotheism as standing apart from God as a separable agent. While my argument has been that it is most likely that the spirit was conceived as the extension of God's own personality in both Hebrew and Jewish religion, and this milieu was formative for the Pre-Christian Paul, the degree of differentiation between the spirit and God reflected in Paul's letters finds its origin in his Christian experience (e.g. cultic worship) and in his identification of the spirit as the spirit of Christ (see below). This at least signals the stronger possibility that Paul's Christian thought and experience is demarcated from his Jewish context. Moreover, it could be asserted that Paul's letters do not hint that Paul's Jewish or Jewish-Christian opponents found Paul's particular conception of the spirit problematic, and thereby inferring that no development characterised Paul's view of the spirit (Dunn makes this precise point in his review of Fatehi). While any historical reconstruction has its risks, this form of criticism is an argument from silence and makes inferential claims – the very same line of reasoning which presumes that the Pre-Christian Paul held a particular conception of the spirit as the extension of God's personality. What shifts the probability in favour of my argument is the weight of the evidence reflected in my interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures and the literature of Second Temple Judaism. Finally, it is possible that Paul's conception of the spirit was influenced by the early Christian communities which existed prior to Paul (e.g. the churches in Jerusalem and Antioch), and indeed the particular co-writers of the letters attributed to Paul, two points which press how unique Paul's view of the spirit's relation to God truly was. Again, there is no explicit evidence to support such an inferential argument, but such perspectives do emphasise caution when addressing the question of development in Paul's Christian reflection on the spirit's relation to God. I am once again indebted to Dr Ian J. Elmer for his clarificatory remarks on these issues.

⁴² I proceed on the basis that Christ is also included within the Unique Divine Identity. This latter claim is clearly beyond the parameters of this thesis to defend but the relation between the spirit and Christ is itself a significant question concerning Christ's own relation to God on the basis that the spirit is so understood as the spirit of God himself. See the important studies by Turner, 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 413-436; Fee,

From the outset it must be noted that in an *innovative* and *novel development*, Paul identifies the spirit as ‘the spirit of Christ’ (Rom 8:9), ‘the spirit of his [God’s] Son’ (Gal 4:6), and ‘the spirit of Jesus Christ’ (Phil 1:19). This identification is in fact what most clearly differentiates Paul’s conception of the spirit from his Jewish antecedents. Examining this relation is therefore essential if an adequate understanding of the spirit’s identity in Paul is to be established, particularly in view of an observable trend in scholarship that seeks to push this relation to one of identity.⁴³ A significant justification for this assertion of the relation between Christ and the spirit is the recognition that Christ and the spirit fulfil identical functions, often reflected in Paul’s nomenclature of ‘in Christ’ and ‘in the spirit.’⁴⁴ What this debate necessitates is a re-examination of the relation between function and identity so as to give greater clarity to the relation between Christ and the spirit. Following the same line of reasoning adhered to in the relation between the spirit and God within the context of the Unique Divine Identity, I shall firstly note those functions of the spirit that are also fulfilled by Christ, and also examine those functions that are unique to the spirit. I then conclude with a discussion on the specific nature of the spirit’s relation to Christ.

3.1 The Identical Functions of the Spirit and Christ

The designations of the spirit as the spirit of Christ (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:9; Phil 1:19) affirm that Paul understood some form of dynamic relation between Christ and the spirit. This language

‘Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,’ 312-331; and Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*.

⁴³ As noted in my introduction, this group of scholars is often identified with the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (inclusive of Gunkel [*The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 111-116], Deissmann [*Paul*, 138-142], and Bousset [*Kyrios Christos*, 160-163]). This group also includes more recent participation by Hermann [*Kyrios und Pneuma*], Lampe [*God as Spirit*, esp. 5-6], Isaacs [*The Concept of Spirit*, 113-124], Hamilton [*The Holy Spirit*, 3-16], and Dunn, though each of their respective arguments are nuanced enough to be distinctively differentiated in their approach. Dunn’s position, which spans a variegated range of publications which in themselves address broader themes, affirms the identification of Christ and the spirit in the believer’s experience but does stop short of affirming the merging of identities in their being, e.g. ‘He [Paul] experienced God by the Spirit. He experienced the exalted Christ through the Spirit. This does not mean that they are identical in all their functions (far less their “beings”)...It only means that they are identical in experience,’ ‘2 Corinthians 3:17 – “The Lord is the Spirit”,’ 125. Yet it is curious that the logical differentiation between ‘experience’ and ‘being’ is enough to allow Dunn to escape the same criticisms as the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. Dunn’s position gains a more emphatic tone as his publications increased, which gives the strong impression that he gives more focus to the degree in which Christ and the spirit are equated beyond that simply of the believer’s experience and yet in a 2006 article states ‘*Whereas Wisdom and Word could be wholly identified with or as Christ, the Spirit remained distinct from Christ*,’ ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ (16, emphasis original), and can state in his *Theology of Paul the Apostle* that Christ and the spirit are ‘closely identified, but not completely,’ (264). Note also similar comments of Dunn by Turner, ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology,’ 417, fn. 15. For a more specific analysis of their respective approaches, see Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 831-834; *idem*, ‘Christology and Pneumatology,’ 312ff. A general introduction to many of the issues associated with the spirit’s relation to Christ in Paul can be observed in Victor C. Pfitzner, ‘The Spirit of the Lord: The Christological Focus of Pauline Pneumatology,’ *St Mark’s Review* 178 (1999): 3-11.

⁴⁴ Even scholars who do not explicitly argue for a merging or equation of Christ and the spirit often simply note that there is a ‘close relation’ e.g. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 196; Fee, ‘Christology and Pneumatology,’ 312ff.

of the spirit's relation to Christ stands in parallel to Paul's language of the spirit as the spirit of God. As I have demonstrated, there is a dynamic movement from God to the believer that is fulfilled by the reality of the spirit, so too there is justification to assert a dynamic movement from Christ to the believer. Paul understands that Christ indwells the believer individually, and the church corporately: Christ lives in Paul (Gal 2:20); Christ dwells in the Corinthian (2 Cor 13:5) and Roman communities (Rom 8:10) both individually and corporately; and Paul tells the Galatians that God has sent the 'spirit of his son' into their hearts (Gal 4:6). Not only is there a movement from Christ to the believer, but the believer has fellowship or union with Christ in return: the Corinthian believers have fellowship with Christ (1 Cor 1:9) and are united with Christ (1 Cor 6:17) and are in Christ (1 Cor 1:30). This movement from Christ to the believer, and the return movement from the believer to Christ parallels the believer's experience of the indwelling of the Spirit (Gal 3:2, 5, 14; Rom 8:9, 11; 1 Cor 2:12; 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor 1:22; 3:3, 16-18; 5:5; 11:4), the fellowship of the spirit (2 Cor 13:13[14]; Phil 1:27; 2:1, 2) and the unity of the spirit (1 Cor 12:12-14).⁴⁵ Just as Christ is in the believer (Rom 8:10) so too is the spirit in the believer (1 Cor 3:16; 1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 1:22; Rom 8:9, 11).

The preliminary observation is that Paul conceives of two simultaneous experiences of indwelling – of Christ and of the spirit. It is arguable that the most tenable means of explaining this reality in Paul is to take Paul's description of the spirit as 'the spirit of Christ' (Rom 8:9), 'the spirit of his [God's] Son' (Gal 4:6), and 'the spirit of Jesus Christ' (Phil 1:19) as reflecting his perception of the spirit as mediating the presence of Christ to the believer that is modelled after the spirit's relation to God.⁴⁶ This preliminary conclusion appears substantiated by 1 Cor 6:17 ('whoever is united with the Lord is one with him by the spirit'), and Rom 8:9 ('if anyone does not have the spirit of Christ, they do not belong to Christ'). If this movement from Christ > spirit > believer > spirit > Christ is correct, it explains why Paul conceives of Christ and the spirit fulfilling the same functions.⁴⁷ Once again, in order to investigate these identical functions, the framework of the Unique Divine Identity will be used.

⁴⁵ There is debate concerning whether the fellowship of the spirit should be understood as a subject or objective genitive, that is, whether the fellowship is directly with the spirit or whether the fellowship is that which the spirit creates within the Christian community. For an argument in favour of the objective interpretation, see George Panikulam, *Koinōnia in the New Testament: A Dynamic Expression of Christian Life*, Analecta biblica 85 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979), 58-79.

⁴⁶ So the arguments of Turner, 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology'; Hui, 'The Concept of the Holy Spirit'; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*.

⁴⁷ In this way I agree with Hamilton (*The Holy Spirit*, 6-7) that there is a 'pattern of redemptive action: from the Lord – through the Spirit – to the believer' but I draw differing conclusions regarding the significance of this framework for the identity of the spirit. Hamilton argues that the dynamic identity of function means that 'through redemptive action the Spirit and the Lord are identified' (7) and 'For purposes of communicating redemption the Lord and the Spirit are one' (8).

3.1.1 Creational Monotheism

A) Paul can conceive of Christ and the spirit as operative in the new creation. Paul can state ‘if anyone is in Christ, the new creation has come’ (2 Cor 5:17) and yet also identify walking according to the spirit (Gal 5:13-6:10) as the means by which believers practically outwork the rule that what matters is living according to the new creation (Gal 6:15-16).

B) In the believer’s experience of conversion the gospel which Paul – as a minister of Christ Jesus (1 Cor 1:1, 17; Rom 15:16) – proclaims to the Gentiles is the gospel of Christ (Gal 1:7; 1 Thess 3:2; 1 Cor 9:12; 2 Cor 2:12; 9:13; 10:14; Rom 1:9; 15:19; Phil 1:27; cf. 2 Cor 1:19), and proclaims that Jesus Christ is Lord (1 Cor 1:2; 12:3; 2 Cor 4:5; Rom 1:1-6; 10:9-10; cf. 1 Cor 15:1ff; Rom 14:9; 16:25; Phil 2:9-11). Paul has claimed to see the risen Lord himself (1 Cor 9:1) for God revealed Christ to him in his transformation experience (Gal 1:11-12, 15-16). Accompanying Paul’s proclamation of the gospel of Christ as Lord is the reality of faith in Christ that is generated within the heart of believers (Gal 2:15-21; 3:1-5, 14, 22-26; 5:5; 1 Cor 1:21; 2:5; 15:14-17; Rom 1:5-6, 16-17; 3:22-31; 4:1ff, esp. 24; 5:1-2; 9:30; 10:4, 6, 8-11, 14; 16:26; Phil 1:29; Philem 5) for ‘faith comes from hearing the message, and the message is heard through the word about Christ’ (Rom 10:17). Paul can also identify the spirit as integral to the conversion experience of those who accept the gospel message with faith (Gal 3:2-5; 1 Thess 1:4-6; 1 Cor 2:4-5; 12:13; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; 11:4; Rom 8:15; 15:16-18) for believers have the ‘same spirit of faith’ (2 Cor 4:13). The identical functions of Christ and the spirit converge in Gal 2:15-21; 3:2-5, 14; 1 Cor 6:11; 2 Cor 11:4; Phil 1:27 which identify the participation of both Christ and the spirit in the presentation of the gospel to the Gentiles and in their conversion. Faith in Christ is equated with the possession of the spirit.

C) Paul can identify both Christ (e.g. Gal 1:3; 6:14, 18; 1 Cor 1:2-3, 7-9; 5:4-5; 6:11; 12:3; 2 Cor 1:2-3; 4:5; Rom 1:4, 7; 5:1, 11, 21; 6:23; 10:9-10; 14:9; Phil 2:9-11) and the spirit (2 Cor 3:16-18) as Lord in the believers’ experience. Christ as Lord is the content of their confession of faith (1 Cor 12:3; Rom 10:9-10) which results in their submission to the authority of Christ as Lord of all. In parallel, the spirit is identified as ‘Lord’ (2 Cor 3:16-18) and in their experience functions as the authoritative moral guide since believers walk (Gal 5:16; Rom 8:4), are led by (Gal 5:18; Rom 8:14), keep in step with (Gal 5:25), and live by (Gal 5:25; Rom 8:9-11, 13) the spirit.

D) Paul understands that Christ grants righteousness through his death and resurrection (Gal 2:15-21; 1 Cor 1:30; 2 Cor 5:21; Rom 3:22; Phil 3:9-11; cf. Phil 1:11). Righteousness is a gift that is tied closely in his thought to eternal life (Gal 3:21-24; Rom 4:22-25; 5:15-21; 8:10; cf. Rom 6:13, 16). Prior to Paul’s transformation the law was the

medium of righteousness (Phil 3:6, 9; cf. Gal 5:4), but Christ is now the culmination of the law so that through him righteousness is given to all who believe (Rom 10:4; cf. Gal 2:21). In parallel, Paul also identifies the spirit as producing righteousness (Rom 14:17) now that Christ has superseded the law, for in the new covenant the ministry of the spirit brings righteousness (2 Cor 3:8-9) and the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in those who walk according to the spirit (Rom 8:4). The future guarantee of righteousness is assured by the present experience of the spirit (Gal 5:5) who will give life because of righteousness (Rom 8:10). Paul can summarise his thought on the role of Christ and the spirit in righteousness by stating that the Corinthians were 'justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the spirit of our God' (1 Cor 6:11).

E) Sanctification is given to Gentiles in Christ (1 Cor 1:2; Rom 6:22-23; cf. 1 Thess 4:3, 4, 7; 5:23) and also by the holy spirit (Rom 15:16), which conjoin in Paul's description of the Corinthians' experience in 1 Cor 6:11. Noteworthy is Paul's description of the spirit as the *holy* spirit (1 Thess 1:5, 6; 4:8; 1 Cor 6:19; 12:3; 2 Cor 6:6; 13:13; Rom 5:5; 9:1; 14:17; 15:13, 16; the 'spirit of holiness' Rom 1:4) which identifies holiness and sanctification as key aspects of the spirit's function in relation to the status of believers as 'the saints.'⁴⁸

F) The believer's status as righteous and sanctified overlaps with Paul's understanding of the Law of Christ which is expressed in concrete community behaviour as the fruit of the spirit. This is the major thrust of Paul's argument in Gal 5:13-6:10 (cf. Rom 7:1-8:39). If the Galatians demonstrate the fruits of the spirit then they fulfil the law of Christ (Gal 6:2).

G) Such qualities that occur in Paul's list of the fruit of the spirit (such as love, joy and peace) elsewhere are ascribed to both Christ and the spirit. The love of God is demonstrated in Christ (Rom 5:8; 8:39) and in the spirit (Rom 5:5). The love of Christ functioned as an important motivation in Paul's life, faith and ministry such that Paul knows that Christ loved him (Gal 2:20), finds comfort from Christ's love (Phil 2:1), and is compelled by Christ's love in his ministry (2 Cor 5:14), and he understands that he cannot be separated from the love of Christ (Rom 8:35). Such direct awareness of Christ's love parallels Paul's own awareness of the love that the spirit inspires, a love that aids Paul in his ministry (Rom 15:30). Grace and peace come from Christ (Gal 1:3; 1 Thess 1:1; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Rom 1:7; Phil 1:2), peace with God is through Christ (Rom 5:1-2) and yet peace with God is also through the spirit (Rom 8:6; 14:17). Believers rejoice in Christ (Phil 3:1) and experience joy in the spirit (Rom 14:17). Furthermore, though it is not listed in Paul's fruit of the spirit, hope is placed in Christ (1 Thess 1:3; 1 Cor 15:19) and hope is by the power of the spirit (Gal 5:5; Rom 5:5; 15:13).

⁴⁸ 1 Thess 3:13; 1 Cor 1:2; 6:1, 2; 14:33; 16:1, 15; 2 Cor 1:1; 8:4; 9:1, 12; 13:12; Rom 1:7; 8:27; 12:13; 15:25-26, 31; 16:2, 15; Phil 1:1; 4:21-22; Philem 5, 7.

H) Paul views the human mind as functioning under the inspiration of both Christ and the spirit. Believers have the mind of Christ (1 Cor 2:16) which denotes their comprehension of the wisdom of the gospel of Christ, and parallels the revelation of the gospel by the spirit (1 Cor 2:10-15). The peace of God also guards the minds of those who are in Christ (Phil 4:7) and the mind of the believer is controlled by the spirit (Rom 8:5, 6; cf. Phil 2:2). Paul can conceive of the mind of Christ (1 Cor 2:16) and the mind of the spirit (Rom 8:27) such that believers can speak under the inspiration of Christ (2 Cor 2:17; Rom 9:1) and the spirit (1 Cor 12:3).

3.1.2 Cultic Monotheism

The cultic experience of believers also reflects the parallel functions of Christ and the spirit:

A) Paul identifies intercession to God on behalf of believers as fulfilled by Christ (Rom 8:34) and also by the spirit (Rom 8:26-27), and he can urge the Philippians to stand firm in Christ (Phil 4:1) just as they stand firm in the one spirit (Phil 1:27).

B) Believers cry to God as ‘Abba, Father’ by the spirit (Gal 4:6-7; Rom 8:14-17) which correlates to Jesus’ own experience of sonship (cf. Mark 14:36), such that believers are co-heirs with Christ as children of God (Gal 4:7; Rom 8:16-17). Paul himself can appeal to Christ for the removal of the thorn in his flesh (2 Cor 12:8-9) and understands that believers call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ (1 Cor 1:2). Indeed believers can appeal to both God and Christ in their experience of prayer (1 Thess 3:11-13). Paul understands that through the Philippians’ ‘prayers and the supply of the spirit of Jesus Christ’ (Phil 1:19) that his imprisonment will result in his deliverance.⁴⁹ While Christ is not the object of the prayer (it is God), this reference illustrates that prayer fulfils Paul’s desire for the presence of Christ by the spirit. Paul can also urge the Romans to unity and prayer towards God *through* the Lord Jesus Christ and *through* the love of the spirit (Rom 15:30).⁵⁰

C) Paul conceives of the church in a variety of metaphors that speak of its relation to both Christ and the spirit; the church is both the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:13, 27; Rom 12:4-5; cf. Gal 3:28) and the temple of the holy spirit (1 Cor 3:16; cf. 1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16); the Corinthian believers are a letter from Christ written not with ink but with the spirit (2 Cor 3:3). Furthermore, Jesus is Lord of the believer (1 Cor 1:9; 12:3) and Lord over the church (1 Cor 1:2; 8:6; 12:5; Rom 1:4, 7; 10:9ff; 14:9), and the spirit is ‘lord’ in the believer’s

⁴⁹ I have previously taken the genitive ‘of Jesus Christ’ as objective since the larger focus is on the Philippians’ prayer to God, who responds by supplying the spirit of Christ in order for Paul to persevere in his suffering just as Christ also suffered. Thus Christ does not supply the spirit but rather the spirit mediates the presence of Christ to Paul through the Philippians’ prayers for in this way Christ is present to Paul by the spirit.

⁵⁰ Rom 15:30 demonstrates the possibility that Paul understood 1 Thess 3:12-13 to be fulfilled by the reality of the spirit.

experience of conversion (2 Cor 3:16-18), consequently, the church follows the guidance and leading of the spirit (1 Cor 12:1-13; 14:1-40). This is evident in ethical matters relating to the Law of Christ (Gal 5:16-6:10; Rom 8:1-17), advice concerning marriage (1 Cor 7:10, 12, 25, 40), in the confession of Christ as Lord (1 Cor 12:3), and in baptism and the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 10:1-4).

3.1.3 Eschatological Monotheism

The predominant overlap between Christ and the spirit within Eschatological Monotheism is observed in Paul's conception of eternal life. Paul's letters reflect a strong correlation between the roles of Christ and the spirit in assuring and giving eternal life. Eternal life is given through Christ's own resurrection (1 Cor 15:20-23; Rom 5:21; 6:4-11, 23; cf. 2 Cor 4:10-15; Phil 1:23) as well as through the spirit (Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:44-46; 2 Cor 3:6; Rom 8:2, 6, 10, 11, 13) such that Paul can summarise his thought on the role of Christ and the spirit in eternal life by stating to the Romans that 'through Christ Jesus the law of the spirit of life has set you free from the law of sin and death' (Rom 8:2). Paul ascribes the metaphor of 'firstfruits', which relates to the guarantee of the forthcoming harvest of eternal life, to both Christ (1 Cor 15:20, 23) and the spirit (Rom 8:23). As this thesis has maintained, Paul conceives of eternal life more concretely as resurrection of the body. Paul's conception of the bodily resurrection finds its origin in the resurrection of Christ which guarantees the resurrection of all believers following death (1 Cor 6:14; 15:1ff; Rom 1:3-4; Phil 3:9-11). Just as eternal life comes through Christ, and just as the spirit raised Christ from the dead (1 Cor 15:44-46; Rom 1:3-4; 8:11), so too it is the spirit who is the power of the resurrection of all believers (1 Cor 15:44-46; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Rom 8:2, 9-11, 13, 23).

3.1.4 The Relevance of Prepositions for Identifying the Spirit's Agency

These numerous examples demonstrate those identical functions fulfilled by both Christ and the spirit. But once again it is necessary to pay particular attention to Paul's language to further nuance his perception of the spirit's specific activity. As I have argued, in those particular instances where the spirit and God fulfil identical functions, Paul's use of prepositions distinguished the spirit as the agent of God. So too when Paul denotes the spirit's relation to Christ, his use of prepositions makes most coherent sense if the spirit functions as the agent of Christ.⁵¹

⁵¹ Once again, on the sense and use of prepositions, see Harris, *Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament*.

Paul can demarcate between Christ and the spirit in conversion by identifying Jesus as the content of the gospel message and the received spirit as the dynamic experience of conversion itself (2 Cor 11:4). It is ‘*through* Christ Jesus’ (ἐν) and ‘*from* faith in Christ’ (ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, Gal 2:16) that Gentiles *through* faith (διὰ) and ‘*from* the hearing of faith’ (ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως, Gal 3:2) receive the promise of the spirit from God (Gal 3:14). The gospel message of Christ crucified is received *by* a demonstration of the spirit (ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος, 1 Cor 2:4). Consequentially, believers are washed, sanctified and justified ‘*in* (ἐν) the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and *by* (ἐν) the spirit of our God’ (1 Cor 6:11). This sanctification is *in* (ἐν) Christ (1 Cor 1:2) and *by* (ἐν) the spirit (Rom 15:16). Believers cry ‘Abba, Father’ *by* (ἐν) the spirit (Gal 4:6-7; Rom 8:14-17) – the same cry which identifies believers as co-heirs with Christ as children of God – and believers confess the Lordship of Christ *by* (ἐν) the holy spirit (1 Cor 12:3). Paul can urge believers to prayer *through* (διὰ) the Lord Jesus Christ and *through* (διὰ) the love of the spirit (Rom 15:30). The love of God is both *in* (ἐν) Christ Jesus (Rom 8:39) and *through* (διὰ) the holy spirit (Rom 5:5). The mind of Christ (1 Cor 2:16) is equated with the wisdom of God that is given *through* (διὰ) and *by* (ἐν) the spirit (1 Cor 2:10, 13), the spirit who is *from* (ἐκ) God (1 Cor 2:12). Believers live in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ by standing firm ‘*by* the one spirit’ (ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, Phil 1:27). Just as in marriage two shall become (εἷς) one flesh, so are believers joined together with Christ through the spirit (1 Cor 6:16-17) for it is the spirit who is the means of the believer’s union with Christ. Similarly, the key point of connection between Paul’s metaphors of the church as the temple of the holy spirit and the body of Christ is 1 Cor 12:13 where all believers are baptised *by* (ἐν) the one spirit to form the body of Christ; this in view of the fact that Paul states in Rom 12:5 that ‘*in* Christ’ (ἐν) believers form one body. This is also paralleled in Paul’s metaphor of the church as a letter which is sent from Christ yet written not with ink but with the spirit (2 Cor 3:3), a community no longer defined by observance of the Mosaic Law but by the presence of the spirit.⁵² The church lives out in practice the law of Christ if they walk, are led by, and keep in step with the spirit (all dative expressions which point to the instrumentality of the spirit), for the spirit *stands in opposition to* (κατὰ) the flesh, that is, the way of the Mosaic Law (Gal 5:13-6:10). Since the church is Christ’s body, Christ himself directs the community of believers through the spirit’s manifestation of the charismata: the gifts are distributed *through* (διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, 1 Cor 12:8), *according to* (κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, 1 Cor 12:8) and *by* (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι/ἐν τῷ

⁵² Though Paul never directly denotes this activity of Christ and the spirit through prepositions but through the genitive and dative case (respectively), the following addition ‘not on (ἐν) tablets of stone but on (ἐν) tablets of human hearts’ (2 Cor 3:3) confirms the same sense of activity located within the believer’s heart.

ἐνὶ πνεύματι, 1 Cor 12:9) the one spirit *for* the common good (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, 1 Cor 12:7). Moreover, Paul understands that both Christ and the spirit play an integral role in granting eternal life to believers. The resurrection of the dead comes *through* the man Christ (δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν) for *in* Christ all will be made alive (ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται, 1 Cor 15:20-22). Eternal life is *through* Jesus Christ (εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, Rom 5:21) and eternal life is the gift of God *in* Christ Jesus (τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, Rom 6:23) which results with believers counting themselves alive to God *in* Christ Jesus (ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Rom 6:11).⁵³ Similarly, God will raise believers from the dead *through* his spirit (διὰ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, Rom 8:11) if *by* the spirit they put to death the misdeeds of the body (κατά...εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε, Rom 8:13) for the spirit gives life (τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωή, Rom 8:10; cf. 2 Cor 3:6). Believers will reap eternal life *from* the spirit (ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος) if they sow *to* the spirit (εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα, Gal 6:8).

Finally, when Paul states that the Corinthians are united with Christ by means of the one spirit (ἐν πνευμά ἐστιν, 1 Cor 6:17), and the Romans experience both Christ (εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8:10) as well as the spirit (εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8:9; εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα...οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν/διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8:11) dwelling *in* (ἐν) them, and claims they are simultaneously '*in* Christ' (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Rom 8:1-2) and '*in* the spirit' (ἐν πνεύματι, Rom 8:9), he continues to distinguish the spirit using prepositions. This demonstrates that the spirit is the means by which Christ is present to the believer and the means by which the believer is united with Christ.

Thus Paul utilises prepositions in order to demarcate the specific activity of Christ and the spirit and this satisfactorily explains the same functions that are ascribed to both Christ and the spirit and also the movement from Christ > spirit > believer and from believer > spirit > Christ that is evidenced in Paul.⁵⁴

3.1.5 Paul's Use of the Expressions 'In Christ' and 'In the Spirit'

A common feature of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* was to argue that the phrases 'in Christ' and 'in the spirit' are deliberately used by Paul as parallel formulas, and from this

⁵³ Whatever the particular sense of the preposition ἐν, whether locative ('in') or instrumental ('through'), the agency of Christ is paramount in Paul's reflection.

⁵⁴ Gunkel himself admits that 'There is no doubt that in some passages Paul alternates the two sequences of ideas [activities of Christ and the spirit] in such a fashion that he conceives the Spirit as proceeding from Christ,' *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 112.

observation they conclude that the identities of Christ and the spirit merge in his thought.⁵⁵ It is necessary to examine whether Paul uses the expression ‘in the spirit’ as some kind of formula.

The 26 occurrences of the preposition ἐν which stand in some relation to πνεῦμα suggests that there does exist a consistent Pauline usage of ἐν with πνεύματι which forms the basis of the expression ‘in/by the spirit.’⁵⁶ While it is possible that we can agree *in principle* with Fee that ἐν πνεύματι functions for Paul as some kind of ‘formula’ – since the grammatical pattern is clearly repeated – what appears neglected is the question of the meaning of ἐν.⁵⁷ The well-known difficulty in translating ἐν as instrumental (‘by’) or locative (‘in’), while a legitimate interpretative challenge, can be minimised if it is recognised that Paul’s language of the spirit makes more sense when understood as denoting the spirit’s activity *as agent*. Whether an interpreter opts for the locative ‘in the spirit’ or the instrumental ‘by the spirit,’ the dominant *meaning* of the expression is the action of the spirit.⁵⁸ This

⁵⁵ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 111-116; Deissmann, *Paul*, 138-142; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 160-163.

⁵⁶ I include only those references to πνεῦμα that denote the spirit of God, not the human spirit (e.g. Rom 1:9; Gal 6:1):

ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν, Gal 3:5; ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, 1 Thess 1:5; ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος, 1 Cor 2:4; ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, 1 Cor 2:13; ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, 1 Cor 6:11; ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐστίν, 1 Cor 6:19; ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ/ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, 1 Cor 12:3; ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι/ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι, 1 Cor 12:9; ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, 1 Cor 12:11; ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, 1 Cor 12:13; εὐλογίης [ἐν] πνεύματι, 1 Cor 14:16; δὸς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, 2 Cor 1:22; ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος ἔσται ἐν δόξῃ, 2 Cor 3:8; ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, 2 Cor 6:6; ἐν πνεύματι, Rom 2:29; ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος, Rom 7:6; ἐν πνεύματι/πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8:9; τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8:11; ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας ἐν ᾧ κρᾶζομεν· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ, Rom 8:15; ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, Rom 9:1; ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, Rom 14:17; ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἀγίου, Rom 15:13; ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, Rom 15:16; ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος, Rom 15:19; ὅτι στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, Phil 1:27.

Of these occurrences, only 1 Thess 1:5 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ), 1 Cor 6:11 (ἐν τῷ πνεύματι), 1 Cor 12:3 (ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ/ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ), 1 Cor 12:9 (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι/ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι), 1 Cor 12:13 (ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι), 1 Cor 14:16 (εὐλογίης [ἐν] πνεύματι), 2 Cor 6:6 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ); Rom 2:29 (ἐν πνεύματι), Rom 8:9 (ἐν πνεύματι), Rom 9:1 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ), Rom 14:17 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ), Rom 15:16 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ) and Phil 1:27 (ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι) demonstrate ἐν with the dative πνεύματι. There are 15 occurrences in all. Furthermore, Paul can use the dative πνεύματι without the use of the preposition ἐν (Gal 3:3; Gal 5:5, 16, 18, 25[x2]; 1 Cor 14:2; 2 Cor 3:3; 2 Cor 12:18; Rom 8:13, 14; Phil 3:3) and in these cases the sense appears to denote the instrumentality of the spirit. See Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 21, fn. 20. For the fuller discussion see 21-24.

⁵⁷ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 21-24.

⁵⁸ Coincidentally, the potential danger of the locative reading is that the focus of the expression shifts from the activity of the spirit to the ‘realm’ or ‘space’ within which the believer is positioned – resulting in a rather ambiguous notion of the spirit’s activity. The exception appears to be Rom 8:9 where the emphasis rests upon the believer’s position in relation to the spirit as opposed to the flesh (ἐν σαρκί), but the locative reading, even of ἐν σαρκί, loses much of its legitimacy when it is observed that the broader context of Paul’s discussion concerns the believer’s life which is no longer defined by the Mosaic Law but the spirit, for the focus is upon the *medium of life* which was previously by the law but is now by the spirit (Rom 8:1-8, especially v. 2). The instrumental sense of ἐν σαρκί and ἐν πνεύματι can viably be read in Rom 8:9, particularly since ἐν σαρκί in the previous verse (Rom 8:8) from which 8:9 logically develops, is best understood instrumentally (οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκί ὄντες θεῶ ἀρέσαιο οὐ δύνανται) [The NIV unnecessarily emphasises a locative sense when it translates Rom 8:9 as ‘You, however, are not in the realm of the flesh but are in the realm of the Spirit...’]. The instrumental reading of ἐν, which I take to be the stronger and more consistent interpretation, therefore functions as an important

understanding of the preposition ἐν as identifying the activity of the spirit is consistent with Paul's use of alternative prepositions that stand in some logical sense with πνεῦμα.⁵⁹ Once this point has been recognised, it is essential to ask why one particular preposition (ἐν) is given weight over other prepositions. It is more appropriate to conclude from Paul's usage that although ἐν is certainly Paul's most prominent preposition used with πνεῦμα and its cognates, the overriding and predominant conclusion is that Paul denotes a *variety* the spirit's activities in the believers' experience through a *variety* of prepositions. This raises a concern about the dominance of the 'formula' ἐν πνεύματι within Paul's thought for it appears far more reasonable to take into account the whole spectrum of Paul's language rather than to place too much interpretive weight on one Pauline expression, and thereby give focus to the meaning that the expression conveys: *the agency of the spirit*.

Can the same case be made for the expression 'in Christ' which is far more prominent in Paul's letters? There are 87 occurrences of the expression 'in Christ' or its equivalent (that is, 'in Christ Jesus,' 'in Christ' or 'in the Lord').⁶⁰ The prominence with which the expression 'in Christ' occurs within Paul is legitimately frequent enough to justify labelling the expression as a 'formula,' but this must be balanced by recognising that its meaning must not be *a priori* flattened into one particular sense but determined by contextual usage.⁶¹ A brief

grammatical expression which points to the activity of the spirit in relation to God and Christ towards the believer.

⁵⁹ Διά (Gal 3:14; 1 Cor 2:10; 12:8; Rom 5:5; 8:10, 11; 15:30), κατά (Gal 4:29; 5:17[x2]; 1 Cor 12:8; Rom 1:4; 8:4, 5 cf. 8:27), πρὸς (1 Cor 12:7; 14:12), περὶ (1 Cor 12:1), ἀπὸ (1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 3:18; Rom 8:2), ἐκ (Gal 3:2[x2], 5[x2]; 5:5; 6:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 10:4; Rom 1:4; 8:11), μετὰ (1 Thess 1:6; 2 Cor 13:13[14]), ὑπὸ (Gal 5:18) and εἰς (Gal 4:6; 6:8; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 12:13; 2 Cor 3:18; Rom 1:11; 8:15). It must be noted that not all these examples identify the spirit's activity through prepositions, but can identify activity directed towards the spirit as object.

⁶⁰ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (Gal 2:4; 3:14, 26, 28; 5:6; 1 Thess 2:14; 5:18; 1 Cor 1:2, 4, 30; 4:15, 17; 15:31; 16:24; Rom 3:24; 6:11, 23; 8:1, 2, 39; 15:17; 16:3; Phil 1:1, 26; 2:5; 3:3, 14; 4:7, 19, 21; Philem 23); ἐν Χριστῷ (Gal 1:22; 2:17; 1 Thess 4:16; 1 Cor 3:1; 4:10, 15; 15:18, 19; 2 Cor 2:17; 3:14; 5:17, 19; 12:2, 19; Rom 9:1; 12:5; 16:7, 9, 10; Phil 1:13; 2:1; Philem 8, 20); ἐν κυρίῳ (Gal 5:10; 1 Thess 3:8; 5:12; 1 Cor 1:31; 4:17; 7:22, 39; 9:1, 2; 11:11; 15:58; 16:19; 2 Cor 2:12; 10:17; Rom 16:2, 8, 11, 12[x2], 13, 22; Phil 1:14; 2:24, 29; 3:1; 4:1, 2, 4, 10; Philem 16, 20). With the addition of the definite article: ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ (1 Cor 15:22; 2 Cor 2:14). For a full examination, see Constantine R. Campbell, *Paul and Union with Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012).

⁶¹ Rightly noted by Campbell, *Paul and Union with Christ*, 25-27. There traditionally has been two lines of interpretation over the 'in Christ' expression. With Deissmann, and those who follow the path he established, the expression is a key formula that is reflective of Paul's mystical experience and which is 'the characteristic expression of his Christianity,' Deissmann, *Paul*, 140. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 439-441, prefers the terminology of 'participation in Christ' to describe this central Pauline theme. This subjective interpretation is opposed by the interpretative doctrinal paradigm of Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), who sought to understand the expression in more objective terms. More recent discussion attempts to describe Paul's 'in Christ' terminology using a 'corporate personality' model or more broadly as an objective 'sphere of power.' See Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 390-412; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 263-269; Jouette M. Bassler, *Navigating Paul: An Introduction to Key Theological Concepts* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), chapter entitled 'In Christ: Mystical Reality or Mere Metaphor?', 35-47; Rollin A. Ramsaran, "'In Christ' and 'Christ in' as Expressions of Religious Experience," in *Experientia*, Vol. 2, eds. Shantz and Werline, 161-180; and the recent comprehensive summary by Campbell, *Paul and Union with Christ*, 31ff. Campbell himself uses the fourfold

perusal of the uses of ‘in Christ’ or its variant forms establish that there is no singular consistent sense or meaning that derives from this expression but rather, the expression is bound up with many broader Pauline themes and concepts.⁶² While any analysis of the expression at the grammatical level does not settle the question of either the subjective or objective meaning of the ‘in Christ’ expression, it does strongly give support to the view that Paul’s focus lies primarily on the *activity* of Christ that is denoted by his language – specifically, his use of prepositions.⁶³ The essential point is that emphasising a Pauline ‘formula’ can *exclude* the many alternative prepositional phrases that denote the activity of Christ. Consequently, this can illegitimately result in an unnecessary correlation between the phrases ‘in Christ’ and ‘in the spirit’ for whether or not such activity when paralleled, is that of Christ, the spirit, or ‘the spirit-Christ,’ is another question altogether.⁶⁴ Such a reading of Paul is surely correct when it identifies the fulfilment of the same functions is a key clue to the question of the relation between the spirit and Christ, but any conclusion concerning this relation must surely be nuanced adequately, for the merging of the activity, and consequently, the identities of Christ and the spirit, flattens the diversity of Paul’s language and gives more weight to interpretive presumptions. Since the ‘in Christ’ and ‘in the spirit’ phrases are part of a larger Pauline style of prepositional expression, it is more adequate to identify the variety of activities such expressions connote, and then draw conclusions from the larger Pauline

terminology of Union, Participation, Identification and Incorporation to describe the broader concept of union with Christ.

⁶² So Campbell, *Paul and Union with Christ*.

⁶³ The following references are prepositions which stand in some logical sense with either Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς or κύριος: διά (Gal 1:1, 12; 2:16; 6:14; 1 Thess 4:2, 14; 5:9; 1 Cor 1:10; 4:10; 8:6, 11; 15:57; 2 Cor 1:5; 2 Cor 3:4; 4:5, 11; 5:18; 8:9; 10:1; Rom 1:8; Rom 2:16; 3:22; Rom 5:1, 11[x2], 17, 21; 7:4, 25; 10:17; 15:18, 30; 16:27; Phil 1:11, 19; 2:30; 3:7, 9), κατά (2 Cor 11:17; Rom 15:5; 16:25; cf. 2 Cor 5:16), πρὸς (2 Cor 3:4, 16; 5:8; 6:15; 8:19; Rom 5:1; 15:17; Philem 5), περὶ (1 Thess 4:6; Rom 1:8), ἀπό (Gal 1:3, 6; 5:4; 1 Cor 1:3; 11:23; 2 Cor 1:2; 5:6; 11:3; Rom 1:7; 8:35; Phil 1:2; Philem 3; cf. 1 Cor 1:30; Rom 8:2, 39), ἐκ (Gal 2:16; 3:13, 22; 1 Thess 1:10; 1 Cor 12:27; 15:12, 20; Rom 3:26; 6:4, 9; 7:4; 8:11; 10:7, 17), μετὰ (Gal 6:18; 1 Cor 16:24; 2 Cor 13:13[14]; Phil 4:23; Philem 25), ὑπό (1 Cor 7:25; 11:32; Phil 3:12), σύν (1 Thess 4:14; 1 Cor 1:2; 1 Cor 5:4; 2 Cor 1:21; 4:14; Rom 6:8; Phil 1:23) and εἰς (1 Thess 4:15, 17; 5:18; Gal 1:6; 2:16; 3:24, 27; 1 Cor 1:9; 8:6, 12; 2 Cor 1:5, 21; 2:12; 9:13; 10:8; 11:3, 13; 13:10; Rom 3:22; 5:21; 6:3; 7:4; 10:4; 14:9; 15:16, 18; 16:5; Phil 1:10, 11; 2:11, 16; Philem 6). Admittedly, some of these references are not a prepositional formula used by Paul that is comparable directly with ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἐν Χριστῷ and ἐν κυρίῳ, but they do illustrate the variety of ways that Paul can make reference to Christ through prepositions, particularly activity that is related to the dynamic movement between Christ and the believer. Moreover, the many examples of Paul’s use of ἐν with Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς or κύριος that are not part of the ‘in Christ Jesus/in the Lord’ expression illustrate further Paul’s diverse use of prepositions.

⁶⁴ Deissmann, as an example of this school, can justify stating that the expression ‘in Christ’ is ‘so closely connected in meaning with the phrase “in the Spirit”’ (Deissmann, *Paul*, 140) by making an assumption from an abstract theological position that the concepts of Christ and spirit have merged in Paul’s thinking so that so that what emerges is ‘the Spirit-Christ’ (140) or the ‘spiritual Christ’ (142). I hasten to acknowledge that Deissmann is justified in observing a correlation between the *functions* of Christ and the spirit in Paul’s thought (138-139) but his error is in presuming that Paul merges the *identity* of Christ and the spirit. Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 35-40, can also identify the overlap in functions but recognises that Christ and the spirit are not identified ontologically. The unique activity of the spirit precludes such a collapse.

framework of thought.⁶⁵ Thus the answer to an identification between Christ and the spirit is not to be found simply in the ‘parallel’ expressions ‘in Christ’ and ‘in the spirit’ but is to be found in what such identical activities meant for Paul. On this basis, the generalised conclusion of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* did not adequately identify and explain those unique functions of the spirit that distinguish the spirit from Christ.

3.2 The Unique Functions of the Spirit in Relation to Christ

The preceding discussion has demonstrated that within Paul’s thought Christ and the spirit are seen to fulfil the same functions. Yet on a closer examination Paul evidences an emerging differentiation between Christ and the spirit through prepositional phrases. This differentiation demonstrates that the spirit functions as an agent of Christ, and that Christ and the spirit both participate in the same functions as agents of God. Paul’s thought reflects a dynamic movement from Christ to the believer and from the believer to Christ that is fulfilled by the spirit and parallels the spirit’s relation to God. This dynamic movement is arguably evidence for a *logical differentiation* between the identities of Christ and the spirit. I will now examine those particular functions of the spirit that are unique to the spirit and are distinguished from the activities of Christ. Once again I frame my discussion around the three categories which comprise the Unique Divine Identity.

3.2.1 Creational Monotheism

The most evident unique activity of the spirit as creator is the spirit’s role in the resurrection of Christ from the dead (1 Cor 15:44-46; Rom 1:3-4; 8:11). Christ’s appointment as son of God in power is *according to*, or *by*, the spirit (κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης), and *from* the resurrection of the dead (ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, Rom 1:3-4). God will raise all believers from the dead *through* his spirit (διὰ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, Rom 8:11) – which presumably also applies to Christ’s own resurrection – and parallels Paul’s descriptions of God raising Christ *through* his glory (ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, Rom 6:4) and power (ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κύριον ἤγειρεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, 1 Cor 6:14) so that he lives *by* or *from* God’s power (ἀλλὰ ζήσομεν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς, 2 Cor 13:4). Christ has become a ‘life-giving spirit’ (εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν). The consequence of this line of argument is that since the spirit raised Jesus from the dead, the spirit possesses a function that is unique to the spirit and which is distinguished, through prepositions, from the

⁶⁵ Ramsaran, “‘In Christ’ and ‘Christ in’ as Expressions of Religious Experience,” 161-180, makes a very good case for framing Paul’s ‘in Christ’ expressions within his broader thought world, which demonstrates the somewhat flexible nature of such expressions in what they can denote.

activity of Christ. Indeed, Christ has not raised himself; rather, God through the agency of his spirit has raised Christ from the dead.

3.2.2 *Cultic Monotheism*

While Paul certainly emphasises the spirit's role in the direct worship of God, Paul still conceives of a significant function of the spirit in the believer's devotion to Christ.⁶⁶ This is intimated by Paul's use of the dual images of the church as the body of Christ and the temple of the holy spirit in which the temple functioned as the location for worship directed to Christ as the head of the body (1 Cor 10:17; 11:23-34; 12:12-31; Rom 12:1-8, 11). Paul's use of cultic imagery, specifically baptism and the Lord's Supper, reflects the role of the spirit as mediating Christ's presence to the church. Believers are baptised by the spirit so as to form the body of Christ (1 Cor 6:11; 12:13) just as believers have been baptised into Christ (cf. Gal 3:26-27; 1 Cor 1:13; Rom 6:3-4). As the body of Christ – the image of which functions as the foundation for the Lord's Supper itself – believers partake of the spiritual (πνευματικόν) food and drink which Paul identifies as Christ himself (1 Cor 10:1-4) thus symbolising the body and blood of Christ (1 Cor 10:14-22; 11:17-34). The spirit mediates the believer's direct cultic experience of Christ as object of worship for when they assemble for the Lord's Supper they participate in the blood and body of Christ and in baptism they are baptised *into* Christ. The essential activity of the spirit is that since the bodies of believers are members of Christ (1 Cor 6:15), it is through the spirit – who indwells the body as a temple (1 Cor 6:19) – that believers are united with Christ (1 Cor 6:17) in the ongoing experience of worship.

Paul's use of cultic language in 15:16-19 (λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ; ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ) reveals that he perceived his ministry service functioning like the activity of a priest in the temple, and while God is the one who gave Paul the grace of apostleship (Rom 15:15), Paul conceives of his ministry as a religious service on behalf of Christ who works through Paul (Rom 15:17-18). Once again, it is the spirit who sanctifies the Gentiles as an acceptable offering to God by their reception of the gospel of Christ (Rom 15:16) and as a result believers are 'sanctified in Christ Jesus and called to be his holy people' (1 Cor 1:2). It is the spirit who empowers Paul in proclaiming the gospel of Christ (Rom 15:19) and the presence of the spirit removes the need for purity regulations (cf. Rom 14:17). The relevant point here is that Paul's use of cultic imagery is closely tied to his reference to

⁶⁶ On Christ devotion in the Pauline communities, see Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 488-495; Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*; *idem*, *Lord Jesus Christ*; *idem*, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*; *idem*, *At the Origins of Christian Worship*; Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*; *idem*, "The Worship of Jesus in Philippians 2:9-11," in *Where Christology Began*. Cf. the argument of Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?* 29-58 which ultimately minimises Christ as the object of worship.

the spirit and reflects his own understanding of his service on behalf of Christ, and the spirit is the means by which Christ works through Paul to bring the Gentiles to God. The unique activity of the spirit is the sanctification of the Gentiles and the empowerment of Paul's apostolic ministry which is logically differentiated from Christ as the Lord whom Paul serves. This is confirmed in Phil 3:3 where Paul's cultic language differentiates the activity of the spirit from Christ: 'we serve by the spirit of God and boast in Christ Jesus' (οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ).⁶⁷

The spirit also facilitates confessions that are directed towards Christ. The spirit is responsible for inspiring the confession of Jesus as Lord for 'no one can say, "Jesus is Lord," except by the holy spirit' (1 Cor 12:3) and this confession of the Lordship of Christ is the foundation for addressing prayer directly to Christ as Lord (1 Thess 3:11-13; 1 Cor 16:22; 2 Cor 12:8-10).

3.2.3 Eschatological Monotheism

The first unique activity of the spirit in Eschatological Monotheism is the recognition that the spirit will raise believers from the dead in the new creation. Yet it is necessary to give a more nuanced examination of the specific activity of the spirit in relation to Christ as such activities relate to the granting of eternal life to the believer. The key issue is that Paul can claim that through Christ (Rom 5:21; 6:4-11, 23) and through the spirit (Gal 6:8; 2 Cor 1:22; 3:6; 5:5; Rom 8:2, 6, 10) believers will receive eternal life. But a closer inspection reveals that in those few passages where the resurrection of believers is correlated with the life-giving activity of Christ (1 Cor 15:20-22, 45; cf. Rom 6:5; Phil 3:10-11), Paul never explicitly identifies Christ as raising believers from the dead. Paul only identifies God and the spirit (1 Cor 15:44-46; Rom 8:9-11, 13, 23) as the power of the resurrection.

Paul's thought makes most coherent sense if the spirit acts as the agent of Christ in giving eternal life while Christ's death and defeat of sin is the foundation. This appears to be the most viable interpretation of Paul's logic in 1 Cor 15:20-22 and 15:42-49 for Christ's own resurrection as 'life-giving spirit' is the assurance of the believer's spiritual body – and the spiritual body is the means by which believers will be made alive in Christ. This explains Paul's statement in 1 Cor 15:21 that 'since death came through a human being, the resurrection of the dead comes also through a human being'. Paul's description of the believer's possession of eternal life is specific to the resurrection of their bodies. The spirit works on behalf of those who are 'in Christ' so that 'all will be made alive' through the spirit,

⁶⁷ My translation. While the subject is not clear, it most likely is service towards God by the spirit, a service which stands in apposition with boasting in the work of Christ.

just as Christ himself could only defeat death by himself being raised from the dead by the spirit. In this way, Paul works from the objective description of Christ's defeat of death (1 Cor 15:20-26) to the subjective actualisation of the believer sharing in eternal life through their own resurrection by receiving a body enlivened by the spirit (1 Cor 15:44-46). This logic also appears in Rom 1:3-4 and 8:1-11: Christ was raised son of God in power according to the spirit (1:3-4); therefore if Christ is in the believer the spirit will give life to the body that is subject to death (8:1-11). The objective state of believers is that in Christ Jesus there is no condemnation for subjectively believers live according to the spirit. This causal relation between Christ and the spirit is summarised in Paul's thinking when he states 'in (ἐν) Christ Jesus the law of the spirit of life has set you free from the law of sin and death' (Rom 8:2). Paul's use of the preposition ἐν (in Rom 8:1-2) would appear to focus on the function of Christ's death and resurrection while his use of the prepositions κατά (Rom 8:4, 5), ἐν (Rom 8:9; cf. 8:15) and διά (Rom 8:11) which modify πνεῦμα relate to the spirit's work of granting eternal life that finds its objective basis in Christ (cf. the dative πνεύματι in Rom 8:13-14 which possesses an instrumental sense). In other words, the means by which God raised Christ *from* the dead (ἐκ νεκρῶν, Rom 8:11[x2]) is the same means that believers will also be raised: according to (κατά, Rom 8:4, 5), by (ἐν, Rom 8:9) and through (διά, Rom 8:11) the spirit. Therefore when Paul states that Christ gives eternal life through his own death and subsequent resurrection, the spirit is the agent who gives life by raising believers from the dead in the same way that the spirit raised Jesus from the dead. Thus *the unique activity of the spirit is the power of the resurrection of the dead – of both Christ and all believers.*⁶⁸

The second observation from the spirit's role within Eschatological Monotheism is the particular activity of the spirit as the power of the new creation in the present. In parallel with the coming of Jesus as the Messiah, the presence of the spirit poured out upon all, inclusive of

⁶⁸ This argument is substantiated by the fact that Paul so often appeals to those in Christ to continue to walk (Gal 5:16; Rom 8:4), be led by (Gal 5:18; Rom 8:14), keep in step with (Gal 5:25), and live by (Gal 5:25; Rom 8:9-11, 13) the spirit as ruler in their experience. This continual openness and submission to the guidance of the spirit is understood by Paul as sowing to the spirit with the result of reaping eternal life (Gal 6:8), which is the opposite of sowing to the flesh (that is, living according to the Mosaic Law), an allegiance that results in reaping destruction (i.e. death). Paul's appeal to his recipients is consistently directed towards the dynamic activity of the spirit who functions as ruler in their experience of moral guidance and demonstrations effectively that in Paul's thought the spirit is the essential agent who ensures the believer's own gift of eternal life. To be sure, this eternal life is effected by Christ's own death and resurrection, yet concretely it is the spirit's function as agent that results in the resurrection of the believers' bodies. This explains Paul's use of metaphors that describe the present indwelling of the spirit, which guarantees the future resurrection of believers (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Rom 8:23), metaphors that are not applied to Christ, and which confirms Paul's thought that 'if Christ is in you, then even though your body is subject to death because of sin, the spirit gives life because of righteousness' (Rom 8:10); moreover, 'if anyone is in Christ, the new creation has come' (2 Cor 5:17; cf. Gal 6:15) which is evidenced by the reality of the indwelling spirit and fulfilled completely in the resurrection of the dead. Believers do submit themselves to Christ and in Paul's view are 'slaves to righteousness' (Rom 6:1-23), yet Paul's references to the work of Christ are consistently in relation to Christ's own death and resurrection. Regarding the believer's present experience, the spirit is most often the subject of note. The efficacy of the indwelling Christ is here applied to the dynamic activity of the spirit.

the Gentiles, was the universal sign that the new creation and the new covenant had been inaugurated in the present. This new covenant centres on the redemptive work Christ concretised in his salvific death and resurrection. The spirit is the power that raises Christ from the dead, and is the power that remains present within the believer to empower them to live according to life in accordance with the new creation. The presence of the spirit indwelling the believer is the fulfilment of the Jewish hope for the redemption of the people of God and the universal outpouring of the spirit signifies that God himself has given the spirit to his Messiah and to his people.⁶⁹ This general framework of the new creation in Paul simply recognises that the universal outpouring of the spirit was an essential characteristic of the spirit's activity.

3.3 The Nature of the Spirit's Relation to Christ

My discussion to this point has established that Paul's letters reflect both the identical functions between the spirit and Christ and unique functions that differentiates the spirit's individual activity from Christ. In those activities whereby the roles of Christ and the spirit appear identical, it is observed that either both function as agents on behalf of God himself or the spirit functions as an agent on behalf of Christ. Yet just as the agency of the spirit in relation to God needed further nuancing, so too we need to examine the specific nature of the spirit's relation to Christ. This relation has been the subject of significant debate in Pauline studies and the debate centres on the degree to which one emphasises or de-emphasises these identical functions of Christ and the spirit. An emphasis results in an 'equation' between the identities of Christ and the spirit, and understands the spirit as the extension of Christ's own personality, the mode of his activity, such that the spirit is not separable from Christ. A de-emphasis maintains that Christ and the spirit are distinguishable such that the spirit remains distinct from Christ. With my extensive argument for the spirit's inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity standing as the significant backdrop to this discussion, in what follows I offer three areas of comment concerning the contemporary debate of the spirit's relation to Christ so as to clarify potential avenues for re-framing the debate, and will (once again) relativise the debate around the structures of thought provided by the Unique Divine Identity as representative of Paul's own thinking.

⁶⁹ On these themes, see Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*.

3.3.1 (In)Appropriate Categories of Interpretation

The frequent use by Pauline scholars of modern philosophical and theological categories that are anachronistic to the First Century Paul necessitates a re-examination of what such categories presuppose.⁷⁰ It has been the argument of this thesis that Bauckham's framework of the Unique Divine Identity offers a justifiable means to describe Paul's thought on the nature of God, Christ and the spirit. While I freely admit that the concepts of 'identity' and Creational, Cultic and Eschatological Monotheism are modern – and thus potentially open to criticism by those who wish to critique this method on the same grounds by which I have put forward here – they are arguably valid since they function as *referents* to describe the *concept* of God's unique activity which stands as a description of who he is.⁷¹ This immediately

⁷⁰ Common concepts used include 'ontology' (Fatehi), 'hypostasis,' 'person/personhood' (Wainwright; Fee; Turner; Maleparampil), 'personality' (Swete; Dunn; Maleparampil), 'functional' (Dunn; Fee), 'dynamic' (Hamilton; Fatehi), 'substance' (Engberg-Pederson; Levison), 'power' (Davies; Schweizer) and 'animistic' (Bultmann). Even the theological language of 'Soteriology' and 'trinitarian' (e.g. Fee; Turner) and the description of him as a 'mystic' (Deissmann; Bousset) are commonly used to partition Paul's thought into particular categories.

To illustrate these categories, I note the focus of M. Fatehi's thesis that there must exist an 'ontological' relation between the spirit and Christ rather than a merely 'functional' relation (*The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*). He supports this argument by defending his use of the category of ontology from an exegesis of 1 Cor 15:45 and 2 Cor 3:16-18 that identifies Christ and the spirit. But his defence of this method (321-322) is not strong since he recognises that 'The ontological import of Paul's Christological language should be determined in the light of the language and categories available to him at the time' (322), yet simply fails to note that the language and categories at the time certainly did not include that of 'ontology.' The result of Fatehi's argument is that Christ and the spirit are identified 'ontologically' which is his response to the nature of the spirit's relation to Christ.

In contrast to such a line of argument, Fee argues that 'Paul's concern with both Christ and the Spirit is not ontological...but soteriological...' (*God's Empowering Presence*, 838) and he opts for describing the relation between Christ and the spirit as 'functional,' which he elsewhere describes as 'soteriological trinitarianism' ('Christology and Pneumatology,' 329). The consequence of this reasoning is that in rejecting an 'ontological' argument, the individuality of the spirit can remain if it is acknowledged that the spirit is only 'functionally' identified with Christ in those roles where both overlap (Dunn appears to argue similarly, though he does not employ the terminology of 'ontology' and 'function,' '1 Corinthians 15:45,' 165; *Christology in the Making*, 145-147). In this way, the path is open for Fee to accept the spirit as 'person' through his use of systematic theological categories. Fee does include the proper caveat that such language is not that of Paul (*God's Empowering Presence*, 827, fn. 1) and even in view of criticism to his use of 'trinitarian' categories, Fee only softens his dependency on such language ever so slightly by using the term 'proto-trinitarian' to describe Paul's thought (*Pauline Christology*, 586-593). Yet in the interest of an historical reconstruction of Paul's original thought, it is questionable whether these categories really get to the heart of Paul's view of the spirit's relation to Christ or whether they simply resolve the debate in modern terms for the modern reader. It seems many capitulate to popular modern scholarly categories in the interest of resolving this question without adequately refining the concept which the theological label connotes. Even Dunn and Turner can use the categories of 'Pneumatology' and 'Christology' to describe Paul's experience: Dunn, '1 Corinthians 15:45,' 165, 'Immanent christology is for Paul pneumatology'; Turner also uses developed theological categories in e.g. 'The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,' *idem*, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament?'; Dunn does comment that Fee is erroneous by 'importing analytic categories which took several centuries of sophisticated debate even to formulate' (*The Theology of Paul*, 263, fn. 157, though Dunn obviously does not see the same problems in his use of 'Christology' and 'Pneumatology' as theological categories.

⁷¹ Turner comments regarding the language of 'trinity' in the NT, 'It seems legitimate...to ask the question what the New Testament teaches about "trinity", even though the word itself is not to be found in these writings. We may do this because we can define a *concept* of "trinity"...The "concept" is a package of meanings concerning each of which we may pose questions which would at least be intelligible to some if not all of the New Testament writers,' Max Turner, 'Approaching "personhood" in the New Testament, with Special Reference to

reflects a different sense than a philosophical category of ‘person’ or ‘ontology’ or a theological category of ‘Soteriology’ or ‘Trinitarian theology’ despite the use of theological terms in such labels which only serve to connote concepts consistent with Paul (e.g. ‘Creational’ or ‘Eschatological’). The emphasis of these labels is centred on those unique functions that characterise the spirit’s identity. In this way, function and identity are intrinsically connected such that any dichotomous descriptions of the spirit such as ‘ontology’ and ‘functionality,’ or ‘power’ and ‘substance,’ or ‘animistic’ and ‘dynamic’ become a false description of Paul’s thought. While each of these positions have trouble negotiating terminology that is foreign to Paul, a discussion of the spirit according to the category of ‘identity’ which does not so firmly divide between function and being (or ‘ontic’ and ‘functional’ categories), which dominate the discussion on the spirit’s relation to Christ, will help to clarify the nature of this relationship.

3.3.2 Identical Functions Include Christ and the Spirit Within the Unique Divine Identity

If the framework of the Unique Divine Identity posits that function is determinative for identity, the logic that since Christ and the spirit participate in the identical functions then it follows that there is an equation or a merging of their identities, appears attractive. But rather than *equating* the identity of Christ and the spirit so that the spirit is the mode of Christ’s activity to the believer, the recognition that Christ and the spirit fulfil the same functions *should be understood as the very criterion which confirms their inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity*. This provides a sustained critique of the much laboured work of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* that so easily collapses the identities of Christ and the spirit based upon a similarity of function, and, at a general level, agrees with the strand of scholarship that seeks to differentiate between Christ and the spirit.⁷² In syllogistic reasoning: a) if the categories of Hebrew and Jewish monotheism apply to the spirit and b) if the same categories of Hebrew and Jewish monotheism apply to Christ (the argument of Bauckham) then c) *the spirit and Christ must fulfil those specific functions that define and include them as part of the Unique Divine Identity of God*. In other words (and in reverse logic), if Christ is

Ephesians,’ *EQ*, 77.3 (2005), 211-233, here 211-212. While Turner’s comments concern the language of ‘trinity’ - and his comments about ‘trinitarian’ language need to be qualified by the quality of the ‘concept’ discussed and its accuracy with Paul’s framework of thought - it is an apt comment regarding the application of the concept of the Unique Divine Identity. What appears most important is not the language used but how the language describes the concept in question. The problem with the categories listed here used in the discussion of the spirit’s relation to Christ is that they presume categories of thought that are developed beyond Paul’s own worldview.

⁷² E.g. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 218, ‘Even if the functions of Christ and the Spirit overlap, it does not follow that the two persons are identical’; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 827-845.

included in the Unique Divine Identity because he is seen to be ruler and creator, receives exclusive worship, and will return to fulfil the universal kingdom of God, then *the spirit is engaged and participates in these same activities* and therefore shares in the Unique Divine Identity. Indeed, my thesis has already demonstrated how these aspects of the spirit's activity relate to Creational, Cultic and Eschatological Monotheism, and how each of the identical roles are related to *God's* own unique activity:

In God's creative activity, eternal life is given through Christ (Rom 5:21; 6:23) and the spirit (Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:44-46; 2 Cor 3:6; Rom 8:2, 6, 10, 11, 13), yet it is God the creator who gives life (1 Cor 8:6; 15:38; 2 Cor 1:9; Rom 1:18-20, 25; 2:7; 4:17). In God's ruling activity Christ and the spirit act as agents of God in carrying out his sovereign Lordship: in conversion, believers turn to God (1 Thess 1:9), Christ (Gal 1:11-12, 15-16; 1 Cor 9:1) and the spirit (2 Cor 3:16-18); both the law of Christ (Gal 6:2) and the fruit of spirit (Gal 5:16-26) function as the reality of God's law and sovereignty over his people (Rom 7:22; 8:7) and Paul even identifies the law as of the spirit (Rom 7:4; 8:2) with Christ as its culmination (Rom 10:4); Christ (Rom 8:34) and the spirit (Rom 8:26-27) intercede to God on behalf of believers; believers stand firm by Christ (Phil 4:1) and the spirit (Phil 1:27) in the sight of God; both Christ (1 Cor 2:16) and the spirit (1 Cor 2:10-15) reveal the wisdom of God (1 Cor 2:7); righteousness is given by Christ (Gal 2:15-21; 1 Cor 1:30; 2 Cor 5:21; Rom 3:22; Rom 10:4; Phil 1:11; 3:9-11) and the spirit (Gal 5:5; Rom 14:17), yet this righteousness is an attribute of God himself (Rom 1:17; 3:28-30); believers are sanctified by Christ (1 Cor 1:2; 6:11; Rom 6:22-23) and the spirit (1 Cor 6:11; Rom 15:16), yet God sanctifies his chosen people (1 Thess 5:23). In the believers' cultic experience, the description of the church as the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:13, 27; Rom 12:4-5) and the temple of the holy spirit (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19) parallel Paul's view of the Christian community as the church of God (1 Cor 1:2; 10:32; 2 Cor 1:1; cf. 1 Thess 1:1), the field and building of God (1 Cor 3:6-9), and the temple of God (2 Cor 6:16); and believers offer prayer by Christ (Rom 15:30) and the spirit (Gal 4:6-7; Rom 8:14-17; 26-27; 15:30; Phil 1:19) to God – who can be the object of prayer without mediation (Phil 4:6; cf. 1:9; Philem 4); indeed Christ can be the object of prayer as well (1 Thess 3:11-13; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 12:8-9); the spirit inspires the confession of Christ as Lord (1 Cor 12:3) yet also inspires the confession of God as Father (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15); and the indwelling of the spirit of Christ (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:9; Phil 1:19) parallels the indwelling of the spirit of God (Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 6:19; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Rom 5:5). These observations draw two conclusions.

Firstly, Christ himself is frequently identified as an agent *of God* who fulfils the same functions *along with* the spirit. In each of these cases, God stands as the source and origin of

such divine activity. Thus the identical activities between Christ and the spirit must be relativised and contextualised within the broader picture of God's own unique activity.

Secondly, the spirit can function as an agent of Christ if it is clear that the spirit's activity stands directly in relation to Christ and not God. But there is *no evidence of any distinctive activity of the spirit which finds its origin in Christ that is differentiated from the activity of God when examining the spirit's relation to Christ*. The only exception is Paul's descriptions of the spirit as 'the spirit of Christ' (Rom 8:9), 'the spirit of his [God's] Son' (Gal 4:6), and 'the spirit of Jesus Christ' (Phil 1:19) which reflect Paul's understanding that the spirit mediates the presence of Christ. Such reticence explains why Paul can state that *God* has sent the 'spirit of his son' into the hearts of believers (Gal 4:6). The spirit is still primarily conceived by Paul as the spirit *of God*.

The claim that Paul conceived of Christ as Lord over the spirit thus needs correcting.⁷³ Since the spirit is simultaneously conceived of as the spirit of God and the spirit of Christ, and since the spirit now stands in relation to Christ, it is common for the presumption be made that Christ is 'Lord' over the spirit *in the same way* that God is 'Lord' over the spirit. But this assertion is frequently made on the assumption that God's relation to the spirit has not changed. Yet as I have demonstrated, Paul's conception of the spirit's relation to God has developed such that he now identifies the spirit existing not simply as the mode of God's activity and not merely identical to God in his activity, but as his agent. Consequently, if the spirit's relation to Christ is to be understood *in the same way*, then it must take into account the degree to which the spirit is distinguished from God if indeed the spirit's relation to God is the model for the spirit's relation to Christ.⁷⁴ But on the basis of the Pauline evidence, this

⁷³ Hui states, 'Admittedly, Paul does not explicitly speak of Christ's lordship and gift of the Spirit. Yet, he assumes it and implies as much' ('The Concept of the Holy Spirit,' 89). Turner finds support for such a view of Paul on the basis that the spirit mediates the presence of Christ, which Turner then understands to infer that Christ is Lord of the spirit (Turner, 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 429-434). Turner argues that the identical functions between Christ and the spirit (e.g. the charismata, resurrection of believers) and the spirit's mediation of Christ's grace, peace and love evident in the Pauline benedictions, are evidence of Christ's lordship over the spirit ('The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 430-431). Dunn himself states bluntly that 'In Paul Christ is Lord, but never explicitly in relation to the Spirit' (Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 143). Dunn's position is a revision of his earlier stated argument that Jesus became Lord of the spirit in Rom 1:3-4 and 1 Cor 15:45). Dunn and Turner rightly note that Paul conceives of the spirit as the spirit sent by God (e.g. Gal 3:5; 4:6; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:21-22; 5:5) and therefore should primarily be understood according to this relationship, but their interpretations lead in different directions – Dunn towards an equation between Christ and the spirit; Turner towards a view of the spirit as the extension of Christ's personality and an affirmation that Christ shares with the Father's Lordship through the spirit (Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 143; Turner, 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 431-432).

⁷⁴ I would want to nuance the comment by Fatehi that 'Paul's understanding of the Spirit is *fully in line with* what we found in Judaism. The Spirit does not refer to an entity distinct or separable from God but to God himself in his presence and work among his people,' *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 168, emphasis mine. Fatehi does quickly admit briefly on the next page that 'Paul's use of trinitarian language with reference to the Spirit and his slight distancing of the Spirit from God (e.g. Rom 8:26) should most probably be understood as an outcome of his understanding of the Spirit's relation to Christ,' 169. When Fatehi does discuss this development (302-307), his summary of the spirit's relation to God is not modified. A weakness of Fatehi's

premise must be questioned. The designation ‘spirit of Christ’ signals the spirit’s function of agency within the Unique Divine Identity for the spirit participates independently in such a way that reveals activity that is not constrained by the providence of Christ but stands in relation to God’s own unique activity.⁷⁵ The specific function of the spirit which stands uniquely in relation to Christ is simply to the spirit’s role in mediating Christ’s presence to the believer.

In sum, the ‘spirit of Christ’ signals the spirit’s relation to Christ within the Unique Divine Identity. Therefore, the question of ‘equation’ is not resolved by concluding that ‘Christ is the spirit,’ nor is appropriate to argue that Christ is ‘Lord’ over the spirit. Rather, the framework of the Unique Divine Identity identifies the activity of *God himself* through the agency of Christ and the spirit. The identical functions fulfilled by Christ and the spirit qualify inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity.

study is his presumption that there has not occurred any development in Paul’s thinking on the spirit’s relation to *God* since his focus is primarily on the spirit’s relation to *Christ* when discussing Paul’s thought. This challenges how strong Fatehi’s argument is on the relation between the spirit and Christ since the basis for his perspective on this relation is grounded in the spirit’s relation to God. Moreover, Fatehi’s anachronistic use of ‘trinitarian’ and ‘ontological’ terminology to describe the spirit’s relation to God and Christ casts doubt on whether he has fully grasped Paul’s perspective on the matter. In contrast to Fatehi, it is clear that there has been a development within Paul’s own Christian thought on the relation between God and the spirit. Because of this developmental process, I would argue – using Fatehi’s terms – that the spirit is not *separable* from God – in the sense of standing outside the Unique Divine Identity (Identity₁), but the spirit is *distinct* from God in the sense that their respective individual identities have become distinguished within Paul’s thinking (Identity₂). Fatehi is influenced by the work of Turner. Turner – who in summarizing the work of Fatehi – agrees with Dunn that ‘Paul does not say Jesus “gives”, “commissions” or “pours out” the Spirit – such things are said only God...The critical issue...is that *in all other respects the Spirit is portrayed as related to the risen Lord in ways that directly mirror the relationship of the Spirit to God,*’ “‘Trinitarian’ Pneumatology in the New Testament?’ 180, emphasis original. Turner is clearly right to note this parallel between the spirit’s relation to Christ and to God, and as expected, does note that Christ’s relation to the spirit cannot be understood simply as ‘synechdoche’ [*sic*] (i.e. the conception of the spirit’s relation to God in Judaism), and *infers* that some transformation has taken place in Paul’s perception of the spirit’s relation to God. He argues that Paul ‘understands all the personal language used of the Spirit to mean the Spirit had some kind of distinct personhood in *union* with Christ and the Father, and “sent” jointly by them,’ 182, emphasis original. Yet this claim is not clarified in relation with his assertion that Paul did conceive of the spirit in ‘*much the same way*’ as Hebrew or Jewish religion (‘*Jesus relates to the Spirit in much the same way that Yahweh relates to Spirit in the Old Testament and ITP literature,*’ 181, emphasis original). It is this aspect to his argument that advocates that ‘Christ is Lord of the spirit’ (so too ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology’). While Turner undoubtedly understands that Paul’s conception of the spirit’s relation to God goes *beyond* that of his heritage due to the spirit’s relation to Christ, it is not explained how such individual ‘personhood’ of the spirit can co-exist with Christ as ‘Lord over’ the spirit if Paul understands the spirit in ‘*much the same way*’ as Hebrew or Jewish religion. This also has implications for Tilling’s argument that on the basis of the believer’s *relation* to Christ, which corresponds to the relation with YHWH in Second Temple Judaism, Paul considers Christ ‘divine.’ While Tilling recognises that the *relation* with Christ is in and through the spirit, this is only given minimal attention, *Paul’s Divine Christology*, 164-165.

⁷⁵ Fay, for example, argues that since the spirit is the ‘spirit of God’ and the ‘spirit of Christ’ then it is ‘functionally subordinate’ to both, Fay, ‘Was Paul a Trinitarian?’ 344. But a curious point of inquiry is the significance of the spirit’s action *towards* Christ as agent of God, and what this signifies concerning the spirit’s relation to Christ.

3.3.3 Unique Functions and the Distinguishable Nature of the Spirit

The consequence of the argument that the identical roles of Christ and the spirit form the basis for the merging of the spirit's identity with Christ is that Paul's view of the spirit is Christocentric, or minimally, that Christ gives definition to the spirit.⁷⁶ The Christocentric nature of the spirit is held even by those who do not affirm an equation.⁷⁷ The assumption is that in Paul's thinking the identity of the spirit has undergone a mutation on account of Christ's resurrection and exaltation whereby Christ is dynamically identified with the spirit.⁷⁸ Such a conclusion is only valid based upon an erroneous interpretation of 1 Cor 15:45, 2 Cor 3:16-18 and Rom 8:9-11, and an over extension of Paul's designation of the spirit as the spirit of Christ (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:9; Phil 1:19). Without these existing interpretations, the equation of Christ and the spirit is overdrawn.⁷⁹ Rather than draw conclusions from these few texts, it is necessary to qualify the 'Christocentric' nature of the spirit according to the framework of the Unique Divine Identity.⁸⁰

Firstly, my essential argument has been that those activities which 'define' the spirit are those very same activities that demonstrate the spirit's inclusion in the Unique Divine Identity. Therefore, the most applicable sense of 'definition' that should emerge concerning the spirit's identity is *that which is defined by the categories of the Unique Divine Identity of God*. The very activities which qualify the spirit's inclusion in the Unique Divine Identity are the very activities that give definition to the spirit's identity. Importantly, Paul primarily conceives of the spirit as the spirit of God himself and is profoundly more frequent than Paul's reference to the spirit's relation to Christ.⁸¹ The spirit's identity is more dominantly associated with God which explains the nature of the spirit's identity as the spirit of God since

⁷⁶ The argument that Paul's reflection on the spirit is Christocentric is evidenced in the work of Hamilton (*The Holy Spirit*, 3, 6-9, 15); Isaacs (*The Concept of Spirit*, 113-114, 124, 138), Lampe (*God as Spirit*, 62, 79), Dunn (*Jesus and the Spirit*, 145, 318-326; '1 Corinthians 15:45'; 'Jesus – Flesh and Spirit'; *Christology in the Making*, 141-148; 'Towards the Spirit of Christ'; *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 260-264) and is the foundation for the inquiries of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 111-116; Deissmann, *Paul*, 138-142 and Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 160-163).

⁷⁷ Turner can still state that 'Paul's pneumatology is essentially Christocentric' (Turner, 'Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul,' 64). Fee can admit that 'the coming of Christ forever marked Paul's understanding of the Spirit,' (*God's Empowering Presence*, 834), though he does immediately qualify this statement to reject understanding the spirit in 'strictly christocentric terms,' (835, emphasis original). See also his *Pauline Christology*, 589-591).

⁷⁸ E.g. Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*; Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, 13-15; Dunn ('1 Corinthians 15:45'; 'Jesus – Flesh and Spirit'; *Christology in the Making*, 141-148; 'Towards the Spirit of Christ'; *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 262, 'Paul intended to represent the risen Christ as in some sense taking over the role of or even somehow becoming identified with the life-giving Spirit of God').

⁷⁹ So Turner, 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 413-436; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 834ff; *idem*, 'Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11,' 312-331.

⁸⁰ I sympathise with the conclusions of Hui, 'The Concept of the Holy Spirit,' 45-48 (against Dunn); and Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 834-838.

⁸¹ Noted by Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 143; Hui, 'The Concept of the Holy Spirit,' 89, fn. 187; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 835; Turner, 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 431-433.

the spirit fulfils the same functions as God. The ‘theocentric’ nature of the spirit is determined by the Unique Divine Identity.

Secondly, the innovative nature of Paul’s reflection on the spirit confirms that not only is the spirit the spirit of God but is also, simultaneously, the spirit of Christ. The necessary question, of course, is the degree to which Paul’s identification of the spirit as the spirit of Christ has impacted his understanding of *the spirit*. Scholars who define the spirit in a way which makes the identity of the spirit only observable in Christ terms have not adequately recognised Christ’s own definition according to the Unique Divine Identity. Since Christ is now included within God’s unique identity, the spirit now stands in relation *to* Christ.⁸² Certainly the innovative emergence of the relation between Christ and the spirit such that the spirit is now the ‘spirit of Christ’ has indeed added a new dimension to the spirit’s activity and reveals the degree to which Paul’s conception of the spirit has developed from Hebrew and Jewish monotheism.⁸³ But this point should not be overdrawn to conclude that the designation ‘spirit of Christ’ results in a complete ‘redefinition’ of the spirit’s identity since the spirit continues to be the spirit of God.⁸⁴ Since both Christ and the spirit are defined by the

⁸² Hamilton’s argument that ‘The Spirit portrays the Lord so well that we lose sight of the Spirit and are conscious of the Lord only’ (*The Holy Spirit*, 6) does not take seriously Paul’s understanding of the believer’s direct experience of the spirit. Paul often urges the believer to walk according to, to live by, and to keep in step with the spirit (Gal 5:13ff; Rom 8:4ff) which in itself demonstrates that believers have some logical awareness of their own experience of and engagement with the spirit. Hamilton’s argument here is largely one sided with regard to the Pauline evidence. So too Hui and Isaacs presuppose a distinction between ‘source’ and ‘agent’ in the relation between Christ and the spirit that appears to be an arbitrary distinction that does not reflect the mind of Paul. It is for this reason that I doubt such conclusions, for example, made by Hui that ‘The believer’s experience of the Spirit is not, first and foremost, an experience of the Spirit’s own character and personality, but an experience of his revelatory and empowering work, i.e. his mediation of Christ’s presence and activity,’ ‘The Concept of the Holy Spirit,’ 67. Isaacs argues that Paul ‘makes no rigid distinction between the source and the agent of the spirit,’ *The Concept of Spirit*, 113. If the activity of the spirit is the personality of Christ, a conclusion that is inferred by these arguments, then this effectively identifies the spirit with Christ.

⁸³ Thus I can agree with Dunn in principle that ‘in presenting the relationship of Jesus and the Spirit in such dynamic terms Paul has taken a bold and decisive step forward in Judaeo-Christian thinking about the Spirit of God and about religious experience,’ *Jesus and the Spirit*, 325. This is clearly evident since the inclusion of Christ within the Unique Divine Identity warrants such a conclusion. It is in this way that the spirit’s activity is related to the activity of Christ, and explains how and why Paul can conceive of the spirit’s activity within the community of believers as in some way influenced by the confession of Christ as Lord (1 Cor 12:1ff) and the spirit’s role in bringing Gentiles to faith in Christ (Gal 3:1ff), or the church as the body of Christ or the temple of the holy spirit. Yet even such an admission does not mean that Paul’s conception of the spirit is Christocentric for Christ’s own activity is determined by his inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity, thus Christ and the spirit fulfil the same functions that are defined by God himself. Therefore, for example, Hamilton views such activity of the spirit – e.g. confession of the Lordship of Christ – as the first and key evidence of the ‘the Christocentricity of the action of the Spirit’ and argues that in Paul there is a ‘Christocentric foundation for all action of the Spirit’ (Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, first quotation: 8; second quotation: 9.) Yet to draw the conclusion that the spirit’s activity of inspiration of Christ as Lord is somehow determinative for the spirit’s own identity is a conclusion that is *beyond* what Paul attempts to communicate (for example, to the Corinthians in chaps. 12-14). Paul does relativise what is spirit activity back to the common confession of Christ as Lord but this simply will not equate to the argument that Hamilton makes. Instead, it should be understood that the spirit’s activity of confession simply parallels the believer’s confession of God as Father (e.g. Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15). So the nature of the spirit’s activity does not change since the spirit simply fulfils its role as agent of inspiration which parallels the spirit’s relation to God. It is in this way that Hamilton’s presumption that there is a ‘Christocentric foundation for *all* action of the Spirit’ (my emphasis) is considerably overstated.

⁸⁴ So Turner, ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology.’

categories of the Unique Divine Identity, then those unique functions that distinguish the spirit from Christ within the Unique Divine Identity become paramount. For example, the spirit is distinguished from Christ since the spirit has raised Christ from the dead (the spirit was never crucified nor exalted to God's right hand), the spirit facilitates the worship of Christ (the spirit was never an object of devotion), and will raise believers from the dead just as the spirit has raised Christ.⁸⁵ The spirit's creative activity is given specific definition in Christ's resurrection for the spirit functions uniquely as the agent of God in raising Christ from the dead, which demonstrates that there must exist a logical differentiation in the identities of Christ and the spirit.⁸⁶ So too the spirit's cultic activity is given specific definition when the spirit facilitates the worship of Christ as Lord (alongside God the Father) which must differentiate between Christ and the spirit. This argument cannot avoid the conclusion that the spirit acts *uniquely* and *individually* towards Christ himself and casts doubt upon any alleged collapse of the identity of the spirit into that of Christ. The spirit is not 'defined' by Christ but simply stands in relation *to* Christ. Consequently, the spirit is distinct from Christ within the Unique Divine Identity.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Curiously Dunn also recognises that the roles of Christ and the spirit overlap but also observes distinct roles of the spirit: 'the fact that Jesus and the Spirit were seen to *overlap* in function, but *not wholly to coincide*, implies that already among the first Christian theologians there was a *recognition that the Spirit still had a role distinct from that of Christ...*' emphasis original, *The Parting of the Ways*, 266; cf. *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?*, 128-129. Fee, conversely, agrees that Paul does not state that the spirit raised Jesus, yet maintains, contrary to Dunn, that the spirit is functionally distinct from Christ. Though not utilising the language of the Unique Divine Identity, Fay aptly comments, 'The overlapping functions of the Son and Spirit in no way make the two identical, rather it displays the importance of those overlapping functions, especially since those functions tend to be performed in different ways,' Fay, 'Was Paul a Trinitarian?' 343. Contrast this with the overstated comment by Mack B. Stokes, 'Beyond question Paul made it impossible to separate the work of the Holy Spirit from that of Jesus Christ as Lord and Redeemer,' *The Holy Spirit and Christian Experience* (Nashville: Graded Press, 1975), 44.

⁸⁶ As Turner rightly comments, 'We are forced to conclude that the appeal (made regularly from Gunkel to Dunn) for some form of identification of Christ and Holy Spirit based in 1 Cor 15:45 is at best insecure. And if it cannot be found here, it cannot really be found anywhere else. While Paul most certainly believes that "Christ" is experienced through the Spirit, no text reduces this to an identification of Christ and Spirit (not 2 Cor 3:17 [as Moule and Dunn have shown], nor 1 Cor 6:17, nor Rom 8:9-11),' 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 429.

⁸⁷ If Paul holds to a 'divine' Christology (see e.g. Tilling, *Paul's Divine Christology*), which Christ's inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity would confirm, then his conception of Christ is 'theocentric' without reducing Christ to God himself. This assertion evidently confirms the primacy of the 'theocentric' nature of the spirit's identity. Further, as Turner and his students have frequently argued (e.g. Fatehi; Hui; Tilling), that the spirit is both the spirit of God *and* the spirit of Christ significantly reflects Paul's view of *Christ*. The fact that Paul can identify Christ as in some sense intimately associated with the spirit – the very spirit who is the agent of God – is a telling sign of just how developed Paul's perspective *on Christ* has become. It is inconceivable that Paul would presume that the spirit, as simply the mode of God himself in his activity (as conceptualised in a Hebrew or Jewish framework), would characterise Christ's mediation of God to believers, or that Christ sends God himself to inhabit the body of Christ, the temple of God himself. This would result in a crude notion that the authority of God as Father over Christ has been inverted (cf. 1 Cor 15:24-28). This forms a significant aspect to Turner's argument in 'The Spirit of Christ and "Divine" Christology,' 413-436 and Dunn, 'Towards the Spirit of Christ,' 12-13 (though Dunn is here thinking broadly beyond Paul). This demonstrates that the recognition of this point can even be taken in contrasting directions.

3.4 Summary

The important conclusions to be drawn from the preceding discussion is firstly, that scholarship which uses the language and concepts of ontology, hypostasis, ‘functionality’, power, etc, to describe the nature of Paul’s view of the spirit’s relation to Christ (and indeed, God) are using anachronistic categories that distort how the spirit’s relation to Christ is understood. The appropriate framework is that of the Unique Divine Identity. Secondly, contrary to one significant strand of Pauline scholarship, the spirit’s identity has not merged with Christ. In fact, the reverse is more appropriate: Christ was included in the Unique Divine Identity and now works alongside the spirit in those activities that define God’s unique identity. The identical functions of Christ and the spirit thus reflect that very criterion by which both are included in the Unique Divine Identity. Thirdly, Paul’s view of the spirit is not ‘christocentric’ in the sense that the spirit’s identity is defined exclusively by Christ as ‘Lord over the spirit’ for the spirit’s unique functions in relation *to* Christ prohibits such a construction.⁸⁸ The spirit is not the extension of Christ’s personality, nor the mode of Christ’s activity, and remains distinct from Christ. Paul’s perception of the spirit’s identity is still ‘theocentric’ but it has developed such that the spirit of God is now also the spirit of Christ on the basis that the spirit now stands in relation to Christ within the Unique Divine Identity.

4. Paul’s Statements that Parallel God, Christ and the Spirit

As I draw this chapter to a close, I pull together the two threads of this chapter by observing the significance of the logical differentiation that exists in Paul’s description of the spirit in relation to both God and Christ. I briefly note the occurrences in Paul of those statements which make parallel reference to God, Christ and the spirit, and the relevance of such statements for understanding Paul’s perspective on the identity of the spirit. If, as I have argued, the spirit stands logically differentiated from both God and Christ, then what do such statements that mention the spirit alongside God and Christ contribute to explaining Paul’s perception of the spirit’s identity? It is common for such passages to be noted and in view of the extensive focus already extended to this curious group of Pauline texts,⁸⁹ I simply note their occurrence and relevance.

⁸⁸ This argument resonates with Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 19-69.

⁸⁹ See the study of Maleparampil, *The ‘Trinitarian’ Formulae in St. Paul*, and Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 839-842, though I have added 1 Cor 3:7-17 and 6:11.

- 1) Gal 4:6: 'Because you are his sons, God sent the spirit of his son into our hearts...'
- 2) 1 Cor 3:7-17: 'For we are God's co-workers; you are God's field, God's building...no one can lay any foundation other than the one already laid, which is Jesus Christ...Don't you know that you yourselves are God's temple and that God's spirit dwells in your midst?' (here v. 9, v. 11, v. 16).
- 3) 1 Cor 6:11: 'But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the spirit of our God.'
- 4) 1 Cor 12:4-6: 'There are different kinds of gifts, but the same spirit distributes them. There are different kinds of service, but the same Lord. There are different kinds of working, but in all of them and in everyone it is the same God at work.'
- 5) 2 Cor 1:21-22: 'Now it is God who makes both us and you stand firm in Christ. He anointed us, set his seal of ownership on us, and put his spirit in our hearts as a deposit, guaranteeing what is to come.'
- 6) 2 Cor 13:13[14]: 'May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the holy spirit be with you all.'
- 7) Rom 8:11: 'And if the spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead is living in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies through his spirit who lives in you.'
- 8) Rom 15:15-16: 'Yet I have written you quite boldly on some points to remind you of them again, because of the grace God gave me to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles. He gave me the priestly duty of proclaiming the gospel of God, so that the Gentiles might become an offering acceptable to God, sanctified by the holy spirit.'
- 9) Rom 15:30: 'I urge you, brothers and sisters, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the spirit, to join me in my struggle by praying to God for me.'

In view of the conclusion that the spirit is distinguished by Paul from God and Christ, then such statements function to illustrate the degree to which the spirit stands alongside God and Christ within the Unique Divine Identity.⁹⁰ The development in Paul's perspective of the spirit is concretely evident by his inclusion of Christ within the Unique Divine Identity which has logically enabled him to make *a clearer distinction between the identity of God and the*

⁹⁰ In many ways, I arrive at a similar conclusion to Maleparampil's study, *The 'Trinitarian' Formulae in St. Paul*. Though I take issue with Maleparampil for utilising so frequently the categories of later theological reflection, particularly his affirmation of the spirit as a 'divine person' without adequate attention to Paul's Jewish framework, our conclusions are the same: 'Maintaining his faith in one God, Paul presents the Lord Jesus Christ as the divine Son in distinction from God (the Father), and the Holy Spirit as a divine person distinct from both' (238); 'he [Paul] keeps the Spirit separate [*sic*] from the [*sic*] God and Christ in his formulation...shows the distinction between them in his understanding' (247). Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 19-69, concludes similarly.

identity of the spirit since the spirit of Christ is indeed the same spirit of God. Paul's affirmation of the spirit as the spirit of Christ has resulted in his innovative development beyond the conception of the spirit as found in Hebrew and Jewish monotheism and has framed the spirit's individuality on the basis of the expansion of the Unique Divine Identity. In this way, rather than Paul's view of the relation between Christ and the spirit resulting in a collapse of the spirit's identity into that of Christ is instead best understood as resulting in the differentiation between God and his spirit.⁹¹ Paul's description of the relation between Christ and the spirit parallels his description of the relation between the spirit and God, and arguably just as Paul differentiates between the spirit and God so too does Paul differentiate between the spirit and Christ.⁹² The dynamic movement from God and Christ, by the spirit, to the believer, distinguishes the spirit from God and Christ and reveals a duality to the spirit's activity. The Unique Divine Identity thus appropriately identifies the importance of divine functions as integral for demonstrating the spirit's relational activity that stands *in parallel with* Christ as agent of God yet also stands in relation *to* Christ in fulfilling such key functions. Simultaneously the spirit functions as the agent of God but also is innovatively understood by Paul to stand in relation towards God.

The significance of such an interpretive path posits that if the spirit is not the *mode* by which God is present to believers, and if the spirit is not equated with Christ, *then the spirit is distinct on its own.* This is firstly, because Paul's thought does make a real differentiation between God and his spirit (most evident in Cultic Monotheism), and secondly, because the spirit's relation to Christ is modelled after the spirit's relation to God, a relation that evidences distinction, and thirdly, because the reality of the spirit as simultaneously the spirit of God and the spirit of Christ necessitates that the spirit exists in a uniquely individual way.⁹³ The logical

⁹¹ It is noteworthy that the relation between the spirit and Word and Wisdom is of less prominence in the New Testament, particularly in Paul. As Bauckham and many others have demonstrated, Christ was identified with Word and Wisdom, and if, as we argue, Christ and the spirit are in fact differentiated within the Unique Divine Identity, then it follows that a space was created for the spirit's identity to develop individually. Dunn perceptively asks the question, 'If Jesus was seen to absorb so completely the functions of Wisdom and Spirit [*sic* = Word], why was he not seen to absorb the function of the Spirit?' Yet his tantalizingly brief response to this question appears to head in the same direction as my argument here: 'Whatever the reason, the transition in Jesus' relationship with the Spirit took a different turn, not that of a straightforward identification with or absorption of its role, but as a continuing interaction, involving some measure of identification of role (1 Cor 15:45), *but also some sense of the exalted Christ having become positioned as it were between God and Spirit,*' 'Towards the Spirit of Christ,' 16, emphasis mine. So too Turner, 'But as the Spirit became theologically differentiated from the Father, by Christ's commissioning of the Spirit, it may have become natural to assume the Spirit too shared in divine personhood. This would then readily explain how the Spirit was able to mediate the Father and Son to believers,' *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 174. It should be clear that I would nuance Turner's premise regarding 'Christ's commissioning the Spirit.'

⁹² Cf. Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 47, 'Paul cannot simply equate the Spirit with Christ, any more than he can dissolve away the difference between Christ and the Father. Rather, the fundamental distinction and relationship between the Father and Jesus Christ open up a field in which it is both possible and necessary to relate the Spirit to both without conflating it with either.'

⁹³ See Turner, "'Trinitarian" Pneumatology in the New Testament?' 180-184.

corollary is that *Paul conceives of the spirit as possessing a distinct identity in relation to God and Christ since he signals the spirit's function of agency as the basis for identifying the spirit's participation within the Unique Divine Identity*. Consequently, the divine creative and ruling activities of the spirit are understood to be the actions of the spirit – not that of God or Christ – and such unique functions are the means by which the spirit's individuality is conceived. It is in this way that the framework of the Unique Divine Identity reveals the spirit's independent creative and ruling activities that stand apart from God and Christ and therefore 'defines' the spirit's identity *within* God's Unique Divine Identity.⁹⁴ Therefore, based upon this line of argument, it is not inappropriate *to conceive of the spirit in personal terms* since the spirit's function within the Unique Divine Identity determines the way in which we conceive of the unique identity of the spirit.⁹⁵ If Paul's language speaks of the spirit in personal terms, as Fee has demonstrated, then it is appropriate to understand Paul as conceiving of the spirit of God and Christ as the divine encounter of a personal agent. It is on this basis, and in this sense, that we can view Paul as identifying the Spirit as a divine object that is distinguished within his Christian monotheism.⁹⁶ Therefore such parallel statements are consistent with the conclusions drawn in this chapter for they reflect such logical differentiation. The importance of the Spirit listed alongside God and Christ confirms that Paul understands the Spirit to be an integral agent within the Unique Divine Identity yet also distinct from God and Christ. Paul's monotheism is therefore characterised by the logical

⁹⁴ In general, my argument supports the conclusion of Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 260; Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 47; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 838; and Gabriel, 'Pauline Pneumatology and the Question of Trinitarian Presuppositions,' 347-362 [and more theologically developed, 'The Spirit is God: A Pentecostal Perspective on the Doctrine of the Divine Attributes']. I have in a sense accomplished for the spirit what Francis Watson has accomplished concerning Christ's relation to God in 'The Triune Divine Identity: Reflections on Pauline God-Language, in Disagreement with J.D.G. Dunn,' 99-124.

⁹⁵ This argument finds affinity with Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 182-183 and Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 839-842. Turner arrives at a similar conclusion but via an alternative route: 'We suggest that Jesus' exaltation-lordship over the Spirit also probably implies a distinct divine personhood in the Spirit,' Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 172. Predictably Lampe's conclusion is at odds with my argument. Specifically referring to 1 Cor 2:9-16, Lampe argues, 'Here is Paul's plainest affirmation, and he is by no means always clear on this central point of theology, that in the last resort the Spirit is not a third entity, a power or influence or even a personal being, mediating between God and Christ, between God and the believer, or between Christ and the believer, but rather that the Spirit is God: the inner personal being of God, self-conscious deity,' *God as Spirit*, 81. Though Lampe does recognise that Paul's association between the spirit and power 'is not reducing the concept to the level of an impersonal energy' (91), he gives the spirit a personal conception simply because the spirit *is* God and Christ is God's spirit as they encounter believers. Rabens, 'The Development of Pauline Pneumatology,' 177-178, and *idem*, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 144-145, escapes from the problem of 'speaking of the Spirit explicitly as a person' (145) by examining the *effects* of the Spirit. This avenue is a fruitful one.

⁹⁶ Cf. Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit*, 3; Wedderburn, 'Pauline Pneumatology and Pauline Theology,' 156. For a thoughtful reflection on the spirit's identity as 'person' within a 'trinitarian' framework which clearly goes beyond the language of Paul, see Oberdorfer, 'The Holy Spirit – A Person? Reflection on the Spirit's Trinitarian Identity.'

differentiation between God, Christ and the Spirit as collectively constituting the Unique Divine Identity.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Previous agencies within Hebrew and Jewish monotheism such as Word and Wisdom, are now subsumed under, or into, the identity of Christ. Researching this process in relation to the identity of Christ is clearly beyond the confounds of this thesis, Cf. the argument of Dunn, *Christology in the Making* and the work of Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, for this development.

Part II: Section 2 - The Spirit and Religious Experience

The following chapter will follow the direction set by L. Hurtado and will inquire as to the relevance of religious experience in the formation of belief and patterns of thought. I will examine the experiential reality of the spirit and what influence Paul's experience plays in his understanding of the identity of the spirit. The aim of what follows will be to determine the precise nature of an experience identified as effected by the spirit and to query whether such an experience is distinguishable from an experience of God or Christ so as to further define the identity of the Spirit in Paul.

Chapter Nine: Paul and Religious Experience of the Spirit

1. Introduction

The previous chapter has brought to a close my examination of the identity of the Spirit using Richard Bauckham's framework of the Unique Divine Identity and concludes Section I of Part II. This section has examined the fundamental structures of Paul's thought that characterised God as unique and has concluded that 1) the Spirit is included within God's Unique Divine Identity because the Spirit fulfils those very functions that define God as unique, that is, Paul comprehends the Spirit as involved in Creational, Cultic and Eschatological monotheism through his pastoral, creative and cultic activities; 2) Paul made a distinction between the Spirit and God and Christ within his Christian monotheism such that the Spirit cannot be understood to be the mode of God in his activity but remains distinct, even when it is observed that the Spirit functions as the agent of God and Christ.

This examination using the framework of the Unique Divine Identity remains a coherent argument for discerning the Spirit's individuality within Paul's thought, and it is possible that this argument can stand alone as an internally consistent inquiry, yet to complete this study at this point would be premature since it would exclude an integral component of Paul's perception of the Spirit – that of his *religious experience*. The importance of religious experience for historical inquiry into the origins of the early Christian movement has been highlighted by the work of Larry Hurtado in application to the 'divine' identity of Jesus Christ. For Hurtado, the relevance – and importance – of religious experience is observed in the interplay between the experience itself and the dynamic impact of that experience on belief. In this sense, religious experience frequently precedes formal intellectual categorisation and is the thrust and impetus for the emergence of innovative expressions of faith and such novel assertions.¹ This approach examines a dialectical pattern within the early Christian communities that provides a direct link between their devotional experience and their propositions of faith.

I have previously examined the logical structures of Paul's thought concerning the identity of the Spirit. But it is necessary to inquire, like Hurtado, as to whether there is a defining correlation between Paul's *religious experience* of the Spirit and his *understanding*

¹ '[F]or a number of years I have argued that some significant innovations in religious traditions can be traced back to powerful religious experiences that come with the force of new revelation to those who receive such experiences,' Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*, 8. The context for Hurtado is the development of devotion to Christ as the key expression of the 'divine' status accrued to the identity of Christ, and religious experience is the 'conceptual model to use in trying to understand *how* such a remarkable pattern of devotion could have emerged in Second-Temple Jewish tradition' (28).

of the identity of the Spirit and the Spirit's relation to God and Christ.² If, as Hurtado has claimed, religious experience impacts formal statements of belief, then we are justified in examining Paul and his communities' experience of the Spirit in order to explain *how* the Spirit's individual identity emerged.³ What is needed is a description of Paul's belief concerning the identity of the Spirit – i.e. Bauckham's Unique Divine Identity – and the nature of Paul's experience of the Spirit in order to examine more fully how the Spirit's unique identity emerges. The distinction between 'belief' and 'experience' is even implicit in Bauckham's distinction between 'identity' and 'function.' The relation between belief/experience and identity/function is more than analogical for they are mutually interdependent aspects of human personality and are only theoretically dichotomised.⁴ They reflect Paul's own awareness that he is an apostle of God and of Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit for his sense of identity is expressed through his apostolic ministry (e.g. Rom 15:15ff) and his logical comprehension of God, Christ and the Spirit is expressed, shaped and moulded by his experience.

So the methodologies of Richard Bauckham and Larry Hurtado are mutually interdependent. The framework of the Unique Divine Identity evidences the logical structures

² See Hurtado, *God in New Testament Theology*, 73-94. If it is observed that Paul's religious experience of the Spirit functioned as a powerful means by which Paul comprehended the identity of the Spirit, then we move beyond a description of Paul's thought and move towards an examination of the motives behind such descriptions, that is, how Paul could conceive of a developed understanding of the identity of the Spirit that has resulted in his movement beyond a Hebrew or Jewish conception of the Spirit as the mode of God's activity. I have already summarised how in this tradition of Hebrew Religion and the Second Temple period the Spirit was understood as an experiential reality to a select few individuals, and if it is demonstrated that the Spirit was also an experiential reality within Paul's Christian experience, then it at first appears erroneous to presume that experience of the Spirit explains the *development* of Paul's perception of the Spirit's identity since experience has always characterised one's perception of the Spirit. But we must take into account the logical structures of Paul's thought whereby the Spirit's identity has become more pronounced in relation to God and Christ. Furthermore, the important point to note is that the Pauline communities did not worship the Spirit directly but venerated God and Christ through and by the Spirit. The recognition of religious experience as necessary for demonstrating and reflecting on early Christian belief in God and Christ as worthy of reverence is adequately applied to study on the Spirit not in the sense that the Spirit was the object of worship but in the sense that the Spirit was an experiential reality within the cultic experience of the Pauline communities. The significance of the experience of the Spirit does not, as in the case of devotion to Christ, affirm that the Spirit is 'divine,' but does affirm the degree to which the Spirit was an essential component of their religious experience of God and Christ.

³ I find the questions posed by Colleen Shantz apt for my own purposes: 'If Paul came to certain views through his ecstatic experience, then we might ask not only "What does Paul know?" but also "How did Paul come to know this?" and "What kind of knowledge is it that arises out of (bodily) experience?"' (*Paul in Ecstasy: The Neurobiology of the Apostle's Life and Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 66). My inquiry evidently is a criticism of Horn (*Das Angeld des Deistes*) and his rejection of an experiential dimension to the spirit. Horn removes experience of the spirit as an influence in shaping belief, instead arguing that belief (i.e. the doctrinal affirmation of the resurrection of Christ) is formative for objectively – but not subjectively – confirming the outpouring of the spirit. In many ways, this position is backwards, for, as I will argue, the experiential reality of the spirit not only confirmed that believers were seeing the dawn of the eschatological age, but also confirmed their union with God and Christ.

⁴ Note the apt comment of Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, 3, 'No one contests the fact that Paul underwent intense personal religious experience, but the question is this: what were the structures of thought within which this experience took place and by means of which he tried to communicate it to others? This question cannot be answered by an appeal to a nonverbal mystical experience, because the experience receives its shape in, with, and through the language with which it is apprehended and interpreted.'

of Paul's thought while religious experience becomes vital for comprehending the impact of experience in the formation of beliefs. Combining both methods makes the relation between function and experience explicit and gives clarity to the rational context within which experience occurs. It is therefore necessary to include the present chapter in my inquiry into the identity of the Spirit in order to examine the cause for the emergence of a distinct identity of the Spirit within Paul's Christian monotheism. The impetus, it will be argued, is that experience of the Spirit has a real and innovative impact on Paul's comprehension of the distinct identity of the Spirit.

2. Religious Experience and the Spirit in Pauline Research

Recent research in New Testament Christology has demonstrated the formative impact of religious experience on early Christian convictions. A similar inquiry is warranted into the way religious experience may have contributed to the shaping of an emerging perspective of the Spirit. Before engaging with the nature of religious experience of the Spirit in Paul, it is worthwhile to note the influence of an important study by L.T. Johnson who has preceded Hurtado's claim that religious experience has not been taken seriously enough in biblical scholarship. Johnson has argued that '[the language of religious experience] occurs everywhere in the earliest Christian writings and points to realities and convictions of fundamental importance to both writers and readers of these writings. Yet precisely this register of language is least recognized or appreciated by the academic study of early Christianity.'⁵ His 1998 study highlights the neglect by scholarship at the time, and while it may now be overstated to claim that religious experience is currently a 'missing dimension in New Testament studies,' his study is nonetheless an apt attempt to remind us of the importance of this aspect to the literature of the New Testament.⁶

⁵ Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 12.

⁶ The extent of Johnson's influence with regard to religious experience has been seen in a recent *Festschrift* in his honour, Mary F. Foskett and O. Wesley Allen Jr., eds., *Between Experience and Interpretation: Engaging the Writings of the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2008). In fact, the editors claim that 'one of Johnson's most important contributions to NT scholarship has been his insistence on placing the religious experience of the earliest Christians at the very centre of NT interpretation' (x). Cf. Stephen J. Kraftchick, 'Death's Parsing: Experience as a Mode of Theology in Paul,' in *Pauline Conversations in Context: Essays in Honour of Calvin J. Roetzel*, JSNTSupS 221, eds. Janice C. Anderson, Philip Sellew and Claudia Setzer (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 144-166. Note his positive response to Johnson's critique of the academy at this point, 165, fn. 28. Most importantly, the growing prominence of religious experience as a method of biblical interpretation is evident in e.g. Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*, and has now been seen in the formation of a distinct section within the Society of Biblical Literature devoted to the study of religious experience in early Judaism and early Christianity, identified as 'the Experientia Group'. See the symposium of studies now compiled in Francis Flannery, Colleen Shantz and Rodney A. Werline, eds., *Experientia*, Vol. 1, *Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, SBL Symposium Series (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008); and the group's second release, *Experientia*, Vol. 2, *Linking Text and Experience*. Despite these emerging studies that incorporate religious experience, Mark Batluck concludes his recent summary of religious experience in NT research by stating, 'a vast amount of

In support of his critique, Johnson embarks on a brief overview of the language of the New Testament, noting from the outset that ‘The New Testament writings contain an impressive amount of experiential language.’⁷ Johnson offers a phenomenological approach to early Christian experience through a study of Baptism, Glossolalia and the Lord’s Supper. Particularly in the case of Paul who ‘has the reputation of being a mystic and a certifiable “religious type,”’⁸ he ‘includes his readers as well as himself in such claims to experience.’⁹ Of importance to Johnson is the recognition that ‘The experiences expressed by these texts involve *power*’¹⁰ and such power ‘comes from outside those touched by it and is transmitted to them from another, to whom it properly belongs.’¹¹ This power is externally expressed in various phenomena such as ‘wonders and signs,’ healings, exorcisms and ecstatic speech, but also ‘at work in the internal transformation of human freedom.’¹² Such power, according to Johnson, can only be described as *transcendent* and such transcendence ‘is a function of *spirit*.’¹³ To appreciate Johnson’s perspective on spirit and religious experience of power, it is worth quoting him in full:

Language about the spirit (*to pneuma*) and more specifically the Holy Spirit (*to pneuma to hagion*) in the texts of the New Testament has specific reference to this complex experiential field in which power is transmitted and exchanged. The *pneuma* is, precisely, active power.¹⁴ The *pneuma* comes to humans from another.¹⁵ It indwells them,¹⁶ moves them,¹⁷ transforms and gives them life.¹⁸ It is poured out upon them¹⁹ and poured into them.²⁰ It is drunk,²¹ and it fills humans.²² So pervasive is such language

research remains to be done,’ ‘Religious Experience in New Testament Research,’ *CBR* 9:3 (2010): 339-363, here 354.

⁷ Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 4. In his judicial and comprehensive style, Johnson clarifies his terms. He explains, ‘By “experiential,” I mean language that does not serve primarily to state propositions about reality (whether with reference to God or to humans) so much as to express, refer to, and argue from human experiences,’ 4.

⁸ Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 5. Johnson references in support 1 Cor 9:1-2; 14:18; 15:8; 2 Cor 1:3, 22; 3:18; 4:6; 5:14; 12:1-4, 7, 12; Gal 1:12, 16; 2:2, 20; 4:19; 6:14, 17; Phil 3:8, 12; Col 1:24; 1 Tim 1:12-16; 2 Tim 1:11; Eph 3:3.

⁹ Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 5. As examples, Johnson references Rom 5:5; 6:11, 22; 8:15; 1 Cor 3:16; 5:4; 12:3, 4-11, 27-31; 14:5-32; 2 Cor 3:18; 4:12; 12:12; 13:3, 5; Gal 3:2-5; 4:6-7, 9; 5:1, 25; Phil 2:1; 1 Thess 1:5-6; 5:19; 1 Tim 1:18; 4:14; 2 Tim 1:6-7; Tit 3:4-6.

¹⁰ Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 6, emphasis original.

¹¹ Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 7. Johnson’s Pauline examples include Rom 1:4; 16:25; 1 Cor 1:24; 5:4; 12:3; 2 Cor 1:4; 6:7; 12:9; 13:4 Eph 3:16, 20; Phil 3:10, 21; 2 Tim 1:7.

¹² Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 7.

¹³ Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 8, emphasis original.

¹⁴ Johnson identifies those texts ‘in which power and spirit are brought together.’ I note the Pauline references (here and in the following): Rom 1:4; 8:26; 15:13, 19; 1 Cor 2:4; 5:3-4; 12:11; 2 Cor 4:13; Gal 3:1-5; 1 Thess 1:5, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 8, fn. 23.

¹⁵ Rom 8:15; 1 Cor 2:12-14; 2 Cor 5:5, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 8, fn. 24.

¹⁶ Rom 8:9, 111 (*sic*); 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 8, fn. 25.

¹⁷ Rom 8:14; Gal 5:16, 18, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 8, fn. 26.

¹⁸ Transforming: Rom 12:2; 2 Cor 3:18. Giving life: Rom 8:2, 10, 11; 1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:6; Gal 5:25; 6:8, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 8, fn. 27.

¹⁹ Tit 3:6, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 8, fn. 28. That Johnson cites a deutero-Pauline text does not diminish the validity of the Spirit’s activity referenced.

that the unsettling consequences of taking it literally rather than metaphorically seldom occur to the reader. But calling something a symbol means to take it at least as much literally as metaphorically, for a symbol in the proper sense participates in that which it signifies. In this sense, the symbol 'Holy Spirit' serves as the linguistic expression of the experience of power.²³

It is precisely this sphere of language within the New Testament that Johnson argues 'is least recognised or appreciated by the academic study of early Christianity.'²⁴ Such a critique by Johnson of the academy's lack of reference to religious experience in early Christianity is only provisionally developed in application to the Spirit. Both Johnson and Hurtado acknowledge religious experience as fundamentally associated with the Spirit, yet their interest lies far beyond a discussion on the identity of the Spirit and therefore their work is largely underdeveloped for our purposes.²⁵ Indeed, Johnson's emphasis on the Spirit as the power of religious experience creates an ambiguous conception of the identity of the Spirit.

This, in fact, is largely indicative of the literature on Spirit, religious experience, Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism, Jewish and Christian Mysticism, and Paul in general.²⁶

²⁰ Rom 5:5, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 9, fn. 29.

²¹ 1 Cor 12:13, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 9, fn. 30.

²² Eph 5:18, Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 9, fn. 31. Again, that Johnson cites a deutero-Pauline text does not diminish the validity of the Spirit's activity referenced.

²³ Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 8-9.

²⁴ Johnson identifies 'A great – but only partial exception within the historical paradigm' as the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 14). But while the history-of-religions school 'had the merit of recognizing that the New Testament was not first of all a compilation of theological propositions but rather the expression of religious experience and conviction,' (14-15) the approach still faltered with its claims to parallel Hellenistic experiences that have been largely overstretched 'on the basis of small linguistic details,' (18. See further, 20-26). Additionally, 'The distinctive and noteworthy virtues of the history-of-religions approach – in particular its attention to religious experience and language – were ultimately vitiated by its captivity to the dominant paradigm within which it operated. Its religious focus, like that of the tradition shared by these scholars, was rather more on the individual than on the community. It reduced religious responses to psychological conditions,' (19). I would comment here that this reduction of experience to 'psychological conditions' should not impede any analysis of the psychological effect of the Spirit, for any phenomenological analysis of the Spirit's activity must concern the psychological effects of the Spirit since Paul and the early Pauline communities' experience of the Spirit is naturally – in the biological sense of the word – only mediated through the cognitive perception of the experience. Such a critique by Johnson appears somewhat contradictory to his affirmation of a phenomenological approach itself (43-44).

²⁵ On such an approach in application to Christian literature in the period AD 90-200, see John E. Morgan-Wynne, *Holy Spirit and Religious Experience in Christian Literature ca. AD 90-200*, Studies in Christian History and Thought (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006).

²⁶ I do not intend here to enter into the discussion on whether such apocalyptic and mystical influences were evident on Paul. The essential point for my argument is that the Spirit is an *experienced* reality. The particular *nature* of the experience is a secondary question open to diverse interpretations. On *Merkabah Mysticism* see T. Eskola, *Messiah and the Throne*, James M. Scott, 'The Triumph of God in 2 Cor 2:14: Additional Evidence of Merkabah Mysticism in Paul,' *NTS* 42 (1996): 260-281; Peter Schafer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). On occurrences of *ascents to the heavens* see James D. Tabor, *Things Unutterable: Paul's Ascent to Paradise in its Greco-Roman, Judaic, and Early Christian Contexts*, Studies in Judaism (Lanham: University of America Press, 1986); Christopher R.A. Morray-Jones, 'Paradise Revisited (2 Cor 12:1-12): The Jewish Mystical Background of Paul's Apostolate, Part 2: Paul's Heavenly Ascent and its Significance,' *HTR* 86:3 (1993): 265-292; Paula R. Gooder, *Only the Third Heaven?: 2 Corinthians 12.1-10 and Heavenly Ascent*, LNTS 313 (London/New York: T&T Clark, a Continuum Imprint, 2006). On *heavenly visions* see Daphna V. Arbel and Andrei A. Orlov, eds., *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic, and Mysticism in Honor of Rachel Elijor*, Ekstasis: Religious Experience from

When we approach religious experience of the Spirit, there are precedents within Pauline scholarship for recognising the experiential nature of the Spirit within the life of the Apostle Paul, despite the claims of Johnson, simply because the Spirit in Hebrew and Jewish religion is presuppositionally experiential.²⁷ Though the Spirit is frequently recognised as an experiential reality, the conclusions drawn concerning the identity of the Spirit are by no means uniform. The works of A. Schweitzer,²⁸ Percy Gardner,²⁹ J. Ashton,³⁰ A.F. Segal,³¹

Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010). For evidence of the diversity of opinion in defining Jewish and Christian Mysticism, see the collection of definitions compiled in “‘Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism,’ A Collage of Working Definitions,’ in *SBL 2001 Seminar Papers*, Num. 40, ed. April D. DeConick (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 278-304. For a thorough (positive) analysis of the background of Mysticism in Jewish literature, 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* 86:2 (1993): 177-217; Jey J. Kanagaraj, “*Mysticism*” in the Gospel of John: An Inquiry Into its Background, JSNTSupS 158 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Luz, ‘Paul as Mystic,’ 131-136. As Philip observes, ‘What is...increasingly clear is the comparatively (sic) paucity of references to the Spirit in the Jewish mystical experiences,’ *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 181. Though this does not inhibit Philip’s own attempt to correlate merkavah mysticism with Paul’s own experience of the Spirit, the observation weakens any explicit understanding of the work and identity of the Spirit in such experiences. My interest lies solely in the impact of Paul’s conscious experience of the Spirit and the extent to which this experience developed his understanding of the *identity of the Spirit* within the context of his Christian monotheism.

²⁷ Schweitzer is well known to have stated that ‘Long before the Spirit was a theme of doctrine, He was a fact in the experience of the community’ (‘πνεῦμα,’ 396). Indeed Dunn has stated forthrightly, ‘Any attempt to speak coherently of the Spirit of God cannot avoid speaking of religious experience. And any attempt to speak coherently of religious experience in a Christian context cannot avoid speaking of the Spirit of God’ (‘Religious Experience in the New Testament,’ 15). Even at the heart of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* was the affirmation that a key component of the spread of the gospel within a Gentile context was the powerful experience of Christ as the Spirit, for as Deissmann states, ‘it always refers to the same experience whether Paul says that Christ lives in him, or that the Spirit dwells in us...’ (*Paul*, 139). So too Wikenhauser has stated that ‘For Paul...the divine Spirit was a power and an influence which he had experienced; this power had intervened profoundly in his life, and thereafter influenced it decisively’ (Alfred Wikenhauser, *Pauline Mysticism: Christ in the Mystical Teaching of St. Paul* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1960), 57-58).

²⁸ The well-known work of Albert Schweitzer on Paul’s ‘Christ-mysticism’ identifies ‘possession of the Spirit as a mode of manifestation of the being-risen-with-Christ,’ (Ch VII title). But the closest Schweitzer comes to correlating experience and the identity of the Spirit with Christ is to state ‘being in the Spirit is only a form of manifestation of the “being-in-Christ.” Both are descriptions of one and the same state,’ *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, 167. Indeed, Schweitzer’s ‘mysticism’ appears to be a rationalizing of Paul as a mystic ‘who has not the usual mentality of the mystic’ with the ‘mentality’ of Paul centred on ‘three different doctrines of redemption which for Paul go side by side: an eschatological, a juridical, and a mystical,’ (25). Effectively, ‘Paul as mystic’ is described according to the categories not of existential religious experience, but according to propositional doctrinal categories which demonstrates Schweitzer’s restrictive view of mysticism. Even within such doctrinal categories, the severe restriction of discussion on the Spirit (160-176 only) does not give adequate attention to experience of the Spirit in Paul which, even within such a doctrinal framework, let alone a ‘mystical’ one, is most prominent. The reason may be a consequence of Schweitzer’s argument that there is no ‘God-mysticism’ in Paul, and therefore the Spirit as the Spirit of God is not given due focus since the Spirit as the Spirit of Christ (as the ‘mode of manifestation of the being-risen-with-Christ’) takes precedence in his discussion. As far as the identity and experience of the Spirit is concerned, this is a one-sided presentation of the Spirit in Paul’s mysticism.

²⁹ Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*. The role of the Spirit is curiously minimal, particularly since Gardner’s work concerns the religious experience of Paul. Gardner only addresses the relationship of the Spirit to monotheism by briefly addressing the relationship of the Spirit to Christ where ‘it is...impossible to make a rigid distinction in the Pauline Epistles between the Holy Spirit and the Spiritual Christ,’ (176); cf. ‘The spirit of God, the spirit of Christ, Christ, are with him three ways of expressing the same idea,’ (258). For Gardner, ‘Paul does not develop any doctrine in regard to the Divine Spirit – at all events he does not personify the Spirit,’ (175).

³⁰ Ashton, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle*.

³¹ Segal, *Paul the Convert*, cf. *idem*, ‘Paul’s Religious Experience in the Eyes of Jewish Scholars,’ in *Israel’s God and Rebecca’s Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honor*

C.L. Westfall,³² C. Tibbs,³³ F. Philip,³⁴ M.J. Gorman,³⁵ V. Rabens,³⁶ and C. Shantz³⁷ while giving adequate attention to religious experience, all reflect no interest in its impact on an innovative development of the *identity* of the Spirit.

of Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal, eds. David B. Capes, April D. DeConick, Helen K. Bond and Troy Miller (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 321-343; *idem*, 'Paul and the Beginning of Jewish Mysticism,' in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, eds. John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 95-122; *idem*, 'Paul's "Soma Pneumatikon" and the Worship of Jesus,' in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, 258-276.

³² Cynthia L. Westfall, 'Paul's Experience and a Pauline Theology of the Spirit,' in *Defining Issues in Pentecostalism*, 123-143. Westfall is right to understand the close relation between Paul's experience of the Spirit and his theology as evidenced in such statements as, 'Paul's personal experience was an essential component in his understanding of revelation'(126) and 'Paul presents the Spirit as the primary agent of God's revelation, which is continual and experiential'(127). Of merit to Westfall is also the acknowledgement that 'Paul recognizes the connection between God's presence and the experience of the Holy Spirit,' and 'the Spirit is also the conduit of the power that allows us access to Christ, which Paul depicts as heavily experiential' (128). But no synthesis accompanies these statements and no clarification is given as to the identity of the Spirit for her concerns lie in the parallels between Paul, Luke and contemporary Pentecostal distinctives.

³³ Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*; see also 'The Spirit (World) and the (Holy) Spirits Among the Earliest Christians,' 313-330. Tibbs has surveyed the religious experience of the Spirit in recent discussion but his survey and his own thesis does not concern itself with the impact of religious experience on the development of the identity of the Spirit for it in fact moves in the opposite direction. He argues, 'The modern academic assumptions of "the spirit" in the NT as simply referring to a single sanctifying power or a divine Person that stands apart from the rest of what was "spirit," a sort of "proto-Athanasian Holy Spirit," does not reveal the true range of the term for early Jews and Christians,' Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*, 109-110, cf. 170-174. Tibbs supports this argument by analysing the religious experience of the πνεῦμα in 1 Cor 12 and 14 and identifies these chapters as referring 'to what might be called "spiritism," i.e., "the art of communicating with the spirit world,"' (111). Such a provocative thesis does not take seriously Paul's Jewish heritage, his identification of the πνεῦμα as the πνεῦμα θεοῦ or the πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, nor the consistency in Paul's usage in referring to the Spirit in this way. My thesis inevitably parts company with Tibbs significantly.

³⁴ Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, adequately identifies the importance of religious experience but only draws conclusions about the *activity* of the Spirit and does not correlate the activity of the Spirit with the *identity* of the Spirit. Philip has set himself the task of assessing the origins of Pauline Pneumatology with the aim of demonstrating that 'Paul's early Christian thinking on the Holy Spirit is based on the belief that God has bestowed the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from Torah observance. This conviction in turn is rooted primarily in his own Damascus experience and secondarily in his experience with and as a missionary of the Hellenistic community in Antioch,' (27). Paul's experience of the Spirit at his conversion was therefore seen to be the grounds of his assurance that his mission and authority were from God. A key question which Philip raises is of interest to our thesis: 'To what extent did Paul's own self-understanding and his own experience of the Spirit and his interactions with the early Christian communities contribute to his initial thinking on the theology of the Spirit?' (28). Philip argues that 'The Damascus event for Paul was an experience of the Spirit,' (166), and in his analysis of Paul's allusions to his conversion in 2 Cor 3:18, Philip appeals to recent studies in Jewish mysticism, particularly merkavah mysticism, to argue that 'The semantic line of argument [of light and darkness] leaves us with the distinct probability that Paul's experience at Damascus was nothing short of a mystical experience wherein Paul saw Jesus as exalted to the throne of glory,' (179). Such a mystical experience, Philip argues, was the work of the Spirit, evidenced by Paul's own autobiographical reference to his conversion/call in 2 Cor 3:1-4:6, an experience that 'probably transformed his pre-Christian convictions regarding the role of the Spirit and the significance of an experience of the Spirit,' (193). In regards to Philip's specific agenda, the consequence of such an experience of the Spirit meant Paul understood that the Spirit had been given to Gentiles apart from Torah (203).

³⁵ Gorman's analysis of Paul's experiential spirituality helpfully engages with Paul's religious experience of the Spirit within the context of Christian monotheism, but does not clarify the development of the identity of the Spirit while simply presupposing Trinitarian categories. Michael J. Gorman, *Cruciformity: Paul's Narrative Spirituality of the Cross*, (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001); *idem*, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004).

³⁶ Volker Rabens helpfully notes the (general) lack of attention given to experience of the Spirit in Pauline Pneumatology, but his study is only concerned with the effects of the Spirit upon the moral and religious life of the believer, though in 'The Development of Pauline Pneumatology,' 175-179, Rabens does assert in passing that 'we should for the time being go no further than to say that – on the basis of the similarity of the nexus of activities that elsewhere is attributed to either the Father or the Son (cf. 1 Cor 12,6 and 11; Rom 8,11 and 2 Cor

The closest studies for our purposes remain the notable early work of H. Gunkel, H. Wheeler Robinson and the more recent work of J.D.G. Dunn and G.D. Fee. Gunkel declared unequivocally that Paul was a pneumatic who experienced the Spirit as supernatural divine power.³⁸ Gunkel's presupposition is that the Spirit is God's power and activity, so by extension, just as Christ is the Spirit so too is the Spirit God.³⁹ How the experience of the Spirit relates to Paul's experience of Christ is made clear when Gunkel states, 'the union of the individual Christian with Christ would not be direct but would be mediated through the Spirit.'⁴⁰ But this statement is modified when Gunkel concludes that Christ *is* the Spirit. This conclusion appears to stand in somewhat of a contradiction to the mediation of Christ through and by the Spirit, yet it is the interpretive conclusion that 'plumbs the entire depth of the Pauline idea.'⁴¹ Likewise, Wheeler Robinson recognises that Christian experience is 'the only true basis of a doctrine of the Spirit.'⁴² Since Paul possessed a mystical union with Christ through the Spirit, and since the Spirit is the means by which Christ is experienced by Paul, then for Wheeler Robinson 'The Spirit of God has become so blended with the person of Christ that there is no practical difference for Paul between the indwelling Spirit and the indwelling Christ, and he can indeed speak of the Lord the Spirit.'⁴³ In a similar fashion, God is present to believers *as* Spirit so that 'God (the Father) is Spirit, the Lord (Jesus Christ) is Spirit, and the Holy Spirit of God and of Christ is the historically specialized activity of Spirit

3,6; Rom 8, 26 and 34) and yet the clear distinction of the three (1 Cor 2,10; 12, 4-11; 2 Cor 12:13 [sic]; Rom 8, 27) – Paul understands the Spirit as having personal traits' (177). Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 131-132, fn. 30, comments that 'The notion of *experience* has often been overlooked in previous studies of Paul's pneumatology (and ethics), particularly in the last century,' (emphasis original). See too Rabens' comments in relation to the work of Horn who denies an experiential dimension to the Spirit (*pace* Gunkel), 'The Development of Pauline Pneumatology,' 161–179, which is also developed in his 'Power from In Between: The Relational Experience of the Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts in Paul's Churches,' in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology*, 138-155. This chapter does well to give focus to experience of the Spirit within the context of religious interpretation; cf. Rabens, 'The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul,' *Themelios* 35 (2010): 452-455.

³⁷ Colleen Shantz has recently developed a detailed and credible neurobiological approach to interpreting Paul as an ecstatic and has given a strong defence for religious experience as an exegetical method for the study of Paul (*Paul in Ecstasy*). While Shantz has (rightly) noted the prominence of Paul's language of the Spirit as a key foundation for his religious experience, her focus is on the ecstatic phenomena effected by the Spirit rather than an assessment of Paul's understanding of the identity of the Spirit. Shantz's study is an excellent defence of religious experience as an interpretive method and she offers strong criticism of the entrenched approach within Pauline scholarship to view Paul simply according to theological categories while ignoring the 'mystical' or 'ecstatic' elements that Paul's letters reflect.

³⁸ He recognises that 'the root of the apostle's teaching concerning the πνεῦμα lies in his experience,' (Gunkel, *Influence*, 95), 'the theology of the great apostle is the expression of his experience, not of his reading,' (100) and 'Paul believes in the divine Spirit because he has experienced it,' (100) such that 'to this concept (of the Spirit) belong very concrete views and deep inner experiences in which we must imitate the apostle in order to understand his dogmatic statements,' (75).

³⁹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 75ff.

⁴⁰ Gunkel, *Influence*, 113.

⁴¹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 113.

⁴² Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 65.

⁴³ Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 135.

in the largest sense.’⁴⁴ Thus for both Gunkel and Wheeler Robinson, since God and Christ are experienced as the Spirit, then Christ and the Spirit are indistinguishable in their identity, in the same way that God and his Spirit are identified.

It is significant in light of his extensive research already in the area of religious experience that Dunn has affirmed the study of the religious experiences of the early Pauline communities.⁴⁵ While conceding that development on the relationship between the Spirit and Christ ‘was a matter of theological reflection,’⁴⁶ he nonetheless argues that in the case of the Spirit ‘not just theological *reflection* was involved, but spiritual *experience*.’⁴⁷ Dunn takes religious experience seriously in application to the identity of the Spirit, and states explicitly that ‘It is clear that in presenting the relationship of Jesus and the Spirit in such dynamic terms Paul has taken a bold and decisive step forward in Judaeo-Christian thinking about the Spirit of God and religious experience.’⁴⁸ Dunn states, ‘for Paul *no distinction can be detected in the believer’s experience between exalted Christ and Spirit of God*.’⁴⁹ Despite this position, Dunn is careful not to construe Paul’s perception of the Spirit’s identity, like Gunkel and Wheeler

⁴⁴ Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, 235, cf. 278.

⁴⁵ Particularly his earlier studies, *Jesus and the Spirit* and *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, 189-217.

⁴⁶ Dunn, ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ 21.

⁴⁷ Dunn, ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ 21 (emphasis original). He continues, ‘In the crucial developments which shaped the distinctiveness of Christian Pneumatology it is important to observe that the Spirit...was still understood as an *existential* term, expressive of life-transforming experiences.’ Writing in 2006, Dunn proceeds to state that ‘The degree to which such experience sparked off new theological insights, challenged and *reshaped old traditional perspectives needs to be given fresh attention*, not least because of the tremendous repercussions that made Christianity what it is and that reverberate down to the present day,’ (Dunn, ‘Towards the Spirit of Christ,’ 22, emphasis mine). It is not clear why Dunn denies that this same process of ‘spiritual experience,’ in conjunction with theological reflection, was involved in the development of the relationship between the Spirit and Christ since his previous work appears to argue as much (particularly if Christ and the Spirit are one and the same in the believer’s experience). But he nonetheless still supports the function and impact of religious experience within Pauline thought. Most recently, in 2008, Dunn has restated his concerns to take religious experience of the spirit seriously, and it is significant that when addressing the concept of religious experience, he immediately references the activity of the Spirit. He states, ‘The fundamental point for me is that the Spirit of God is an *experiential concept*. By that I mean that “Spirit” has been the term used from the beginning of Judaeo-Christianity to speak of the experience of God; the Spirit of God is God insofar as mere human beings can experience God,’ (‘Religious Experience in the New Testament,’ in *Between Experience and Interpretation*, 3-15, here 4). Dunn’s essay is a summary of his prior work on the Spirit and religious experience (i.e., *Jesus and the Spirit*, 199ff (‘*Spirit*...for Paul is essentially an *experiential concept*,’ 201, emphasis original); cf. *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 426-434) and, while giving primary place to experience of the Spirit, does not develop his work in any new direction. Also of interest are Dunn’s comments in a review article on the work of Fatehi. He states, ‘This thesis persuades me that more regard must be paid to the experience of the Spirit in explaining the early emergence of high Christology in the first years of Christianity,’ ‘The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul,’ *Journal of Theological Studies* 55:1 (2004): 283-286, here 285.

⁴⁸ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 325.

⁴⁹ Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 146, emphasis original. For Dunn, ‘Immanent christology is for Paul Pneumatology; in the believer’s experience there is *no* distinction between Christ and the Spirit,’ Dunn, ‘1 Corinthians 15:45,’ 165, emphasis original; ‘Christ is experienced in and through, even *as* the life-giving Spirit, just as the Spirit experienced other than as the Spirit of Christ is for Paul not the Spirit of God,’ *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 264; ‘so far as the religious experience of Christians is concerned Jesus and the Spirit are no different. The risen Jesus may not be experienced independently of the Spirit, and any religious experience which is not in character and effect an experience of Jesus Paul would not regard as a manifestation of the life-giving Spirit...*If Christ is now experienced as Spirit, Spirit is now experienced as Christ*...One cannot experience Christ without experiencing Spirit...one cannot experience Christ except as Spirit, which also means that one cannot experience Spirit except as Christ,’ *Jesus and the Spirit*, 323, emphasis original.

Robinson, as ‘ontological,’ but states that there is an ‘equation’ such that Christ and the spirit are ‘closely identified, but not completely.’⁵⁰ Yet what Dunn’s construction amounts to is a collapse of the Spirit’s activity with that of Christ since ‘the religious experience spoken of is *experience of Spirit identified and distinguished as experience of Christ.*’⁵¹ Not only is Christ experienced through the Spirit, qualitatively defining the experience as an experience of Christ, but the reverse must also be a reality for ‘if the risen Jesus is experienced now only as life-giving Spirit, so Spirit is experienced now only as last Adam.’⁵² Furthermore, just as Christ is experienced *as* the Spirit so too is God experienced *as* the Spirit for ‘the Spirit of God is God insofar as mere human beings can experience God.’⁵³ Even though Dunn rightly gives focus to experience of the Spirit, God and Christ are the identities experienced *as* Spirit, which raises questions as to how Paul perceived of the experience as really an experience of the Spirit at all or whether the Spirit could be experienced apart from God or Christ. The only means by which religious experience defines the Spirit’s identity is to collapse the perception of the Spirit within that of God and Christ.⁵⁴ Finally, if Christ is experienced as Spirit such that there is no distinction in the believer’s experience between Christ and the Spirit, and yet Christ and the Spirit are not ‘ontologically’ or ‘completely’ identified, should we presume the same relation between God and the Spirit? Since Dunn argues that God is experienced by the believer as Spirit, should we deductively conclude that the Spirit and God are not

⁵⁰ Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 264.

⁵¹ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 324, emphasis original.

⁵² Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 322. Dunn’s logic is pushed too far here. Nowhere does Paul express the idea that believers experience the Spirit as Last Adam. Christ is always and consistently presented as Last Adam.

⁵³ See Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 129-149, ‘for Paul as much as for the earlier Jewish writers the Spirit is the dynamic power of God himself reaching out to and having its effect on men,’ 144, emphasis original.

⁵⁴ Yet it is curious that the logical differentiation between ‘experience’ and ‘being’ is enough to allow Dunn to escape the same criticisms as the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. One wonders that since identity and function, or ‘being’ and ‘experience’ are so intermingled, whether Dunn truly escapes unscathed. Fatehi’s thesis should also be included within this criticism. Like Dunn, Fatehi views both God and Christ experienced through and *as* the Spirit: ‘The Spirit does not refer to an entity *distinct or separable from God* but to God himself in his presence and work among his people,’ (168, emphasis mine); ‘the living Christ is both *experienced* as well as *conceived* of as the subject of activities accomplished by the power of the Spirit,’ (172, emphasis mine). Though Fatehi rightly places the correct caveats that Paul distinguishes between the Spirit and Christ and therefore does not identify them (e.g. 173; 302-308), he nonetheless creates an ambiguous conception of the *experience* of the Spirit itself since his focus lies on *Christ’s* relation to and activity through the Spirit: ‘Paul correlates Christ’s lordship with the work of the Spirit in a way that confirms the claim that Paul and the Pauline Christians understood themselves to have experienced the risen Christ as *κύριος* in and through their experiences of the Spirit’ (261). Yet contrary to Dunn, Fatehi argues that Christ and the Spirit are not identified in the believer’s experience of the Spirit: ‘But neither is the Spirit reduced to the risen Lord, even in the believer’s experience. This is because the Spirit retains for Paul its primary characteristic of being the Spirit *of God*... There certainly remains in Paul’s pneumatology a place for an experience of the presence and activity of God the Father through the Spirit... And although for the believer this will still be in some sense an experience of Christ – i.e. an experience of sonship similar to that of Christ – it certainly is an experience of God the Father *in a different sense*’ (305-306, emphasis original). In none of these instances does Fatehi discuss what an experience of the Spirit means for *the Spirit* and Paul’s perception of the identity of the Spirit, since the importance of the experience for the Spirit is subsumed under his agenda to demonstrate that God and Christ are experienced through the Spirit. In what sense the Spirit is *not* simply either God or Christ in the believer’s experience is not given prominent discussion.

‘ontologically’ or ‘completely’ identified?⁵⁵ Dunn leaves open such questions which in the work of Gunkel and Wheeler Robinson appear resolved through ‘ontological’ identification.

On the opposite end of the spectrum is Fee who maintains a clear distinction between the identities of God, Christ and the Spirit within an experience of the Spirit itself.⁵⁶ He explicitly states that “for Paul, the Spirit was an *experienced* reality.”⁵⁷ In conjunction with this affirmation, Fee identifies the Spirit as ‘God’s Empowering Presence.’⁵⁸ Yet Fee can state clearly that ‘There can be little question that Paul sees the Spirit as distinct from God,’⁵⁹ though how the Spirit can be the empowering presence of God and distinct from God, and how an experience of the distinct Spirit can be an experience of God – beyond the rather vague expression ‘God is present by the Spirit’ – is never clarified by Fee. Fee adamantly denies any equation or identification between Christ and the Spirit but Paul does view Christ as dwelling in him by the Spirit in the same way that the Spirit is God’s own presence.⁶⁰ It is unclear if Fee affirms that there is an experience of God and Christ through the Spirit *as well as* an experience of the Spirit that is somehow differentiated from an experience of God and Christ, for he states that ‘God is one; that God is now known and *experienced as* Father, Son and Holy Spirit, each distinct from the other, yet as only one God.’⁶¹ Fee’s position appears to affirm clearly the distinctive identities of God, Christ and the Spirit, and even when God and

⁵⁵ Dunn recognises experience as a key aspect in the formation of a ‘trinitarian’ conception of Christian monotheism: ‘early Christian experience may have played a significant part in the development of a Trinitarian conception of God. For it was by the Spirit that believers cried “Abba! Father!” (Rom. 8.15). And by the same Spirit that they confessed “Jesus is Lord” (1 Cor. 12.3). In other words, the believers in Paul’s churches experienced worship as a double relationship – to God as Father and to Jesus as Lord – and attributed this experience to the Spirit’ (*The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 264, emphasis original); ‘the doctrine of the Trinity is grounded in *experience* – and in experience of Spirit, Spirit as Spirit of sonship, Spirit as Spirit of the Son. To say the first Christians “experienced the Trinity” would be inaccurate; they experienced *Spirit*, who made them conscious of their dual relationship as men of Spirit’ (*Jesus and the Spirit*, 326, emphasis original).

⁵⁶ Fee has lamented that ‘the crucial role of the Spirit in Paul’s life and thought – as the dynamic, experiential reality of Christian life – is often either overlooked or given mere lip service’ (Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, xxi) and aims to give adequate attention to the experiential nature of the Spirit. Besides *God’s Empowering Presence*, this emphasis is also evident in his collection of essays in *Listening to the Spirit in the Text*, particularly ‘Some Reflections on Pauline Spirituality’ (33-47), and his article ‘Paul and the Trinity: The Experience of Christ and the Spirit for Paul’s Understanding of God.’

⁵⁷ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, xxi, italics his.

⁵⁸ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, xxi, and re-expressed at 1ff. The point of connection between experience of the Spirit and the Spirit’s identity as the Spirit of God is evident in Fee when he states, ‘the Spirit in Paul’s experience and theology was always thought of in terms of the personal presence of God. The Spirit is God’s way of being present...’ (*God’s Empowering Presence*, xxi, also 5-9 and more fully 827-845).

⁵⁹ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 836.

⁶⁰ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 838; cf. ‘Paul and the Trinity,’ 63. It would be fair to describe Fee as providing a strong affirmation of an experience of the Spirit as an experience of God in the same way that Dunn provides a strong affirmation of an experience of the Spirit as an experience of Christ. The difference lies in their respective emphasis. Fee softens the reality of the Spirit as mediating Christ’s presence as a result of his reaction against Gunkel and the strand of scholarship that has followed in his interpretive steps. Dunn, conversely, softens the reality of the Spirit as mediating God’s presence as a result of his interest in highlighting the relation between Christ and the Spirit that stemmed from early studies in *Christology in the Making* and in *Jesus and the Spirit*.

⁶¹ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 828, emphasis mine. Cf. “The Spirit whom God ‘sent into our hearts’ is thus ‘distinct from’ God himself, just as is the Son whom God sent to redeem. At the same time the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ and is thus ‘distinct from’ Christ, who now lives in us by means of ‘the Spirit of Christ,’” (“Paul and the Trinity,” 69).

Christ are experienced through the Spirit, Fee creates the strong impression that the experience still maintains a logical differentiation between the Spirit, and God and Christ, if the Spirit is on 'earth' while God and Christ are in 'heaven.'⁶² How the role of experience *defines* the identity of the Spirit is only broached when he states that 'it was that same experience of the Spirit, as the Spirit of God and of Christ, that best explains his thoroughly *personal* understanding of the Spirit.'⁶³ Fee appears more intent to focus on the impact of experience of the Spirit on the identity of *God* and on the presence of God and Christ through the Spirit rather than the identity of the Spirit directly.⁶⁴

I have traversed a spectrum from Gunkel and Wheeler Robinson, who argue that the spirit's identity is 'ontologically' equated with God and Christ even beyond experience, to Dunn who takes a mediating position, arguing that God and Christ are identified with the Spirit only in the believers' experience, not in their being, to Fee who argues for a distinction perceptible in the experience. This brief discussion demonstrates that those studies on Paul and the Spirit which take religious experience of the Spirit seriously describe the Spirit's identity in such contrasting terms. There is confusion, and debate, over how Paul's experience of the Spirit relates to his perception of the identity of the Spirit, particularly the Spirit's relation to God and Christ. The Spirit frequently is conceived as the *conduit* for an experience of God or Christ.⁶⁵ This indicates that there is an avenue for forging a new path forward in the connection between experience of the Spirit and the identity of the Spirit and to inquire whether Paul could conceive of a distinct experience of the Spirit. I contend that a developed understanding of Paul's Christian monotheism, in light of his religious experience of the Spirit will therefore result in a different outcome to that proposed by Gunkel, Wheeler Robinson, and Dunn, and a more nuanced position than Fee.

⁶² Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 838. Paul's statements in Gal 2:20 and Rom 8:9-10 are understood by Fee to mean that Christ dwells in Paul and the believer *by the Spirit*, despite Paul never stating this mediation explicitly in these passages.

⁶³ "Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit," 181, emphasis original.

⁶⁴ Fee, 'Paul and the Trinity: The Experience of Christ and the Spirit for Paul's Understanding of God,' 49-72 (longer title referenced for emphasis); 'My thesis is that the key to Paul's new and expanded ways of talking about God as Saviour – while at the same time rigorously maintaining his monotheism – is to be found in the *experience of the Spirit*, as the one who enables believers to confess the risen Christ as exalted Lord, and as the way God and Christ are personally present in the believer and the believing community,' (51, emphasis original). Further, 'The net result is that the experience of the Spirit finally provides the key to Paul's trinitarianism,' (69).

⁶⁵ This is essentially the conclusion made by Hui, 'The believer's experience of the Spirit is not, first and foremost, an experience of the Spirit's own character and personality, but an experience of his revelatory and empowering work, i.e. his mediation of Christ's presence and activity,' 'Concept of the Holy Spirit,' 67.

3. The Experiential Nature of the Spirit in Paul

This inquiry now leads to an examination of the experiential nature of the Spirit in Paul.⁶⁶ It is fair to say that the majority of Pauline scholarship today recognises the experiential nature of the Spirit, so my aim is not only to demonstrate that this view of the Spirit in Paul is correct, but to direct the discussion towards the Spirit's relation to God and Christ in order to examine whether an experience of the Spirit has any influence on Paul's understanding of the Spirit, and whether an experience of the Spirit is defined by Paul as an experience of the Spirit directly. In what follows, I shall briefly note the experiential dimension of Paul's letters then proceed to examine the experience of the Spirit to which such texts make reference.

3.1 *The Pastoral and Experiential Nature of Paul's Letters*

When we approach the letters of Paul to examine his religious experience – and that of the early Christian communities of which he was a part – it is vital to recognise the nature of the texts themselves before examining the experiences contained within the texts.⁶⁷ Without

⁶⁶ I have deliberately not attempted to resolve questions concerning whether Paul was a mystic or an ecstatic. As I have already stated, the primary point for my thesis is that the Spirit is an experienced reality. Whether such an experience is 'mystical' or 'ecstatic' only concerns the nature of the experience rather than the fact of the experience. For a good defence of reading Paul within such categories, see Shantz, *Paul in Ecstasy*, 'The focus on Paul's religious ecstasy – by its very nature – moves experience to a more central place in exegetical reconstruction,' 113; David T. Ejenobo, 'The Mystical Element in Paul's Theology of the Holy Spirit: An African Interpretation,' *Asia Journal of Theology* 23:1 (2009): 69-81, who correlates Paul's experience of the Spirit and his mysticism; Wedderburn, 'Pauline Pneumatology and Pauline Theology, 144-156.' Ulrich Luz has produced a succinct but insightful article in a *Festschrift* in honour of James D.G. Dunn. Luz notes the minimal role of religious experience in the academy ('Paul as Mystic,' 131-143), and remarks, 'Exegesis has persistently explored the theology of Paul; but his religion, his piety, and his religious experiences have been of less interest to it,' (131). Luz seeks to choose a working definition of mysticism that is applicable to Paul by offering a definition that serves his interest in 'the link between theology and religious experience in Paul' (134). After a brief survey of the various definitions of mysticism, Luz argues that 'Only one who knows that the question is anachronistic can enquire into "mysticism" in the case of Paul,' (134). Luz opts for a perspective of mysticism 'understood as "experience of God" or, more specifically, the experience of the overcoming of distance, the *unio*, the *communion*, or *connection* with God' (134, emphasis original). Having established this definition, Luz proposes six theses on the profile of Pauline mysticism: 1) typical mystical expressions in Paul concern those texts where Paul interprets the experience of the Spirit as an experience of Christ (hence Luz identifies Christ and the Spirit, 2) the centre of Paul's mysticism does not consist of the 'particular' charismatic experiences such as tongues, prophecy, ecstasy and miracles, 3) the centre of Paul's mysticism consequently does not consist of his conversion experience, which should simply be understood as a prophetic empowering and commissioning, 4) Pauline mysticism is communitarian in focus – In Paul experience of the Spirit is closely related to membership in the community, 5) Pauline Christ-mysticism has as its aim the conformity of the believer with the Lord Jesus in his passion and in his resurrection glory, 6) Pauline mysticism is ethical in nature (136-142). Essentially, Luz argues that Paul is a mystic in the sense that he does experience an 'overcoming of distance' with God through his religious experience of and participation in Christ who is the living Spirit: 'Paul's mysticism is an expression of his experience of Christ and in particular of his participation in Christ' (143, emphasis original). Clearly for Paul, his religious experience of the Spirit is consciously an experience of Christ, which Luz understands as Paul's perception of the Spirit as Christ.

⁶⁷ In what follows I am influenced by the work of Wendy Dabourne in her *Purpose and Cause in Pauline Exegesis: Romans 1.16-4.25 and a New Approach to the Letters*, SNTSMS 104 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), specifically 76-108. Dabourne ably explicates the pastoral context of Paul's letters in general, and Romans in particular, by offering a 'teleological' reading that consists of four exegetical observations: 1) What Paul intended the recipients to hear when the letter was first read to them, 2) What

digressing into the broader field of hermeneutics, the essential point for my purpose is to recognise that whilst the *genre* of Paul's communications is defined as first century occasional letters, the *nature* of the correspondence should not be understood as systematic and theological but rather as *experiential and pastoral*.⁶⁸ The following points will develop what this statement means for Paul's experience of the Spirit.

1) *Paul's occasional letters are to be understood as rhetorical and verbal forms of communication.* The letters are read aloud audibly to the recipients such that the content of the letters are heard by the recipients. This oral form of communication thus identifies 'recipients' as in fact an 'audience' who do not read the letter but rather all hear its content, and all receive the communication together. This illustrates the corporate rather than individual nature of the communication.⁶⁹

2) *Paul has a shared symbolic universe with his audience.* Using the language from Peter Berger,⁷⁰ we understand that Paul's letters presuppose a shared worldview of language,

responses are appropriate by the recipients to the speech of the oral presentation, 3) The recognition that Paul was preaching the gospel to a believing community, 4) Paul was speaking with authority to a committed audience. Though each of these points needs to be adequately nuanced beyond the application to Romans – which forms Dabourne's thesis – nonetheless these points are worth emulating.

⁶⁸ Eugene H. Peterson, 'Pastor Paul,' in *Romans and the People of God*, eds. Soderlund and Wright, 283-294; Trevor J. Burke and Brian S. Rosner, eds., *Paul as Missionary: Identity, Activity, Theology and Practice*, LNTS (New York: T&T Clark, 2011).

⁶⁹ George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); *idem*, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Burton L. Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, New Testament Series (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1990); Duane F Watson, ed., *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honour of George A Kennedy*, JSNTSupS 50 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991); Jerome Murphy-O'Conner, *Paul the Letter-Writer: His World, His Options, His Skills*, Good News Studies Vol. 41 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995); Laurence L. Welborn, *Politics and Rhetoric in Corinth* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997); R. Dean Anderson, Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 18 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); Roland Meynet, *Rhetorical Analysis: An Introduction to Biblical Rhetoric*, JSOTSupS 256 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, eds., *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture – Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference*, JSNTSupS 180 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); John D. Harvey, *Listening to the Text: Oral Patterning in Paul's Letters*, ETS Studies (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1999); Carl J. Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill Academic, 2002); Winter, *Philo and Paul Among the Sophists*; Thomas H. Tobin, *Paul's Rhetoric in its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004); John P. Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005); J. Paul Sampley and Peter Lampe, eds., *Paul and Rhetoric* (London/New York: T&T Clark/Continuum, 2010); Todd Penner and Davina C. Lopez, 'Rhetorical Approaches: Introducing the Art of Persuasion in Paul and Pauline Studies,' in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods*, ed. Joseph A. Marchal (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 33-52. The rhetorical method is prominent in the exegetical commentaries on Paul by H.D. Betz, B. Witherington, and R. Jewett, for example. But see the critical comments of Jeffrey A.D. Weima, 'What Does Aristotle Have to Do With Paul? An Evaluation of Rhetorical Criticism,' *Catholic Theological Journal* 32 (1997): 468-479.

⁷⁰ Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967); Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York/London: Penguin Books, 1966).

ideas, meaning, narratives, contextual urgencies, cultural presuppositions, religious convictions and so on, that the audience can identify and resonate with in their own lives.⁷¹

3) *Paul's purpose is pastoral.* The pastoral purpose of the letters is mediated through the forms of preaching and apostolic guidance. This pastoral intent is dependent upon the shared meaning of their symbolic universe. The oral nature of the delivery is designed to elicit a response in the audience through conviction, transformation, and understanding such that emotions, feelings, and the mind are invoked as the audience listens. The act of hearing and understanding Paul's pastoral message by the gathered congregation is an experience itself which is directly concerned with their real life situation.⁷²

4) *Paul's references to the Spirit appeal to and presuppose his and his audiences' own experience and understanding of the Spirit.* The Spirit is always presumed and never introduced which demonstrates the extent to which Paul could take for granted his own, and his recipients' experience of the Spirit.⁷³ Such experiences of the Spirit formed the basis of many of the exigencies that occasioned the writing of Paul's letters (e.g. Galatians, 1 Corinthians 12-14, Romans 8) and which illustrates that all Jew and Gentile believers had experienced the Spirit – apart from the Jewish law – as evidence of faith and entrance into the people of God (Gal 3:1-5; 1 Cor 12:13). These experiences are identifiable and memorable – at conversion (Gal 3:1-5; 1 Thess 1:4-10), in their daily and communal life (Gal 5:13ff), in the ongoing life of the church (1 Cor 12-14) – and are recalled by the reference to the Spirit in Paul's communication.

⁷¹ Broadly, see Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas University Press, 1976).

⁷² Paul's letters function as the substitute for his presence with them (1 Cor 5:3; 2 Cor 10:1ff). The significance of the pastoral nature of Paul's letters is observed in how close the pastoral context is related, even dependent upon, the recipients' own experience, and brings into focus the human element of the correspondences and their particular concrete life situations. Paul's language is an attempt to describe his and his recipients' experience of the world in general, consisting of concrete situations such as interpersonal relations, specifically sexual relations (1 Cor 6), marriage (1 Cor 7), tensions between Paul and his communities (Gal; 2 Cor), cultural tensions over table fellowship (Gal; Rom 14), disunity (Phil), and lawsuits (1 Cor 5-6), attending pagan temples (1 Cor 8-10), the practice of circumcision (Gal), giving and receiving financial support (Phil), and problems associated with the practice of Church, such as the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 11), praying and prophesying with uncovered heads (1 Cor 11), the expression of the charismata (1 Cor 12-14), etc. The *sitz im leben* cannot be ignored for to do so would be to divorce Paul's words from the life setting in which they were framed. Consequently, Paul's letters are not formal propositional statements. They form part of the religious experience he shares with his communities. His language is presuppositionally the articulation of his experiences yet his letters still retain the belief structure which informed his cognitive framework. The danger is to read Paul through a propositional framework of interpretation, particularly using contemporary thought-forms that reduce Paul to a systematic thinker (So the argument of Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*).

⁷³ This has been emphasised strongly in the work of Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, and Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, and throughout his commentaries (e.g. Galatians, 1 Corinthians, Philipians). See also Sze-kar Wan, 'Ecstasy and *Exousia*: Religious Experience and the Negotiation of Social Power in Paul's Letter to the Galatians,' in *Between Experience and Interpretation*, 67-81.

3.2 Paul and the Pauline Communities' Experience of the Spirit

Paul's letters, by their nature, are experiential, and presume and reflect the experiential reality of the Spirit. We know so much of the Spirit because Paul directly references the Spirit, and Paul and his communities evidently presumed the reality of the experienced Spirit without need to question it.⁷⁴ The lexeme πνεῦμα possesses a field of meaning for both Paul and his communities and contains an identifiable expression in their lives such that the Spirit was, and continued to be, an experiential reality whose existence it was not necessary to argue for but was presupposed as evident in and among them.⁷⁵ Paul's language of πνεῦμα is pervasive when his focus turns to the experience of the Christian life. The most frequent means by which Paul denotes the Spirit is through metaphoric language and imagery to describe the immediate tangible effects of the Spirit.⁷⁶ Epistemologically, Paul and the Pauline communities *know* of the Spirit through their experience.⁷⁷ Paul's religious experience is frequently conceived as union with God and Christ, such that his descriptions of the Spirit as the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ often contain God and Christ as the *object* of his devotion.⁷⁸ Yet most frequently Paul refers to the Spirit without any qualifier whatsoever, strongly indicating that the Spirit was identifiable in the minds of Paul and his addressees without any additional means of qualification.⁷⁹ In what follows I shall highlight Paul's use of language as identifying an experience of the Spirit and will seek to examine what this experience determines for union with God and Christ.⁸⁰

The association between the Spirit and Paul's anthropological terms illustrates decisively that the Spirit was understood by Paul to be centred within human experience. The

⁷⁴ Of course, as 1 Cor 12-14 illustrates, while the reality of the Spirit was never questioned, what constituted authentic pneumatic expression could be confused.

⁷⁵ '[T]he NT references to the Spirit typically reflect and presuppose experiential phenomena,' Hurtado, *God in New Testament Theology*, 83.

⁷⁶ On Paul's use of metaphor, see Williams, *Paul's Metaphors*, and more specifically, Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*. From a philosophical interpretation of language, see Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: The Creation of Meaning in Language* (London/New York: Routledge Classics, 2004). The effects of the Spirit were keenly discerned by Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 75ff.

⁷⁷ Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*; Healy, 'Knowledge of the Mystery: A Study of Pauline Epistemology,' 134-158. Pace Horn, *Das Angeld des Deistes*.

⁷⁸ 'The Spirit of God': 1 Cor 2:11, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Rom 8:9, 14; 15:19; Phil 3:3; 'his [God's] Spirit': 1 Thess 4:8; cf. Rom 8:11; 'the Spirit of Christ': Rom 8:9; 'the Spirit of his [God's] Son': Gal 4:6; 'the Spirit of Jesus Christ': Phil 1:19. Cf. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, 210, 'Religious experience for Paul is basically experience of union with Christ.' See Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, though Schweitzer rejects any sense of 'God-mysticism' to Paul; Wikenhauser, *Pauline Mysticism*, 49ff.

⁷⁹ 'Holy Spirit': 1 Thess 1:5, 6; 4:8; 1 Cor 6:19; 12:3; 2 Cor 6:6; 13:13; Rom 5:5; 9:1; 14:17; 15:13, 16; 'The Spirit of holiness': Rom 1:4; without qualifier: Gal 3:2, 3, 5; 4:29; 5:5, 16, 17(x2), 18; 25(x2); 6:8(x2); 1 Thess 5:19; 1 Cor 2:4, 10(x2), 13; 12:4, 8(x2), 9(x2), 11(x2), 13(x2); 14:2, 16; 2 Cor 3:6(x2), 17, 18; 11:4; Rom 2:29; 7:6; 8:4, 5(x2), 6, 9, 13, 16, 26(x2); Phil 2:1. Indeed, Paul can also use the adjective πνευματικός and the adverb πνευματικῶς (1 Cor 2:14), which denote the Spirit, to qualify *other* concepts, whether that be the charismata, the resurrected body, the collection, or individuals imbued by the Spirit: πνευματικός: Gal 6:1; 1 Cor 2:13(x2), 15; 3:1; 12:1; 14:1; 37; 15:44(x2), 46(x2); Rom 1:11; 7:14; 15:27; πνευματικῶς: 1 Cor 2:14.

⁸⁰ Cf. the references in Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 829-831, 843-845.

Spirit indwells (ἐν) the human *body* (σῶμα) from God (ἀπὸ θεοῦ) such that the body itself is the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 6:19).⁸¹ The interior life of the individual is also intimately associated with the activity of the Spirit. It is the Holy Spirit who inspires the human spirit to pray in a tongue, but because of a lack of interpretation, the mind (νοῦς) cannot understand the utterance (1 Cor 14:13-17). What is needed for the mind to understand is an interpretation from the Spirit. When Paul quotes Isaiah 40:13 (LXX), he deliberately replaces πνεῦμα with νοῦς so that the mind of the Christ is equated with the revelation of the Spirit (1 Cor 2:16).⁸² So too in Phil 1:27 and Phil 2:2, ‘in one mind’ (μῆ ψυχῆ) and ‘unity of mind’ (σύμψυχος) are both synonymous with ‘one Spirit’ (ἐνὶ πνεύματι) in Phil 1:27 and ‘the fellowship of the Spirit’ (κοινωνία πνεύματος) in Phil 2:1. Indeed, Paul can appeal to the Spirit to confirm his conscience (συνείδησις) on matters of truth and faith (Rom 9:1). The Spirit also testifies and communicates with the human spirit (1 Cor 2:11; Rom 8:16; cf. 1 Cor 14:14), demonstrating the conceptual overlap between νοῦς, ψυχή, (human) πνεῦμα, and συνείδησις as the interiority of somatic existence.⁸³

Paul frequently describes the activity of the Spirit in the human *heart* (καρδία) using prepositional phrases.⁸⁴ Paul can affirm that ‘God has sent the Spirit of his son *into* (εἰς) our hearts’ (Gal 4:6), has ‘put his Spirit *in* (ἐν) our hearts as a deposit’ (2 Cor 1:22), has written the Spirit of the living God *on* (ἐν) the tablets of human hearts (2 Cor 3:3), and ‘God’s love has been poured out *into* (ἐν) our hearts *through* (διὰ) the Holy Spirit, who has been given to us’ (Rom 5:5). For those now in the new covenant, circumcision is ‘circumcision of the heart, *by* (ἐν) the Spirit’ (Rom 2:29).⁸⁵ Another means of expressing the same reality whilst also using prepositions is Paul’s description of the Spirit as dwelling *in* (ἐν) believers, both corporately (1 Cor 3:16) and individually (1 Cor 6:19), and can confidently assert that the Spirit of God dwells in believers (ἐν ὑμῖν) as an ascertainable reality (Rom 8:9, 11).⁸⁶ Believers *have* the indwelling Spirit in their hearts (1 Cor 2:16; 7:40; Rom 8:9) and also

⁸¹ On σῶμα, see Gundry, *Soma in Biblical Theology*. The Spirit will give life to the body through resurrection (1 Cor 15:44-46; Rom 8:10), that is, through the Spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν) which is paralleled with the ‘physical’ body (σῶμα ψυχικόν, 1 Cor 15:44-46), the present corruptible body. Because the Spirit is the eschatological power that gives life to the body and because possession of the Spirit is contrasted with the purely ‘natural’ individual (1 Cor 2:14), it is fair to presume that the indwelling of the Spirit within the believers’ bodies functioned as the experiential confirmation of this future act.

⁸² Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 107-110.

⁸³ H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1911); Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1.191-227; Jewett, *Paul’s Anthropological Terms*; Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 66; cf. John Pester who argues for a ‘tripartite’ division in Pauline anthropology, ‘The Operation of the Mingled Spirit in First Corinthians: Producing and Sustaining the Fellowship of the Body of Christ According to the Demonstration, Teaching, and Pattern of Paul,’ *Affirmation & Critique* 11:2 (2006): 31-50.

⁸⁴ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 201.

⁸⁵ Kongsom, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 80-89.

⁸⁶ See Robert Jewett, ‘The Question of the “Apportioned Spirit” in Paul’s Letters: Romans as a Case Study,’ in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins*, 193-206.

possess the Spirit who has been given *from* (ἐκ) God *into* (εἰς) believers (1 Cor 2:12; 1 Thess 4:8; cf. 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Rom 5:5). Paul can presume that believers can discern from what means they have *received* the Spirit by asking the Galatians rhetorically, ‘Did you receive the Spirit from (ἐξ) works of the law or from the hearing of faith?’ (Gal 3:2; cf. Gal 3:14; 1 Cor 2:12; 2 Cor 11:4; Rom 8:15), and ‘Does God give you his Spirit and work miracles among you (ἐν ὑμῖν) from (ἐξ) works of the law or from the hearing of faith?’ (Gal 3:5; cf. Phil 1:19). Moreover, not only does the Spirit dwell in believers but believers also are ‘in the Spirit’ (ἐν πνεύματι, Rom 8:9).⁸⁷

Paul’s reference to the human heart denotes the reality of the indwelling Spirit. But this reality can alternatively be expressed in a variety of verbal and participial metaphors. The Spirit *dwells in* all believers (1 Cor 3:16; cf. Rom 8:11); believers are ‘all *baptised* by one Spirit...and were all given the one Spirit *to drink*’ (1 Cor 12:13);⁸⁸ the love of God has been *poured out* into the hearts of believers through the Spirit (Rom 5:5); believers have *received* the Spirit of adoption (Rom 8:15), *received* the Spirit from God (1 Cor 2:12; cf. 2 Cor 11:4), and *have* the firstfruits of the Spirit (Rom 8:23); the Holy Spirit can *bear witness* with the believer’s own spirit that they are children of God (Rom 8:16); the Spirit *helps* the believer in weakness (Rom 8:26), *intercedes* on their behalf with wordless groans (Rom 8:26), and *intercedes* for the saints according to the will of God (Rom 8:27); believers are *taught* the wisdom of the gospel by the Spirit (1 Cor 2:13) because it is only *discerned* through the Spirit (1 Cor 2:14); believers are *washed, sanctified and justified* by the Spirit (1 Cor 6:11; cf. Rom 15:16); indeed the Spirit can be *quenched* (1 Thess 5:19). The Spirit *works* and *distributes* the charismata to believers just as he *determines* (1 Cor 12:11). The Spirit *gives life* (2 Cor 3:6) for those believers who *sow to* the Spirit and *reap from* the Spirit (Gal 6:8). Conversely, Paul describes believers as those who ‘*serve* in the new way of the Spirit’ (Rom 7:6), *walk* according to the Spirit (Rom 8:4; cf. Gal 5:16), are *led* by the Spirit (Gal 5:18; cf. Rom 8:14), *live and keep in step* with the Spirit (Gal 5:25; cf. 2 Cor 12:18), because the Spirit *desires* against the flesh (Gal 5:17). Furthermore, Paul describes the Spirit’s relation to God similarly. God has *revealed* his wisdom through the Spirit (1 Cor 2:10); ‘the Spirit *searches* all things,

⁸⁷ Hahn, ‘Pneumatology in Romans 8,’ 79, rightly recognises that the Spirit does not just produce effects but the reality of the indwelling Spirit is indeed the ‘the actual internalizing of the Spirit himself.’

⁸⁸ Cf. Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 59-66; Kongsom, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 66-80, ‘The experiential component is crucial to Paul’s message with this metaphor [baptism],’ 74, emphasis original; ‘Spirit-drinking is universally experiential,’ 80, emphasis original. Frank D. Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), rightly interprets Paul’s metaphor of baptism with its experiential dimension.

even the deep things of God' (1 Cor 2:10), and the Spirit *knows* the mind of God (1 Cor 2:11), which reflects Paul's awareness of the Spirit's active engagement towards God himself.⁸⁹

In line with the view of the Spirit in Hebrew and Jewish literature, Paul describes the Spirit using a sphere of language that emphasises the dynamic activity of the Spirit acting upon the believer and such descriptions function as the entry point into the early Christian experience of the Spirit since Paul's language prompts us to acknowledge that the Spirit could be identified *within* the believers' experience, a point which Paul's anthropological terms confirm (e.g. *soma, psyche, nous, pneuma, suneidesis, kardia*). The Spirit is thus presented by Paul as a power or influence which acts upon believers independently. These descriptions point towards a range of experiential realities which Paul understands as both *evidence* and *effects* of the Spirit's presence within the believer which he can denote by the shorthand 'manifestations of the Spirit' (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος, 1 Cor 12:7). The manifestation of the Spirit is widespread and evidences the all-encompassing awareness and experience of the Spirit in the totality of Paul's life. If, indeed, Paul understands believers as living 'in the Spirit' (Rom 8:9), then the believers' whole experience must be defined in relation to the Spirit. But for the sake of a succinct yet coherent examination, we can identify the following expressions of the Spirit in the believers' experience that concern particular *events* that occur throughout the duration of their lives, whether such events are transient or continuous.⁹⁰

1) *Individual Conversion*. Paul often assumes that the conversion of his recipients' is an identifiable and memorable experience of the Spirit that can be referenced by the believers' themselves, and which also reflects his own experience.⁹¹ At conversion, believers turn to the Lord, who is the Spirit, and the veil of (mis)understanding is removed such that they now understand the reality of the new covenant (2 Cor 3:7-18);⁹² the reception of the gospel

⁸⁹ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 829-831.

⁹⁰ The strength of this approach is that particular *events* in the life of a believer are also particular *experiences* that can be identified and retained in memory. Dunn identifies a 'spectrum of experience' of the Spirit which moves from ecstatic phenomena, to emotional experiences, to intellectual illumination to finally the moral impact of the Spirit. See his *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 430-432. I have given the following passages exegetical attention previously and can only give a cursory sketch here.

⁹¹ Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 53ff; Trevor J. Burke, 'The Holy Spirit as the Controlling Dynamic in Paul's Role as Missionary to the Thessalonians,' in *Paul as Missionary*, 142-157. Luz, 'Paul as Mystic,' 139, 'In Paul experience of the Spirit is closely related to membership in the community.' Recent scholarship, represented by the work of Fee ('Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit,' 166-183) and Philip (*The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 166-168), follow the syllogistic line of reasoning that a) since Paul demonstrates that his converts experienced the Spirit at conversion, and b) since Paul also includes himself in reference to his converts' experience of the Spirit at conversion, then c) Paul himself must have experienced the Spirit at conversion. While this deductive reasoning is valid, this cannot be directly or explicitly demonstrated from Paul's own letters and remains a confident conjecture. Cf. "The Damascus event for Paul was an experience of the Spirit. What is disturbing for the present research is Paul's silence on the role of the Holy Spirit in his autobiographical statements, particularly when he refers to his conversion/call experience," Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology*, 166.

⁹² For a full analysis of the ethical empowerment of the Spirit in 2 Cor 3:18, which is evidentially experiential in nature, see Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 174-203.

message came ‘by power, by the Holy Spirit and deep conviction’ (1 Thess 1:5-6), ‘by a demonstration of the Spirit and power’ (1 Cor 2:4-5), and ‘by the power of the Spirit of God’ (Rom 15:19). The Galatian Gentiles have received the Spirit ‘from the hearing of faith’ (Gal 3:2-3) which remains the fundamental evidence of the beginning of the Christian life that Paul could point his congregation towards (cf. Gal 4:4-6).⁹³ Such evidence re-affirms the essence of ‘power’ that accompanies the presence of the Spirit for God supplies his Spirit and works miracles among the converts from the hearing of faith (Gal 3:5; cf. 3:14).⁹⁴ The consistency of the relation between conversion and the reception of the Spirit confirms that there was a qualitatively identifiable experience of power that distinguished between the individual’s pre- and post-conversion experience common to all Pauline communities (1 Thess 1:4-6; 1 Cor 2:1-5; 6:11; 12:13; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; 11:4; Rom 8:15; 15:15-19) and which was traced to the permanent indwelling of the Spirit (Rom 8:9, 11; 1 Cor 2:12; 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor 1:22; 3:3, 16-18; 5:5; 11:4).⁹⁵

2) *Corporate Community Formation*. These references identify the Spirit acting *on* and *in* the believer, and Paul’s language of the *heart* as the location of the Spirit’s indwelling and activity situates the Spirit as a reality to the individual believer. But we cannot restrict the Spirit simply to the conversion experience of an individual, for a defining aspect of Paul’s view of the Spirit is of the Spirit as the eschatological power of the new creation and the new covenant who has now been poured out on all members of the people of God who are given a new heart.⁹⁶ This explains why Paul could assume that the nature of the experience of the Spirit could be shared with his recipients such that the individual conversion of the believer simultaneously parallels the formation of the corporate Christian community (Gal 1:1-5). The corporate unity of the mixed congregation is identified with the presence of the Spirit ‘For we

⁹³ Dunn comments, ‘The appeal is clearly to an event which Paul could expect them vividly to remember...Hence a question can be asked...which assumes that the answer was obvious to all parties,’ *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 153. Hans D. Betz himself also recognises reception of the Spirit as ‘the primary datum of the Christian churches in Galatia,’ Betz, ‘Spirit, Freedom, and Law. Paul’s Message to the Galatian Churches,’ *SEÅ* 39 (1974): 146, quoted in Dunn, 153.

⁹⁴ Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 53-95. Paul’s use of the verb *πάσχω* in Gal 3:4 is best understood not as denoting ‘suffering’ but the Galatians’ ‘experience’ of the Spirit both at their conversion and in repeatable occurrences throughout their Christian life. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 156-157; Fee, ‘Paul and the Trinity,’ 49, fn. 2; *idem*, *Galatians*, 109; H. Terris Neumann, ‘Paul’s Appeal to the Experience of the Spirit in Galatians 3:1-5,’ *JPT* 9 (1996): 53-69.

⁹⁵ See Gräbe, *The Power of God in Paul’s Letters*, 245-255; Peerbolte, ‘Paul, Baptism, and Religious Experience,’ 181-204, especially 189-190.

⁹⁶ This is in fulfilment of Isa 44:3-5 and Joel 2:28-29; Ezek 11:19; 36:24-28; cf. Isa 32:15-16; 59:21; Ezek 37:1-14; Jer 31:31-34. Levison, *Filled With the Spirit*, admirably weaves such themes together. See also his ‘The Promise of the Spirit of Life in the Book of Ezekiel,’ and his ‘The Spirit and the Temple in Paul’s Letters to the Corinthians.’ Cf. Rabens, ‘The Development of Pauline Pneumatology,’ 173, against F.W. Horn: ‘when the early Christians arrived at the statement “God has given us his Spirit,” one has every reason to doubt that this was merely a “religious theory.” Because within their framework of expectation of the promised outpouring of the Spirit of prophecy a non-phenomenological outpouring of the Spirit would not be identified by them as the Holy Spirit.’

were all baptised by one Spirit so as to form one body – whether Jews or Gentiles, slave or free – and we were all given the one Spirit to drink’ (1 Cor 12:13).⁹⁷ It is the common experience of and sharing in the one Spirit that forms the *κοινωνία* between believers as the unified people of God (2 Cor 13:13[14]; Phil; 2:1; cf. 1 Cor 12:4, 8-11; Phil 1:27; 2) as the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:12-13). It is the collective confession of God as Father (Gal 4:6-7; Rom 8:14-17) and Christ as Lord (1 Cor 12:3) by the Spirit that identifies each member as adopted as children into the family of God, indeed, the very defining characteristic for Paul of the early Christian faith is the reality of the Spirit indwelling each and every believer (Rom 8:9).⁹⁸ The essential point is that the reality of the Spirit’s indwelling must be discernible, not just to the individual themselves, but to every other member of the Christian community of faith as evidence of the presence of the Spirit.⁹⁹

3) *Cultic Life and Charismatic Worship in the Community*. Since believers experience the Spirit at conversion and it is by the Spirit that the Christian community is formed, the Spirit plays a central role in the cultic life of the church. The church, both corporately and individually, is the ‘temple of the Holy Spirit’ (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19) because the Spirit dwells in their midst;¹⁰⁰ believers worship God by the Spirit (Phil 3:3), cry out ‘Abba, Father!’ by (ἐν) the Spirit (Gal 4:6-7; Rom 8:14-17), and confess ‘Jesus is Lord!’ by (ἐν) the Spirit (1 Cor 12:3) – both clearly ecstatic exclamations;¹⁰¹ Paul can urge the Romans to prayer through the love of the Spirit (Rom 15:30) and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ is associated with prayer (Phil 1:19); the Spirit is related to the cultic experience of baptism and the Lord’s Supper (1 Cor 10:1ff). The most developed means by which Paul identifies the experience of the Spirit is in the charismatic activity of the community gathered for worship (1 Cor 12:4).¹⁰² It is through the Spirit, according to the same Spirit, by the same Spirit, and by the one Spirit that the manifestation of the Spirit is given for the common good (1 Cor 12:7-11).¹⁰³ Such

⁹⁷ On Baptism in the Holy Spirit as ‘conversion-initiation’ and membership entrance to the early Church, see Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 103ff.

⁹⁸ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 259-262; Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 89-96; Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 203-237.

⁹⁹ Indeed, Dunn appropriately states, ‘The degree to which Paul could assume that his imagery would resonate with his audiences’ own experience is itself indicative that the first Christian talk of the Spirit referred to what they all had experienced when they first believed,’ Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 428. So too Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 171ff; *idem*, ‘Power From in Between.’

¹⁰⁰ Levison, ‘The Spirit and the Temple in Paul’s Letters to the Corinthians’; Konsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 114-123.

¹⁰¹ Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 80, ‘these words must belong to prayers marked by such symptoms that their suprahuman origin had to be immediately recognized, that is, as prayers uttered in ecstasy’; Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 431; Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 66-69.

¹⁰² On the communal nature of the gifts of the Spirit, see Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 237-239.

¹⁰³ I cannot here offer a detailed analysis of each of the phenomena that Paul outlines in 1 Cor 12-14 (cf. Rom 12:3-8) but I simply focus on the range of experiences that such phenomena entail. For details see Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 199-258; Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 179ff; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 886-895; Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*, 21-41.

manifestations range from the dynamic and powerful (e.g. healing, miracles) to the inspirational or charismatic (e.g. prophecy, faith, tongues, interpretations; hymns; prayer) to the conventional (e.g. helping, guidance, teaching). It is the same Spirit who inspires a hymn (1 Cor 14:26), heals the sick (1 Cor 12:9, 28) and is the power of miracles.¹⁰⁴ The evidential nature of the phenomena is also connoted by Paul's frequent reference to the Spirit and power (1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4; Rom 15:13) since the presence of miracles is the evidence for the presence of the Spirit (Gal 3:5).¹⁰⁵ In Paul's own Apostolic ministry he led the Gentiles to obey God 'by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God' (Rom 15:19). Glossolalia was most likely an ecstatic experience based upon Paul's description of the phenomenon as *angelic* tongues (1 Cor 13:1), speaking *mysteries* to God (1 Cor 14:2) and *praising* God (1 Cor 14:16) by the Spirit such that the believer does not understand the words spoken for the believer's own spirit is edified but their mind is unfruitful (1 Cor 13:1-14:40), which is the reason Paul prefers prophecy – as comprehensible inspired speech – and which edifies the whole congregation.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, though Paul does not mention the Spirit as the source of his visions and revelations in 2 Cor 12:1ff, that the Spirit is related to revelation in 1

¹⁰⁴ The sense of 'supernatural' is related to the identity of the Spirit as the 'supernatural' power who distributes the gifts to each as he determines (1 Cor 12:11), not the gifts themselves, and thus reflects Paul's awareness of the Spirit as originating from beyond himself – which defines the sense of 'supernatural.'

¹⁰⁵ Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 69-71.

¹⁰⁶ On Paul's argument in 1 Cor 12-14 as a whole, see Carson, *Showing the Spirit*. Paul's conception of inspired speech is clearly within the same stream of Judaism which identifies the Spirit as the Spirit of prophecy. While not identical to Philo or Josephus' description of the loss of mental control during the prophetic event whereby there is a loss of understanding of the mind since the mind of the individual is temporarily displaced by the presence of the transient Spirit, Paul's conception of the experience certainly contains – or retains – the ecstatic dimension of inspired speech, yet there must exist a differentiation between glossolalia and prophecy. Because of the incomprehensible nature of glossolalia, it appears to be more in line with the loss of mental control spoken of by Philo and Josephus which they apply to prophecy whereas Paul curiously shies away from the element of a loss of mental control with regard to prophecy. Paul clearly understands that prophetic utterance can be – and indeed should be – controlled by the prophet themselves because 'the spirits of prophets are subject to the control of prophets' (1 Cor 14:32) which appears to be explained on the basis that Paul now has to grapple with the permanent indwelling of the Spirit and its consequences for ongoing – orderly – charismatic activity. This is significant because it demonstrates the degree to which the experience of the Spirit in inspired speech has developed from Judaism where only select individuals were possessed of the Spirit, and also Paul's response to the exigencies of experience of the Spirit within a community of Spirit indwelt persons. The Spirit appears to not be as overpowering to the individual as is the case in Philo and Josephus which suggests that Paul has a more passive perception of how the Spirit operates within the ecstatic experience. Nonetheless, the fact that Paul himself had spoken in tongues more than all of the Corinthians (1 Cor 14:18), had visions and revelations (cf. Gal 1:15-16; 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8), was taken to the third heaven not knowing whether in the body or out of the body, and heard inexpressible things (2 Cor 12:1-10), demonstrates that the ecstatic nature of such events was not beyond his own experience.

Philo understands the Spirit as the inspiration for inspired speech in the experience of Abraham (*Virt.* 217; *Q.G.* 3:9), Joseph (*Jos.* 116-117), Bezaleel (*Gig.* 23), Moses (*Vit. Mos.* 1.175; 2.258, 291; *Decal.* 175; *Gig.* 24-27, 47, cf. *Vit. Mos.* 1.201; 2.191; *Spec.* 1.8; 2:104), and Balaam (*Vit. Mos.* 1:277ff, cf. 264-266). These experiences often include a loss of mental control. On the ecstatic dimension to such experiences in Philo, see *Q.G.* 3.9; *Jos.* 117, *Somn.* 2.252, *Spec.* 4.49, *Vit. Mos.* 1.175, 277, 2.265; *Her.* 249-250, 264-65, cf. *Her.* 69; *Leg.* 3.82; *Fug.* 166; *Opif.* 71; *Ebr.* 145-150. For such a view of the Spirit in Josephus, see *Ant.* 118-119; 6.221-223. Such themes are prominent in Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*; *idem*, *Filled With the Spirit*. On Paul's religious experience in 2 Cor 12:2-4, see Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte, 'Paul's Rapture: 2 Corinthians 12:2-4 and the Language of the Mystics,' in *Experientia*, Vol. 1, 159-176.

Cor 2:10 and revelation is presented as a manifestation of the Spirit (1 Cor 14:6, 26), strongly indicates that Paul perceived the Spirit as the power responsible for his visionary experience.¹⁰⁷ All in all, the inspiration of the Spirit within the cultic life and charismatic worship of the gathered community reveals the extent to which Paul and his communities experienced the Spirit in and among them as a present reality, and the charismatic gifts are understood by Paul as evidence *of the Spirit's power and presence* and the *existential reality* of the phenomena.¹⁰⁸

4) *Ethical, Moral and Intellectual Transformation*. Not only is the Spirit experienced within the gathered Christian community, so too is the Spirit a key experiential reality in the daily and ongoing life of the believer. It is the Spirit to whom believers turn at conversion who continues to transform them from glory to glory (2 Cor 3:16-18).¹⁰⁹ All believers are washed, sanctified, and justified by the Spirit of God which is the experiential evidence that they are now a part of the Kingdom of God and which necessitates a change in ethical behaviour (1 Cor 6:9-11). The key sign for Paul that the Gentiles are now also a part of the people of God is because Gentiles are sanctified by the Holy Spirit (Rom 15:16) and this sanctification occurs because the Spirit dwells within each individual believer's body which is the temple of God and therefore believers must honour God with the bodies that they possess (1 Cor 6:19-20). The believers' whole experience is consequently taken under the influence of the Spirit. They have minds that are controlled by the Spirit (Rom 8:5-6, cf. 8:27) and the Spirit attests to truth in Paul's conscience concerning his teaching to his recipients (1 Cor 7:40; 14:37; Rom 9:1). It is by the Spirit that believers understand the mystery and wisdom of the gospel and can discern all things that God has freely given in Christ (1 Cor 2:6-16), a mystery illuminated through the message of wisdom and message of knowledge by the Spirit (1 Cor 1:5-7; 12:8; 13:2; 14:6, 26).¹¹⁰ Since the Spirit indwells the believer's body, particularly located within the human heart, it is unsurprising that Paul characterises the activity of the Spirit as affecting the emotional disposition of the believer. Joy is given by the Spirit despite suffering (1 Thess 1:6), joy and peace are given by the Holy Spirit (Rom 14:17; Gal 5:22; Rom 8:6 = peace), hope is given by the power of the Spirit (Rom 15:13) as believers await future justification (Gal 5:5), and love is poured into the heart through the Spirit (Rom 5:5; 15:30; cf. Gal 5:22). The Spirit also generates a sense of freedom (2 Cor

¹⁰⁷ This also lends support to the argument that the Spirit was a key experiential dynamic in Paul's own transformation (i.e. call/conversion) through the revelation of the risen Christ (Gal 1:15-16). Further, in light of the reasoning in 1 Cor 2:10ff that things of God are revealed by the Spirit, so conversion to Christ is possible only by the movement of the Spirit.

¹⁰⁸ See Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 69-71; Ashton, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle*, 198-213.

¹⁰⁹ Grech, '2 Corinthians 3:17 and the Pauline Doctrine of Conversion to the Holy Spirit'; Dunn, '2 Corinthians 3:17'; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 296-320.

¹¹⁰ Healy, 'Knowledge of the Mystery,' 134-158.

3:16-18).¹¹¹ Moreover, the Spirit's influence on the believer moves beyond the interior life of the believer towards the ethical behaviour expected of embodied Christians.¹¹² The fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22-23) illustrates not only the positive emotional disposition that should characterise the believer but also the concrete activity of the Spirit in producing the behaviour appropriate for the community who are one in Christ as they co-exist as the children of God (Gal 3:26-28). Indeed the point of the positive experiences of love, joy, peace, and so on is that they foster and nurture the kinds of relationships that should define the people of God. Paul exhorts believers to walk by (Gal 5:16; Rom 8:4), be led by (Gal 5:18; Rom 8:14), to live by (Gal 5:25) and keep in step with (Gal 5:25) the Spirit, just as he himself walks by the same Spirit (2 Cor 12:18).¹¹³ This descriptive imagery denotes the comprehensive nature of the Spirit as the complete measurement by which believers align their behaviour, and illustrates a movement from the interior life of the believer to external behaviour, from the human heart, mind and emotion, to a lifestyle that is under the lordship of the Spirit. The ethical, moral and intellectual transformation of the believer is therefore clearly an experience of behavioural re-birth determined by the Spirit.¹¹⁴

5) *Anticipatory Experiences of the Resurrection*. Strictly speaking, though believers possess the Spirit now they will also undergo the resurrection of their body through the Spirit. A key aspect of Paul's view of the eschatological Spirit is that believers now experience a foretaste of the life to come since they possess the Spirit who is the *seal* (2 Cor 1:22), the *deposit* (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5), the *firstfruits* (Rom 8:23) the *guarantee* of the resurrected life to come (Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:44-46; 2 Cor 3:6; Rom 8:6, 9-11, 13).¹¹⁵ The reality of the Spirit in the hearts of believers as the deposit and firstfruit of the resurrected body is the key experiential evidence that the new creation has been inaugurated and the concrete hope by which believers strengthen their faith, the there is an intimate connection between Paul's metaphors and the experience of the Spirit. Without the hope of resurrection assured by the Spirit, the power of Christ's own resurrection and confidence in God's redemptive activity loses its existential significance.

These various descriptions of the Spirit demonstrate that Paul was so familiar with the frequent 'manifestations of the Spirit' that it was never necessary to argue for the real and living existence of the Spirit but could assume it since the working of the Spirit was clearly

¹¹¹ Such internal sensory descriptions of the effects of the Spirit upon the emotional disposition of the believer create the strong impression that the Spirit was consistently active in the believer's experience and it is justifiable to discern the degree to which the Spirit heightens the believer's experience such that the experience can become one of ecstasy.

¹¹² Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*; *idem*, 'Power From in Between.'

¹¹³ Koonsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 100-107.

¹¹⁴ Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*; *idem*, 'Power From in Between.'

¹¹⁵ Koonsmo, *The Pauline Metaphors of the Holy Spirit*, 161-190.

self-evident.¹¹⁶ This broad spectrum of experiences illustrates the degree to which the Spirit was perceivably active within Paul and his communities, existentially, cognitively, and numinously. Such a brief examination simply supports the strand of scholarship that emphasises the Spirit as an experiential reality in Paul, and such experiences as central to Paul and his communities' faith.¹¹⁷ Paul possessed a belief in the reality of the Spirit, a belief which was confirmed and validated by his experience. Paul's descriptions of the Spirit who is tangibly evidenced in the believers' experience points to the reality of the Spirit as possessing a profound *effect*, at the very least at the level of his perception, so much so that the Spirit could be identified not only in his individual experience but also in the Pauline communities as a whole. In this way, religious experience was a key stimulus for the dialectic between belief and experience that formed a perception of the identity of the Spirit in Paul's worldview.

3.3 The Spirit as the Mediation of the Presence of God and Christ

A key question that arises from the preceding examination is whether Paul presents an experience of the Spirit apart from an experience of God and Christ. We cannot simply complete the inquiry into religious experience of the Spirit here with the conclusion that 'the Spirit was experienced by Paul and the Pauline communities.' We must go on to examine what Paul's understanding of the Spirit as the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ means for an experience of the Spirit. This is essential if we are to settle the question of the distinct identity of the Spirit for the experience of the Spirit as the means of God and Christ's presence to the believer could by its nature conceive of the Spirit as the power of God and Christ without any sense of 'distinct identity' attached to the concept of Spirit. Moreover, as

¹¹⁶ It is, of course, possible to interpret Paul's language of the Spirit as not denoting a *direct* experience of the Spirit but rather of an experience that the Spirit *produces*. The genitive construction 'manifestation of the Spirit' (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος) inherently contains this ambiguity since it can be interpreted as a subjective or objective genitive. Paul's descriptions of experience of the Spirit describe the *effects* of the Spirit, such as pouring love, joy and peace into the hearts of believers, inspiring the manifestation of the charismata among the community, the shared experience of the Spirit evidenced by fellowship of the community, and the tangible demonstration of miracles, signs and wonders and such effects are all concrete phenomena that find expression *within human experience*. The ambiguity is resolved, however, by the recognition that the phenomena are understood as that which originates from and is created and inspired by the Spirit, as well as the means by which the Spirit is discerned as present and directly experienced. Thus 'experience of the Spirit' is phenomenologically a simultaneous experience *of* the Spirit itself and the *power* of the Spirit such that the believer cannot distinguish so neatly between the experience as a manifestation *of* or *by* the Spirit. Paul's letters demonstrate both senses, for when he states that believers 'receive the Spirit' and 'have the Spirit' who 'dwells within them,' they certainly don't receive anything phenomenologically that could be other than the Spirit – this, despite any external evidences of the Spirit's presence – otherwise Paul's appeal to experience of the Spirit would be meaningless, and yet the extensive effects of the Spirit attest to what the Spirit produces as a result of his presence within believers.

¹¹⁷ E.g. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*. Westfall, 'Paul's Experience and a Pauline Theology of the Spirit,' 123-143, offers a general summary of the experiential nature of Paul's theology of the Spirit.

Dunn has demonstrated, the experiences attributed to the Spirit in the early Pauline communities parallels religious experiences outside the Christian faith, which necessitates that Paul must have conceived of experience of the Spirit in different terms if he was to adequately distinguish between the Holy Spirit and the religious experience in Greco-Roman religion. This second issue is clarified by the first, for Dunn identifies the Spirit as the Spirit of Christ, which fundamentally creates an experience of Christ *as* Spirit that becomes the *definition* of the Spirit and which differentiates the phenomena from alternative religious expression.¹¹⁸ The essential grounds for giving ‘definition’ to the Spirit is Dunn’s understanding of the Spirit *as* Christ in the believers’ experience, for ‘*no distinction can be detected in the believer’s experience between exalted Christ and Spirit of God.*’¹¹⁹ But if God and Christ are experienced *as* Spirit, how does Paul differentiate between God and Christ in his experience, if he does at all? If God and Christ can be differentiated in Paul’s experience, could Paul also differentiate the Spirit from God and the Spirit from Christ?

3.3.1 Paul and Experience of God and Christ

When we speak of Paul’s religious experience we cannot neglect the significant extent to which Paul understood God himself to be at work in his life. I cannot give sufficient attention to Paul’s experience of God but a few examples will suffice to demonstrate the reality of this experience for Paul. Paul knows that at his transformation (Gal 1:15) and at conversion the Gentiles experience God (1 Thess 1:9) now stand in God’s presence (1 Thess 3:9, 11-13). God is at work in Paul (Gal 2:8) and in all believers (Rom 8:28; Phil 1:6; 2:13); the believer experiences the revelation of God (Phil 3:15), the peace of God (1 Cor 14:33; 2 Cor 13:11; Rom 5:1; Phil 4:7-9), the comfort of God (2 Cor 7:6) and the grace of God (Gal 1:3; 1 Thess 1:1; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Rom 1:7; Phil 1:2). Paul himself receives the comfort of God (2 Cor 1:3-4), the deliverance of God (2 Cor 1:10), and knows that God is his witness (2 Cor 1:23; Rom 1:9) because he speaks before God (2 Cor 2:17) and stands in the sight of God (2 Cor 4:2; 12:19) who knows that Paul does not lie (2 Cor 11:31). God knows Paul’s intimate visionary experiences (2 Cor 12:2-3). Paul is aware that he and his communities offer worship and devotion to God (1 Cor 14:2, 16; Phil 3:3), are indwelt by God as his temple (1 Cor 3:16-17; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16), and in turn believers know and are known by God (Gal 4:9; 1 Cor 8:3; Rom 1:18-20) even to the point that a visitor to the church can hear the prophetic word and exclaim ‘God is really among you’ (1 Cor 14:25). Ultimately, Paul understands himself to

¹¹⁸ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, parts III, IV, and V.

¹¹⁹ Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 146, emphasis original.

exist completely in God's presence, 'For from him and through him and to him are all things' (Rom 11:36).¹²⁰

So too Paul and his communities experience the presence of Christ. Paul can claim that at his transformation God revealed Christ 'in me' (ἐν ἐμοί, Gal 1:16) and that 'Christ lives in me' (ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός, Gal 2:20), just as Christ is in all believers (εἰ δὲ Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8:10; Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν, 2 Cor 13:5), is powerfully among them (δυνατεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, 2 Cor 13:3-4), and will be formed in them (μορφωθῆ Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν, Gal 4:19). Paul also receives revelations and visions from the Lord (2 Cor 12:1), knows the power of Christ upon him (2 Cor 12:9; cf. 1 Cor 5:3-5), understood that Christ spoke through him (2 Cor 13:3), and knows Christ (Phil 3:8-11) and perceived himself as standing in the presence of Christ (2 Cor 2:10). All believers have fellowship with Christ (1 Cor 1:9, 30), are baptised into Christ (Gal 3:27), are clothed with Christ (Gal 3:27; Rom 13:14) and belong to Christ (Gal 3:29; 5:24; 2 Cor 10:7; Rom 14:8; cf. Rom 8:9). With God, believers experience grace and peace through Christ (Gal 1:3; 1 Thess 1:1; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Rom 1:7; Phil 1:2). Whatever the precise nature of Paul's 'in Christ' language,¹²¹ which connotes his 'Christ-mysticism,' we can safely presume that this denoted an experiential dynamic for Paul such that he was conscious of a perpetual union with Christ.¹²²

3.3.2 Paul and Experience of God and Christ Through the Spirit

The Pauline evidence concludes that Paul and his communities experienced God, Christ and the Spirit in and among them. How are we to interpret this data?¹²³ As I have already demonstrated in the previous chapter, Paul understands the Spirit to function as an agent of

¹²⁰ Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, 4ff., argues that 'God-mysticism' is missing from Paul and appears to arrive at this conclusion on the *a priori* presumption that since Paul's mysticism is only revealed in his 'in Christ' language then the absence of 'in God' language equates to an absent God-mysticism. This logic is faulty and presumes that the *concept* of union is only connoted by Paul through a set language form, particularly the preposition *en* (cf. 11-12 where Schweitzer emphasises the absence of the preposition *in*, e.g. Rom 11:36, and where 'being-in-God' will only be realised once Christ has destroyed death 'in order that God may be all in all,' 1 Cor 15:26-28). These references (above) should suffice to illustrate the union with God that Paul was conscious of.

¹²¹ E.g. Gal 1:22; 2:4, 17; 3:14; 5:10; 1 Cor 15:22, etc.

¹²² So Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*; Deissmann, *Paul*; Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*; Wikenhauser, *Pauline Mysticism*; Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 154-157; Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 390-412, 'For as the earlier studies of Deissmann and Bousset rightly emphasized, at the heart of the motif ['in Christ'] is not merely a belief about Christ, but an experience understood as that of the risen and living Christ,' 400; du Toit, "'In Christ," "in the Spirit," and Related Prepositional Phrases: Their Relevance for a Discussion on Pauline Mysticism'; Fee, *Pauline Christology*; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 263-274; Campbell, *Paul and Union With Christ*, but his analysis utilises the term 'trinity' to describe the complex relations between God, Christ and the Spirit.

¹²³ Cf. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 'In his (Paul's) experience, the Spirit, the Lord, and God are operative in the Christian life' (241), cf. 242, 266.

both God and Christ by effecting God and Christ's own activity.¹²⁴ While this sense of agency was applied to specific divine functions that characterised the Unique Divine Identity, it would not be inappropriate to develop the view that the Spirit's agency should be extended to include the personal *presence* of God and Christ. In other words, where Paul describes the presence and activity of God and Christ, the experience by Paul and his communities is in, of, and by the Holy Spirit. The justification for this reasoning lies in Paul's identification of the Spirit as the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ. The Spirit is the Spirit 'of God' (1 Cor 2:11, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Rom 8:9, 14; 15:19; Phil 3:3), 'his [God's] Spirit' (1 Thess 4:8; Rom 8:11) and 'the Spirit of his [God's] son' (Gal 4:6). God has given the Spirit into the hearts of believers (Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Rom 5:5) which appears to function as the means by which God himself is present to believers, particularly because Paul identifies the church individually, and corporately, as both God's temple and the temple of the Holy Spirit since the Spirit dwells in and among them (1 Cor 3:16-17; 6:19-20). So too the Spirit is also 'the Spirit of Jesus Christ' (Phil 1:19), 'the Spirit of Christ' (Rom 8:9-10), and 'the Spirit of his son' (Gal 4:6). God has sent the 'spirit of his son' into the hearts of the believers (Gal 4:6) who are now joined together with Christ through the Spirit (1 Cor 6:16-17). Even though believers are 'baptised into Christ' (Gal 3:27), it is the experience of being 'baptised by one Spirit so as to form one body' (1 Cor 12:13) which results in the fellowship of the church as the body of Christ. So when Paul states that 'Christ dwells in you' (Rom 8:10) this must mean experientially that Christ dwells in the believer by the Spirit which the wider context of Rom 8:9-11 and 8:1-27 confirms for 'those who do not have the Spirit of Christ...do not belong to Christ' (Rom 8:9).¹²⁵ Even though there are instances where Paul describes the indwelling of Christ without reference to the Spirit, the broader Pauline framework presumes that Christ dwells in the believer by the Spirit.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ I have demonstrated in Chapter 8 that Paul frequently *distinguishes* the activity of the Spirit from God and Christ by using prepositions: 1 Thess 1:5 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ), 1 Cor 6:11 (ἐν τῷ πνεύματι), 1 Cor 12:3 (ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ/ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ), 1 Cor 12:9 (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι/ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι), 1 Cor 12:13 (ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι), 1 Cor 14:16 (εὐλογῆς [ἐν] πνεύματι), 2 Cor 6:6 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ); Rom 2:29 (ἐν πνεύματι), Rom 8:9 (ἐν πνεύματι), Rom 9:1 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ), Rom 14:17 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ), Rom 15:16 (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ) and Phil 1:27 (ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι) all demonstrate ἐν with the dative πνεύματι. This use of the preposition ἐν is consistent with Paul's use of alternative prepositions such as διὰ (Gal 3:14; 1 Cor 2:10; 12:8; Rom 5:5; 8:10, 11; 15:30), κατὰ (Gal 4:29; 5:17[x2]; 1 Cor 12:8; Rom 1:4; 8:4, 5 cf. 8:27), πρὸς (1 Cor 12:7; 14:12), περὶ (1 Cor 12:1), ἀπὸ (1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 3:18; Rom 8:2), ἐκ (Gal 3:2[x2], 5[x2]; 5:5; 6:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 10:4; Rom 1:4; 8:11), μετὰ (1 Thess 1:6; 2 Cor 13:13[14]), ὑπὸ (Gal 5:18) and εἰς (Gal 4:6; 6:8; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 12:13; 2 Cor 3:18; Rom 1:11; 8:15) which Paul conceptually associates with πνεῦμα and which Paul uses as various ways of identifying and describing the activity of the Spirit.

¹²⁵ It is significant that Paul most often describes the believer as 'in Christ' and only rarely identifies Christ in the believer, yet with regard to the Spirit most often describes the Spirit as in the believer and only rarely as the believer 'in the Spirit.' The one passage where these ideas fuse is Rom 8:9-11 where Paul explicitly states that without the Spirit of Christ believers do not belong to Christ.

¹²⁶ Wikenhauser remarks, 'there are texts which demonstrate that he [Paul] was familiar with the idea of the indwelling of Christ – as distinct from the indwelling of the Spirit,' Wikenhauser, *Pauline Mysticism*, 40. Yet

Therefore there is *evidentially* – in the phenomenological sense – no experience of the presence of God or the presence of Christ without the agency of the Spirit since an experience of the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ is arguably the means by which God and Christ are present to the believer and the means by which the believer is united with God and Christ.¹²⁷ What remains essential to recognise is that the Spirit is still experienced by the believer regardless of whether an experience of God or Christ is direct or mediated by the Spirit. This framework parallels the conclusions drawn in my previous chapter where the Spirit functioned as the agent of God and Christ and which resulted in a dynamic movement from God and Christ to the believer through the Spirit, and a return movement from the believer to God and Christ through the Spirit. Indeed, Paul’s language of God, Christ and the Spirit is noticeably fluid, reflecting the dynamic nature of his religious experience, but nonetheless, the reality of the Spirit is the more prominent dimension of his experience.¹²⁸

3.4 Summary

To sum up our findings to this point, it is evident that Paul’s pastoral letters illustrate the experiential reality of the Spirit.¹²⁹ The Spirit was the central component of the Christian religious life, as the power of conversion, the inspiration of devotion to God and Christ, the dynamic authority in the believers’ ethical and intellectual transformation, and the hope of their future expectation of resurrection. Paul speaks of an experience of God, Christ and the Spirit, as well as instances where God and Christ are experienced through the Spirit. This

this needs to be nuanced to include reference to the Spirit as the Spirit of Christ. This point is confirmed by the arguments of Turner, ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology’; Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*; and Tilling, *Paul’s Divine Christology* (at 164ff). Of interest is Bassler, *Navigating Paul*, who, when, discussing Paul’s language of ‘Christ in you/me,’ focuses her discussion on Paul’s language of Spirit (38-39). Ramsaran, ‘“In Christ” and “Christ in” as Expressions of Religious Experience,’ also affirms that in Paul’s religious experience, Christ indwells the believer through the spirit, 161-180, specifically 178. This reading of Paul is exegetically defended by Campbell, *Paul and Union with Christ*, 360-363 and substantiated by Peter C. Orr, ‘Christ Absent and Present: A Study in Pauline Christology’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis; Durham University, 2011), 142-174.

¹²⁷ Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 323. Healy does well to note the experiential reality of the Spirit as the revelation of knowledge of God, and the mediation of God and Christ as personal to Paul, Healy, ‘Knowledge of the Mystery,’ 134-158, particularly 148-149.

¹²⁸ That this framework best interprets Paul’s own thought is confirmed by the references to the activity of God, Christ and the Spirit *in the very same experience*. Texts such as Gal 4:4-6, 1 Cor 6:11, 1 Cor 12:4-6, 2 Cor 1:21-22, 13:13[14], and Rom 5:1-5 illustrate that “Sometimes Paul can use θεός, κύριος and πνεῦμα together because their encounter with the believer is one and the same event,” Schweizer, ‘πνεῦμα,’ 434. Evidently, the mention of the Spirit *alongside* God and Christ raises questions as to whether there is a differentiation between an experience of God and Christ, and the Spirit. The agency of the Spirit thus resolves this difficulty.

¹²⁹ My position offers a strong criticism of Horn, *Das Angeld des Deistes*. Peerbolte, ‘Paul, Baptism, and Religious Experience,’ is indeed correct to assert that ‘the categories he [Paul] uses to describe life “in the Spirit” are misunderstood if we take them as mere *concepts*. For Paul, the Spirit of God is not just a concept; it is a reality that pervades his life. And not just his life – it is the reality that pervades the congregations as well. Paul’s theology cannot be understood without taking its experiential character into consideration. If Paul states that “the Spirit dwells within you” (Rom 8:9), this is not a theoretical concept, but a description of emotional and somatic phenomena,’ 185, emphasis original.

language indicates that Paul conceived of an experience of the Spirit as in some way an experience of God and Christ, yet this very same language draws out the distinction between the Spirit and God, and the Spirit and Christ even in those cases where God and Christ are mediated through the presence of the Spirit. What remains vital is that there is an experience of the Spirit which Paul could identify, and presume with his communities, that reveals the extent to which the Spirit was discerned in their religious experience.

4. Experience of the Spirit and the Distinct Identity of the Spirit

The discussion has now arrived at a point where further clarity is a necessity and this clarity is clearly not Paul's own agenda but is our modern concern for a more systematised understanding of Paul's experience. In what follows, it is necessary to examine from a more propositional perspective the nature of Paul's experience of the Spirit while acknowledging that the categories of interpretation – particularly coherently reflected and organised rational statements – are not directly consistent with the nature of Paul's experience (at least reflected in his letters), yet we must give Paul the adequate recognition that he was cognizant of the concepts lying behind the experience recorded.¹³⁰ It is necessary to examine to what extent an experience of the Spirit as an experience of God and Christ impacted Paul's perception of the identity of the Spirit.

4.1 Common experience of the Spirit as the Presence of God and Christ

The question to be pressed is *what is the significance of Paul's experience of the Spirit for his understanding of the identity of the Spirit?* But before we can proceed forward, it is necessary to clarify, and resolve, the preliminary question of the experience of the Spirit as an experience of God and Christ. In principle, my argument has agreed with the well-known statement made by Dunn that '*no distinction can be detected in the believer's experience between exalted Christ and Spirit of God.*'¹³¹ The corollary, that there is no distinction in the believer's experience between God and the Spirit, is also a statement of the same nature with which my argument has also generally confirmed. Yet this needs to be nuanced sufficiently so

¹³⁰ J. Christiaan Beker, 'Aspects of the Holy Spirit in Paul,' *USQ Review* 14:1 (1958): 3-16, has made the assertion that 'the experience of [the Spirit] was primary in the early Church and preceded its conceptual formulation' (3). 'Paul is a pneumatic theologian...the experiential reality of the Spirit seems to overrule the consistency of Paul's thought as a theologian. Thus it is that there is such an abundance of seemingly incoherent statements about the Spirit' (6). Beker's assertion of inconsistency sits somewhat in tension with his comment that 'It is the merit of Paul to have been the first theologian of the Spirit in the New Testament, that is, to have thought through the implications of the experience of the Spirit' (3). Certainly Paul's letters are reflective – and rhetorical – in nature.

¹³¹ Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 146, emphasis original.

that we can examine what effect such a conclusion has on the identity of the Spirit in relation to God and Christ.

Yet I would wish to emphasise that if Paul only ever experiences God and Christ *as* the Spirit, then the primary experience itself is of *the Spirit*. To be sure, as Dunn notes, this experience consists of a ‘God-consciousness’ and ‘Christ-consciousness,’¹³² but the agency of the Spirit demands that an experience of the Spirit is simultaneously an experience of the Spirit directly as well as an experience of God and Christ that is mediated through the Spirit. Such distinctions exist in Paul’s language between God, Christ and the Spirit because such distinctions exist in his perception therefore indicating that the concept of Spirit held some meaning for Paul. We must essentially nuance what we mean by ‘distinction’ in Paul’s experience for certainly there remains a *logical distinction* in Paul even in the *one experience* of the Spirit. It is realistic to assume that Paul could differentiate between an experience of the Spirit of God and an experience of the Spirit of Christ in view of the fact that he can differentiate between God and Christ. That Paul differentiates between God the Father and his son Jesus Christ, the reality of the Spirit’s agency as the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ necessitates that even though there is no distinction in the believers’ experience between God and the Spirit, and Christ and the Spirit – in the sense of God and Christ’s activity and presence *towards* the believer – there certainly is a distinction in the believers’ *logical perception* between the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ.¹³³ What makes an experience of God and Christ consistent is the experience of the Spirit as the *common agent* since the Spirit mediates the activity of *both* God and Christ *to* the believer.

In this way, there must be some form of distinction in the believers’ perception of the activity of God and Christ, but since both mediate this activity through the Spirit, then it appears that the nature of the particular experience of the Spirit must adapt itself to the defining activity of God or Christ and in this way the experience of the Spirit determines to the believer that the experience is comprehended as originating from either God or Christ. The important point is to recognise that no matter the dynamic of the believers’ experience of God and Christ towards them, the experience is always and consistently that of the *Spirit* as the *Spirit* of God or the *Spirit* of Christ.¹³⁴ The experience does not flatten the logical

¹³² Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 146; *idem*, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 323 (though Dunn appears to understand that Paul’s Damascus Road Experience was an experience of Christ himself, *Jesus and the Spirit*, §§18-19). In many ways this distinction is one of emphasis. In Paul’s experience, is the experience itself predominantly of *God* or *Christ as Spirit*, or of *the Spirit* of God and *the Spirit* of Christ? Such questions necessitate clarification.

¹³³ Even the somewhat tautological nature of Paul’s statements in Rom 8:9-11 are nonetheless integrated through recognition of the agency of the Spirit.

¹³⁴ Both Turner and Fatehi have criticised Dunn’s perspective on the Spirit’s relation to God and Christ because they take issue with the overstated nature of Dunn’s position on the Spirit. Dunn has argued that ‘Paul defines the Spirit as no more and no less than the Spirit of Jesus’ (*Jesus and the Spirit*, 325) and that ‘one cannot

comprehension of the Spirit such that God and Christ override any recognition of the Spirit at work – this would make Paul’s language of Spirit redundant – but rather *the experience itself emphasises the agency of the Spirit* since it is the Spirit who is the divine point of contact towards believers.¹³⁵ When Dunn articulates his view of God and Christ as present *through* and *as* the Spirit, then I essentially agree. But his position that there is no distinction between God and the Spirit, and Christ and the Spirit, in the believers’ experience is only true in the sense that the Spirit as the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ is the common experience *as* Spirit. Dunn minimises the extent to which the Spirit is understood by Paul as the common agent of God and Christ, and does not clarify how an experience of the Spirit differentiates the activity of God or Christ in Paul’s perception. In the dynamic movement *from* God and Christ through the Spirit *towards* the believer an experience of God and Christ *as* Spirit does not remove – or confuse – such logical distinctions.

4.2 Unique Experience of the Spirit

If the Spirit is an agent who can mediate the presence of God and Christ, and if God and Christ are themselves differentiated, then this leads to the question as to whether Paul could conceive of an experience of the Spirit that is *not* defined by the activity of God or Christ. If this can occur, in what sense, then, is the Spirit *not* confused with either the presence of God or the presence of Christ in the believers’ experience? The decisive evidence in Paul is found in those unique functions that characterise the Spirit’s identity as distinct from God and Christ. The fundamental reasoning here is that the unique functions of the Spirit, most evident in the cultic worship of the Pauline communities (e.g. 1 Cor 14:2, 16; Phil 3:3), are unique experiences of the Spirit, for Paul’s experience – both individual and corporate – *is precisely the very means by which such unique functions are identified*.¹³⁶ These unique functions of the

experience the Spirit except as Christ’ (*Jesus and the Spirit*, 323). Both Turner and Fatehi have seen such statement in *exclusive* terms, that is, that the believer can only experience the Spirit in Christ terms and have sought to correct Paul’s view of the Spirit as both the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of God (Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 305-306; Turner, ‘The Spirit of Christ and “Divine” Christology,’ 431-433). This discussion helps to describe how Christ was active through the Spirit by *inclusively* developing the Spirit’s identity so that the Spirit was the Spirit of God *and also* the Spirit of Christ, but what both sides of the discussion have not given adequate attention to is whether or not the Spirit who is both the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ – a point all agree on – can be defined in terms other than that of God or Christ.

¹³⁵ Such statements as Gal 4:4-6, 1 Cor 6:11, 1 Cor 12:4-6, 2 Cor 1:21-22, 13:13[14], and Rom 5:1-5 demonstrate that Paul understood such logical distinctions between God, Christ and the Spirit to still be in place despite the activity of all three occurring within the singular experience. The particular point of note should be that in these passages the Spirit is still active alongside God and Christ.

¹³⁶ For example, Paul makes a remarkable distinction between the Spirit and God in his cultic experiences. The believers themselves know *experientially* that their prayers are heard by God because the Spirit both indwells them and intercedes to God on their behalf according to the will of God *through wordless groans* for God knows the mind of the Spirit and the Spirit intercedes to God on behalf of believers (Rom 8:26-27). Paul is also aware that the Spirit searches the thoughts and deep things of God (1 Cor 2:10b-11) and Paul also identifies the Spirit as the inspiring force that directs worship to God for believers utter mysteries to God by the Spirit (1 Cor 14:2),

Spirit demonstrate that in Paul's experience he knows and discerns – at least intuitively – that the function of the Spirit is differentiated from the function of God and Christ to whom worship is directed.¹³⁷

This discussion may seem a digression but it is essential to emphasise that the foundation of these experiences of the Spirit's unique functions is Paul and his communities' *devotional life*.¹³⁸ In this way we return to Dunn's expression. While I agree that there is no distinction in the believer's experience of God and Christ *as* Spirit – since the Spirit is the means by which the believer experiences the presence of God and Christ, and their activity *towards* the believer – the return movement *from* the believer *to* God and Christ *through* the Spirit reveals that the logical distinction between the Spirit and God, and the Spirit and Christ is much more pronounced in the experience of devotion and worship. In this return movement, experientially delineated in the believers' cultic life and worship, God and Christ are not experienced *as* the Spirit, rather *they experience the Spirit as the influence of*

praise God by the Spirit (1 Cor 14:16), and worship God by the Spirit (Phil 3:3). Believers also confess 'Abba, Father' to God (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15) by the Spirit. More broadly, in their moral life, believers walk by the Spirit and produce the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:16ff; Rom 8:4ff), which is the means of identifying them as children of God (Gal 4:6-7; Rom 8:14-17). Paul never describes believers as children of the Spirit, so the unique function of being led by the Spirit in his experience is the means by which he could conceive of the Spirit fulfilling a function distinguished from that of God. So too with Christ. Though all believers are baptised into Christ (Gal 3:27) so that the early Christian community is conceived as the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:27), Paul recognises that believers are all baptised by the Spirit to form that body (1 Cor 12:13). Paul's description of the church as the body of Christ is not singularly a theologically abstract proposition but is indeed an experiential reality to believers because the Spirit dwells within their own bodies, thus it is the experience of the Spirit indwelling them that confirms they are the body of Christ. The experience of conversion metaphorically described by Paul as baptism logically differentiates the activity of the Spirit from Christ for believers are washed in the name of Jesus Christ and by the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 6:11). In Paul's Apostolic ministry he proclaims the gospel of Christ and represents Christ but it is the Holy Spirit who sanctifies the Gentiles (Rom 15:15-16). Paul clearly experiences the ecstatic confession 'Jesus is Lord' as occurring because of the inspiration of the Spirit (1 Cor 12:3). In his experience of prayer he can differentiate between the function of Christ and the love of the Spirit (Rom 15:30) just as he knows that it is the Spirit who mediates Christ's own presence in his time of need (Phil 1:19). And because Paul knows that Christ was raised to life by the Spirit (1 Cor 15:44-46; Rom 1:4; 8:9-11), he has confidence because he experiences the presence of the Spirit as the deposit of his future resurrection (1 Cor 15:44-46; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Rom 8:9-11; 23) in the same way that Christ himself was raised.

¹³⁷ It is true that in some of these cases the function of the Spirit is the extension of God's own activity towards Christ (E.g. God has raised Christ, Rom 6:4; God sanctifies those in Christ, 1 Thess 5:23), and the reverse – the extension of Christ's own responsive activity towards God (E.g. Jesus cries 'Abba, Father' to God by the inspiration of the Spirit, Gal 4:4-7; Rom 8:14-17; cf. Mark 14:36; walking by the Spirit is paralleled to the law of Christ, which is the innovative expression of the new law of God, Gal 6:2; Rom 8:7). But the unique functions of the Spirit are certainly evident when, for example, the Spirit inspires the confession that Christ is Lord (Paul did not presume that God inspired the confession) and the confession of Abba, Father (just as Jesus uttered the same cry by the same Spirit). Again, Paul himself was aware that it was by the Spirit that he offered prayer to God and in that experience of prayer the Spirit interceded on his behalf to God. Paul never prayed to the Spirit, and never indicates that he presumed it was Christ inspiring the prayer to God, so he was evidently aware that in that experience it was the Spirit who was present who uniquely was active towards God. To be sure, Paul parallels the intercession of the Spirit (Rom 8:26-27) with the intercession of Christ (Rom 8:34), but the *nature* of the intercession is different – the Spirit intercedes through wordless groans, and Christ intercedes on the basis of his death, resurrection, and ascension to God's right hand.

¹³⁸ This parallels Hurtado's emphasis on religious devotion to Christ and its cultic context, *One God, One Lord; Lord Jesus Christ; How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?: At the Origins of Christian Worship*. See a similar direction taken by Turner, "'Trinitarian' Pneumatology in the New Testament?" 180-184; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 324-326; *idem*, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 264; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 307-308.

inspiration and devotion to offer worship towards God and Christ. There is no sense here that God and the Spirit, and Christ and the Spirit, are confused in the believers' devotional experience. The shape of early Christian worship, from believer, to God and Christ, through and by the Spirit, remains the vital and foundational experience that identifies the unique functions of the Spirit. Since the believer *experiences* the inspiration of the Spirit to offer worship to God and Christ, and confess God as Father and Christ as Lord by the Spirit, then there must exist a distinction in the believers' experience of God and the Spirit, and the Spirit and Christ.

4.3 Religious Experience and the Identity of the Spirit

I have now emphasised two interdependent points regarding the Spirit and Paul's experience. Firstly, in the movement from God and Christ to the believer, there is no distinction in the believers' experience between God and the Spirit, and the Spirit and Christ since God and Christ are experienced as Spirit. Secondly, in the return movement from the believer to God and Christ, there can be discerned a distinction in the believers' experience of God and Christ through the Spirit. With this discussion in place, we now return to the original question: *what is the significance of Paul's experience of the Spirit for his understanding of the identity of the Spirit?* Or to put it another way: how does Paul's experience of the Spirit shape his understanding of and his attempt to give expression to the identity of the Spirit?

Firstly, both directions – the movement God/Christ > Spirit > Believer, and Believer > Spirit > God/Christ – are simultaneous in the believers' experience. As believers offer worship to God and Christ through the Spirit, they experience God and Christ as present through the Spirit. In both directions, from God and Christ to believer, and from the believer to God and Christ, *the experience is that of the Spirit.*¹³⁹ This explains why Paul could presume such experiences with his communities without the need for elaboration since the reality of the Spirit is perpetually evident and widespread.¹⁴⁰

Secondly, while experience of the Spirit was so frequent, the primary reality of the Spirit occurred at the centre of the gathered communities' experience of worship – in the corporate and cultic life of worship and devotion to God and Christ where the charismatic Spirit was the inspiration for worship directed to God and Christ.¹⁴¹ In this way Paul could

¹³⁹ It is a more systematic presumption that we must start the cycle from God: God/Christ > Spirit > Paul > Spirit > God/Christ, but the reality of experience as shaping Paul's religious life likely orients the cycle to be a continuous and undifferentiated circle.

¹⁴⁰ This is rightly the emphasis of Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*; *idem*, 'Power From in Between.'

¹⁴¹ If Dunn is correct that the early Christians in fact did not worship Jesus directly, but offered worship to God *in and through* Christ, then it is not clear of the precise roles of Christ and the Spirit in the experience of worship. Despite Dunn's attempt to emphasise the experiential nature of the Spirit, and despite his recognition

speak of an experience of the Spirit that was differentiated from an experience of God and Christ. Since Paul demarcates the Spirit from God and Christ in his cultic experiences, then he could so readily speak of the Spirit as a reality to him which was expressed to his communities in his language and rhetoric. On the basis of the ongoing encounter with the Spirit in his religious experience, Paul understood that the Spirit's inspiration and influence demarcated a specific function of the Spirit. If Paul can specify unique functions of the Spirit's which demarcate the Spirit from God and Christ, then such unique functions can be understood to denote a distinct experience of the Spirit.¹⁴²

Thirdly, the degree to which Paul identified the Spirit in his experience as the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ draws the conclusion that experience played an essential role in the formation of Paul's understanding of Christian monotheism.¹⁴³ The distinctive nature of Christ-devotion is a key avenue for a change in the Spirit's function as differentiated from the conception of the Spirit in the Hebrew and Jewish literature.¹⁴⁴ Despite the Spirit being an experiential reality in Hebrew and Jewish religious expression, the conception of the Spirit as the Spirit of Christ in Paul's thought identifies a development in the activity of the Spirit for the Spirit is now inclusively related to the risen Christ and mediates both the presence of God *and* the presence of Christ. Paul's experience of Christ-devotion by the Spirit therefore contributes significantly to how the Spirit became differentiated from God.¹⁴⁵ The coming of

that 'The Spirit remained the *primary way of speaking of the divine presence within*' (*Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?*, 128, emphasis mine), he nevertheless consistently emphasises the activity of *Christ* through the Spirit at the expense of the believers' experience of *the Spirit*. The only developed discussion of the Spirit in early Christian worship is under the heading of 'Spirit christology' (125-129) where Dunn's interpretive framework of the Christ-character of the Spirit is presumed (cf. *Jesus and the Spirit*, 318-326; *Christology in the Making*, 141-149). With regard to worship, Dunn concludes, 'we are back into the mediatorial role of Christ – Christ not only as the way and means by which believers come to God, but the way in and as which God as Spirit enters into a life or human situation, Christ as embodying and defining the character of that divine presence' (129). It is not clear why Christ is the character of that divine presence without reference to the Spirit and why the Spirit's *distinct* role in worship is not given its due emphasis. Effectively the Spirit is collapsed into the activity of Christ as the primary mediator between believer and God. I cannot help but sense that Dunn has not given due emphasis to the reality of the experience of the Spirit in Paul when he speaks of Christ as the one who had brought God near to the believer, the one through whom the believer offered prayer to God, and the one whom the space and context of worship was given by him (57-58). These are all descriptions that Paul attributes to the Spirit. Dunn appears to simply credit to Christ *all* activity of the Spirit – since Christ is experienced as Spirit – *without recognizing the subtle functions in the act of worship that Paul identifies as the Spirit in distinction from Christ*. Functionally, Dunn appears not to discern any distinct activity of the Spirit in the believers' cultic activity.

¹⁴² Cf. Wainwright, 'The more the Christians meditated about the Spirit, and the more they experienced his activity in their own lives and in the life of the community, the more they were conscious of his personal nature,' *The Trinity*, 204.

¹⁴³ So Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 839-842; Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, 264; Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul*, 307-308; Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective*, 83-107.

¹⁴⁴ Contrary to the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, the believers' experience is not the evidence that the Spirit and Christ are identified but is the means by which Christ is present by the Spirit.

¹⁴⁵ This, of course, does not deny that the Spirit is now labelled 'the Spirit of Christ' just as it is 'the Spirit of God,' but it does recognise that the genitive construction itself speaks of differentiation. Since Christ was identified with the concepts of Word and Wisdom, the question emerges: why does the Spirit not also become eclipsed wholly by the identity of Christ? From the shape of Hebrew and Jewish Monotheism, we would have

Jesus the Messiah and the empowering eschatological Spirit redefined Paul's understanding of God, and the impetus for such a shift in his thought is his powerful religious experience of the Spirit in the Gentile communities, and the Spirit's agency of God and Christ's presence as the object of devotion and worship. Thus, Paul's religious experience reveals a distinction between the identities of God and the Spirit since Paul identifies the Spirit – not God – as mediating Christ's presence.

4.4 Summary

In summary, my argument has broadly emphasised the degree to which Paul and his communities experienced the Spirit in and among them. More specifically, it has demonstrated that while the Spirit functioned as the agent of God and Christ to believers, such that God and Christ are experienced as the Spirit, Paul's letters reflect the subtle differentiation between God, Christ and the Spirit in the believers' experience of worship directed *towards* God and Christ. It is this decisive experience of the Spirit in the cultic life that has enabled Paul and his communities to identify a distinct identity of the Spirit that stands apart from God and Christ and is the avenue by which the distinct identity of the Spirit emerged.

5. Experience of the Spirit and a Contemporary Psychology of Religious Experience

The argument has been developed that Paul's religious experience led him to recognise a distinction between God and the Spirit. This distinction is also verifiable in Paul and the Pauline communities' experience of the Spirit as the agent of God and Christ through whom worship is directed towards both God and Christ. Such conclusions raise a key question for discussion: if Paul's Jewish heritage viewed the Spirit as the extension of God's own personality, *why* did Paul make such a distinction between God, Christ and the Spirit in his

then expected a stricter binitarian shape to emerge. Though this discussion is beyond the boundaries of this thesis, the answer surely lies in the Pauline communities' powerful religious experience which they labelled an experience of the Spirit, and since the agency of the Spirit stood as an experience of God himself in his engagement with his people within Hebrew and Jewish religion, this nomenclature was maintained as the Spirit was manifestly poured out upon the newly constituted Christian community. The formation in Paul's thought of a distinction between the Spirit's relation to God and Christ was due to his religious experience which distinguished between characters within the Unique Divine Identity. In other words, the emergence of the distinct identity of the Spirit emerged in Paul was as a direct result of his experience which he labelled an experience of the Spirit. This experience of God and Christ is formulated by Paul as an experience of the Spirit who mediates the presence of God and Christ to the believer. If Paul's religious experience was wholly identified as an experience of God and Christ without reference to the Spirit, then it would be comprehensible that the concept of Spirit became eclipsed within Paul's Christological reflection, as happened to the terms Word and Wisdom. Instead of moving in such a direction, Paul has evidently in a novel manner *developed an awareness of the identity of the Spirit from his experience since the Spirit was the singular category which, in contrast to Word and Wisdom, communicated God's power and presence*. This experience therefore identified the Spirit as unique in relation to God and Christ.

experience and what remains distinctive about the idea of Spirit for him?¹⁴⁶ In order to answer why Paul makes a distinction between God and the Spirit, and does not simply retain the idea of the Spirit as the mode of God's activity and power, it is necessary to briefly examine Paul's experience using the methods of contemporary Philosophy, Psychology of Religion and Sociology of Knowledge. This approach explains, in modern terms, the dialectic of experience and why the language of Spirit became so important within the psychology of faith for Paul.¹⁴⁷ This will give further clarity to the dialectic between belief and experience in Paul's worldview from our own modern perspective. This final section therefore functions as a *bridge* between Paul's context and our own, and aims to give sense to the phenomenological nature of Paul's experience of the Spirit in a satisfactory way for our modern minds.

5.1 The External-Internal Dialectic of Experience in Philosophy and Psychology

The immediate entry point into a broad philosophy and psychology of religious experience begins with the nature of experience itself. To comprehensively examine the nature of experience would evidently require more space than is available in this discussion, the relevant point for my purposes lies in comprehending experience as a phenomenology of consciousness.¹⁴⁸ This reduction does not exclude bodily experiences that are physiologically determined, nor does it exclude the complex nature of feelings or emotions that are so integral to experience, but it does recognise that the centre of the experience is the experiencing 'I,' the subjective individual and their conscious comprehension of themselves and the event that constitutes the experience.¹⁴⁹ Phenomenologically, consciousness is the organ that interprets reality subjectively. What is conscious becomes known and comprehended and incorporated

¹⁴⁶ The key to this question must rest with what remains *distinctive* about the Spirit for Paul both in the broader First Century World and in his Christian context, and if my analysis is correct – that the Spirit by its nature is experiential in this milieu – then this distinctiveness lies in the experiential reality of the Spirit.

¹⁴⁷ But it must be noted that my aim lies not in developing a modern sophisticated framework of a Philosophy, Psychology or Sociology of Religion using a phenomenological analysis of Paul's religious experience, but in ultimately explaining the *theological* function of the Spirit within Paul's religious experience from a psychological perspective and what this function means for the identity of the Spirit in contrast to both God and Christ.

¹⁴⁸ Johnson understands a 'phenomenological' approach 'to be a critical inquiry into consciousness and its contents, taking with equal seriousness the *noesis* (or knowing subject) and the *noema* (or subject known) in all their delicate interplay, while bracketing (holding in suspension) judgements concerning the extramental existence or non-existence of such states of consciousness. I take it to be fundamentally a kind of contemplation of, and reflection on, that which appears before us, an attempt to "see" a *phenomenon* from as many perspectives as possible, as fully as possible, trying to tease out "what is this before us,"' (Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 43-44). Of importance is Johnson's acknowledgement of three virtues which the phenomenological approach possesses, namely, 1) a capacity to deal with the particular as opposed to the general (this avoids reductionism), 2) comfort with language that expresses experience, 3) attentiveness to power as a key element in religion (Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity*, 45-46). By taking these three virtues into account, a fresh dimension to the texts that we possess (which bear the unmistakable mark of religious experience) will necessarily result, particularly as we focus on those Pauline texts related to the Spirit.

¹⁴⁹ Indeed, current neurological research demonstrates that such diverse physiological elements of experience are centred on the functioning of the brain itself. Cf. the studies noted in Shantz, *Paul in Ecstasy*, 67ff.

into the subject's *Weltanschauung*. This necessitates that an experience must differentiate between the conscious individual and the perceived object of experience but must also recognise that the experience categorically contains both the subject and the object despite such a conceptual differentiation between subject and object.

Consciousness as subjective reality has generated extensive discussion on the nature of objective reality and the means by which this reality is constructed and formed. With the post-enlightenment Philosophical impact of I. Kant¹⁵⁰ and the subsequent 'German Idealist' school inclusive of G.W.F. Hegel,¹⁵¹ J.G. Fichte,¹⁵² and F.W.J. Schelling,¹⁵³ defining the nature of reality has broadly been divided between the Realist position and the Idealist position.¹⁵⁴ Realism posits that ideas of consciousness can possess a real ontological existence in reality apart from the experiencing subject, and Idealism posits reality as comprehended through the subjective mental construction of the mind in the form of ideals such that concepts perceived do not possess an ontological status apart from the conscious projection of the individual.¹⁵⁵ These contrasting interpretations of the nature of reality and its first cause can be broadly polarised as an *external* versus an *internal* description of reality itself: Realism with its description of the object of experience as possessing absolute objective reality which functions as an external influence, and Idealism with its description of the object of experience as the internal cognitive mode of perception of the individual.¹⁵⁶ The strong

¹⁵⁰ Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2007 [orig. 1781]). Kant's idealism is often described as 'Transcendental' or 'Critical' Idealism.

¹⁵¹ Georg W.F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Mind*, 2 Vols. (New York: MacMillan Co, 1910 [orig. 1807]). Other translations opt for the title *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (Geist). Hegel's idealism is 'Absolute' Idealism. See Martin J. De Nys, *Hegel and Theology*, Philosophy and Theology (London/New York: T&T Clark/Continuum, 2009).

¹⁵² Johann G. Fichte, *Attempt at a Critique of All Revelation*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy, ed. Garrett Green (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012 [orig. 1792]); *idem*, *The Science of Knowing: J.G. Fichte's 1804 Lectures on the Wissenschaftslehre*, SUNY Series in Contemporary Continental Philosophy, ed. Walter W. Wright (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005 [orig. 1804]); *idem*, *Early Philosophical Writings*, ed. Daniel Breazeale (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988 [orig. 1794-1799]). Fichte's idealism is described as 'Ethical' or 'Critical' Idealism.

¹⁵³ Friedrich W.J. Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978 [orig. 1800]). Schelling's idealism is 'Absolute' Idealism.

¹⁵⁴ These descriptions are naturally oversimplified and reductionist, but I utilise these simplified descriptions for heuristic purposes only.

¹⁵⁵ But see Frederick C. Beiser, *German Idealism: The Struggle Against Subjectivism, 1781-1801* (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2002), who develops the argument that the German Idealist school moved further away from a 'subjectivist' position, which is contrary to the typical reading of the school.

¹⁵⁶ With specific application to belief in the existence of God, such a discussion had a significant impact on how God's existence could be proved or disproved according to such Realist or Idealist paradigms, with the Realist position presuming the ontological reality of God as first cause apart from the individual, E.g. William P. Alston, 'Christian Experience and Christian Belief,' in *Faith and Rationality: Reason and Belief in God*, eds. Alvin Platinga and Nicholas Wolterstorff (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1983); *idem*, *Perceiving God: The Epistemology of Religious Experience* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1991); *idem*, *A Realist Conception of Truth* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1996); *idem*, 'Religious Experience,' in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Vol. 8, ed. Edward Craig (London: Routledge, 1998), 250-255. The Idealist position, in its extreme form, presumes that the concept of a divine God is the subjective creation of the individual's consciousness and holds no reality beyond such a projection. In extreme form Friedrich Nietzsche

tension between the Realist and Idealist paradigms has led to a mediating position that recognises that there exists a *dialectical* relation between an individual's subjectivity and external reality's objectivity, since subjectivity shapes the perception of reality while simultaneously reality confronts the subject as objectivity.¹⁵⁷ This position acknowledges that the previously maintained dichotomy between external Realism and internal Idealism is not to be separated or considered mutually exclusive as interpretations of cognitive perceptions of reality but kept in a dialectical relation because they are interdependent in constructing a contextualised *Weltanschauung* and coalesce in subjective experience of the objective world.¹⁵⁸

Such Philosophical discussion on reality led to an examination of subjective personal experience and the impact of such experience on belief in God as the object of the experience. Philosophically, the focus shifted to that which could be empirically observed – the nature of experience – since the 'abstract' concept of God could not be examined beyond personal experience, and in this way Idealism as the examination of the internal nature of experience and perception became dominant. The growth of Phenomenology,¹⁵⁹ Existentialism,¹⁶⁰

and his nihilistic catch-cry that 'God is Dead,' cf. *The Gay Science: With a Prelude in Rhymes and Appendix of Songs* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974 [orig. 1882]); *idem*, *The Anti-Christ*, Great Books in Philosophy (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000 [orig. 1888]); cf. Martin Heidegger, 'Nietzsche's Word: "God is Dead,"' in his *Off the Beaten Track* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [orig. 1950]), 157-199; also Tyler T. Roberts, *Contesting Spirit: Nietzsche, Affirmation, Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). But this does not inhibit the philosophies of Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, and Friedrich W.J. Schelling, *The Ages of the World*, Columbia Studies in Philosophy 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942 [orig. 1811-15]) to affirm the existence of God. The Realist description of reality externalises God's existence such that the category of 'supernatural' becomes heuristically necessary in contrast to the Idealist description of reality and its insistence on 'natural' forms of explanation that stem from the phenomenon of consciousness.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. 1 (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), 'Subjective reason is the structure of the mind which enables it to grasp and shape reality on the basis of a corresponding structure of reality (in whatever way this correspondence may be explained,' (76); 'Subjective reason is the rational structure of the mind, while objective reason is the rational structure of reality which the mind can grasp and according to which it can shape reality,' (77).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. broadly, Frank B. Farrell, *Subjectivity, Realism, and Postmodernism: The Recovery of the World in Recent Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹⁵⁹ Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, 2 Vols. (New York: Dover Pub, 1969) [orig. 1818-19]; Edmund Husserl, *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy*, Books 1-3, Routledge Classics (New York: Routledge, 2012 [orig. 1913]); Paul Ricoeur, *Husserl: An Analysis of His Phenomenology* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967); Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

¹⁶⁰ Søren Kierkegaard, *Kierkegaard's Writings*, Vols. 1-26 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978-2000); Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche: The First Complete and Authorized English Translation*, Vols. 1-13, Classic Reprints Series (Forgotten Books, 2012); Martin Heidegger, *Nietzsche*, 4 Vols., (New York: Harper & Row, 1979-1987); *idem*, *Being and Time*; Hubert L. Dreyfus and Mark A. Wrathall, eds., *A Companion to Phenomenology and Existentialism*, Blackwell Companions to Philosophy (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2009). In Christian theology, note the important work of Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 1999 [orig. 1821]); and Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, Scribner Classics (New York: Scribner, 2000 [orig. 1923]); *idem*, *Eclipse of God: Studies in the Relation Between Religion and Philosophy* (New York: Humanity Books, 1999 [orig. 1955]).

Hermeneutics, and Linguistics,¹⁶¹ as independent fields of analysis – each with humanistic interests – all concerned subjective methods of interpretation, that is, they were concerned with Epistemology and examining an individual’s means of knowing an object of their experience.¹⁶² With regard to Philosophy of Religion, the questions of the object of God as an ontological reality became paramount.¹⁶³ Moreover, the confrontation between Idealism and Realism acutely raised the question of the relation – either identification or distinction – of God’s Spirit and the human spirit.¹⁶⁴

The rise of interest in the general subjective experience of individuals as illustrated by Phenomenology and Existentialism resulted in the formation of the field of Psychology.¹⁶⁵ A significant aspect of the early development of Psychological theory was the question of the causes of cognitive processes and human behaviour. The Behaviourist position posits that the contextual or social setting determines the behaviour of an individual such that the causes of behaviour exist *external* to the subject.¹⁶⁶ Conversely, the Psychoanalytic position posits that

¹⁶¹ Cf. the so-called ‘New hermeneutic’ of Heidegger which analyses the ontology of language, Martin Heidegger, *On the Way to Language* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971). For contemporary hermeneutic philosophies of language note M. Foucault, P. Bourdieu, J. Derrida, and H-G. Gadamer.

¹⁶² Note Husserl’s phenomenological distinction between *noesis* (the subjective experience) and *noema* (the object of experience understood as subject).

¹⁶³ Theologically, the broad debate between so-called ‘neo-orthodoxy’ and more ‘liberal’ existential interpretations of the Bible and faith has been influenced by the dialectic between objective and subjective paradigms where language is understood as either a symbolic or literal description of God. E.g. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, Vol. I/1, *The Doctrine of the Word of God*, eds. Geoffrey W. Bromiley and Thomas F. Torrance (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2010 [orig. 1932]), and Vol. I/2, who argues the descriptive language of God in the Bible was literal and personal. Contra Rudolf Bultmann (*Theology of the New Testament*) and Paul Tillich (*Systematic Theology*, 3 Vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951-1963) who argue the language of the Bible and of God is mythological (Bultmann) and symbolic (Tillich). Tillich advocates a ‘deliteralizing’ method of interpretation which differs from Bultmann’s ‘demythological’ approach. Figures and events in the Bible are interpreted as symbols, and descriptions of narratives in the Bible are understood as myths that are symbolic. Once the myth is seen as myth, it is ‘broken’ and the symbolic essence of the myth is then applied existentially. This symbolic essence is then understood as an ontological reality. Aquinas is well known to have posited an analogical use of language, as opposed to a univocal or equivocal sense to language, which essentially posits that all religious language is analogical and therefore can only approximate to the reality described by way of symbol and analogy, St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (New York: Benziger Bros, 1948). Part 1, 13. Contrast the literal interpretations of William Alston, ‘Being-Itself and Talk About God,’ *Center Journal* 3:3 (1984): 9-25; cf. Paul L. Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coakley, eds., *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). See also John Smith, *Experience and God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). On a phenomenological approach to Philosophy of Religion, see Louis P. Roy, *Transcendent Experiences: Phenomenology and Critique*, TSP (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

¹⁶⁴ Kierkegaard, *Supra*, chap. 7; Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*; Horatio W. Dresser, *The Philosophy of the Spirit* (New York/London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1908); Paul W. Newman, ‘Humanity with Spirit,’ *SJTh* 34:5 (1981) 415-426. See Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 137ff.

¹⁶⁵ Psychology, as a broad discipline, concerned the individual’s physiological experience, specifically the relation between the neurology of the brain – its noetic, cognitive and emotive functionality – and consciousness – the psychosomatic and psychoanalytical workings of cognition.

¹⁶⁶ John B. Watson, *Behaviour: A textbook of Comparative Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1914). Ivan P. Pavlov, *Conditioned Reflexes: An Investigation of the Physiological Activity of the Cerebral Cortex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927); Burrhus F. Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1971); *idem*, *About Behaviourism* (New York: Random House, 1974).

genetic and evolutionary instinctual impulses determine behaviour (e.g. Freud)¹⁶⁷ or that archetypal symbols frame the structure of the psyche (e.g. Jung)¹⁶⁸ such that the causes of behaviour exist as *internal* to the subject, most often in subconscious (Freud) or unconscious (Jung) processes of the psyche.¹⁶⁹ The lack of any resolution to the debate demonstrates that the avenue for resolution lies in the *dialectical* relation between external and internal realities, a relation that is more complex than either position warrants and is not simply reduced to an identification of causes. The pursuit of the dialectic between what is objective to the experiencing individual and what is subjective to their consciousness signals a return to discussion on the nature of reality for there is seen a dynamic movement from objective external reality, to subjective internal reality, and back to what is external, a dynamic which acknowledges that conscious individuals experience both objective reality surrounding them – in their physical or social environment – and subjective reality – in their own cognitive and emotive processes that remain distinct from other experiencing subjects.

It is thus unsurprising that a ‘Third Psychology’ has emerged which seeks to overcome such a Behaviourist vis-à-vis Psychoanalytic dichotomy with a focus upon a more embracing vision of the individual and the complexity of both internal and external influences.¹⁷⁰ Such a discipline as Psychology does not, by its nature, presume the Realism of deity but redefines such Realism and its conscious forms as either external factors of influence or internal creations of the mind. Yet there are exceptions. The differences between Freud, who

¹⁶⁷ Sigmund Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams: The Complete and Definitive Text*, ed. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2010 [orig. 1900]); *idem*, *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (Greensboro: Empire Books, 2012 [orig. 1901]). For Freud, the most dominant instinctual desire was that of sexuality, even though he understood that the superego – identified as the control of the Father or Mother – was an external influence upon the id and ego.

¹⁶⁸ Carl G. Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious: A Study of the Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido, A Contribution to the History of the Evolution of Thought* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co, 1949); *idem*, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981 [orig. 1968]).

¹⁶⁹ Freud, Jung and A. Adler – as the influential Vienna triangle – were instrumental in the focus upon the interior consciousness of the individual. Alfred Adler, *The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology* (London: Routledge, 1925); cf. Heinz L. Ansbacher and Rowena R. Ansbacher, eds., *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1956).

¹⁷⁰ A.H. Maslow’s emphasis upon a transpersonal humanistic psychology reflects this attempt to mediate between this extreme dichotomy: Abraham H. Maslow, *Religions, Values, and Peak-Experiences* (New York: Penguin Compass, 1994 [orig. 1970]); *idem*, *Toward a Psychology of Being* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999 [orig. 1962]); *idem*, *Motivation and Personality* (New York: HarperCollins, 1987 [orig. 1954]). Also noteworthy is the influential humanistic Psychology of Carl R. Rogers, *On Becoming a Person: A Therapist’s View of Psychotherapy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1961); and Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself: An Inquiry Into the Psychology of Ethics* (New York: Henry Holt and Co, 1947); *idem*, *On Being Human* (New York: Continuum, 1997); and more recently, Michael Daniels, *Shadow, Self, Spirit: Essays in Transpersonal Psychology* (Exeter/Charlottesville: Imprint Academic, 2005); the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* attests to the prevalence of this discipline in contemporary Psychological theory. From an existential psychological perspective, see Rollo May, *The Discovery of Being: Writings in Existential Psychology* (New York: Norton & Co, 1983). Cf. the work of Erik H. Erikson on human development, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1993 [orig. 1958]), particularly in early childhood, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1993 [orig. 1950]); also Jean Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child*, Routledge Classics (London/New York: Routledge, 2002 [orig. 1926]).

adamantly denied God's existence in favour of native impulses,¹⁷¹ and his one-time friend Jung, who affirmed the reality of God in human consciousness,¹⁷² illustrates that the question of first cause in consciousness remained integral to the development of Psychology of Religion in general and its engagement with Psychoanalytic theory, humanism, and religious experience in particular.¹⁷³ The debate between the Behaviourist and Psychoanalytic position brought about a recognition that experience is both an individual and yet a social phenomenon. This recognition birthed the field of the Sociology of Knowledge which concerns the epistemology of social experience, which itself reflects the dialectic between externalisation and internalisation.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion* (New York: Classic House Books, 2009 [orig. 1927]).

¹⁷² More specifically, Jung identified God with the unconscious and the power behind the process of individuation and synchronicity whereby the unconscious and the conscious became aligned. See Carl G. Jung, *AION: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*, Bollingen Series XX (New York: Pantheon Books, 1959); *idem*, *Psychology and Religion: West and East*, Bollingen Series XX (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958); *idem*, *Man and His Symbols* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), 18-103; James Forsyth, *Freud, Jung and Christianity* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1989); Lex Ferraiola, *Synchronicity as the Work of the Holy Spirit: Jungian Insights for Spiritual Direction and Pastoral Ministry* (Tenafly: CreateSpace, 2011). For a naturalistic critique of Jung's system of synchronicity, see Melvin D. Faber, *Synchronicity: C.G. Jung, Psychoanalysis, and Religion* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 1998).

¹⁷³ Erich Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); Lionel Corbett, *The Religious Function of the Psyche* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Ann B. Ulanov and Alvin Dueck, *The Living God and Our Living Psyche: What Christians can Learn from Carl Jung* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2008); John P. Dourley, *Paul Tillich, Carl Jung and the Recovery of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2008); *idem*, *The Psyche as Sacrament: A Comparative Study of C.G. Jung and Paul Tillich*, Studies in Jungian Psychology By Jungian Analysts (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1981); David J. Tacey, *Jung and the New Age* (Philadelphia: Brunner-Routledge, 2001); Paul Vitz, *Sigmund Freud's Christian Unconscious* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993); Donald Capps, ed., *Freud and Freudians on Religion: A Reader* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). On Freud and Religion from a multi-disciplinary perspective, see Greg Kaplan and William B. Parsons, eds., *Disciplining Freud on Religion: Perspectives from the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010).

¹⁷⁴ The framework of the Sociology of Knowledge, as developed by P. Berger and T. Luckmann, makes the credible case that reality is to a significant degree dependent upon social environment, *The Social Construction of Reality*. They argue there is a *dialectical* relation between objective and subjective reality since everyday life undertaken within a society confronts an individual as *external* to himself, a reality that is objectified and exists independent of the individual's own unique participation in that reality. Yet the dialectical nature of the objective nature of reality presents itself when it is observed that the objectification of reality is constructed by *subjective individuals* in their social environment. While society – and all its constitutive components such as beliefs, norms, values, behavioural precedents – confronts the individual, the individual unconsciously re-affirms through repetition the objective quality of the society by patterning themselves according to the normative nature of what is required by that objective reality. In this way, individuals *externalise* the structures of reality yet simultaneously *internalise* these structures in a complex dialectal form such that the internalisation of the objective reality becomes their subjective reality on the basis of an *unconscious* circular movement. Applied to religion, Berger has developed a Sociological theory of Religion that he labels a 'Sacred Canopy.' This embrative and coherent worldview is a symbolic universe that is constructed and maintained in order to provide religious meaning to all reality. The Sacred Canopy is constructed objectively, maintained, and subjectively internalised according to the same pattern just described. The consequence of this Sociological theory of Religion is that an individual's knowledge of God is both an objective system of beliefs held by a religious community but is also an internalised experiential reality that confirms these beliefs. In this way, there is room to view both the Behaviourist and the Psychoanalytic positions on the basis that this mirrors the dialectic of objectification and subjectivity itself since reality – inclusive of consciousness and behaviour – is socially constructed by externalising and internalising experiencing individuals. Yet, which process is identified as the original *cause* of behaviour or experience is not clearly defined, but by its nature, sociology of knowledge must find cause in the social environment with which the analysis is concerned. Furthermore, though sociologists like Berger can make case studies of Religion and its Sacred Canopy, demonstrating the existence of God as an

As we return to the particular question of religious experience, the developments in both Philosophy and a Psychology of Religion raise specific questions about the nature of religious experience as distinctly religious within the conscious awareness of the individual and within the religious community such experiences occur. Such interest in subjective experience necessitated a re-examination of – indeed an attitude of scrutiny towards – the nature of ‘religious’ experience.¹⁷⁵ What makes an experience distinctly ‘religious’? Broadly, a religious experience is an experience which is understood as connoting a divine encounter with God.¹⁷⁶ The epistemological relation between religious experience and belief in God necessitates that the existence of God rises or falls on the validity of religious experience – at least within such humanistic disciplines. The rise of interest in psychology and religious experience within the disciplines of Philosophy, Systematic Theology,¹⁷⁷ Psychology of Religion,¹⁷⁸ particularly ‘Peak-Experiences’¹⁷⁹ and the distinct ‘religious’ experience of

objective reality is beyond the purview of their analysis for their interest is on external factors of influence. Cf. Melvin D. Faber, *The Withdrawal of Human Projection: Separating from the Symbolic Order* (Elmhurst: Library of Social Science, 2012).

¹⁷⁵ Note the criticisms of religion from a sociological perspective by, for example, Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [orig. 1912]); Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity*, Great Books in Philosophy (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2004 [orig. 1841]); Karl Marx, *Early Writings*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1992 [orig. 1844]), 244, ‘Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people’; Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Portable Nietzsche*, ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), e.g. 581, ‘In Christianity neither morality nor religion has even a single point of contact with reality. Nothing but imaginary causes... nothing but imaginary effects...’, emphasis original; Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*. See also the discussions in Malcom A. Jeeves and Warren S. Brown, *Neuroscience, Psychology, and Religion: Illusions, Delusions, and Realities about Human Nature* (West Conshohocken: Templeton Foundation Press, 2009); Richard Beck, *The Authenticity of Faith: The Varieties and Illusions of Religious Experience* (Abilene: ACU Press, 2012).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936 [orig. 1923]). Otto, more generally, begins with a definition that involves an encounter with the divine/numinous that leaves the individual with a profound creature consciousness (9-10). Otto is influenced by Schleiermacher and argues for the validity of religious belief on the basis of religious feeling, i.e. numinous experience, but also is critical of Schleiermacher at various points.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Paul Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith* (New York: HarperOne, 1957); *idem*, *Theology of Culture* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), chap. 8, ‘The Theological Significance of Existentialism and Psychoanalysis,’ 112-126; *idem*, *The Meaning of Health: Essays in Existentialism, Psychoanalysis, and Religion* (Chicago: Exploration Press, 1984). On the work and thought of Tillich, see John M. Perry, *Tillich’s Response to Freud: A Christian Answer to the Freudian Critique of Religion* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1988); John C. Cooper, *The ‘Spiritual Presence’ in the Theology of Paul Tillich: Tillich’s Use of St. Paul* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997); Terry D. Cooper, *Paul Tillich and Psychology: Historic and Contemporary Explorations in Theology, Psychotherapy and Ethics* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2005). On religious experience, see Donald L. Gelpi, *Charism and Sacrament* (New York: Paulist/London: SPCK, 1976); *idem*, *The Turn to Experience in Contemporary Theology* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1994); Jerome I. Gellman, *Experience of God and the Rationality of Theistic Belief*, Cornell Studies in the Philosophy of Religion (London/Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

¹⁷⁸ Andre Godin, *The Psychological Dynamics of Religious Experience* (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1985); Caroline F. Davis, *The Evidential Force of Religious Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Paul Vitz, *Psychology as Religion: the Cult of Self-Worship*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994); Donald Capps, *Men, Religion, and Melancholia: James, Otto, Jung, and Erikson* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Melvin D. Faber, *The Psychological Roots of Religious Belief: Searching for Angels and the Parent-God* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2004); Jeremy R. Carrette, *Religion and Critical Psychology: Religious Experience in the Knowledge Economy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007); Ralph W. Hood, Jr., Peter C. Hill, Bernard Spilka, *The*

Mysticism (which is often viewed as the prototypical existential experience, contemporaneously defined as an Altered State of Consciousness) unsurprisingly produces interpretive positions that follow the pattern identified so far in their quest to identify the ‘first cause’ of influence.¹⁸⁰

The Constructivist position views mystical religious experience as constructed and defined by the culture, context, beliefs of a particular religious community with the resultant religious experiences characterised by the shape and values of the social environment which influences the language, concepts and beliefs that the individual constructs. In this way the cause of religious experience is *external* to the experiencing subject who is dependent upon their religious environment for their experience.¹⁸¹

Conversely, the Common Core position understands religious experience to be a unity of numinous mystical experiences that follow the same universal structural pattern within

Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Approach (New York: The Guilford Press, 2009); William W. Meissner, *Life and Faith: Psychological Perspectives on Religious Experience* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2010); F. LeRon Shults, Steven J. Sandage, *Transforming Spirituality: Integrating Theology and Psychology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006); Raymond F. Paloutzian and Crystal L. Park, eds., *Handbook of the Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* (New York: Guilford Press, 2005); David A. Leeming, Kathryn Madden and Stanton Marlan, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Psychology and Religion* (New York: Springer, 2010); David Fontana, *Psychology, Religion and Spirituality* (Leicester: BPS/Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), chap. 10, ‘Varieties of Religious and Spiritual Experience,’ 108-158, not to be confused with James M. Nelson, *Psychology, Religion, and Spirituality* (New York: Springer, 2009); Kevin S. Seybold, *Explorations in Neuroscience, Psychology and Religion*, Ashgate Science and Religion Series (Hampshire/Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 33-52.

¹⁷⁹ Abraham H. Maslow, *Religions, Values, and Peak-Experiences*; *idem*, *Toward a Psychology of Being*; *idem*, *Motivation and Personality*; *idem*, *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature* (New York: Penguin/Arkana, 1993).

¹⁸⁰ Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism* (Tenafly: CreateSpace, 2011 [orig. 1911]); Rufus M. Jones, *New Studies in Mystical Religion* (New York: The MacMillan Co, 1928); Marghanita Laski, *Ecstasy in Secular and Religious Experience*, Library of Spiritual Classics (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, 1990); Robert C. Zaehner, *Mysticism, Sacred and Profane: An Inquiry Into Some Varieties of Praeternatural Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967); Erika Bourguignon, *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1973); Frits Staal, *Exploring Mysticism: A Methodological Essay* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); David Hay, *Religious Experience Today: Studying the Facts* (London: Mowbrays, 1990); Charles T. Tart, ed., *Altered States of Consciousness: A Book of Readings*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York: Harper, 1990); Charles T. Tart, *States of Consciousness* (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2001); Nelson Pike, *Mystic Union: An Essay in the Phenomenology of Mysticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Jess B. Hollenback, *Mysticism: Experience, Response, and Empowerment* (University Park: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1996); Ninian Smart, *The Religious Experience*, 5th ed. (London: Pearson, 1996); Richard Woods, *Understanding Mysticism* (London: Athlone Press, 2000); William R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (Whitefish: Kessinger Pub, 2010); Etzel Cardeña and Michael Winkelman, eds., *Altering Consciousness: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, 2 Vols., (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011).

¹⁸¹ This position is most notably defended by Steven Katz, ‘Language, Epistemology and Mysticism,’ in *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 22-74; *idem*, ‘The “Conservative” Character of Mysticism,’ in *Mysticism and Religious Traditions*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 3-60; *idem*, ‘Mystical Speech and Mystical Meaning,’ in *Mysticism and Language*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3-41; *idem*, ‘Mysticism and the Interpretation of Sacred Scripture,’ in *Mysticism and Sacred Scripture*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 7-67. See too William J. Wainwright, *Mysticism: A Study of its Nature, Cognitive Value, and Moral Implications* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); Wayne Proudfoot, *Religious Experience* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985).

subjective experience regardless of the context in which they occur.¹⁸² This position views mystical religious experience as *internal* to the experiencing subject, that is, mystical experiences have a common core that is produced, i.e. caused, by intrinsic experiential factors.¹⁸³ The question of cause once again results in a tussle between external or internal factors but in the examination of religious experience the existence of God as objective reality is notoriously difficult to settle precisely because of the *dialectical* relation between belief and experience.¹⁸⁴ At the very least, one must agree that experience and belief overlap in a dialectical fashion. A phenomenology of consciousness consequently cannot settle the question of ‘first cause’ for whether the influence on the consciousness is by an ontological

¹⁸² William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*; Walter T. Stace, *Mysticism and Philosophy* (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, 1987); Robert K.C. Forman, ed., *The Problem of Pure Consciousness: Mysticism and Philosophy* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Robert K.C. Forman, ed., *The Innate Capacity: Mysticism, Psychology, and Philosophy* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Robert K.C. Forman, *Mysticism, Mind, Consciousness* (Albany: State University of New York, 1999); Bernard McGinn, *Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, Modern Library Classics (New York: Random House, 2006); Monica Kimmel, *Interpreting Mysticism: An Evaluation of Steven T. Katz’s Argument Against a Common Core in Mysticism and Mystical Experience* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2010).

¹⁸³ James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, defines religion as ‘the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine,’ (36). He also identifies four marks of religious experience that comprise the Common Core of religious mystical experience: ineffability, noetic quality, transiency, passivity (379-382). From these definitions, James argues that there is a ‘pure’ experience of God that is qualitatively differentiated from everyday human experience. The encounter with the divine was an unmediated experience such that there was no distinction in the consciousness between the object of the encounter – God – and the subject. The subject is only aware of the divine. Therefore there is a qualitative distinction between experience in general, and religious experience in particular, because the phenomenon is self-evidently a ‘pure experience’ of God that cannot be mediated by any human experience. William James, ‘Does Consciousness Exist?’, *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods* 1 (1904): 477-491; *idem*, ‘A World of Pure Experience,’ *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods* 1 (1904): 533-543; Eugene I. Taylor and Robert H. Wozniak, eds., *Pure Experience: The Response to William James* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996). These references are noted in Shantz, ‘Opening the Black Box,’ in *Experientia*, Vol. 2, *Linking Text and Experience*, 3, fn. 3. See also William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 Vols. (London: MacMillan and Co, 1890). More recently, see Wayne Proudfoot, ed., *William James and a Science of Religions: Reexperiencing The Varieties of Religious Experience*, Columbia Series in Science and Religion (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Donald Capps and John Capps, *James and Dewey on Belief and Experience* (Urbana: Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, 2005). Alston develops a common structural core to religious experience through the cognitive framework of religious *perception*, Alston, *Perceiving God: The Epistemology of Religious Experience*; *idem*, *The Reliability of Sense Perception* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

¹⁸⁴ The relation between experience and belief is proved to not be so unilaterally defined for there is no simple cause and effect dynamic such that experience (as an *internal* reality) constructs belief (as an *external* product), the experience itself which is supposedly caused by a divine encounter with God (an *external* object). The relation between experience and belief is dialectical for the experience to be defined as ‘religious’ must be pre-determined by the already existing idea of God’s existence for in circular fashion belief informs experience and experience re-affirms belief. John Dewey, *A Common Faith*, The Terry Lecture Series (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991 [orig. 1932]), demonstrates this point well enough in his discussion on the dialectical relation between the projection of God as ideal and impact of this ideal in experience. James is well known to have settled this circular dilemma by arguing on the basis of pragmatism, that is, the fruits of religious experience were determinative for affirming the validity of religious belief. Yet this pragmatism does not adequately address the unconscious presuppositions that frame the noetic structures of human experience. John M. Moore’s assessment is more balanced, ‘our categories and established modes of reaction are present before any particular experience, and condition the form which the experience takes. The relation of experience and interpretation is reciprocal and complex rather than being a simple one way relation of dependence,’ *Theories of Religious Experience: with Special Reference to James, Otto and Bergson* (New York: Round Table Press, 1938) 187.

object (e.g. God) according to the Realist paradigm, or is produced by the projection of the individual (e.g. the *idea* of God) according to the Idealist paradigm, is empirically ambiguous precisely because of the *dialectical* relation that exists between objective and subjective reality.

5.2 The External-Internal Dialectic of Paul's Religious Experience

The preceding discussion has taken a broad path covering a variety of interdependent disciplines. The aim has not been to give an exhaustive and detailed summary of each discipline but has simply been to note the *dialectic* within each discipline between the *external* and *internal* forces that influence human consciousness. It is no surprise that such Psychological approaches to Paul have appeared.¹⁸⁵ This leads us to the present concern of Paul's experience of the Spirit. In view of the focus of this thesis, the essential question is *why* Paul differentiates God, Christ and the Spirit in his experience and what remains distinctive about the idea of Spirit for Paul. The answer rests in the developments of Psychology of Religious Experience – with philosophical and sociological developments as broad contexts – that acknowledge the *dialectical* relation between *external* and *internal* influences on a phenomenology of consciousness, evidenced in cognition, behaviour and human activity in general.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Segal, *Paul the Convert*; Gerd Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 1994); *idem*, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches: Creating a Symbolic World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), who offers very little engagement on Paul in this volume; Hans-Christoph Meier, *Mystik bei Paulus: Zur Phänomenologie religiöser Erfahrung im Neuen Testament*, TANZ 26 (Tübingen: Francke, 1998); Edward F. Edinger, *The Psyche in Antiquity: Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, Vol. 2, *From Paul of Tarsus to Augustine*, Studies in Jungian Psychology By Jungian Analysts (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1999); Ashton, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle*; Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?*; Terrance Callan, 'Psychological Perspectives on the Life of Paul,' in *Psychological Insight into the Bible: Texts and Readings*, eds. Wayne G. Rollins and D. Andrew Kille (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007), 127-137; John J. Pilch, 'Paul's Ecstatic Trance Experience near Damascus in Acts of the Apostles,' *Hervormde Theologiese Studies* 58 (2002): 690-707; Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma*; Foskett and Allen Jr, eds., *Between Experience and Interpretation*; Klaus Berger, *Identity and Experience in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003). Gilbert I. Bond, advances a phenomenology of religious experience as an approach to Paul whereby Paul possessed a Creolian consciousness, by which Bond means that Paul aimed to create heterogeneous interethnic communities as a result of his transformative mystical experience of being 'in Christ,' *Paul and the Religious Experience of Reconciliation: Diasporic Community and Creole Consciousness* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005). See also Shantz and Werline, eds., *Experientia*, Vol. 2, particularly Czachesz, 'Filled With New Wine? Religious Experience and Social Dynamics in the Corinthian Church,' 71-90; Ramsaran, "'In Christ" and "Christ in" as Expressions of Religious Experience,' 161-180; Peerbolte, 'Paul, Baptism, and Religious Experience,' 181-204.

¹⁸⁶ That there exist recent attempts to associate Psychology with religious experience of the Spirit strengthens this approach, e.g. Ferraiuola, *Synchronicity as the Work of the Holy Spirit*; John H. Coe, Todd W. Hall, *Psychology in the Spirit: Contours of a Transformational Psychology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2010). Particularly noteworthy is the work of John Charles Cooper who analyses Tillich's existential impact of his reading of Paul's view of the Spirit, *The 'Spiritual Presence' in the Theology of Paul Tillich*; James E. Loder, *The Logic of the Spirit: Human Development in Theological Perspective* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Pubs, 1998); *idem*, *The Knight's Move: The Relational Logic of the Spirit in Theology and Science* (Colorado Springs: Helmers & Howard Pub, 1992). For a philosophical discussion on the relation between creativity and the Spirit, see André Munzinger, 'Creative Reason and the Spirit: Identifying, Evaluating, and Developing Paradigms of

According to the Sociology of Knowledge, Paul's religious experience is a product of his Jewish context – its affirmation of God as Creator and Ruler of all – and his encounter with the risen and exalted Christ. Paul's religious experience of the Spirit is contextualised in a *dialectical* relation between his inherited Jewish context of meaning – which confronted him as *objective* reality – and his *subjective* Christ-centred experience which adapted, evolved and redefined his perception of the Spirit following his transformation and experience of the risen Christ. This objectifying took place in Paul's own psyche first and then became characteristic of his symbolic universe such that it was basic to his kerygma and borne out in the religious life of his communities.¹⁸⁷

This dialectical setting contextualises the subjective dimension of Paul's religious experience. Philosophically, Paul's comprehension of God and the Spirit is clearly consistent with a Realist paradigm. This is substantiated by Paul's language that identifies both God and the Spirit as objects of his experience but never identified ontologically with his experience.¹⁸⁸ The practice of Paul to consistently denote the activity of the Spirit in experiential terms is the substantive demonstration that he conceived the Spirit as operating within his *interior* life. Paul understands that God has sent the Spirit to indwell his body (Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 6:19; 2 Cor 5:5), indeed the Spirit is located within his heart (Gal 4:6; 2 Cor 1:22; 3:3; Rom 5:5), the centre of his internal life (cf. Rom 8:27), and Paul

Pneumatology,' in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology*, 336-355. In what follows, I presuppose in a general way the 'Critical Realist' framework. For a defence of Critical Realism in relation to the New Testament, see Ben F. Meyer, *Critical Realism and the New Testament*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series (Eugene: Pickwick, 1989); *idem*, *Reality and Illusion in New Testament Scholarship: A Primer in Critical Realist Hermeneutics* (Collegeville: Michael Glazier, 1995); also Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 31-144. On hermeneutics in dialogue with the New Testament see Anthony C. Thiselton, *The Two Horizons: New Testament Hermeneutics and Philosophical Description with Special Reference to Heidegger, Bultmann, Gadamer, and Wittgenstein* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); *idem*, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 237-271 (on Paul).

¹⁸⁷ Paul was a reality-maintainer who developed and maintained the Sacred Canopy for both himself and his own converts and a key feature of this Sacred Canopy was the experiential reality of the Spirit. Thus the experiential reality of the Spirit was presented externally to Paul from his Jewish framework, individualised in Paul's own experience, and then re-incorporated subjectively into his own Sacred Canopy, which then functioned as the external and objective 'Christian' reality that confronted new Gentile converts (e.g. Gal 3:1-5; 1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4-5; 2 Cor 3:16-19). Berger notes the attempt of a Sacred Canopy to incorporate within itself the marginal experiences that do not fit the ordinary experience of everyday life. Such 'fringe' experiences are 'ecstatic' in that they exist 'outside' of everyday reality, Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, 42-44. This concept can be applied to Paul's experience of the Spirit for Paul experiences such 'ecstatic' elements of the Spirit (e.g. 1 Cor 14:18) but also was a reality-maintainer who developed and maintained a Sacred Canopy. Yet his experience of the Spirit accounted for both the 'ecstatic' or marginal phenomena as well as the everyday experience of life to which his pastoral letters attest. Thus Paul was aware of the ever-present reality of the Spirit within him and in all his experiences. He attempted to educate the Corinthians, for example, that the Spirit was not only identifiable with such 'ecstatic' experiences (e.g. 1 Cor 12:7-11; 14:1ff) but also identifiable with the 'rational' and sacramental elements of their Christian experience (e.g. 1 Cor 3:16; 6:17-19; 12:3). In this way, Paul's view of the Spirit moved along the broad spectrum of his Sacred Canopy.

¹⁸⁸ Paul uses metaphor, imagery, prepositions, verbs, the language of power, etc to describe his encounter with, and the reality of, the divine activity in his experience. The degree to which God and the Spirit were pervasive in Paul's letters demonstrates that the identity of God and the Spirit as objective realities were indisputable to him. See Scott, *Implicit Epistemology in the Letters of Paul*. The analysis of Paul in the preceding chapters is enough to substantiate this point, and further substantiation is not required here.

makes explicit that he comprehends the Spirit as the key divine epistemological dynamic of his experience (Gal 4:6; 1 Cor 2:6-16; Rom 8:16).¹⁸⁹ The significance of the dynamic permanence of the Spirit's indwelling is not so much observed in the outpouring of the Spirit *into* Paul but in the *effects* of the Spirit from *within* Paul and that which his conscious awareness can grasp as denoting the Spirit's activity. This explicit comprehension by Paul that the Spirit is centred in his interior experience is decisive for seeing the Spirit's influence in a phenomenology of consciousness and in the psychosomatic effects on Paul which impacts his perception and conscious belief in the Spirit's presence and activity.¹⁹⁰ His language of

¹⁸⁹ See Healy, 'Knowledge of the Mystery: A Study of Pauline Epistemology,' 134-158, who commendably gives primary focus to the activity of the Spirit in Paul's experience. Healy helpfully notes the cognition related terms in Paul (134-135) and understands Paul to view the Spirit's revelatory activity as supernatural, a suspension of natural cognitive faculties (149). This is the clear view of 1 Cor 2:9-12 where the human heart cannot conceive of the mystery of the gospel (150). Yet she also advocates two forms of knowledge: the divine revelatory activity of the Spirit, and the natural faculty of the mind, with the Spirit as the hermeneutical key to Paul's experience. This conclusion finds support in the studies of Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*; Richard B. Gaffin, Jr., 'Some Epistemological Reflections on 1 Cor. 2:6-16,' *WTJ* 57 (1995): 103-124; Scott, *Paul's Way of Knowing*, 30-48; 64-68, and Frestadius, 'The Spirit and Wisdom in 1 Corinthians 2:1-13,' 52-70; cf. André Munzinger, *Discerning the Spirits: Theological and Ethical Hermeneutics in Paul*, SNTSMS 140 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Robert Hellam, 'Some New Thing': *Paul and the Philosophers: Paul's Epistemology and the Postmodern Impasse* (Tenaflly: CreateSpace, 2011); more broadly see Paul K. Moser, *The Elusive God: Reorienting Religious Epistemology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 144-153. From a hermeneutical perspective, see the summaries in Thiselton, *The Two Horizons*, 85-92. Concerning Paul's religious experience of ecstasy, Shantz, *Paul in Ecstasy*, offers a neurobiological approach to Paul's ecstatic mystical experience which she identifies as Altered States of Consciousness (ASC). Her methodological assumption is that 'the science of the brain and central nervous system provides a disciplined and testable means to examine "subjective" experience,' *Paul in Ecstasy*, 108, emphasis mine. The neurological, biological and chemical state of the brain is a bodily experience, and defines the experience of 'ecstasy.' Since each person has a brain as the penultimate universal organ, this justifies, in Shantz's argument, the classification of mystical experience as comprising a Common Core. See also her article 'The Confluence of Trauma and Transcendence in the Pauline Corpus' in *Experientia*, Vol. 1, and her introductory article 'Opening the Black Box: New Prospects for Analyzing Religious Experience,' in *Experientia*, Vol. 2, 1-15. Yet the question of whether Paul's 'mystical' experiences are the result of a 'Common Core' or are constructed by his religious context is a moot point for my thesis, for the significance of the experience is restricted to Paul's own conscious awareness of the Spirit. Whether Paul's experience is constructed or a common core is the task of a separate inquiry.

¹⁹⁰ This is suggested by the Pauline statements 'the manifestation of the Spirit' (1 Cor 12:7) and 'the demonstration of the Spirit and power' (1 Cor 2:4) for the manifestations of the Spirit (e.g. prophecy, tongues, faith, etc), the emotive impact of the Spirit (e.g. love [Rom 5:5; 15:30]; peace [Rom 8:6] and joy [Rom 14:17]), the revelation of the Spirit (e.g. 1 Cor 2:12-15; 7:40; Rom 9:1) and power (Gal 3:5; 1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4-5; 12:10, 28, 29; 14:11; 15:43) all have psychosomatic, noetic and cognitive expressions. The conclusion of Engberg-Pedersen that the presence of the Spirit was expressed, like the Stoic conception, in the cognitive faculties of the individual, coalesces with my reference to a phenomenology of consciousness, but the path to this conclusion – that is, the conceptual definition of the Spirit – is routed very differently. Despite his laudable attempt to connect the cosmic (i.e. 'objective') dimensions of Paul's worldview with the concept of the self in his experience (i.e. 'subjective'), Engberg-Pedersen argues that Paul conceives of the indwelling of the Spirit in a literal manner as a material substance indwelling the body, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit*. The conception of the Spirit as both material and cognitively conceived in the Stoic sense becomes cumbersome if Paul is situated dialectically within a Jewish as well as a Greco-Roman context. The question of the substance of the Spirit aside, the *effects* of the Spirit on Paul's cognitive and noetic dimensions are conceived quite similarly. See also the critical reviews by John R. Levison, 'Paul in the *Stoa Poecile*: A Response to Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford, 2010),' *JSNT* 33:4 (2011): 415-432 and John M.G. Barclay, 'Stoic Physics and the Christ-event: A Review of Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010),' *JSNT* 33:4 (2011): 406-414; and Engberg-Pedersen's response in the same volume, 'Paul's Body: A Response to Barclay and Levison,' *JSNT* 33:4 (2011): 433-443; also Rabens, 'The Development of Pauline Pneumatology,' 169-172, who argues against F.W. Horn's notion of the material Spirit.

Spirit fulfils an existential function and epistemologically confirms the reality of the Spirit as an indisputable power expressed within his subjective internal experience.¹⁹¹ But we should not simply speak of Paul's individual experience, but also recognise that spiritual experiences occurred in the early Christian communities to the extent that the common nature of the Spirit's presence and activity was indisputable for the communities as a whole (e.g. Gal 3:1-5; 1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4-5; 3:16, etc).¹⁹² Paul's description of the Spirit who given from God and resides permanently within him causes us to recognise a *dialectical pattern* between objective reality and subjective experience for even though the Spirit originates as an *external* influence of power upon him, the evidence of the Spirit's influence is observed within Paul's own *internal* experience. Consequently, Paul's experience is a decisive influence on his belief in and perception of the Spirit since it confirms the Spirit as an objective and external reality.

Because the Spirit is an external reality that is expressed in Paul's interior experience, it poses a return to the question of the relation between the Spirit and God in Paul's psychological experience. Paul's language of Spirit was associated with the phenomenological encounter with God and the primary differentiation between the Spirit and God was identified in Paul's cultic experience. Paul's subjective experience of the Spirit as the presence of God determines that the Spirit became a psychological necessity *otherwise the idea of Spirit would be redundant for him*. Spatially, as a result of his experience, Paul could make a clearer distinction between God's transcendence and God's immanence, a perception that possessed a locative dimension, for God the Creator was enthroned 'in heaven' while Paul himself was situated 'on earth' (e.g. 2 Cor 5:1-5; Rom 1:18; cf. 1 Thess 4:16). The Spirit therefore became phenomenologically, psychologically and epistemologically necessary to bridge such a cosmic 'gap' between Paul and God.¹⁹³ God's transcendence became

¹⁹¹ Such a description of the Spirit as an experiential reality poses the necessary modern question as to whether Paul's experience of the Spirit should simply be understood as his own subjective projection, a claim that presupposes an Idealist paradigm. While the response to this claim would itself be dependent upon *a priori* philosophical presuppositions, the extent to which the Spirit is conceived by Paul as operating within his interior life makes the phenomenological judgement of the Spirit as identifiable with Paul's subjective experience a rational possibility. That is, an equation of the human conscious mind with the Holy Spirit does have *semantic* precedent in Hebrew and Jewish Religion (*ruach/πνεῦμα*) and in Paul (e.g. 1 Cor 2:11, 16; Rom 8:16). The acknowledgement that Paul relates the activity of the Spirit with the anthropological concepts of body, soul, mind, (human) spirit, and conscience, does not automatically result in an equation of identification for it merely acknowledges that *the Spirit is conceived by Paul as operating within each of these constituent parts of human experience*. It must also be emphasised that Paul's concept of the Spirit logically distinguishes God from his human experience. Indeed Heliso, 'Divine Spirit and Human Spirit in Paul in the Light of Stoic and Biblical-Jewish Perspectives,' 156-176 (who can only appeal to 1 Cor 2:11 and Rom 8:16) and Levison, *Filled With the Spirit*, ultimately face the difficulty of reconciling the tension between the divine *origin* of the Spirit and the human spirit. Note also the helpful comments of Rabens, 'Power From in Between,' 146, fn. 25, and the earlier work of Anthony C. Thiselton, 'Semantics and New Testament Interpretation,' in *New Testament Interpretation*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Exeter: Paternoster, 1977), 75-104.

¹⁹² See Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*; *idem*, 'Power From in Between.'

¹⁹³ Healy, 'Knowledge of the Mystery: A Study of Pauline Epistemology,' 134-158, notes that 'in the words of Paul W. Gooch, the Spirit bridges the "epistemic gap" between God and man (*Partial Knowledge*, Philosophical

understood as an *external* influence ('God has sent his Spirit') while God's immanence was expressed by the reality of the Spirit as an *internal* influence within Paul's own heart ('the Spirit of God dwells within you'). The language of Spirit was necessary in order to bring together the dichotomy between heaven and earth, the divine and the human, the objective and the subjective, and explains why the Spirit is an experiential reality for Paul. Psychologically, the 'epistemic gap' between God and his creation is necessitated by the reality of the agency of the Spirit for the correlation of the Spirit with religious experience meant that a conceptual tool was available for Paul to utilise in order to speak of and identify God's immanence in human experience without jeopardising God's transcendence and sovereignty as Ruler and Creator of all things.¹⁹⁴ What this means for the identity of the Spirit is that the Spirit became the dynamic of Paul's experience of God and Paul's worship towards God. This distinction between perceiver, object perceived and the phenomenon suggests that the Spirit was understood as the phenomenon itself – the content and power of the experience.¹⁹⁵ The Spirit consequently was associated with and came to connote the encounter with the divine in Paul's religious experience and the language of Spirit was used to describe the effects upon Paul's consciousness.¹⁹⁶ So the internal influence of the Spirit is dialectically an experience *of* God and an experience *towards* God such that the Spirit described the point of contact between the *external* object of God and the *internal* experience of Paul.

Such an explanation of Paul's psychological motives situates him within Jewish First Century monotheism. But what makes Paul's experience distinctive from his Hebrew and Jewish antecedents? The reality of Jesus as the Messiah who was crucified, raised to life, and seated at the right hand of God in heaven is obviously the decisive point of difference since a significant characteristic of Paul's experience of the Spirit is that the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ. What emerges is the same structure in Paul's psyche between God and Christ. Since Christ is bodily located in heaven with God,¹⁹⁷ yet also lives within Paul (Gal 2:20; Rom

Studies in Paul (Notre Dame: Notre Dame, 1987), 36-37),' 148, fn. 53. This 'epistemic gap' is still retained despite Paul acknowledging that God dwells in and among his people (1 Cor 14:25; 2 Cor 6:16). This reality is clearly fulfilled by the agency of the Spirit (1 Cor 3:16-17; 6:19; 12:4ff; 14:1ff).

¹⁹⁴ In other words, the concept of Spirit is heuristically useful for Paul since it speaks of God in his experience without endangering God's own holiness and sovereignty. At the macro level, God is not identified with creation. At the micro level, the Spirit is not identified with Paul's experience. So Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, 153, 'for Paul the concept of the Spirit enables him to conceive of God as being both remote from the events of the world, and at the same time active and ingredient in history.'

¹⁹⁵ Bernard Cooke, *Power and the Spirit of God: Toward an Experience-Based Pneumatology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Dale M. Schlitt, *Experience and Spirit: A Post-Hegelian Philosophical Theology* (Broadway: Peter Lang, 2007).

¹⁹⁶ It is for this reason that there is a dialectical relation between Paul's conception of the Spirit, and his own immediate experience, which has resulted in the frequent (incorrect) identification of the human spirit with the divine Spirit, E.g. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*; Dresser, *The Philosophy of the Spirit*; Levison, *Filled With the Spirit*.

¹⁹⁷ E.g. 1 Thess 1:10; 4:16; 1 Cor 15:47-49; 2 Cor 5:6-10; Rom 10:6; Phil 1:23; 3:10-11, 20-21; Cf. Paul's vision of Christ (Gal 1:15-16) and heavenly journey narrated in 2 Cor 12:1ff, but without reference to the Spirit.

8:10), he could utilise the idea of Spirit already available to him from his Jewish context to describe the reality of Christ in his experience. Yet Paul does demonstrate the necessity of overcoming the psychological distance between himself and Christ since Christ had died, been raised, and ascended to God's right hand.¹⁹⁸ Paul's strong sense of union with Christ presents a psychologically parallel structure to his experience of God. Likewise, the idea of Spirit enables Paul to affirm the immanent presence of Christ yet also sustain Christ's position as seated at the right hand of God and interceding on behalf of the saints (e.g. Rom 8:34). Unsurprisingly, this explains Paul's strong emphasis on resurrection by the Spirit (e.g. 1 Cor 15:44-46; Rom 8:9-11) and why Paul identifies the Spirit as the Spirit of Christ because it is both an epistemological and a psychological necessity in order to affirm the ongoing presence of Christ within his experience despite Jesus' own bodily absence. The cleavage between Christ's *external* existence to Paul and his *internal* experience of the Spirit as the agent of Christ meant that the Spirit functioned as the interior reality of Christ's presence.¹⁹⁹ But if Paul understood the Spirit as the interior experience of Christ's presence *as well as* the immanence of God's own presence, then it is understandable that Paul's perception of the identity of the Spirit resulted in a further distinction between the Spirit and God since the Spirit now possessed a duality in its referent, and in this way modified and developed beyond his Jewish conception of the Spirit.

This discussion has emphasised two inter-related points. Firstly, the Spirit is for Paul an external reality whose influence is expressed in his experience. Secondly, the reality of the Spirit is clearly the point of union in Paul's religious experience with God and Christ. Phenomenologically, Paul comprehends that God and Christ are objects of his subjective experience *as* an experience of the Spirit since he maintains God and Christ's existence objectively beyond himself ('in heaven') but characterises God and Christ's imminence through the indwelling Spirit ('the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ dwells in you'). Both these points reflect *the very same dialectic* that is at play between the objective and subjective, and external and internal dichotomies of Paul's consciousness whereby reality confronts him as objective and external while his subjective experience discerns and shapes his perception of reality. It is precisely at this point of religious experience where a

¹⁹⁸ This finds affinity with Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 838; Orr, 'Christ Absent and Present,' 142-174; Tilling, *Paul's Divine Christology*, 154-164.

¹⁹⁹ Lull states that 'Paul...does not separate Christ and the Spirit as if one were "objective" and the other "subjective." This is because 'in Paul's use of the terms Χριστός and πνεῦμα...both denote data of experience, *data* being "objective" by definition, and *experience* "subjective" by definition' (*The Spirit in Galatia*, 155, emphasis original). But it is not clear how this can be reconciled with Lull's view of the spirit 'as the mode of the continued presence and activity of God's "son"' (154) and his recognition that 'a difference between Christ and his Spirit exists within their identity' (155). This framework infers that only in particular occasions is the Spirit the mode of Christ's subjective presence while on other occasions Christ himself is experienced without the mediation of the Spirit. But this is untenable.

phenomenology of Pauline consciousness differentiates the activity of the Spirit, where the dialectic between experience and belief has most impacted Paul's recognition of the identity of the Spirit for Paul's experience of the Spirit is inseparably connected with his perception of the identity of the Spirit. In dialectical fashion, Paul's experience must be understood as reflecting the external reality of the Spirit on the belief that the Spirit mediates the presence of God and Christ. Epistemologically, Paul's experience of the Spirit can arguably be considered as the means not only of his encounter with God and Christ, but also the means of direct union with the Spirit itself as a distinguishable identity. As P. Tillich has succinctly noted, 'Knowing is a form of union.'²⁰⁰ Paul formed a relation with the indwelling Spirit that was distinct from his union with God or Christ precisely because such conceptual distinctions between the external reality of God and Christ made the most sense of his experience of the internal reality of the Spirit.

It is not my intention to infer that *Paul* has consciously articulated, in a reflective and systematic form, the identity of the Spirit as distinct *in an 'ontological' sense*. The language of ontology is, of course, anachronistic to Paul – a point which I have consistently stressed – but to draw the conclusion that interpreters can affirm the 'ontological' reality of the Spirit from his experience is to make explicit – using contemporary concepts – what he makes implicit epistemologically and existentially. His references to the Holy Spirit *alongside* God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ (e.g. 1 Cor 12:4-6; 2 Cor 1:21-22; 13:13[14]; Rom 8:9-11) are pre-critical ad hoc statements that do not consciously acknowledge the extent to which the Spirit is conceived as possessing a distinct identity but they do recognise the degree to which the Spirit is independently conceived by Paul. My suggestion is to only take the logic of Paul's language and experience of the Spirit to its most consistent conclusion, for to argue that Paul's view of the Spirit as the *mode* of the activity of God and Christ – that is, without any ontological existence – is to implicitly charge Paul with inconsistency, a charge I do not view as fair to Paul. I do not intend to advocate a circular argument here, from the basis of ontology (our modern concept) back to Paul's experience, and a final return to contemporary ontological formulations. But I do intend to argue that the most consistent reading of Paul's experience of the Spirit is to view the Spirit as distinct in identity from God and Christ – however such a distinction is defined. In our context, ontology, for our purposes, is the most clearly defined description that is *heuristically* useful and provides a developed degree of precision about the concept of identity, in a philosophical sense, which clarifies the

²⁰⁰ Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. 1, 94. Cf. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1.190, 'A relation to God that is only feeling, only "piety," and not also a knowledge of God and man together is for Paul unthinkable. The act of faith is simultaneously an act of knowing, and, correspondingly, theological knowing cannot be separated from faith.'

discussion. Of course, my argument has been, using Bauckham's framework of the Unique Divine Identity, that Paul's definition of identity concerns those unique divine functions that characterise who God is. In this way Paul's conception of the Spirit who, as agent of God, participates in those unique divine functions, and yet appears distinct from God in that dynamic agency, is admitting the same conclusion made here but in different language: that the Spirit possesses an ontological reality distinct from God the Father and Christ.²⁰¹

5.3 Summary

This discussion has developed the conclusion that the *dialectical* relation between objectivity and subjectivity that is evident in Philosophy, Psychology and a Sociology of Knowledge, *explains* in phenomenological terms the dynamic 'downward' movement from God/Christ > Spirit > Paul, and the 'upward' return movement from Paul > Spirit > God/Christ, and confirms the agency of the Spirit as identifying the *cognitive* and *existential* distinction between God, Christ and Spirit in Paul's religious experience. The recognition of the dialectical relation between the external and internal influences on Paul's experience explains two key features of my examination: 1) why there existed both a logical differentiation between the identities of God, Christ, and Spirit but also a conceptual overlap between these identities in Paul's theological worldview; 2) why the Spirit was an experiential reality.

It also explains how these two points are mutually interdependent. The Spirit overcame the objective and subjective division between Paul, and God and Christ, and was by its own definition concerned with that register of language, cognition, and experience that described the numinous reality of the presence of God and Christ within Paul's subjective interior life. The external and internal dichotomy of Paul's psychological structure that divided between the objective reality of God and Christ and his subjective experience was necessarily resolved in the idea of Spirit because the Spirit became the existential encounter with God and Christ. Dialectically, Paul's experience of the Spirit developed the existential awareness that the Spirit possessed an ontological identity that could not be collapsed into the identity of God or Christ, nor collapsed into his own experience, because the Spirit was a present power operating within his experience distinct from the transcendence of God and the bodily absence of Christ. *This dialectic between experience and belief is the phenomenological dynamic of the development of the distinct identity of the Spirit in Paul's Christian monotheism.*

²⁰¹ See the concluding comments of Anthony C. Thiselton, 'The Holy Spirit in 1 Corinthians,' in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins*, 227-228.

6. Conclusion

My broader argument can now draw to a close. My aim has been to emphasise, with L. Hurtado, the vital importance of religious experience for the formation of faith convictions and perceptions of the divine. Theological convictions have not emerged from intellectualising but have been initiated by life-changing spiritual experiences. The impact of experience has shaped psychic perceptions and convictions and has provided the grounds for the human expression of these convictions for belief informs experience and belief is shaped by experience. A central aspect to Paul's own religious experience is the reality of the Spirit. I have defended the perspective that Paul's language of the Spirit denotes an experiential reality that is distinguishable to both Paul and his converts through its effects. The Spirit is also the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ, and the agency of the Spirit is the means by which both God and Christ are present in the experience of believers. Yet Paul presents unique experiences of the Spirit most particularly in cultic devotion towards God and Christ as objects of worship which is precisely the very means by which Paul can single out and name an experience of the Spirit, and consequently, it is Paul's unique religious experience that reveals his perception of the identity of the Spirit.

Thus Paul's dynamic experience of the Spirit contributes to the question of how the Spirit came to be differentiated from God and Christ for Paul's experience reflects his perception of the distinct identity of the Spirit. Such a conclusion is consistent with my previous analysis of Paul's understanding of the distinct identity of the Spirit within the Unique Divine Identity which emphasises that function is a key feature of identity, and reveals that the framework for discerning the Spirit's identity is the dialectic between belief and experience, between the Unique Divine Identity and religious experience. Thus the structure of my inquiry into Paul's belief and experience coalesces towards a singular argument: it is on the basis of Paul's profound experience of the Spirit that the identity of the Spirit is most clearly distinguished and reveals the logical differentiation between the Spirit, and God and Christ in Paul's Christian monotheism.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

We have traversed across a wide and diverse landscape with the aim of reaching the summit of a well-trodden but often muddied mountain, and in the words of Montague, the hope of ‘a splendid vision.’ The imagery of a journey has been useful to describe the intent of this thesis and creatively converges a threefold coalescence of themes. Firstly, the journey symbolises the personal experience and the divergent paths between the ‘pre-Christian’ Paul and the ‘Christian’ Paul. Secondly, the journey symbolises the development from Hebrew monotheism and the diverse terrain of Jewish monotheism to the surprising claims of early Christian monotheism. Thirdly, the mountain symbolises the distinctive approaches undertaken in Christology as opportunities for paving new paths with promise in Pneumatology. These three themes indeed comprise a single milieu for they are localised in Paul’s own experience.

This study has attempted to trace one distinctive path and to offer an innovative approach to the summit, and such a path offers new perspectives and fresh vistas as we, on our own journey, traverse both old and new terrain. Such imagery denotes our modern attempts to grapple with the question of the identity of the Spirit in the thought and experience of Paul. The metaphor of a journey illustrates the sense of innovation that underpins this study’s focus question: *Did the Spirit come to possess a distinct identity within Paul’s Christian Monotheism?* This thesis has presented an affirmative response by offering a reading of Paul via a fresh matrix of interpretation. The summit is a remarkably splendid vision, not in the sense that Paul’s ‘Christian’ monotheism supersedes his ‘Jewish’ monotheism, or that Hebrew and Jewish monotheism never reach this summit. Such imagery should not be understood to infer this, for the metaphor of a journey simply illustrates the dynamic movement of thought and experience. Rather, the summit is a splendid vision precisely because it is splendid in its retrospective and prospective diversity and complexity. Indeed, the journey itself is the splendid vision.

1. Thesis Summary

This study has followed two particular approaches applied in current Christological research, that of R. Bauckham and the Unique Divine Identity, and L. Hurtado and the impact of religious experience. The framework of the Unique Divine Identity creates a context within which the unique activity of God informs who God is in Hebrew and Jewish religion and such unique activity is schematised in Creational, Cultic and Eschatological Monotheism. Identity

and function are not mutually exclusive but are dialectically interdependent such that fulfilment of these divine activities defines who God is – he is the sole ruler and creator of all who is worthy of exclusive worship and devotion. The relevance of religious experience is observed in the impact of experience upon the formation of belief – those structures of thought that inform devotion and praxis. Religious experience is the dynamic and powerful impetus behind the development of innovative faith claims and new patterns of devotional experience.

Part I of this study examined the identity of the Spirit in both the Hebrew Scriptures (chapter 2) and the literature of Second Temple Judaism (chapter 3). Part I concluded that the Spirit was not separable from God but was the extension of God's personality for the Spirit was God himself in his activity since the Spirit fulfilled those divine creative and ruling functions that identified God as unique and differentiated the Unique Divine Identity from all other reality. It also concluded that the Spirit was an experiential reality for the Spirit was identified by its effects. Because the Spirit was the extension of God's own personality and action, the Spirit denoted God's presence in human experience.

Part II of this study examined the identity of the Spirit in the thought and experience of the Apostle Paul. Since Part I provided the background and context for the pre-Christian Paul, it was suggested that Paul's conception of the Spirit was both continuous with Hebrew and Jewish religion but also discontinuous as a consequence of his transformation and commitment to Jesus Christ (chapter 4).

In continuity with his Jewish heritage, Paul understood the Spirit to fulfil divine creative and ruling activities (chapter 5), to participate in cultic devotion to God (chapter 6), and to fulfil God's eschatological activity of resurrection as the power of the new creation (chapter 7). In this way, Paul affirms, with Hebrew and Jewish religion, that the 'Spirit of God' is included in the Unique Divine Identity. But in discontinuity with, or rather, in an innovative development beyond Hebrew and Jewish religion, Paul's affirmation of the exalted status of Jesus Christ and Christ's inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity has impacted the identity of the Spirit for the Spirit is now also the 'Spirit of Christ.' The Spirit's creative and ruling activities are also directed towards Christ (chapter 5), the Spirit inspires worship and devotion of Christ as Lord (chapter 6), and the Spirit operates with Christ in fulfilment of God's eschatological plan of salvation (chapter 7), all on the basis of Christ's own inclusion within the Unique Divine Identity.

To specify the nature of the Spirit's identity, the relation of the Spirit to both God and Christ was examined. It was argued that Paul could identify unique functions credited to the Spirit that are distinguished from the activity of God himself, which demonstrates that the

Spirit, while still identified as the ‘Spirit of God,’ and is evidently included within the Unique Divine Identity, is conceived by Paul as standing logically apart from God in much more individual terms. So too the Spirit, on account of unique functions that distinguish the Spirit’s activity from Christ, is not identified with Christ, but in a novel development now stands in relation to Christ as the ‘Spirit of Christ.’ Thus there is a dialectical relation between the Spirit and God, and the Spirit and Christ, such that the Spirit now possesses a distinct identity and is distinguished from God and Christ within Paul’s Christian monotheism (chapter 8).

Finally, Paul retained the experiential nature of the Spirit from Hebrew and Jewish religion, for it was the prevalence and powerfully evidential nature of the Spirit within human experience which convinced Paul of the reality of the Spirit. But it was argued that even though a particular experience of the Spirit could be defined by Paul as an experience of God and Christ, a distinct experience of the Spirit could be distinguishable from an experience of God and Christ, and paralleled those unique functions that characterise the Spirit as standing apart from the activity of God and Christ. Paul’s religious experience of the Spirit stands dialectically related to his belief in the Spirit so that his thought and experience correspond, and confirms that he understood the Spirit to possess a distinct identity distinguishable from God and Christ (chapter 9).

2. Thesis Contribution

There are four prominent contributions achieved by this thesis.

This thesis has given a sustained focus on, and defence of, the logical and experiential *separation* between the identities of the Spirit and God, and the *formation* of a relation between the Spirit and Christ, a demarcation which has given more scope to comprehending the distinctiveness of the Spirit. Often the question of the identity of the Spirit is overshadowed by ‘trinitarian’ concerns, or primacy has been given to Christ. Despite its more sustained focus, this summit and its vision has not been a novel argument in itself but the innovative contribution of this study has been the distinctive path offered towards this summit. This study has demonstrated that in Paul’s worldview the Spirit still retains a logical place within his Christian monotheism and deliberately emphasises the Spirit’s unique identity as it stands in relation to God and Christ.¹

¹ It is only at the completion of my thesis that I have come across the stimulating article by Daniel B. Wallace, ‘Greek Grammar and the Personality of the Holy Spirit,’ *BBR* 13:1 (2003): 97-125. Wallace rejects any attempt to defend the ‘distinct personality and deity’ of the Spirit in the NT on the grounds of Greek Grammar, and in closing, posits that a more ‘nuanced pneumatology’ should follow the emphasis in Christological research on ‘progressive development of the *understanding* of the person and work of Christ’ (122, emphasis original). In his final footnote, and without any prior reference, Wallace comments that ‘few seem to attempt to analyse orthodox arguments for a high pneumatology in light of such [OT and Jewish] materials along the lines that *Hurtado* or

This thesis has offered a restructured approach to Pauline Pneumatology that frames commonly identified characteristics of the Spirit (e.g. creative power, charismatic inspiration, eschatological gift, etc) around the Spirit's relation to God and Christ.

The relation between Paul's thought and experience of the Spirit is given fresh clarity and significance and offers a distinctive approach to contextualising the Spirit's identity and activity using the Unique Divine Identity and Religious Experience. The common recognition of the experiential reality of the Spirit is rarely applied to the specific question of the Spirit's *identity* in such a concentrated study.

Finally, this study has legitimised Bauckham's claim that the Spirit is included within the Unique Divine Identity by demonstrating the truth of this assertion. Bauckham's own research was directed towards Christological interests and consequently excluded an examination of the Spirit's relation to the Unique Divine Identity in Hebrew and Jewish religion, and indeed in Paul. This thesis has contributed not only to questions concerning the identity of the Spirit but has contributed to Bauckham's own agenda and its Christological focus by giving more definition to the Spirit and the Unique Divine Identity.

3. Further Research

The affirmation of the distinct identity of the Spirit in Paul's Christian monotheism raises many further avenues for research. Examining the Spirit's relation to the Unique Divine Identity can be undertaken beyond the Pauline material and applied to the wide body literature of early Christianity, inclusive of the remainder of the NT texts in order to construct a more comprehensive picture of the Spirit's identity within early Christian thought.²

Of particular interest is the presentation of the Spirit in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (early Second Century CE, at the latest). The Spirit, with Christ, offers worship to God (9:40) and is seated to the left of the throne of God, with Christ seated at the right (11:32-33; cf. 9:35).

Most importantly, the Spirit is presented, with God and Christ, as an object of worship (7:17;

Bauckham have done with christology' (125, fn. 95, emphasis mine). His avenue for a successful delineation of the Spirit's personality is via '(1) a clear demonstration that language about the Spirit's personality cannot be due to figurative rhetoric or circumlocution of the divine name, and (2) that where he is viewed as personal he is also viewed as deity, yet, (3) in those same texts, is seen as distinct from both Father and Son' (124). Indeed, both Wallace's suggestions – to follow the approaches of Bauckham and Hurtado in Christology, and appropriately contextualising the Spirit's identity in relation to God and Christ – are *precisely* the points of contribution this thesis has attempted to achieve (in application to Paul).

² I think of the Spirit as the creative power of Christ's birth (Matt 1:18), death (Heb 9:14) and resurrection (1 Tim 3:16; 1 Pet 3:18; cf. John 19:30); the ethical and charismatic guide for the people of God (Luke 1:41, 67; John 14:16-18; 15:26; 16:7-15; Acts 1:5, 8; 2:4, 33, 38; 4:31; 16:6-7; Eph 1:17; 2 Thess 2:13; Tit 3:5; Heb 2:4; 1 Pet 1:2); the vital experience of cultic devotion (Luke 2:4 [cf. 2:11]; John 4:23-24; Eph 2:18, 22; 5:18; 6:18; Jude 20; Rev 1:10), indwelling (1 John 3:24; 4:13) and confession (1 John 4:2; Rev 19:10); and the indispensable sign of the kingdom of God (Matt 12:28; John 3:5) and the guarantor and giver of life (John 6:63; Eph 1:13-14; cf. 1 Pet 4:6; Rev 11:11; 22:17). Beyond the NT material, cf. Morgan-Wynne, *Holy Spirit and Religious Experience in Christian Literature ca. AD 90-200*.

8:18; 9:33-36).³ In the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the complete distinctiveness of the Spirit from God and Christ is presented in the clearest of terms characteristic of the Unique Divine Identity. Even though neither Paul nor any other early NT author identifies the Spirit as the recipient of worship, the indispensable experience of the Spirit within the early Christian veneration of God and Christ anticipates the inclusion of the Spirit within early Christian worship, just as the sovereign and creative activity of the Spirit warrants and justifies the placement of the Spirit beside the throne of God. The *Ascension of Isaiah* makes explicit what remains *in nuce* in Paul. This does not suggest Paul was unconscious of his own developing perspective on the Spirit, but it does recognise that when addressing the question of the identity of the Spirit in early Christian thought, a development from the Spirit as the mode of God's power in Judaism, to the Spirit as undeniably distinct in the *Ascension of Isaiah* – which provides the bridge to late Christian 'trinitarian' reflection – encounters Paul positioned at the crux of such a transition. What is now needed are further studies that examine whether there is a discernible path also followed by alternative NT writers which arrive at the same, or possibly different, summit, a summit that provides the vista for later developed Christian reflection on the identity of the Holy Spirit.

A final remark concerns the correlation that is emerging in Pauline studies between Paul's anthropology and his theological comprehension of God and Christ indwelling the believer through the Spirit. The argument of this thesis has been that Paul does not confuse the human spirit with the Holy Spirit, neither in terminology nor in concept.⁴ Asserting the distinct identity of the Holy Spirit not only critiques any collapse of the human spirit with the Holy Spirit but offers further avenues for investigating the precise nature of their relation – beyond the assertion that the Spirit is an experiential reality – for this thesis has delimited its focus to the Spirit's relation to God and Christ. The argument that the Spirit fulfils divine creative and ruling functions in human experience, with the human spirit as its locus, is a fruitful avenue which itself offers the promise of a splendid vision.

³ See Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 140-148 [cf. 150-173]; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 'Worship and Monotheism in the *Ascension of Isaiah*,' in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, eds. Newman, Davila and Lewis, 70-89; *idem*, 'The Holy Spirit in the *Ascension of Isaiah*,' in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins*, 308-320.

⁴ Pace Levison, *Filled With the Spirit*.

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