

**Scripture, Texts,  
and Tracings  
in 1 Corinthians**

**THE SCRIPTURE AND PAUL SERIES**

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*Edited by Linda Belleville and A. Andrew Das*

# Scripture, Texts, and Tracings in 1 Corinthians

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and B. J. Oropeza

Afterword by Christopher D. Stanley

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## Chapter Eleven

# A Neglected Deuteronomomic Scriptural Matrix for the Nature of the Resurrection Body in 1 Corinthians 15:39–42

David A. Burnett

In his discourse regarding the nature of the resurrection body in 1 Cor 15:35–49, Paul employs the metaphor of the sowing of the “soulish” (ψυχικόν) or “terrestrial” (ἐπίγεια) body and the rising of the “pneumatic” (πνευματικόν) or “celestial” (ἐπουράνια) body (1 Cor 15:40, 44). Both kinds of bodies are fit for different habitats and differ in nature. Seeking to demonstrate this in 1 Cor 15:39–42 Paul enumerates a list of terrestrial creatures followed by celestial creatures. Paul likens the resurrection body to the later.<sup>1</sup>

Not all flesh (σὰρξ) is the same flesh, but there is one for humans, another flesh for animals, another flesh for birds, and another for fish. There are heavenly bodies (σώματα ἐπουράνια) and earthly bodies (σώματα ἐπίγεια), but the glory of the heavenly is of one kind (ἀλλὰ ἕτερα μὲν ἢ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα), and the earthly is of another (ἕτερα δὲ ἢ τῶν ἐπιγείων). There is one glory (δόξα) of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for star differs from star in glory. So is it with the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor 15:39–42a).

There is a general consensus among scholars regarding the source of this creature list, located in the enumerated creatures of the creation narrative of Genesis 1.<sup>2</sup> This remains the case even though Paul’s list of creatures does not follow the same order as Genesis 1. Other scholars have put forth reasons for this discrepancy by suggesting that the list simply evokes the cosmology of popular Greek philosophy.<sup>3</sup> Despite the consensus concerning the background of the creature list employed in service of Paul’s wider argument, there remains debate among scholars regarding how he understands the nature of the resurrection body. The scholarly consensus sees no need for an alternate model, consequently overlooking a possible explanation that could

account for a number of otherwise distinctive features of the passage and assist in answering questions surrounding Paul's conception of the nature of the resurrection body.

The list of earthly and heavenly creatures here in 1 Cor 15:39–42 follows the same order as enumerated in the aniconic discourse of Deut 4:15–19. If this is the text to which Paul alludes, he may be drawing on an exegetical tradition in the Second Temple period that reads Deut 4:15–19 as part

**Table 11.1.**

<i>Types of Bodies</i>	<i>1 Cor 15:39–42 Creature List</i>	<i>Gen 1:11–28 Creature List</i>
Terrestrial Bodies (σώματα ἐπίγεια) of 'Flesh' (σὰρξ)	Humans (ἄνθρώπων, v.39a)	Human/Man (ἄνθρωπον, v.26–28)
	Domestic animals (κτηνῶν, v.39b)	Beasts (θηρία, v.24–25, which includes κτήνη and ἐρπετὰ)
	Birds (πτηνῶν, v.39c)	Birds (πετεινὰ, v.20–21)
	Fish (ἰχθύων, v.39d)	Living creatures? (ψυχῶν ζώσων, v.20–21, ἰχθύων are not mentioned until v.26)
Celestial Bodies (σώματα ἐπουράνια) of 'Glory' (δόξα)	Sun (ἡλίου, v.41a)	Greater Light (φωστῆρα τὸν μέγαν, v.16a)
	Moon (σελήνης, v.41b)	Lesser Light (φωστῆρα τὸν ἐλάσσων, v.16b)
	Stars (ἀστέρων, v.41c)	Stars (ἀστέρας, v.16c)

**Table 11.2.**

<i>Types of Bodies</i>	<i>1 Cor 15:39–42 Creature List</i>	<i>Deut 4:15–19 Creature List</i>
Terrestrial Bodies (σώματα ἐπίγεια) of 'Flesh' (σὰρξ)	Humans (ἄνθρώπων, v.39a)	Male or Female (ἀρσενικοῦ ἢ θηλυκοῦ, v.16b; cf. Gen 1:27)
	Domestic Animals (κτηνῶν, v.39b)	Domestic Animals (κτῆνους, v.17a)
	Birds (πτηνῶν, v.39c)	Birds (ὄρνέου περρωτοῦ, v.17b)
	Fish (ἰχθύων, v.39d)	Fish (ἰχθύος, v.18b)
Celestial Bodies (σώματα ἐπουράνια) of 'Glory' (δόξα)	Sun (ἡλίου, v.41a)	Sun (ἥλιον, v.19)
	Moon (σελήνης, v.41b)	Moon (σελήνην, v.19)
	Stars (ἀστέρων, v.41c)	Stars (ἀστέρας, v.19)



of a wider Deuteronomic scriptural matrix employed to describe the nature of the *cosmos*, constructed and administered by God, having appointed the celestial bodies as divine or angelic delegates in his cosmic polis. Such a reading, as will be presented in this study, aims not only to supply a strong argument for Paul's particular enumeration of creatures in 1 Cor 15:39–42 but also provide a robust account of the passage in its wider context, such as connecting the language of the abolishing of the principalities and powers (1 Cor 15:24) with his earlier discussion regarding the judgment of the *cosmos* and the angels (1 Cor 6:2–3).<sup>4</sup>

### PROPOSAL FOR THE DEUTERONOMIC SCRIPTURAL MATRIX BEHIND 1 COR 15:39–42

#### Terrestrial Bodies and Celestial Bodies

Though the traditional reading posits Genesis 1 as the background to Paul's creature list (see tables 11.1 and 11.2), the terrestrial creatures are listed in reverse order, and the celestial bodies do not follow the same naming pattern. The list in Genesis 1 also fails to account for the structure of the cosmos as understood after Genesis 11 (more on this below). On the other hand, the aniconic discourse of Deut 4:15–20 follows the exact same order. Deut 4:15–20 (LXX) reads as follows:

And closely guard your souls (ψυχάς), because you did not see a *likeness* (ὁμοίωμα) on the day that the Lord spoke to you at Horeb in the mountain from the midst of the fire. Do not act lawlessly and make for yourselves a carved likeness (ὁμοίωμα), of any *image* (εἰκόνα), a likeness of male or female, a likeness of any animal (κτίνους) that is on the earth, a likeness of any winged bird (ὄρνέου πτερωτοῦ) that flies under heaven, a likeness of any reptile that creeps on the ground, a likeness of any fish (ἰχθύος) that is in the water under the earth. And do not lift up your eyes to heaven and see the sun (ἥλιον) and the moon (σελήνην) and the stars (ἀστέρας), all the host of heaven (καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), and be drawn away and worship them and serve them, those which the Lord your god has allotted to all the nations under heaven (πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). But God has taken you and brought you out of the iron furnace, out of Egypt, to become for him an allotted (ἐγκληρον) people, as in this day.

As demonstrated in table 1.2, the same creatures are listed here in descending order as in 1 Cor 15:39–41, including a pivoting statement to clearly stress the division and distinction of the terrestrial creatures from the celestial ones and their respective habitats (cf. Deut 4:19 and 1 Cor 15:40). The terrestrial

creatures of 1 Cor 15:39 follow the list of Deut 4:16b–18 in descending order, though Paul leaves out the mention of “reptiles” (ἑρπετοῦ). This is not an impediment to the present proposal as “reptiles” (ἑρπετῶν) are also mentioned in Genesis 1:21 and yet Paul does not include them.<sup>5</sup> Here in Deut 4:16–19, it will become clear that the terrestrial creatures and celestial bodies are both categories of living creatures, inhabiting the particular realms allotted to them.<sup>6</sup>

### THE DEUTERONOMIC SCRIPTURAL MATRIX: THE CELESTIAL BODIES AS THE GODS (OR ANGELS) OF THE NATIONS

The Hebrew Scriptures commonly depict the celestial bodies as divine or angelic beings, identified as the “hosts of heaven” (צבאות השמים), “sons of (the) God(s)” or “sons of the Most High” (אלים בני עיליין/האלהים), and the “gods” (אלהים).<sup>7</sup> Here in LXX Deut 4:19, the celestial bodies themselves are regarded as the “hosts (or ornaments) of heaven” (κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) who have been “*allotted* to (ἀπένειμεν) all the nations (ἔθνεσιν) under heaven.”<sup>8</sup> This notion is part of a wider Deuteronomistic scriptural matrix which depicts the celestial bodies as the patron gods or angels of the nations, members of Yahweh’s Divine Council.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, Deut 17:3 speaks of idolaters as those who have “gone and served other gods (θεοῖς) and worshipped them, whether the sun (ἡλίῳ) or the moon (σελήνῃ) or any of the host of heaven (κόσμου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), which I have forbidden.” The celestial bodies are here referred to as “gods (θεοῖς),” and the term “host of heaven” (κόσμου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) is employed interchangeably for the stars (cf. Jer 8:2).

Later in Deut 29:18[17], 26[25], in the context of idolatry Israel saw as they “came through the midst of the nations (ἔθνῶν)” in the exodus (29:16[15]; cf. Deut 4:19–20). They are warned against abandoning “the Lord *their* god” and serving “the gods of those nations” (τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν ἔθνῶν) (29:18 [17]), “other gods . . . gods whom they have not known and whom he had not *al-lotted* (διένειμεν) to them” (Deut 29:26 [25]). Here again we find the concept of the “allotment” or “distribution” (διανέμω) of the gods of the nations corresponding to the celestial bodies of Deut 4:19.

Later in the Song of Moses, the allotment of the celestial bodies/gods is narrated in context of the election of Israel (Jacob):

When the Most High gave the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam (ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ), he set the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God

(ἔστησεν ὄρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ), and his people Jacob became the Lord's portion, Israel is the allotment of his inheritance (καὶ ἐγενήθη μερὶς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακωβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραηλ) (Deut 32:8–9 LXX).<sup>10</sup>

This account is likely narrating the dispersing of the nations as in Genesis 11:1–9; the language of “separating the sons of Adam” (ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱούς Ἀδάμ) of Deuteronomy 32:8 (LXX) reflects the language of the dispersion in Genesis 11:8–9 (LXX), “and from there the Lord God scattered (διέσπειρεν) them abroad over the face of all the earth” (cf. Gen 10:32).<sup>11</sup> Here in Deut 32:8–9, the election of Jacob (cf. Abraham in Gen 12 following Gen 10–11) is likened to the exodus out of Egypt in Deut 4:15–20. Both describe the celestial bodies as the gods or angels “allotted” to rule over all the “sons of Adam,” or “all the nations under heaven,” while Yahweh's people Israel are his “inheritance” (κληρονομίας), thereby in a real sense separating them from the “sons of Adam” and raising them to the level of “sons of God.” Such could be interpreted as being placed, at least relationally, on par with the gods or angels. Within the wider Deuteronomic matrix regarding the celestial bodies, both the election of Israel and the exodus are narrated as a coming out from under the rule of the celestial gods/angels of the nations to participate in the “inheritance” of Yahweh, the Most High God.<sup>12</sup>

## THE RECEPTION OF THE DEUTERONOMIC SCRIPTURAL MATRIX IN EARLY JUDAISM

### Philo's Reception of the Deuteronomic Scriptural Matrix

An important early Hellenistic Jewish example of the reception of this tradition of the Deuteronomic vision of the cosmic order, specifically rooted in the same passage from Deut 4, can be found in Philo's *Special Laws*:

Some have supposed that the sun and moon and the other stars were gods with absolute powers (θεοὺς αὐτοκράτορας) and ascribed to them the causation of all events. But Moses held that the κόσμος was created (γενητός) and is in a sense the greatest of commonwealths (πόλις ἡ μεγίστη), having rulers (ἄρχοντας ἔχουσα) and subjects; for rulers (ἄρχοντας), all the celestial bodies (οὐρανῶ πάντας), fixed or wandering; for subjects, such beings as exist below the moon, in the air or on the earth. The said rulers, however, in his view have not unconditional powers, but are lieutenants of the one Father of All, and it is by copying (μιμουμένους) the example of His government exercised according to justice and law (δίκην καὶ νόμον) over all created beings that they acquit themselves aright; but those who do not desecrate the Charioteer mounted above attribute

the causation of all the events in the κόσμῳ to the team that draw the chariot as though they were sole agents. From this ignorance our most holy lawgiver would convert them to knowledge with these words: “*Do not when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars and all the ordered host of heaven go astray and worship them—Deuteronomy 4:19.*” Well indeed and aptly does he call the acceptance of the celestial bodies as gods going astray or wandering . . . and the other stars in accordance with their sympathetic affinity to things on earth acting and working in a thousand ways for the preservation of the All, have wandered infinitely far in supposing that they *alone* are gods . . . So all the gods (θεοὺς) which sense describes in Heaven must not be supposed to possess absolute power (αὐτοκρατεῖς) but to have received the rank of subordinate rulers, naturally liable to correction, though in virtue of their excellence never destined to undergo it (*Spec.* 1.13–19).<sup>13</sup>

Here in a kind of exposition of Deut 4:19, Philo speaks of *creation* (γενητός) in terms of the establishment of the *cosmos* (κόσμος) as the “greatest of commonwealths” (πόλις ἢ μεγίστη), a kind of heavenly government akin to a Greco-Roman polis where “all the celestial bodies” (οὐρανῶ πάντα) are appointed as “rulers” (ἄρχοντα) over subjects that consist of all the terrestrial creatures who live below the heavens. Philo likely sees a connection here between creation in Genesis 1:16–18 (LXX) as the celestial bodies were created to “rule” (ἄρχειν) and the appointment of the celestial bodies as “rulers” (ἄρχοντα) in Deut 4:19. Philo does not deny the divinity of the celestial bodies, but in his use of Deut 4:19, the logic given against idolatry is simply that they are not gods with “absolute powers” (αὐτοκρατεῖς) but are appointed rulers (ἄρχοντα) under the one God who is “Father of all” (του πάντων πατρός ὑπάρχους) (cf. Deut 32:6–9; 1 Cor 8:4–6; 15:24).<sup>14</sup> The celestial bodies are to carry out their rule in justice and law (δίκην καὶ νόμον) by mimesis (μιμουμένους) as participants in God’s own sovereign rule of the cosmos (κόσμος) as the “Father of all” (πάντων πατρός). We find an important distinction here between Philo and Paul regarding the destiny of the heavenly rulers. Philo does not share Paul’s apocalypticism and sees no need for a final judgment or destruction of the celestial rulers (i.e. 1 Cor 15:20–28), as he states, “they are liable to correction, though in virtue of their excellence never destined to undergo it” (Philo, *Spec.* 1.19).<sup>15</sup>

### Sirach’s Reception of the Deuteronomic Scriptural Matrix

Similar to the articulation in Philo’s *Special Laws* (1.13–19), Sirach 17 closely connects the story of creation with the establishment of the Deuteronomic vision of the cosmos. Beginning with the creation of humankind, Sirach 17:1–4 reads:

The Lord created man (ἄνθρωπον) out of the earth (ἐκ γῆς), and makes them return to it again. He gave them a fixed number of days, but granted them authority (ἐξουσίαν) over everything on the earth. He endowed them with strength like his own, and made them in his own *image* (εἰκόνα). He put the fear of them in all *flesh* (σαρκός), and gave them dominion over the beasts (θηρίων) and birds (πετεινῶν).

For Sirach, in creation humankind is made from the earth and must return again to it as in Genesis 2–3. Drawing on the language of Genesis 1:26–28, humankind as the image (εἰκόνα) of God is given the authority (ἐξουσίαν) over all the earthly creatures who are characterized as “flesh” (σαρκός) (cf. 1 Cor 15:39) and summarized as the beasts (θηρίων) and birds (πετεινῶν) (cf. Gen 1; Deut 4:15–19).<sup>16</sup> Making a seemingly uninterrupted transition, Sirach draws a strong connection between the creation of humankind (17:1–10) with the creation/election of Israel (17:11–14), a connection also explicit in Deut 4:32–40 where the creation/election of Israel is portrayed as the greatest thing to have ever happened “since the day God created human beings (ἄνθρωπον) on the earth” (Deut 4:32), thus drawing a connection between the events with regard to their cosmic significance. Sirach continues his recounting of Yahweh’s election of Israel in Sirach 17:17 through the lens of the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix: “He appointed a ruler for every nation (ἐκάστω ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον), but Israel is the Lord’s own portion (καὶ μερίς κυρίου Ἰσραηλ ἐστίν),” echoing Deut 32:8–9, “and his people Jacob became the Lord’s portion” (καὶ ἐγενήθη μερίς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ).<sup>17</sup> Here in Sirach we find an early Jewish literary example that an explicit link could be and was made between the creation/election of Israel as understood through the Deuteronomic matrix and the creation of humankind from Genesis 1–3.

### The Arising of “God,” the Destruction of the Gods/Rulers, and the Divine Judgment and Inheritance

A text closely associated with the Deuteronomic matrix in my view is LXX Ps 81[82]. The author narrates a judgment scene in the divine council where “God” passes judgment on the gods:

God stands in the assembly of the gods (Ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν), in the midst of the gods he holds judgment (ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοῦ διακρίνει). “How long will you judge unjustly (ἀδικίαν) . . .” I said, “you are gods, sons of the Most High all of you [cf. Deut 32:8–9], but you all are dying like men (ἄνθρωποι), and like one of the rulers (ἀρχόντων) you fall.” *Arise, O God*, judge the earth (ἀνάστα, ὁ θεός, κρίνον τὴν γῆν), because you will obtain the inheritance of all the nations (κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). (Ps 81:1–2a, 6–8 LXX [82 MT])

In Ps 81[82]:1, the figure identified as “God” (יהוה MT, θεός LXX) judges (διακρίνει) the celestial gods (θεοὺς) of the divine council because they have judged “unjustly” (ἀδικίαν), failing in their intended role in which the celestial rulers (Deut 4:19; 32:8–9) were to exercise their rule “in law and justice” (δίκην καὶ νόμον, e.g. Philo, *Spec.* 1.13–19). Because of this, the immortal gods will “die like men” (ἄνθρωποι) and will fall like one the “rulers” (ἄρχόντων, Ps 81[82]:7; cf. the celestial bodies of Deut 4:19 in Philo, *Spec.* 1.13–19). The psalmist closes the psalm with a plea, “arise, oh God” (ἀνάστα, ὁ θεός), which, for the author, is intended to result in the “judgment of the earth” (κρίνον τὴν γῆν) and to inherit the nations that were once apparently oppressively ruled by the gods/rulers (κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, cf. Deut 32:8–9). Hence, for Ps 81[82], the ultimate eschatological event within the context of the Deuteronomistic vision of the cosmos consists of three things: (1) the “arising of God” (ἀνάστα, ὁ θεός); (2) the destruction of the gods or rulers (θεοὺς, ἄρχόντων); and (3) divine judgment and inheritance: “God” is called upon to “judge the earth” and “inherit the nations.”

Already in early Judaism before Paul, as witnessed at Qumran, there were traditions that read the “god” who passes judgment on the “gods” in Ps 81[82]:1 as a principal mediatorial figure, in this case Melchizedek, as seen in 11QM13 (11QMelch):

It is time of the year of grace Melchizedek *and* of [his] arm[ies], the nat[ion] of *the holy ones of God*, of the role of judgment, as it is written about him in the songs of *David*, who said (Ps 82:1): “Elohim will [st]and in the assem[bly] of God,] in the midst of the gods he judges . . . as for what he sa[id] (Ps 82:2): “How long will you] judge unjustly and show partia[lity] to the wicked? [Se]lah.” Its interpretation concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot, wh[o . . .] turn[ing aside] from the commandments of God to [commit evil.] But, Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of Go[d’s] judgments, [and on that day he will fr]e[e them from the hand of] Belial and from the hand of all the sp[irits] of his lot.] (11QMelch. 2.9–13).<sup>18</sup>

Here we find Melchizedek from Genesis 14 and Psalm 110 as the “god” of Ps 81[82]:1 who carries out God’s judgments against the gods, freeing God’s people from “Belial and from the hand of all the spirits of his lot,” drawing on the “allotment” language of the Deuteronomistic matrix (cf. Deut 4:19; 32:8–9).<sup>19</sup> For 11QMelch 2.15–16, this eschatological event is when the “good news,” or gospel, is announced, citing Isaiah 52:7 regarding a messenger who announces “our God reigns.” Interestingly, the author sees Ps 81[82] as a “song of David,” whereas in the MT and LXX it is recognized as a Psalm of Asaph. Scholars have noted that in 11QMelch it is possible that “Melchize-

dek” may have been understood more as a title than as a name.<sup>20</sup> This is particularly important here, as many scholars argue, e.g. that “Melchizedek” is closely associated with or identified as the archangel Michael.<sup>21</sup>

The archangel Michael is depicted in a similar role to the Melchizedekian figure of 11QMelch in the book of Daniel. In Daniel 10:10–21, the heavenly messenger tells the prophet Daniel that Michael, one of the “chief princes” (ἀρχόντων τῶν πρώτων, 10:13 LXX), is the only one who would come to his aid and contend against the other “princes” (ἄρχων) of Persia or Greece (10:13, 20–21). This scene reflects the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix and finds its strongest parallel in Ps 81[82]:1, particularly its application in 11QMelch 2.9–13, concerning a conflict with the celestial “rulers” (ἀρχόντων) of the nations (cf. Deut 4:19; 32:8–9).<sup>22</sup> Later in Daniel 12:1–3, the eschatological themes from Psalm 81[82] are reflected as the principal mediatorial figure, in this case Michael, “will arise” (ἀναστήσεται, Dan 12:1 LXX, Theodotion) victorious over the celestial “rulers” of the nations he previously struggled against (cf. Dan 10:13, 20–21; Ps 81[82]), followed by the resurrection of the righteous who will “shine (ἐκλάμψουσιν) like the brightness of the firmament” and “like the stars (ἀστέρεις) forever and ever.” According to John J. Collins, those resurrected are thus associated with the angels as in Dan 8:10 where the “stars” are identified with the “hosts of heaven” (cf. Deut 4:19).<sup>23</sup> Daniel was thus interpreted by some early Jewish authors as narrating a kind of eschatological cosmic upheaval as the principal mediator, Michael in this case, “arises” victorious over his celestial foes and in turn the resurrected righteous are vindicated and exalted as the new celestial rulers (cf. Dan 7:22).

In Wisdom 3:7–8 we find a comparable reception of the Deuteronomic matrix sharing similar features as Ps 81[82]: “In the time of their visitation they will shine forth (ἀναλάμψουσιν), and will run like sparks through the stubble. They will judge the nations (κρινούσιν ἔθνη) and rule over peoples, and the Lord will reign over them forever (βασιλεύσει αὐτῶν κύριος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας).”<sup>24</sup> The theme from Daniel 12:1–3 of the hope of the righteous to “shine forth” (ἀναλάμψουσιν) like the stars is picked up here, charged with the Deuteronomic task of the celestial gods or rulers as “they will judge the nations” (κρινούσιν ἔθνη), and the Lord will rule over them forever, similar to the themes from Ps 81[82]:8 (1 Cor 6:2; 15:24–28, 50).<sup>25</sup> These key themes found in the Second Temple Jewish interpretation of Psalm 82 and its parallels, such as the arising of the principal mediatorial figure (often divine or angelic), the destruction of gods or rulers, and divine judgment and inheritance, are important categories utilized by Paul in his apocalyptic narrative of the resurrection event in 1 Cor 15:20–28, as will be argued below.

## THE RECEPTION OF THE DEUTERONOMIC SCRIPTURAL MATRIX IN 1 CORINTHIANS

### Fleeing from Idolatry and Turning to the One True God

Paul is unmistakably reliant on the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix in 1 Corinthians as it frames the entire discourse unit from 8:1–11:1 addressing idolatry and eating food sacrificed to idols. Paul begins his polemic against idolatry in 1 Cor 8:4–6 by drawing on Deut 4–6:

Therefore, as to the eating of food offered to idols, we know that “an idol has no real existence,” and that “there is no God but one” (ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς). For although there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth—as *indeed there are many gods and many lords*—yet for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist.

Within what scholars refer to as the second of two Corinthian slogans ad-  
duced in 1 Cor 8:4, Paul echoes Deuteronomy, particularly drawn from the *Shema* (Deut 6:4) and Deut 4:35, 39: “there is no other besides him” (καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν αὐτοῦ).<sup>26</sup>

Considering Deut 4:35 and 39 in their wider context, Deut 4:32–40 starts with a reference to the greatness of God’s work in the creation of humankind (4:32), then moves directly into God’s work in the creation of a people in the exodus (4:33–40), indicating a strong link between the creation of humankind and the exodus/election of Israel as previously noted (cf. Sir 17:1–14). God asks, “Did any other people (ἔθνος) ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire, as you have heard, and still live? Or has any other god ever attempted to go and *take* a nation (ἔθνος) for himself from the midst of another nation . . .” (Deut 4:33–34a). This is the context where we find Paul’s echo of Deut 4:35, “To *you* it was shown that the Lord is God; there is no other besides him.”

The language Paul draws on here in 4:33–35 to highlight the Corinthian converts’ special relationship to the god of Israel deliberately follows and continues to echo the prior aniconic discourse of Deut 4:15–20; first of the day when the Lord spoke to them from the fire, “And closely guard your souls, because you did not see a *likeness* (ὁμοίωμα) on the day that the Lord spoke to you at Horeb in the mountain from the midst of the fire” (Deut 4:15), then of the deliverance/election of the people, “But God has taken you and brought you out of the iron furnace, out of Egypt, to become for him an allotted (ἔγκληρον) people, as in this day” (Deut 4:20; cf. Deut 5:4–9a). Couched between these two statements is where we find the aniconic discourse actu-



ally forbidding idolatry in Deut 4:15–20 (the creature list of vv.16–19), which may suggest that Paul already has this text in mind since 1 Cor 8 and will draw on it again in chapter 15.

Paul's reception of the Deuteronomic matrix is further expressed immediately following 1 Cor 8:4 with reference to the *Shema* (Deut 6:4) in 1 Cor 8:5–6. Even within the context of the monolatrous central confession of ancient Israel, Paul asserts the reality of the existence of the other gods as in the Deuteronomic vision of the cosmos (see above) in 1 Cor 8:5b, "as indeed there are many gods and many lords" (ὡσπερ εἰσὶν θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί) (cf. Deut 10:17).<sup>27</sup> Following this line of thought, Nathan MacDonald, in a discussion of the gods mentioned here in 1 Cor 8, says of the Apostle: "Paul, it can be argued, is breathing the same spirit as Deut 32. Other gods exist, but in another sense they are 'no-gods' and 'demons.' It is only YHWH that is 'God.' Paul too wants to express the theme in relational terms. There are indeed many gods that exist, but *for us* (ἡμῖν) there is only one God. The absolute terms are confessional, not ontological."<sup>28</sup>

An important feature debated in this text is the nature of its "high" Christology. Many have argued that Paul places the Messiah Jesus within the *Shema* itself; some reckoning the placement of Jesus on the creator side of the creator/creature divide, while others *at least* see Paul situating him as the principal mediatorial figure under Yahweh himself, either in terms of his role, function, and/or ontology.<sup>29</sup>

Later in 1 Cor 10, Paul boldly narrates the experience of the baptized gentile converts of Corinth as an exodus, placing them in familial relationship with the patriarchal family of ancient Israel as he states in 10:1–2, "For I do not want you to be unaware, *brothers*, that *our fathers* were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea." Following this train of thought, Paul implies they are no longer "pagans" (ἔθνη) (or part of the "nations") in the Deuteronomic sense as they have experienced an exodus through the waters of baptism, and thus are no longer "allotted to" or under the "gods/rulers" they once were (cf. Deut 4:19–20; 32:8–9; Exod 12:12). Paul continues in the following passage to make these same connections with the Deuteronomic understanding of the Corinthians' exodus and no longer being under the powers in 1 Cor 10:20–21:

No, I imply that what pagans (ἔθνη) sacrifice they offer to demons (δαίμονις) and not to God. I do not want you to be participants with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons.

Here Paul appeals to the Song of Moses in Deut 32:17 which referred to the wilderness generation of the Exodus who forsook God when "they sacrificed

to demons (δαίμονιους) and not to God,” saying that’s what pagans (ἔθνη) implying they no longer are identified as those other “sons of Adam” or “nations” who are under the “gods.”<sup>30</sup> It is in this sense and on these grounds Paul can speak of the gentile Corinthians’ identity as pagans in the past tense: “You know that *when you were nations* (ἔθνη), you were led astray to mute idols, however you were led” (1 Cor 12:2).

### **1 Corinthians 15:20–28, the Arising of “God,” the Destruction of the Gods/Rulers, and the Divine Judgment and Inheritance**

Paul’s reception and employment of the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix in 1 Corinthians thus far is not only unambiguous, as shown above, but fundamental to the development of key arguments in the epistle. This is evident in Paul’s evocation of Deut 4 and 6 in 1 Cor 8 and Deut 32 in 1 Cor 10, with special focus on the argument against idolatry from the implicit background of Deut 4:15–20. Continuing along these lines, Paul’s use of the Deuteronomic matrix has been neglected in seeking to understand Paul’s argument for the resurrection in 1 Cor 15, overlooking important touch-points in his narration of the apocalyptic event itself (15:20–28) and his discussion regarding the nature of the resurrection body (15:35–49).

In 1 Cor 15, whenever Paul actually employs the term “*the resurrection* (ἀνάστασις) from the dead,” it is always a noun and is only used four times (15:12, 13, 21, 42), always denoting the eschatological apocalyptic *event* in its entirety. The term functions as a designation for the climactic cosmic episode (15:21, at the beginning of 15:20–28), and is juxtaposed with the cosmic entrance of death. The term also appears only once in Paul’s discussion regarding the nature of the resurrection body (15:42 in the middle of 15:35–49). Whenever Paul wants to speak specifically of what God does for and to the dead in the event, he uses the verb ἐγείρω, “to raise up,” which is the more commonly employed term throughout the chapter (18 times). While this verb certainly captures what happens to the bodies of the dead—a central feature associated with the eschatological *event*—it does not account for *all* that Paul sees taking place within the event he calls “*the resurrection.*” For him this includes the destruction of the gods/rulers and the divine judgment and inheritance of the cosmos or kingdom of God (e.g. 1 Cor 6:2–3; 15:24, 50; cf. Rom 4:13).

When we consider Paul’s employment of the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix in 1 Corinthians thus far—and after observing the cluster of linguistic and thematic evidence in the narration of the apocalyptic eschatological event in 1 Cor 15:20–28—there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Ps 81[82] and its narration of the demise of the celestial gods of Deuteronomy (i.e. Deut 4:19;

32:8–9) functions as the narrative background through which the resurrection event should be interpreted. After introducing “*the* resurrection of the dead” (15:21), first of Christ and then at his immanent Parousia those who belong to him (e.g. 1 Cor 1:7–8; 10:11; 15:23), Paul states in 15:24, “Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power.” As previously discussed in Ps 81[82]:7–8 and its early Jewish reception, the “arising” (ἀνάστασις, 1 Cor 15:21)<sup>31</sup> or “resurrection” of the principal mediatorial figure, which for Paul is the Christ, enacts the “destroying” of every “rule” (ἄρχην) and every “authority” (ἐξουσίαν) and “power” (δύναμιν) (1 Cor 15:24; cf. Ps 81[82]:7–8; Dan 10:10–21; 12:1–3; 11QMelch 2.9–13). This follows a prominent pattern in the reception of the Deuteronomic matrix in early Jewish apocalyptic literature.<sup>32</sup> Here in the context of the destruction of the rulers, Paul refers to God as “Father,” which in the Deuteronomic tradition denotes the patriarchal relationship between the celestial ruler and their “allotted inheritance,” as in Deut 32:6–9, explaining the language of “handing over the kingdom to him” (1 Cor 15:24), thereby fulfilling the Psalmist’s plea in Ps 81[82]:8.

Paul then states in 1 Cor 15:25, “For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet,” drawing on the Melchizedekian figure of Ps 110:1. This is not a surprising exegetical move for Paul to make if the narrative substructure of his articulation of the eschatological “arising” (ἀνάστασις) of the Christ in fact derives from Ps 81[82]. In the text of 11QMelch 2:9–13, the Melchizedekian figure of Psalm 110 is identified with the “god” of Ps 81[82]:1, who will “carry out God’s judgments,” again, freeing God’s people from “Belial and from the hand of all the spirits of his lot,” drawing on the language of the Deuteronomic matrix regarding the “allotment” of the celestial gods of the nations (cf. Deut 4:19; 32:8–9). An important backdrop here is the common link scholars have made between the Melchizedek figure of 11QMelch and Michael, both principal mediatorial figures who “arise” victorious over the “gods” or “rulers.”<sup>33</sup> The Michael figure of Dan 12:1–3 is featured as the one who in his victory brings about the resurrection where the righteous will “shine as the stars of heaven.” This role is similar, if not identical, to the tradition that Paul draws upon for his two stage resurrection as in 15:23 with the remark, “but each in his own order.”<sup>34</sup>

Most scholars, such as N. T. Wright, take for granted that the primary narrative background to the resurrection discourse of 1 Cor 15 is the narrative of Genesis 1–3, without any reference to the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix. This is problematic in my view, which I hope is becoming evident.<sup>35</sup> Paul suggests in 1 Cor 15:26 that “the *last* enemy to be destroyed (καταργεῖται) is death,” implying *other* enemies must be destroyed first, which according to Paul, Christ is doing at present. Namely, he is destroying (καταργήσῃ) every

rule, authority, and power (1 Cor 15:24; cf. Ps 81[82]:7–8; Dan 10:10–21; 12:1–3; 11QMelch 2.9–13). If death is clearly associated with the sin of Adam (Gen 2–3), who or what are the *other* enemies associated with? The answer, I believe, lies within the Deuteronomic matrix of the celestial bodies as the gods/angels of the nations, as we have seen above. In early Jewish perspective, the gods/angels' rule over the nations was the outcome of the rebellion of Adam's sons at Babel resulting in God's disinheritance of the peoples. This was understood as the origin of the nations (ἔθνη), when God subjected them to the rule of the principalities and powers (i.e. the gods: Gen 10–11; LXX Deut 4:19; 32:8–9). Only in *this* sense are these other enemies associated with Adam (Gen 1–11 refers to Adam and the generations of the “sons of Adam”: cf. Deut 32:8). In Paul's narrative of the “resurrection,” the ruling principalities and powers must first be destroyed, and then death.<sup>36</sup>

### 1 Corinthians 15:35–49, the Nature of the Resurrection Body, and the Making of a Celestial “Image”

Following the narration of the eschatological “resurrection” event (15:20–28) and a brief inquiry regarding cultic baptismal practices for the dead (assuming a link between baptism and resurrection: 15:29–34), Paul finally arrives at the discussion regarding the nature of the resurrection body (15:35–49). He employs the metaphor of the sowing of the “soulish” (ψυχικόν) or “terrestrial” (ἐπίγεια) body and the rising of the “pneumatic” (πνευματικόν) or “celestial” (ἐπουράνια) body (15:40, 44). Both kinds of bodies are fit for different habitats and differ in nature.<sup>37</sup> He seeks to demonstrate this through a list of terrestrial and celestial creatures here in 1 Cor 15:39–42, which not only follows the same order of creatures as enumerated in the aniconic discourse of Deut 4:15–20, but also links it with Paul's earlier thematic mobilization of Deut 4 in his arguments addressing idolatry in 1 Corinthians 8:1–11:1.

Paul's Corinthians *were* pagans (ἔθνη) led away to idolatry (presumably by the powers, 1 Cor 12:2); they were part of the disinherited nations (ἔθνη), or “sons of Adam” (Deut 32:8; cf. Rom 1:23). The Corinthians, were once enslaved under the oppressive rule of other “gods” (θεοὶ) and “lords” (κύριοι) (1 Cor 8:5; Deut 4:19; 32:8), but after their baptism (or exodus: 1 Cor 10:1–2; cf. Deut 4:20; Deut 32:9), they are no longer enslaved. Paul has likely had the text of Deuteronomy in mind since 1 Cor 8, and strategically employs it again here. Both the discourse on the nature of the resurrection body in 1 Cor 15:35–49 and the aniconic discourse of Deut 4:15–20 can sensibly be interpreted as discourses related to the making of a *likeness* (ὁμοίωμα) or *image* (εἰκόνα).<sup>38</sup> Both Deut 4:15–20 and 1 Cor 15:39–49 feature language pertaining to the fashioning of a “likeness” (ὁμοίωμα) or “image” (εἰκόνα), both in

parallel with Genesis 1:26 (LXX) and the creation of humankind in God's "image" (εἰκόνα) and according to his "likeness" (ὁμοίωσιν).

The aniconic discourse of Deut 4:15–16 begins with the charge to "closely guard your souls, because *you* did not see a *likeness* (ὁμοίωμα). . . . Do not act lawlessly and make for yourselves a carved *likeness* (ὁμοίωμα), of any *image* (εἰκόνα)." Then it presents the creature list beginning with terrestrial creatures of whose "likeness" you are not to make an "image" (Deut 4:16b–18; cf. 1 Cor 15:39). Israel is then commanded to abstain from the worship of the celestial bodies because they were allotted to the nations (ἔθνη) (Deut 4:19; cf. 1 Cor 15:41). The logic given for not worshipping the celestial bodies in Deut 4:20 is that "God has taken you and brought you *out of the iron furnace*, out of Egypt, to become for him an allotted people, as in this day." Here in Deut 4, the language is associated with the fashioning of an idol, and an "image" parallels the language of God's creation of his people in the Exodus (cf. Gen 1:26). The furnace imagery is likely invoked here to recall the language of the *fire* (πυρός) where God himself resides (on Mt. Horeb), whose *likeness* (ὁμοίωμα) the people did not see when he spoke to them (Deut 4:15; cf. Gen 1:26).

As in Deut 4:15–20, we see similarly in 1 Cor 15:35–49 that it is God himself who fashions the people into an "image" (εἰκόνα), and it is he who causes the growth. The worker may sow, "but God gives it a body (σῶμα) as he has chosen," and so "each kind of seed" planted will receive "its own body" (15:38). The list of terrestrial creatures of 1 Cor 15:39 then follows the order of Deut 4:16–18, each creature having bodies fit for their particular habitat. All the terrestrial creatures "under heaven" (Deut 4:19) are characterized as having bodies of "flesh" (σὰρξ) (cf. Sir 17:1–4; Gen 8:17), each kind differing in substance based on what is needed to survive in their particular habit. Paul then highlights in 15:40 the different kinds of bodies the celestial creatures have from the terrestrial: "There are both celestial bodies (σώματα ἐπουράνια) and terrestrial bodies (σώματα ἐπίγεια), but the glory of the celestial is one thing (ἀλλὰ ἕτερα μὲν ἢ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα), and that of the terrestrial is another (ἕτερα δὲ ἢ τῶν ἐπιγείων)." Important to note here, despite most English translations and commentators, Paul does not associate the terrestrial bodies with glory (δόξα) who are only constituted as flesh (σὰρξ).<sup>39</sup>

The lists of celestial creatures of 1 Cor 15:41 follows the order of Deut 4:19; the gods/angels or "rulers" from the wider Deuteronomic matrix are constituted of "glory" (δόξα). Paul clarifies in 15:42 that the bodies of those resurrected in the eschatological event shall be no different in "glory" from the celestial bodies: "So it is with the resurrection of the dead" (ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν) (cf. Dan 12:1–3). The infrequent occurrence of the title for the apocalyptic eschatological event, "the resurrection" (ἡ ἀνάστασις; 15:42),

understood through the Deuteronomic matrix related to Ps 81[82], signals the great cosmic upheaval including the death of the gods and the fall of the rulers (Ps 81[82]:6–8; see discussion above). As Paul previously stated, those who are pneumatic (πνευματικοῖς), who will obtain pneumatic bodies (σῶμα πνευματικόν), are no longer expected to behave “in only a human way” or to be “merely human,” or “fleshly” (σαρκικοί), for “flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God” (1 Cor 3:1, 3–4; 15:39, 50). They are those who Paul suggests will “judge the cosmos” (κρίνεται ὁ κόσμος) and “judge the angels” (ἀγγέλους κρινούμεν) (1 Cor 6:1–3; 15:24; cf. Ps 81[82]:7–8; Dan 2:44 [Theodotion]; 7:14, 27; 10:10–21; 12:1–3; 11QMelch 2.9–13; Wis 3:7–8).

The previous terrestrial bodies (σώματα ἐπίγεια) of Paul’s holy ones, characterized by their perishability and dishonor, are to be replaced with celestial bodies (σώματα ἐπουράνια), raised in glory (δόξα) and power (δυνάμει) (1 Cor 15:42–43). The aniconic discourse of Deut 4:15–20 began with the same list of terrestrial and celestial creatures as 1 Cor 15:39–42, charging the people to refrain from making an “image” (εἰκόνα) in their “likeness” (ὁμοίωμα), followed by God fashioning himself an image out from the furnace (Deut 4:20; cf. Gen 1:26), the creation/exodus of Israel portrayed as the greatest event “since the day God created human beings on the earth” (Deut 4:32; see above, cf. Sir 17:1–14). Following the same pattern, 1 Cor 15:35–49 begins with the same list of terrestrial and celestial creatures (15:39–42), followed by God eschatologically fashioning himself an “image” (εἰκόνα) (15:49), drawing from the same Deuteronomic traditions as employed earlier in the epistle (8:1–11:1) as previously demonstrated.

Though many scholars have cited Romans 1:23 with reference to the creature list of 1 Cor 15:39–41 (or other texts in 1 Corinthians),<sup>40</sup> a crucial connection has been neglected between these two texts. Paul in Romans 1:23, likely connecting the rebellion of Adam (Gen 1–3) and the “sons of Adam” (the nations, cf. Deut 32:8; Gen 10–11), as we have seen in other early Jewish literature, states, “they exchanged the glory (δόξαν) of the imperishable (ἀφθάρτου) God for images (εἰκόν) in the likeness (ὁμοιωμάτι) of perishable (φθαρτοῦ) human beings and birds and animals and creeping things (ἔρπετων).” Here Paul explicitly links the creature list of Deut 4:15–19, connecting the language of “image” and “likeness” with the Adamic loss of “glory,” even employing the language of “imperishable” (ἀφθάρτου) and “perishable” (φθαρτοῦ).<sup>41</sup> This only further aids in solidifying the argument of the present study, that Paul does in fact draw on the creature list of Deut 4:15–19 here in 1 Cor 15:35–49.

This time, the image God makes will not be as the “soulish” (ψυχικόν) or “terrestrial” (ἐπίγεια) bodies of the “first man, Adam” who “became a living “soul” (ψυχήν) (1 Cor 15:44–45; Gen 2:7), being constituted of “flesh”

(σὰρξ) which is perishable (15:39, 44). For Paul, these dispossessed “sons of Adam” were enslaved to both the celestial gods/angels (Gen 10–11; Deut 4:19; 32:8–9) *and* to death (Gen 2–3), being destined to perish (1 Cor 15:20–24; cf. Deut 32:8). Both these enemies are in need of defeat to secure the redemption of the “sons of Adam” (15:24–26; see above). In the apocalyptic event of “the resurrection” (ἡ ἀνάστασις), a great cosmic eschatological reversal is to take place: the holy ones will no longer be enslaved to the celestial “rulers” and “principalities,” for they will have been destroyed by the Messiah. The once imperishable celestial bodies “will die like human beings” (ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκετε, Ps 81[82]:7; cf. 1 Cor 15:24–26). *Then* the human beings in Christ will receive from God “pneumatic” (πνευματικόν) bodies, which are “celestial” (ἐπουράνια), constituted of “glory” (δόξα), becoming as the stars (15:40–50; cf. Dan 12:1–3; Ps 81[82]:7–8), imperishable, never again subject to death (15:45–48), no longer “fleshly” like “mere human beings,” for “flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God” (15:50). Paul reaches the climax of his discourse regarding the nature of the resurrection body with God doing for all who are in Christ what he had done for Israel as in the end of Deut 4:15–20. He fashions for himself a new imperishable “image” (εἰκόν), not as the first Adam, the “one from the dust” (χοῦκοῦ), but this bearing the “image” of the “one from heaven” (ἐπουρανίου) (15:49).<sup>42</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This study set out to propose a possible neglected Deuteronomic scriptural matrix that serves as a crucial background and frame for understanding Paul’s narration of the apocalyptic eschatological event of “the resurrection” (1 Cor 15:20–28), as well as his articulation of the nature of the resurrection body (1 Cor 15:35–49). This proposal highlights an innovative way forward in the ongoing discussion surrounding a number of contentious interpretive issues in 1 Cor 15, not least the nature of the resurrected body. This proposal potentially provides fresh insights and exposes neglected dimensions of Paul’s resurrection discourse that have otherwise gone unnoticed, offering a more robust reading of the passage in its immediate and wider context(s) within the epistle. This is accomplished through careful observations of literary and thematic touch-points with the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix. In this case, the proposal that the creature list of Deut 4:15–19 lies behind the creature list of 1 Cor 15:39–42 serves as a window into the wider connections that matrix provides, with helpful similarities drawn from its reception in early Jewish literature, for the interpretation of 1 Cor 15.

This reading of 1 Cor 15 also provides a coherent narrative connection with 1 Cor 6:1–3 as well as mobilizing Paul’s previous use of Deuteronomy in 1 Corinthians.

The first Adam, created to rule over the fleshly, terrestrial creatures, rebelled and brought death into the cosmos (Gen 1–3; 1 Cor 15:21–22, 39). Later, the sons of Adam rebelled and were divided and subjected to the rule of the celestial host, thus becoming the “nations” (ἔθνη) (Gen 10–11; Deut 4:19; 32:8–9). As prefigured in Deut 4:15–20 in the exodus/election of Israel and the wider Deuteronomomic matrix read through the lens of Ps 81[82], for Paul, the Messiah has “arisen” to destroy the celestial rulers, the first enemies to be defeated, liberating the nations (and thus the Corinthians) from their oppressive rule (1 Cor 15:20–25; cf. Ps 81[82]:7–8) to participate in their coming judgment (1 Cor 6:2–3). The last enemy to be defeated is death, when the Corinthians will be given heavenly bodies, raised in celestial glory and bearing the “image” of the “one from heaven,” fit to judge and rule where flesh and blood cannot dwell (1 Cor 15:26, 40–50). For Paul, his holy ones will be made like the celestial bodies, having bodies like them, fit to inherit their habitat, and to take their rightful place as true heirs with Christ, usurping the old powers and being raised in celestial power and glory as heirs of the cosmos.

## NOTES

1. Some find this point contentious, i.e. the resurrection body likened to the celestial bodies. See, e.g., N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (London: SPCK, 2003), 313–16, 341 and following.

2. See e.g. Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 282 n.18; Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 782–83 n.28, 32; Richard A. Horsley, *1 Corinthians*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 1998), 209; Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians*, SP (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1999), 566–67; Jeff Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15: A Study of Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Resurrection*, HUT 42 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 141; Alan G. Padgett, “The Body in Resurrection: Science and Scripture on the ‘Spiritual Body’ (1 Corinthians 15:35–58),” *WW* 22 (2002): 155–63 ; David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, Baker Academic, 2003), 730; Wright, *Resurrection*, 313–16, 341; idem, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 438–9, 1400; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, AB 32 (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 589; Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 804–8; Paul J. Brown, *Bodily Resurrection and Ethics in 1 Corinthians 15: Connecting Faith and Morality in the Context of Greco-Roman Mythology*, WUNT 360 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 99, 183; B. J. Oropeza, *1 Corinthians*, NCCS (Eugene: Cascade, 2017), 213–14.



3. See Dale Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 125–26; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 26–31.

4. Though my argument is not contingent upon it, the compositional unity of 1 Corinthians is provisionally accepted here. For a cogent argument for the unity of the epistle, see Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991).

5. Paul does mention the “reptile” elsewhere in the brief creature list associated with idolatry in Rom 1:23 (cf. 1 Cor 8–11:1): “. . . they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images (εἰκόν) in the likeness (ὁμοιώματι) of mortal man and birds and animals and creeping things (ἔρπετων).” While here alluding to Ps 106:20, Paul also echoes Deut 4:15–19, with “image” and “likeness” occurring in parallel, along with the terrestrial creatures listed there. Fitzmyer suggests this likely accounts for Paul’s awkward syntax there. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, AB 33 (New York: Double Day, 1993), 283; C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans 1–8: Volume 1*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 1975), 119. With Deut 4:15–19 as an essential part of the background of Rom 1:23, crucial neglected connections can be made with the language of 1 Cor 15:39–49. For more on this, see below.

6. *Contra* Wright who suggests the celestial bodies are not personal beings for Paul (Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 1398). Elsewhere he calls them “objects” suggesting Paul does *not* think of the “heavenly bodies” as “spiritual beings clothed with light” (344–46), even though he previously called them “creatures” (341), see Wright, *Resurrection*, 341, 344–46. Thiselton calls them “super-earthly bodies,” though his meaning is unclear, see Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1268.

7. See e.g. Deut 4:19; 17:3; Judges 5:20; 2 Kings 17:16; 21:3–5; 23:4–5; 2 Chron 33:3–5; Neh 9:6; Job 38:7; Ps 148:3; Is 14:12–13; 24:21–23; 40:26; 45:12; 48:13; Jer 7:18; 8:2; 19:13; 32:29; 33:22; Dan 8:10; Zeph 1:5.

8. The term κόσμος as a gloss for the “hosts of heaven” appears four times in the LXX, twice in Deuteronomy (4:19; 17:3; see below) and twice in Isaiah (24:21; 40:26). Significant to the present study, Isa 24:21 speaks of the day Yahweh will punish “the hosts of heaven” (κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), likely narrating the coming judgment of the gods, sharing linguistic and conceptual parallels with Deuteronomy and the narrative of Psalm 81[82] (more on this below). For the prior development of the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix, see David A. Burnett, “‘So Shall Your Seed Be’: Paul’s Use of Gen 15:5 in Rom 4:18 in light of early Jewish Deification Traditions,” *JSP* 5.2 (2015): 211–36 (here 220–23).

9. For a survey of scholarship on the divine council in Deuteronomy, see *ibid.*, 220–21 n.21. Michael Heiser has argued persuasively that “the pre-exilic Israelite belief in a divine council under the rule of Yahweh was maintained in Israel’s faith after the exile and survived in at least some strains of Judaism well into the Common Era.” See Michael S. Heiser, “The Divine Council in Late Canonical and Non-Canonical Second Temple Literature” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004),

68–89, 258. For further support of the existence of the divine council in the Herodian age, with special attention to Deuteronomy 4:19, see, William Horbury, “Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age,” in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, JSNTSup 263 (London: Continuum, 2004), 16–44.

10. Regarding the text-critical problem in 32:8 concerning the “sons of God,” “angels of God,” or “sons of Israel,” see Michael S. Heiser, “Deuteronomy 32:8 and the Sons of God,” *BSac* 158 (2001): 52–74; Nathan McDonald, *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of Monotheism*, FAT 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 90–91.

11. As Sperber rightly observes, the seventy nations in the table of nations in Gen 10 surely underlies Deut 32:8. He makes the link by taking the “sons of Israel” reading and relating it to the seventy who went down into Egypt in Gen 46:27, or to the number of corresponding angelic patrons as reflected in Jewish tradition. See Daniel Sperber, “Nations, The Seventy,” in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, ed. Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Thomson Gale, 2007), 30–32.

12. Abraham’s election is narrated as an Exodus in Gen 15:7 (LXX), “I am the god who brought you out (ἐξαγαγόν) from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you this land to inherit (κληρονομήσαι).” The election of Abraham follows the technical terminology for the Exodus as seen in Exod 20:2 (LXX), “I am the Lord your god, who brought you out (ἐξήγαγόν) of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery,” immediately followed by the aniconic discourse against idolatry (Exod 20:3–5) just as in Deut 4:15–20. The final plague that results in the Exodus is actually narrated as a judgment of the gods: “. . . and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgments” (Exod 12:12).

13. All translations of Philo are taken from, *Philo*, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker et al., LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929–87).

14. See Burnett, “So Shall Your Seed Be,” 225.

15. An alternate position can be observed in the reception of the Deuteronomic scriptural matrix within Jubilees. In Jub. 15:30–32, God made the angels or spirits over the nations to “rule over all [nations and peoples] in order to lead them astray from following him.” For further discussion of the variegated conceptions of the nature and destiny of the gentile gods in early Jewish literature and 1 Cor 15, see Emma Wasserman, “Gentile Gods at the Eschaton: A Reconsideration of Paul’s ‘Principalities and Powers’ in 1 Corinthians 15,” *JBL* 136 (2017): 727–46.

16. The terrestrial creatures are here classified as “flesh” (σαρκός) as in 1 Cor 15:39. See also Gen 8:17.

17. See Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, AB 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 283; Burnett, “So Shall Your Seed Be,” 229.

18. Translation from Florentino Garcia Martinez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1206–09.

19. For the Psalm 110 background to 11QMelch, see Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresa*, CBQMS 10 (Washington DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 51ff. For the language of “spirit” used for the allotted powers of Deut 32:8, see Jub 15:31 (note 14). See Matthew Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 143–47.

20. See Darrell D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*, WUNT 109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 74.

21. For the close association or identification of the Melchizedek figure of 11QMelch with the archangel Michael, see Kobelski, *Melchizedek*; Hannah, *Michael and Christ*; John K. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 390.

22. Collins, *Daniel*, 390.

23. For Dan 12:1–3 as a judgment scene, see George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, Expanded Edition, HTS 56 (Cambridge: Harvard, 2006), 23–66. The resurrected righteous being clearly associated with the angels is demonstrated in the textual parallel found in 1 En. 104:2–6. Both the imagery of shining like the celestial bodies and their association with the angels are well attested in subsequent apocalyptic literature. Collins, *Daniel*, 393. For the imagery of shining, see T.Mos. 10:9; 2 En. 1:5; 66:7; 4 Ezra 7:97, 125; for association with the angels see 1 En. 39:5; 2 Bar. 51:1–12 (also a luminous transformation); see also Wis 3:7; 5:5; Matt 22:30; 4 Macc 17:5–6.

24. cf. Wis 13:1–3.

25. See, e.g., 1QpHab 5.4.

26. See Erik Waaler, *The Shema and the First Commandment in First Corinthians: An Intertextual Approach to Paul's Re-reading of Deuteronomy*, WUNT 2/253 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 81–82, 386; Fitzmyer, *1 Corinthians*, 340–41.

27. For further support of the reading of 1 Cor 8:5 regarding the real existence of the “gods” for Paul, see, e.g., Paul A. Rainbow, “Monotheism and Christology in 1 Corinthians 8:4–6” (D.Phil thesis., The Queens College, Oxford University, 1987), 147–49; Richard A. Horsley, “1 Corinthians: A Case Study of Paul's Assembly as an Alternative Society,” in *Christianity at Corinth: The Quest for the Pauline Church*, ed. Edward Adams and David G. Horrell (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2004), 227–37 (here 233).

28. See McDonald, *Deuteronomy*, 96.

29. For this debate over whether or not Paul actually inserts Jesus *into* the Shema and thus the unique identity of Israel's god, see, e.g., N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 120–36; Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2003), 114; Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2009), 210–218; James F. McGrath, *The Only True God: Early Christian Monotheism in its Jewish Context* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 38–54; James D.G. Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?: The New Testament Evidence* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), 107–10. For Χριστός as an honorific in Paul, intending to communicate Jesus' role as the Messiah of Israel, not merely his name, see Matthew V. Novenson, *Christ Among the Messiahs: Christ Language in Paul and Messiah Language in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Joshua W. Jipp, *Christ is King: Paul's Royal Ideology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015).

30. By Paul changing the tense of the verb, he contemporizes the language of the Song of Moses (Deut 32:17), see Fee, *First Corinthians*, 472. Going as far back as Plato, it was common to ancient Greek thought that “daimonia” could refer to lower tier deities, the guardians of cities or commonwealths (cf. Plato, *Leges* 4.713c ff.; v.738d), thus fulfilling the same role as the divine or angelic rulers in Jewish theology (e.g. Philo’s understanding of the celestial gods of the nations from Deut 4:19 in *Spec.* 1:13–19), see G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 12.

31. See also Dan 12:1 Theodotion.

32. Regarding the relationship between the resurrection event of 1 Cor 15 and Dan 12:1 and the “arising” of Michael, I agree with Hans C. C. Cavallin who suggests “the appearance of Michael corresponds with the *Parousia* of Jesus, being the signal of the resurrection.” See H. C. C. Cavallin, *Life After Death: Paul’s Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Corinthians 15: Part I: An Enquiry Into the Jewish Background*, ConBNT 7:1 (Lund, Gleerup, 1974), 27. Though I would nuance Cavallin here; for Paul, the “arising” begins with the resurrection and ascent of the Christ (1 Cor 15:20–28; cf. Ps 81[82]:8). Also, as discussed above in Philo, *Spec.* 1.13–19, the “celestial bodies” (οὐρανῶ) of Deut 4:15–20 are referred to as the “rulers” and “authorities” (ἄρχοντας ἔχουσα).

33. See above, note 21.

34. 11QMelch 2:15–17 also connects the announcement of the “*gospel*” or “good news” of Isaiah 52:7 to the Psalm 81[82] event of the “arising of God.” This event is set to destroy the other “gods,” rescuing the people from their subjection. Paul also begins his discourse regarding the “arising of the dead” event, which includes the destruction of the “rulers” by having the event as part of the “the *gospel* (or good news) I preached to you” (1 Cor 15:1).

35. In critique of Engberg-Pedersen’s inclusion of Stoic cosmology into Paul’s argument in 1 Cor 15, Wright says, “Throughout this chapter (1 Corinthians 15) Paul is building on Genesis 1, 2, and 3, in order to give an account of *new creation*, rooted in Jewish-style creational monotheism. This is where some genuine cosmology would have helped,” see Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness*, 1400; “Gen 1–3 forms a subtext for the whole chapter (15),” idem, *Resurrection*, 313, 334–36, 341, 344–46; Ciampa and Rosner, *First Letter to the Corinthians*, 760. Wright’s critique was against Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self*. The present argument challenges Wright on the grounds of a missing Deuteronomic layer in his account of Paul’s scripturally based cosmology in 1 Cor 15.

36. In the Lukan portrayal of Paul in Acts, we are given an example or interpretation of Pauline preaching where the creation of Adam and the allotment of the nations are closely linked, “And he made from one (ἐνός, likely Adam) every nation (ἔθνος) of humankind to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their dwelling place” (Acts 17:26; cf. Deut 32:8–9 “sons of Adam”).

37. On the particular point that the resurrection body is made of the pneumatic *material* that celestial bodies themselves are made of and what is needed in order to inhabit the celestial inheritance allotted to them, I find myself in general agreement

with Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, 123 and following.; Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self*, 26–31; M. David Litwa, *We Are Being Transformed: Deification in Paul's Soteriology*, BZNT 187 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), esp. 119; Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem*, 151.; Fredrick S. Tappenden, *Resurrection in Paul: Cognition, Metaphor, and Transformation*, ECL 19 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 87 and following.

38. For the language of both “likeness” (ὁμοίωμα) and/or “image” (εἰκόνα) referring to an idol, see, e.g., 2 Kings (4 Kgdms LXX) 11:18; 2 Chron 33:7; Isa 40:18–20; Sir 38:28.

39. The NRSV is one of the only English translations to render this phrase properly.

40. See, e.g., Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 774; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 409–10, 447; Ciampa and Rosner, *First Corinthians*, 807, 824; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 731; Fee, *First Corinthians*, 783 n. 32; Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem*, 47, 151 n. 71.

41. For Deut 4:15–19 in Rom 1:23, see note 5.

42. For a detailed discussion on “the man from heaven” within the wider context of celestial immortality, see Litwa, *We are Being Transformed*, starting 119.

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