

Resurrection: *EARLY JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY*

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Resurrection is the eschatological act by which God the judge raises the dead in order to recompense them for their deeds. In the long history of Jewish speculation, the manner of judgment varies: resurrection of the body; revivification of the soul or spirit; eternal life or assumption to heaven immediately upon death or shortly thereafter. In some cases, eternal life or immortality are the present possession of the righteous, while the wicked are thought to be already in the realm of death. Resurrection and its equivalents function variously as recompense for the lack of divine justice in this world, as reward and punishment for one's deeds, or, in special cases, to exalt and glorify the persecuted leaders of the community. NT beliefs about resurrection and its equivalents reflect the variety of their Jewish counterparts, but differ from them uniformly in their christological orientation.

A. Resurrection in Early Judaism

1. Early Developments
2. Persecution, Oppression, and God's Justice
3. Reward and Punishment
4. The Presence of Eternal Life and the Two Ways
5. Josephus on the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes

B. Resurrection in Early Christianity

1. Foci and Emphases
2. Texts and Authors
3. Historical Problems

A. Resurrection in Early Judaism

1. Early Developments. Belief in a substantial, meaningful existence after death is a relatively late development in the history of Israelite religion. The usual view expressed in the biblical books is that, upon death, one's shade descends to Sheol, where one remains forever, cut off from God's presence.

Other elements in Israelite religious thought stand in tension with this viewpoint. As creator, God is the Lord of life, who effects and nourishes a covenantal relationship with God's people. As judge, God rewards the faithful and punishes those who rebel against the covenantal commandments. As the Almighty, God can effect what divine justice requires. The tension arises when premature death frustrates this justice.

The origins of resurrection belief are obscure. Authors of the exilic period employ the language of death and resurrection or

exaltation as a metaphor for Israel's revival and return from Exile. Although dead in captivity, the people will arise from their Babylonian graves (Ezekiel 37). Kings and nations will view the exaltation of Yahweh's suffering servant (Isa 52:13-53:12). It is doubtful that this metaphorical usage presupposes Jewish speculation on the possibility of substantive life in spite of physical death, but both passages (and Isaiah 65-66) are later used to support such a belief.

At a time and in circumstances that we cannot presently determine, a religious breakthrough occurs. Jews begin to assert that physical death does not nullify God's justice or abrogate the covenantal relationship for individuals. Early texts are ambiguous. Psalms 16, 49, and 73 may point in this direction, but their date and circumstances are unknown. The Isaianic apocalypse (Isaiah 24-27) appears to be the earliest text that envisions a real resurrection of the righteous. God will overcome death forever. The shades of the righteous will arise from Sheol, while their oppressive overlords will remain there (Isa 25:6-8; 26:14-19). Scholars debate this text's precise time and circumstances of origin.

2. Persecution, Oppression, and God's Justice. All of the texts mentioned above deal with the disjunction between human experience and a belief in divine justice. Settings of persecution or oppression trigger further speculation about postmortem recompense.

a. *1 Enoch* 22-27. Chaps. 20-36 of *1 Enoch* (3d century B.C.E.) recount Enoch's journeys through the cosmos. Far to the west, he sees a great mountain with three huge chasms that contain "all the souls of the sons of men," sorted and separated for the purpose of judgment (chap. 22). Dominating the scene is the spirit of Abel, the prototype of the innocent who are persecuted. He accuses Cain "and his descendants" until they are obliterated from the human race. Abel's prominence indicates that violent death and the lack of divine judgment against the perpetrators of this crime are fundamental concerns of this author (cf. chaps. 6-11). The motif of judgment governs the descriptions of the three chasms. In the first of these, the spirits of all the righteous are refreshed by a bright fountain of water. In the second chasm, unspecified sinners already experience the torment to which they will be subjected during their eternal confinement in this place. In the third chasm, the spirits of persons who have been murdered plead for divine vengeance. For these "companions of the lawless," their violent death was ample recompense for their wicked deeds, and so they do not experience the torment of those in the second chasm, nor will they be raised for judgment (22:13).

According to chap. 22, recompense is experienced by the "souls" or the "spirits" or the "souls of the spirits" immediately after death. Nonetheless, the author anticipates a resurrection of some of the dead. Verse 13 suggests that the sinners in the second chasm will be raised

for judgment. Almost certainly the righteous in the first chasm will rise to the blessed new life in the new Jerusalem described in chap. 25.

After viewing the realm of the dead, Enoch is carried to the mountain of God (chaps. 24–25) where he sees the tree of life which “will be transplanted to the holy place,” where “its fruit will be given to the righteous and the pious ... and its fragrances will permeate their bones,” as they “live a long life upon the earth” as their fathers had, free from “torments and plagues and suffering” (25:4–6). In Jerusalem, Enoch views the holy mountain, as well as the valley of Hinnom, where the blasphemers will suffer forever in the presence of the righteous (chaps. 26–27).

1 Enoch 24–27 is directly or indirectly dependent on Isaiah 65–66 with its descriptions of the New Jerusalem and the blessed and fabulously long life of the righteous and the everlasting punishment of the sinners which will take place there (cf. esp. Isa 65:17–25; 66:14, 24). Different from Third Isaiah, *1 Enoch* 22–27 anticipates a resurrection that will enable some of the righteous and wicked dead to participate in the blessings and curses that result from the great judgment. Reference to the “bones” of the righteous (25:6) indicates a resurrection to some kind of bodily life. The bodily or nonbodily state of those punished in the valley of Hinnom is not specified.

b. *1 Enoch* 92–105. Enoch’s “Epistle” (2d century B.C.E.) expounds the implications of Enoch’s eschatological visions. Injustice pervades the author’s world. The rich and powerful prosper as they oppress the righteous poor, who suffer in spite of their righteousness and piety. The repeated announcement of the coming day of judgment anticipates the adjudication of these circumstances.

The treatment of the problem and its solution reaches its climax in 102:4–104:8, a disputation about postmortem reward and punishment. To “the souls” of the righteous and pious who grieve in Sheol, the author promises that they will “come to life” and receive the reward that their fleshly bodies missed (102:4–103:4). As for the sinners who claim that there is no judgment after death, and act accordingly—their souls will descend to the flaming torture of Sheol (103:5–8). In a pastiche of phrases from Deuteronomy, Enoch quotes the complaint of the righteous and pious that they have received the curses of the covenant (103:9–15). His refutation asserts that their cries for justice have been heard by their angelic patrons, who plead their case before God. Their names are written in the heavenly register. Judgment will come, and the righteous will ascend to heaven and to great joy in the presence of the angels (104:1–6).

c. Daniel 12:1–3. Writing between 167 and 165 B.C.E. to encourage pious Jews during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author of Daniel 10–12 composed an apocalypse which describes the events of Israel’s history from “Darius the Mede” to Antiochus

(11:2–45). When the persecution reaches its climax, the divine Judge will intervene, and the persecutor will be destroyed (11:45). The recitation of past history gives way to a brief description of the judgment (12:1–3) that will adjudicate the injustices just recounted. Michael, Israel’s angelic patron and defender, will arise. The book that contains the names of the citizens of people who will be delivered will be opened. Those still alive will be rescued from God’s wrath. Then “many of those who sleep in the land of dust will awake, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting contempt.” This is not a universal resurrection; only some of the dead will awake. The author has in mind at least the principal characters in the Antiochan persecution. The righteous whose pious behavior has led to their death will be vindicated. Those who apostasized to save their lives will be raised to suffer the divine punishment they escaped in their lifetime. The author probably also expects that other especially righteous and wicked Israelites will be raised for judgment.

Like *1 Enoch* 24–27, the language of Dan 12:2 recalls Isaiah 65–66. “Everlasting life” is the long life referred to in Isa 65:20–22 (cf. *1 En.* 25:6). “Everlasting contempt” is the fate of the rebels whose bodies will suffer outside Jerusalem (in the valley of Hinnom) according to Isa 66:24 (cf. *1 En.* 27:2–3). The resurrection implicit in *1 Enoch* is explicit in Dan 12:2. The problem of the suffering and persecuted righteous emerges in acute form as the catalyst for resurrection as vindication. The righteous dead, whom Enoch saw refreshed by a bright fountain of water in the realm of the dead, are sleeping in Sheol, the murky “land of dust,” according to Dan 12:2. The allusion to Isa 66:14 (“contempt”) may indicate that Daniel thinks of a bodily resurrection (cf. *1 En.* 25:4–6), but the brevity of the Danielic passage is elusive.

According to Dan 12:3, the wise teachers of the community, who have encouraged many to follow the path of righteousness, will receive special honor by being gloriously exalted among the stars, the angelic host. Here the author draws on a traditional exposition of the last song of the servant of Yahweh (Isa 52:13–53:12; see below under Wisdom 1–6).

d. *Jubilees* 23:11–31. Written perhaps a year or two before the book of Daniel, as a comment on Abraham’s age (Gen 25:7–8), these verses describe the bloody struggle between pious Jews and Hellenizers which culminates in the merciless intervention of the Syrian government. The people’s sin has greatly shortened their life spans, but when they return to God’s commandments, their life spans will increase to the fabulous length of the first patriarchs (vv 27–28). Again the language of Isaiah 65 informs a description of the end time (cf. esp. 65:20–22). As for the righteous who have died during evil times, “their bones will rest in the earth, and their spirits will have much joy ...” (v 31). Different from *1 Enoch* 22; 24–25, *Jubilees* contrasts the

bones that rest from bodily pain and agony with the spirits that have ascended to the joyous presence of God. The author seems not to envision a future, bodily resurrection; however, vv 30–31 may allude to the righteous viewing the curses that the wicked suffer in the valley of Hinnom.

e. *2 Maccabees 7*. This legend about the martyrdom of seven young men and their mother, set in the Antiochan persecution, dates in its present form to the end of the 2d century B.C.E. Central to the story is a conflict of authority and the protagonists' response to it. Pitted against one another are Antiochus Epiphanes, who commands the Jews to eat swine's flesh, and the God of Israel, whose law forbids this. The protagonists choose to disobey the king and obey their God. Condemned to death in a human court, they await vindication in the supreme court of the king of the universe, who will restore the life and limbs that Antiochus has destroyed (vv 9, 11). Bodily resurrection is the counterpart to bodily destruction; vindication is in kind.

To explicate his view of resurrection, this author employs three images from Second Isaiah which originally referred to Israel's return from Exile. (1) The youths are the suffering and vindicated servants of Yahweh. Through their speeches, they are God's spokesmen before the king. They suffer because of this prophetic office, and for this reason they will be vindicated (cf. Isa 50:7–9). (2) God's power as creator, who first gave them life, is the basis of their hope that God will redeem them in the resurrection to a new life (vv 22–23, 27–29). (3) The youths' mother is a personification of Mother Zion, who anticipates the return of her sons, now dispersed in death (v 9).

If the brothers are to be vindicated for their obedience, Antiochus must suffer for his rebellion (vv 14, 17, 19). His judgment is vividly described in chap. 9. The warning that he will have no resurrection to life (7:14) means either that his violent death eliminates the necessity of a postmortem punishment, or that he will be permanently confined to eternal torment immediately after his death.

f. *4 Maccabees*. In this writing from the first half of the 1st century C.E., the stories in *2 Maccabees 6–7* have been transposed into the key of Greek philosophy. In his transformation of the story about the youths and their mother (chaps. 8–17), this author changes the story's eschatology. Future resurrection of the body is replaced by immortality and an eternal life that begins at the moment of death (7:3; 9:22; 13:17; 14:5–6; 15:3; 16:13, 25; 17:12, 18–19). God's creative power is the reason for obedience to the Torah (11:5; 13:13) rather than the guarantee of a resurrection. Eternal life is God's reward for obedience, not the vindicative restoration of the bodies that the martyrs have lost.

g. *Wisdom of Solomon 1–6*. Written around the turn of the era, *Wisdom 1–6* is a disputation on immortality (cf. *1 Enoch 102–104*). The author exhorts kings and rulers to act righteously because the divine

judge will hold them accountable for their deeds. By contrast, the rich and mighty comment on the shortness of life and the finality of death (chap. 2). Since death is annihilation, one should enjoy life, even at the expense of others (2:1-11). The special target of abuse is the righteous man who claims to be God's "son" or "servant" and preaches against their "sins." They conspire to bring him to trial and kill him (2:12-20), thus refuting his claims. But the wicked act on a false premise. Death is not the end. The death of the righteous one is an illusion, for "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God" (3:1-9). The wicked discover this after their death (4:16-5:23), when the exalted righteous one confronts them as judge in the heavenly court. They acknowledge that he stands among the "sons of God" (the angels) and admit that his indictment of their sins was justified. Now they are condemned to the annihilation they had believed in, while the righteous receive the eternal life they had awaited.

In recounting the case of the righteous one, the author of Wisdom 1-6 draws on a type of story found in Genesis 37-45, Ahikar, Esther, and Daniel 3 and 6. See PASSION NARRATIVES. Here, however, the protagonist is exalted and vindicated in the heavenly courtroom, and rewards and punishments are eternal and transcend physical death. The scene of the righteous one's heavenly exaltation has been shaped by Isa 52:13-53:12. As in Second Isaiah (and Genesis 37-45 and Daniel 3 and 6), the protagonist is a spokesman of God. Although his vocation leads to human condemnation, God vindicates him by exalting him to a high position that befits his original status. This Isaianic tradition stands behind Dan 12:3 (see above). In Wisdom 1-6, the case of the persecuted and exalted righteous one is a paradigm for God's judgment of all people, who will be rewarded or punished for their deeds (see esp. 3:10-4:15).

Wisdom 1-6 indicates a belief in immortality, which is not an inherent property of the soul, but God's gift to the righteous. "Death" belongs to the wicked and immortality to the righteous already during their life on earth (see esp. 1:12-16).

3. Reward and Punishment. As postmortem recompense comes to be a fixed topic, it is discussed without particular concern about whether God has rewarded or punished one during one's lifetime.

a. *The Psalms of Solomon*. God's righteous judgment is a repeated theme in this collection of psalms which dates from the 1st century B.C.E. *Pss. Sol.* 3, 13, 14, 15 focus on postmortem recompense. The righteous "will rise to eternal life," while the fate of the sinners is "eternal destruction." Such reward and punishment are dispensed not as compensation for the injustices of this life, but as reward and punishment for piety and sin—apart from one's lot in life. The authors do not indicate whether they anticipate a bodily resurrection or the reviving of one's spirit or soul.

b. *2 Baruch*. Writing in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem (ca. 100 C.E.), the writer of this apocalypse ponders God's justice and the validity of God's promises. The evils he has experienced are explained by a dualism between the present corrupt age and the incorruptible age to come after God's judgment (21:12–26; 30:2–5; 49–51). He discusses the resurrection in this context (chaps. 49–51). The souls of the dead, presently gathered in the "treasuries" of Sheol (21:23; 30:2–5), will be raised in their original form so that the living may recognize them. Thereafter, the righteous will be freed from the limitations of this age and transformed into glory like the stars and the angels, with whom they will inhabit paradise in the age to come. The wicked will waste away and depart to eternal torment. The heavenly glory that Daniel anticipated for the wise teachers is here the property of all the righteous.

c. *4 Ezra 7*. This writer also writes in response to the destruction of Jerusalem. Like his colleague in *2 Baruch*, he discusses postmortem reward and punishment for one's deeds. His focus is on the souls' fate (vv 75–101) as they proceed to the dwellings they will occupy until the resurrection (cf. *1 Enoch 22*). In this universal event of judgment, humanity will enter the glory of paradise and torture of Gehenna, here construed in cosmic proportions rather than as a valley in Jerusalem (vv 26–42).

4. The Presence of Eternal Life and the Two Ways. a. The Qumran Hymn Scroll 3:19–23; 11:3–14. The authors of these hymns give thanks to God for having brought them from death to life. The world outside the sectarian community is described as Sheol. Entrance into the community is construed as resurrection into the realm of eternal life and the presence of the angels. What "traditional" eschatology ascribes to the end time is said to be the present possession of the member of the sect. Although evil will not be eliminated until the consummation, a major eschatological event has occurred.

b. The Qumran Rule of the Community 3:13–4:26. Right and wrong actions and their rewards and punishments are discussed according to the organizing principle of the two ways. One's conduct is a journey along the way(s) of light or of darkness, guided by the good or evil angel. Lists of good and evil deeds are given, together with lists of the rewards and punishments dispensed in this life and, mainly, afterward.

The Qumran hymns and the *Rule of the Community* do not specify whether the authors anticipated a resurrection. Several facts are noteworthy, however. The Scrolls rarely refer to physical death. Their radicalization of resurrection language mitigates the importance of a future consummation of the fullness of eternal life. The imagery of the ways stresses continuity between present situation and future recompense. This usage seems most consonant with the idea that at physical death one passes directly to eternal life—even if the world is

still subject to a final judgment. On the other hand, the uniform orientation of the graves at Qumran could attest a belief in resurrection.

c. Other Texts. Several non-Qumranic texts espouse views similar to those just discussed. According to *Joseph and Aseneth* (1st century C.E.), when Aseneth repented of her idolatry, Michael the archangel conferred on her the gifts of immortality and eternal life (chaps. 15–16). In *Wisdom 1–6* immortality is also conferred during one’s lifetime. In the *Testament of Abraham* 11–12 Rec. A; 8–9 Rec. B and the *Testament of Asher* 6, a theology of the two ways is the vehicle for a belief in final recompense immediately after death.

5. Josephus on the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. Flavius Josephus twice discusses the beliefs that these groups held regarding postmortem recompense (*JW* 2.8.11,14 §§154, 163, 165; *Ant* 18.1.3–5 §§14, 16, 18). According to him, the Essenes espoused something like immortality of the soul, and the Pharisees resurrection of the body, while the Sadducees did not believe in any postmortem rewards and punishments. Similar views are attributed to the Pharisees and Sadducees in Acts 23:6–8 and Mark 12:18–23.

Of the texts discussed above, only the Qumran Scrolls are widely identified with one of these groups (the Essenes). Josephus’ attribution of a belief in immortality could fit the Qumran Scrolls, as well as the book of *Jubilees*, which appears to have been composed in circles ancestral to Qumran. The rich opponents of the author of the “Epistle” of *1 Enoch* 92–105 are not identifiably Sadducean. However, behind the author’s polemical rhetoric may be the “conservative” view that prosperity reflects piety and requires no postmortem recompense.

B. Resurrection in Early Christianity

1. Foci and Emphases. Jewish beliefs about resurrection, immortality, and eternal life are presupposed throughout the NT, and these early Christian formulations also mirror the variety in Judaism, as this pertains to the functions, time, scope, and mode of postmortem recompense. The major factor that transforms these beliefs, however, is the Church’s universal conviction that God has begun the eschatological process by raising the crucified Jesus from the dead. Every writing of the NT presumes Jesus’ resurrection, and the topic of postmortem recompense is rarely treated without reference or allusion to it.

Jesus’ resurrection is understood from two perspectives. First, it is God’s vindication of the persecuted man Jesus. It makes sense of the humiliation, tragedy, and scandal of the crucifixion. Secondly, the resurrection of Jesus has broader implications, as an act of salvation for humanity and the cosmos. It facilitates Jesus’ exaltation as Lord and Judge and promises resurrection and eternal life to all the faithful.

2. Texts and Authors. a. Early Creeds and Hymns. The major NT interpretations of Jesus' resurrection are evident already in the earliest strata of the texts—credal formulas, hymns (or hymn fragments), and other traditions embedded in Paul's epistles. The paradigm of persecution and vindication is basic. Condemned in a human court, the crucified Jesus is vindicated when God raises him from the dead. This emphasis on the resurrection as God's means of reversing the evil of the crucifixion appears in the formulaic "the God [*or him*] who raised him [*or the Lord Jesus*] from the dead" (Rom 4:24; 8:11; Gal 1:1; Eph 1:20; Col 2:12; 1 Pet 1:21; cf. Rom 10:9). The expression is likely a reformulation of the OT formula "The God who brought up Israel out of Egypt" (cf. Heb 13:20 and Isa 63:11). The God of the Exodus has been redefined as the God of the resurrection. Thus, the resurrection is not a private act that simply vindicates Jesus, but a new redemptive act with universal import. Following the familiar pattern, vindication is evident in exaltation. That this exaltation exceeds the conception in Wisdom 5 is shown by the frequent occurrence of the title "Lord" and the stem *pist-*, "believe," and the verb *homologeîn*, "confess." Jesus' resurrection and exaltation constitute a saving event for those who confess and believe in them.

In the traditional hymn in Phil 2:6–11, the pattern of humiliation and exaltation is extended by prefixing the motif of incarnation. Jesus, the servant of Isaiah 52–53, is the incarnation of a heavenly being (possibly Wisdom), and the self-emptying (*or pouring out*) of Isa 53:12 is applied to the first stage of humiliation, that is, to incarnation, rather than death. Although the hymn makes no reference to Jesus' being "raised," resurrection's frequent function as exaltation is central, and the anticipated universal confession of Jesus as "Lord" reflects the traditional formula in Rom 10:9 (cf. 1 Cor 12:3).

Resurrection is defined as exaltation also in Rom 1:3–4. Jesus is designated "Son of God with power by the resurrection of the dead." A careful parallelism contrasts Jesus' divine sonship with his exalted but human status as Davidic Messiah. His death, as in many of the texts cited above, is not cited as an event of positive, saving significance.

Such a positive evaluation of Jesus' death is, however, not lacking in early formulations. In Rom 4:24, the pattern and the language of Isaiah 52–53 are embodied in the double expression "delivered for our transgressions, raised for our justification" which interprets the crucifixion and resurrection as two facets of one saving act. A similar formulation occurs in 1 Cor 15:3–4, where the dying and resurrected Jesus is identified as "Christ" (cf. also 1 Thess 4:14, "believe, died, rose").

b. The Document "Q." It is necessary to qualify the frequent assertion that the "Q" we can recover from Matthew and Luke had no cross/resurrection kerygma. Although Q evidently had no passion narrative or death/resurrection formulas (an assertion from silence), its

christology presumed the pattern. The document preserved the words of Wisdom's spokesman, by definition in this period the persecuted and vindicated righteous one, who stood in the line of Abel and the prophets (Matt 23:34-35; Luke 11:49-51). At some point in the history of the document, Jesus was also identified as the coming Son of Man, whose future judicial status would be the result of the exaltative function of his resurrection. Thus the authority of the logia was tied retrospectively to the one who was crucified for his prophetic mission and prospectively to the exalted one who would judge or witness concerning those who confessed and denied him (Matt 10:32; Luke 12:8).

c. The Apostle Paul. The death and resurrection/exaltation of Jesus are the foundation of Paul's theology, as is evident from his citation of the aforementioned formulas, creeds, and hymns. The first corollary of Paul's resurrection belief is his expectation of an imminent parousia, which sets the keynote for 1 Thessalonians (1:10, etc.) and 1 Corinthians (1:7-8) and is referred or alluded to in Philippians (3:20), 2 Corinthians (5:10), and Romans (2:16). As the latter three passages indicate, the future double function of the exalted one is as savior and as judge of human deeds. Although Paul's favorite term for the exalted Jesus is "Lord," in some texts Paul appears to have imposed this title on Son of Man traditions. See SON OF MAN.

The second corollary of Paul's resurrection belief is his conviction that the Spirit of the risen Jesus presently resides in the Church and enables and prompts right conduct. One means of making this point is the literary form and imagery of the two ways (Gal 5:16-6:8; Romans 6-8). According to Galatians 5-6, these ways are the life according to the flesh and the life according to the spirit. Flesh and Spirit are characterized by catalogues of right and wrong deeds, and the two principals war against one another like the two spirits at Qumran. The punishment and reward of one's conduct will be corruption or eternal life. In Romans 6 Paul identifies baptism as the means to the eternal life made possible in Jesus' resurrection. The Law cannot facilitate such life (*pace* Jewish covenantal theology) because it has been disabled by Sin (the functional equivalent of the evil spirit), which holds human flesh captive (Romans 7). God has resolved the impasse created by this internal battle by sending his Son. Through his incarnation and death, sin is condemned, and through his resurrection his Spirit makes eternal life possible for those who walk according to that Spirit (Romans 8). In 1 Corinthians 15, although he has cited his expectation of the Parousia, Paul cools the Spirit-oriented ardor of some by contrasting one's present fleshly body with the spiritual body that will be a possibility only at the Parousia, which still awaits the final conquering of death.

The third corollary of Jesus' resurrection is the final resurrection of all Christians. Precisely when Paul began to expound this connection

is not clear. In both 1 Thess 4:14 and 1 Cor 15:12–19, he argues from traditions about *Jesus'* death and resurrection to the conclusion that *all* will be raised. This suggests that his early preaching in these congregations was oriented around the Parousia. When Christians, who had been given the Spirit and “life” through baptism, began to die, Paul cited the resurrection as God’s way of facilitating the continuation of eternal life. Paul’s ideas about the state of Christians between death and the Parousia are unclear. In Phil 1:21–25 he speaks of being “with Christ.” In 2 Cor 4:16–5:10 he describes the Christian’s gradual transformation through the Spirit. He hopes for the Parousia, so that his present body can be “overclothed” with a glorious body, but he seems to anticipate the possibility of death, at which time he would be “naked” (without a body), yet “with the Lord.” In both 1 Cor 15:35–57 and Phil 3:21, Paul christologizes Jewish traditions about the eschatological body. Whether one is resurrected or transformed before death, one’s body will have the glory of the risen Lord rather than angelic splendor (Dan 12:3; 2 *Baruch* 51).

d. The Deutero-Pauline Literature. The resurrection theologies of these texts vary. In 2 Thess 2:8, the Lord will appear as the eschatological messianic antagonist of the Lawless One. Both Colossians and Ephesians stress the present exaltation of Christ. For the latter, Christians already occupy the heavenly realms (2:5–6; cf. the Qumran Hymns), and the Parousia is nowhere evident (contrast 1:22 with 1 Cor 15:25–28), even if sin and temptation are a present reality (6:10–17; cf. 1QH 3). The Pastoral Epistles stress the eschatological character of Jesus’ appearing, quoting tradition (1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 1:10). Yet they warn against the heresy that the resurrection has already happened (2 Tim 2:18), and they await the Parousia (1 Tim 6:14; 2 Tim 4:8).

e. The Gospel According to Mark. The traditional story of the persecution and vindication of the righteous one probably governed one form of a pre-Markan passion narrative. See PASSION NARRATIVES. The genre still shapes much of the material in Mark 11–16 and is prepared for in the three passion/resurrection predictions, which express the pattern in language drawn from the Isaianic servant songs (8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34, 45). In context, the story of the discovery of the empty tomb (16:1–8) is part of a larger unit (15:40–16:8) which is linked to the centurion’s confession. Through the presence of a common set of characters, it attests the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus (cf. the same elements in 1 Cor 15:3–4). The centurion present at the cross certifies Jesus’ death so that Joseph can bury him. The women who see the burial become witnesses of the empty tomb. The young man gives voice to the women’s confusion and articulates the fulfillment of the three predictions: “You seek Jesus the Nazarene, who was crucified. He has been raised; he is not here.” He then announces a Galilean appearance that Mark will not narrate. The abrupt ending to

the story, however, has an equally strange counterpart in 9:2-13. On a mountain in Galilee, after the first passion/resurrection prediction, before Jesus' journey to Jerusalem, the three disciples see Jesus in transcendent glory and are admonished not to speak of the incident until "the son of man is raised from the dead." Mark appears to have displaced an account of the Galilean appearance to which the young man alludes in 16:7. The result of Jesus' resurrection will be his exaltation as Son of Man. As such he will confront his accusers as judge (14:62), and he will gather his chosen ones (13:26-27)—probably an allusion to the resurrection of the dead. This latter is mentioned explicitly only in 12:18-27, which (different from Paul) retains the Jewish idea of an angelic (rather than Christlike) body. In good Jewish fashion, Jesus asserts in 10:17-22 that "eternal life" will be a result of one's obedience to the Torah.

f. The Gospel According to Matthew. In 28:1-10, Matthew combines Mark 16:1-8 with another story about the empty tomb which appears to be independently attested in the *Gospel of Peter* 35-44, which plays up miraculous elements that Matthew has dampened. Perhaps related to this account is the piece of tradition in Matt 27:51-54, which associates Jesus' coming resurrection with the resurrection of "the holy ones." The little epiphany story in 28:11-15 underscores the commission in 28:7 and may epitomize the tradition in John 20:11-18. The story of the guard at the tomb (27:62-66; 28:11-15), also paralleled in the *Gospel of Peter*, gives final expression to Matthew's emphasis on Jewish unbelief in his own time. The Jewish leaders, concerned that the disciples would fabricate a claim that Jesus rose from the dead, concocted their own lie when they were confronted with evidence of the resurrection. The gospel closes with a scene in which Jesus, already invested with the authority of the exalted Son of Man (cf. 26:64; Dan 7:14), commissions the eleven. As God's exalted vice-regent, the risen Jesus assumes the commissioning role that is normally ascribed to God in Israelite tradition. The content of the prophetlike commissioning is that the apostles instruct and baptize the nations according to the authoritative instructions that are epitomized in the gospel. Those who heed their words will belong to the community which the risen Christ identifies as "my Church" (16:18). As in the earlier creeds, salvation is defined christologically. Developing traditions already in Mark, Matthew envisions the Son of Man's future role as the judge who will dispense eternal life and destruction (25:31-46; 13:24-29, 36-43).

g. Luke-Acts. According to Luke, Jesus is the son of David, born as the Christ and exalted to messianic glory through the suffering that is vindicated in the resurrection. Luke emphasizes this pattern in three insertions in the traditions in 24:7, 26, 46, which reprise and vindicate Mark's three predictions, tying the suffering and resurrection to

Scripture (twice by the Greek verb *dei*, "it was necessary"). Like Matthew, Luke elaborates Mark's final chapter by additional stories. Different from Mark 16:7 and Matt 28:16-20, and like John, the appearances are connected with Jerusalem rather than Galilee. The story of the Emmaus disciples has eucharistic overtones (vv 30-31), with the reference to Jesus' body and blood replaced by the disciples' recognition of the presence of the risen Christ. The account of Jesus' appearance in Jerusalem (vv 36-53) allows Jesus to commission his disciples to preach to all nations in his name, as in Matt 28:16-20. Different from Matthew's account, Luke interpolates his pattern of suffering and resurrection and creates or transmits apologetic motifs that emphasize Jesus' bodily resurrection (vv 37-43). Both this story and that of the Emmaus disciples narrate the resurrection appearances in analogy to angelophanies (sudden appearances and disappearances), but the final story breaks with the genre, attributing to Jesus bodily form and functions elsewhere denied to angels in human form. The crucified Jesus must be shown to have risen from the dead. The pierced hands and feet attest the identity of the risen one with the crucified one (cf. 2 Maccabees 7). For Luke the risen Christ has authority to commission apostles. His status as exalted Son of Man is imminent (cf. 22:69 and Stephen's vision in Acts 7:56).

Luke's views on the resurrection of the dead and the intermediate state are not clear. However, he does describe Lazarus enjoying eternal life and the rich man suffering torment immediately after death (16:19-31), and the dying thief will be with Jesus "today" in paradise (23:43). Luke's version of the controversy story in 20:27-40 combines resurrection language with the expression "live to God," used elsewhere of immortality and in two contexts (cf. v 38 with 4 Macc. 7:19; 16:25; Hermas *Mand.* 1:2; 2:6; 3:5, etc.).

Acts 1:6-11 recounts Jesus' final resurrection appearance to the apostles (but cf. Luke 24:36-51, and esp. v 50). After forty days of instruction, he ascends on the cloud on which he will return as Son of Man (21:27). The apostles return to Jerusalem as witnesses to his resurrection and the forgiveness that is available through repentance and faith in the name of the risen Christ. Repentance is required because the Jewish leaders in particular are guilty of having rejected Jesus. This is emphasized especially in the early chapters of Acts, which are punctuated with formulas that contrast Jesus' persecution by the Jewish leaders and God's vindication of him through the resurrection and exaltation (2:22-24; 3:13-16, 19; 4:10-12; 5:30-31; 10:38-40; cf. 3:27-32, 38). These formulations are epitomized in 2:36. The form and wording of this passage closely parallel 7:35, where the Israelites' rejection of Moses and God's vindication of him are paradigmatic of the kind of rejection and vindication that climax in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus and in the persecution of Stephen and his vindicative vision of the exalted Son of Man. In the case of Saul

of Tarsus, rejection and vindication take place in Saul's persecution of the Church and the vision of the exalted One which convinces Saul that Jesus is Son of God (cf. esp. Acts 9:20-21 and Wis 5:1-5). In keeping with gospel traditions and Acts 1, this vision functions as a prophetic commissioning. Three times Saul returns to this vision to emphasize the centrality of the resurrection (23:6-8; 24:21; 26:5-8). Twice he ties the future resurrection to (Jesus') judgment of all humanity (17:31; 24:15).

h. The Gospel According to John. One of the most striking features of this gospel is its tension between future and realized eschatology. The latter predominates and pervades in the author's references to resurrection and eternal life. In the case of Jesus, his death is really his departure, the return of the Logos to the Father who sent him. The moment of his death is the time of his glorification (13:31-32); his being lifted up on the cross is his exaltation (3:14; 12:32). Similarly, those who believe in Jesus "will never die" (11:25-26). Death in the Johannine sense is not a possibility for the believer, who by virtue of faith "*has* eternal life and does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life" (5:24; cf. 3:18; 3:36; 6:47). This radicalization of eschatology is tied to Jesus' function as the revealer who brings life (1:4 and *passim*, also in the many life-related metaphors, e.g., bread and water) and is dramatized in the raising of Lazarus (see esp. 11:25 and compare the story with 5:25). John's realized eschatology is a christologized version of the theologies found in 1QH 3 and 11 (one has been raised) and the Wisdom of Solomon (the righteous one who has immortality only seems to die when he is taken to heaven).

Two sets of Johannine texts stand in tension with the author's realized eschatology. The farewell discourses notwithstanding, the traditional resurrection stories in chaps. 20 and 21 describe Jesus returning from the dead before his departure to heaven (cf. 20:17 and contrast 20:27). Whatever their precise relationship to their synoptic parallels (Luke 24 and Luke 5; Matt 14:22-33; 16:16-19), John 20:19-23 and 21:1-19 recount the foundational apostolic commissionings typical of most other postresurrection appearance stories. In tension with the texts that posit the presence of judgment and eternal life for believers are other texts that speak of a future resurrection and universal judgment on the basis of deeds, over which Jesus will preside (6:39, 40, 44, 54; 5:27-29). See SON OF MAN. Hypotheses of sources, redaction, and recension best explain the origin of most of these tensions.

i. The Epistle to the Hebrews. As in Phil 2:6-11 and the Fourth Gospel, the christology of Hebrews is governed by a combination of the motif of descending and reascending Wisdom and the pattern of suffering and vindication/exaltation (Heb 1:1-3; 5:5-7). Typical of the latter pattern and in keeping with his dualistic world view, the author

applies none of the traditional verbs for resurrection to Jesus (see 13:20; but cf. 6:2 of the general resurrection). Departing from the pattern in a related pair of his own emphases, he sees Jesus' death not as persecution but as obedient sacrifice for sin, and he interprets Jesus' messianic exaltation primarily as his installation to the function of heavenly high priest, following the cue of the oft-quoted Ps 110:1, 4 (cf. also Paul in Rom 8:34).

j. The Book of Revelation. The NT apocalypse begins with a commissioning vision of the resurrected Christ (chaps. 1-3). Presumed throughout the book is not only Jesus' resurrection, but his exaltation as Son of Man, Messiah, and perhaps servant of the Lord. The endurance of the persecuted martyrs is vindicated in their exaltation and reign with Christ (20:4-6). Descriptions of the battle between Michael and Satan, the latter's overthrow, and the great judgment (12:7-9; 20:1-3, 7-15) draw on Jewish judgment and resurrection traditions (*1 Enoch* 10; Daniel 7; 12:1-3), while chaps. 21-22 combine traditional interpretations of Second and Third Isaiah (esp. chap. 65) with descriptions of the heavenly Jerusalem rooted in Ezekiel 40-48. The locus of final salvation is the heavenly Jerusalem come to earth.

3. Historical Problems. The early Church's resurrection faith involves a host of unresolved historical problems which we can only sample here. The first problem concerns the experienced mode of Jesus' resurrection. Stories about the empty tomb presume a bodily resurrection or a bodily assumption to heaven. Earlier traditions about postresurrection appearances are ambiguous. Although in their present form most of these stories posit a bodily presence almost without exception, elements in the stories strain against such an interpretation: Jesus materializes and disappears suddenly; he is mistaken as a mysterious stranger or a gardener; he is thought to be a spirit or ghost; the disciples disbelieve. This suggests an apologetic tendency in the tradition which objectified Jesus' presence by emphasizing bodily features or functions (or, later, by citing neutral or antagonistic witnesses). The tendency may have been a corrective to stories that were originally narrated in the tradition of angelophanies or divine epiphanies and that may have presumed that the exalted Christ appeared from heaven. This viewpoint is amply documented in 2d-century gnostic sources (Robinson 1982).

A second problem is the place, witnesses, and order of the appearances. The earliest list in 1 Cor 15:5-7 is duplicated nowhere. An appearance to James is not documented in any of the canonical gospels. Only Luke mentions the primary, singular appearance to Peter (24:34), although the tradition seems to be reflected in a number of stories set in the historical ministry of Jesus. The appearances are set variously in Galilee (at the sea or on a mountain) and Jerusalem, with Matthew (except for the brief 28:9-10), Mark, Luke, and the original

author of John opting for one tradition or the other. Only an uncritical inclusivism can harmonize these disparate traditions.

Finally, there remains the mystery of the genesis of the NT resurrection faith. The earliest credal and hymnic testimonies to this faith simply assert the traditional pattern of suffering, humiliation, persecution, death—vindication, exaltation. However, it is unlikely that belief in Jesus' resurrection or exaltation arose simply as a reasoned application of the pattern to the tragedy of his crucifixion. Different from all the Jewish texts are the primitive assertions of the universal significance of Jesus' exaltation, which is also implicit, and sometimes explicit in the commissioning functions described in the appearance stories. In the earliest available evidence, Jesus' resurrection means his unique exaltation to status and functions hitherto not ascribed to a historical person. As far back as we can go, belief in Jesus' resurrection is the foundation for the Church's speculations and claims about his unique status and role.

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