THE STRONGEST ARGUMENT FOR UNIVERSALISM IN 1 CORINTHIANS 15:20–28

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Abstract: Paul's statement in 1 Corinthians 15:22 that ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται *has frequently prompted the suggestion that Paul is a universalist: that is, Paul teaches here that all humans will, eventually, be reconciled to God and raised with Christ. However, despite being the most well-known argument, this is actually only one of four indications that Paul holds to universalism in this paragraph, to which interpreters have attributed different levels of weight—and arguably, it is not even the strongest. In this paper we will briefly summarise and critique three of them, and then engage in more detail with the most compelling argument, namely that the defeat of death makes it hard to imagine an unresurrected humanity continuing into eternity.*

Key Words: universalism, Paul, eschatology, salvation, resurrection, defeat of death, 1 Corinthians

Paul's statement in 1 Cor 15:22 that ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται has, along with the similar statement in Rom 5:18, frequently prompted the suggestion that Paul is a universalist. That is, Paul's use of πάντες here indicates that he believes (or, for those interpreters who believe he is inconsistent, that he at least teaches here) that all humans will, eventually, be reconciled to God and raised with Christ. However, despite being the most well-known argument, this is actually only one of four indications that Paul holds to universalism in this paragraph, to which interpreters have attributed different levels of weight—and arguably, it is not even the strongest. In this paper we will briefly summarize and critique three of them, and then engage with the most compelling argument in more detail.

We may summarize the four arguments as follows. (1) Paul says that "all will be made alive" in Christ, just as all die in Adam. The fact that, for Paul, the scope of death in Adam is universal indicates that, in this particular text, the scope of being raised with Christ is as well.[2] (2) Paul explains that Christ is raised first, then "those who belong to Christ," and then τὸ τέλος, which has been interpreted

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[2] This approach goes back at least to Origen, *De Principiis* 1:6.1; cf. Martinus de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1988), 112–13 ("a representative rather than an exclusive group"); A. Lindemann, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 344; Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 4 vols. (Zurich: Benziger, 1991–2001), 4:163–66.

to mean "the rest" (in other words, everyone who does not belong to Christ).[3] (3) His description of the final destruction of death leaves no room for an unresurrected humanity continuing under the dominion of death forever after the eschaton.[4] (4) The future Paul imagines is one in which "all things are put in subjection" to Christ, and this suggests a universal salvation.[5]

I. THREE UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENTS CONSIDERED: 1 COR 15:22, 23, 27–28

The least convincing of these arguments is probably (2). Johannes Weiss, followed by Lietzmann, argued for such an interpretation based on the sequence in verses 23–24 (Christ, ἔπειτα those in Christ, εἶτα "the rest"), and on the Jewish expectation that both the righteous and unrighteous would be raised at the last day.[6] Yet all the sequence proves is that Paul is thinking of a chronological order—Christ, then those in Christ, then the τέλος—and although there are clearly some Jewish sources in which a resurrection of the righteous and unrighteous is envisaged, this theme is by no means ubiquitous, and there are a number of texts in which it is absent altogether.[7] More decisively, there is no evidence that τέλος could mean "the others" or "the rest" (for which we would expect οἱ λοίποι); rather, in Paul it means "the end" or "the goal."[8] Whether or not Paul's theology is universalist in this passage, the phrase εἶτα τὸ τέλος should not be seen as evidence that it is.

Argument (4) is equally problematic. Origen's argument, based on πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ (15:27), was that since all would be in subjection to Christ, all would ultimately be saved. But the argument proves too much, since if we take it at face value, it would imply (as Origen himself speculated) the salvation not just of all people, but of all the enemies of God, right through to the devil, and presumably even death (whatever that might mean).[9] Paul's concern here is not

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[3] Thus Johannes Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), 358; H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther 1/2* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1949), 80–81.

[4] See de Boer, *Defeat of Death*, 114–40.

[5] This argument forms the basis the earliest case for universalism in Paul, namely that of Origen, *De Principiis* 1.6.1; cf. the related approach of Eugene Boring, "The Language of Universal Salvation in Paul," *JBL* 105 (1986): 269–92, at 279–81 (though ultimately, Boring sees Paul as contradicting himself propositionally on this point).

[6] Weiss, *1 Korinther*, 357–358; Lietzmann, *An die Korinther*, 81.

[7] Anthony Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1231, overstates this when he remarks that "Jewish apocalyptic expectation concerns the final resurrection not of all humans but of all 'the righteous'"; this is not true of, e.g., Dan 12:1–3; cf. John 5:28–29. However, there remain a number of texts in which the only resurrection in view is that of the righteous; see, e.g., 2 Macc 7:9, 23; *Pss. Sol.* 14:3–7.

[8] See Rom 6:21–22; 10:4; 1 Cor 1:8; 10:11; 2 Cor 3:13; 11:15; Phil 3:19; 1 Thess 2:16; so Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 271; C. E. Hill, "Paul's Understanding of Christ's Kingdom in 1 Corinthians 15:20–28," *NovT* 30 (1988): 297–320; Christian Wolff, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (THKNT 7; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 386; Schrage, *1 Korinther*, 4:169–71; Joseph Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* (AB; New Haven: Yale, 2008), 572.

[9] Origen, *De Principiis* 1.6.1. This is also implied by the argument of Boring, "Language of Universal Salvation," 280, concerning 15:28: "… in this text the eschaton is here portrayed in ultimately monistic terms rather than in dualistic terms. Rather than there being two groups at the end, there is one, and it

with all Christ's enemies being saved, but rather on all being "subjected" (ὑποτάσσω) to him, which Paul articulates in terms of being "put under his feet" and even "destroyed" (καταργέω). Consequently, the language of universal subjection cannot be pressed into service to suggest a universal salvation, and few since Origen have attempted to argue that it can.[10]

The logic of (1), that Paul says all will be made alive in Christ just as all die in Adam, is substantially stronger. Two considerations raise the prospect that Paul is thinking in terms of a universal salvation here: the word πάντες, and the fact that death in Adam is clearly something Paul believes applies to every human, and not just to some.[11] The parallel with Adam indicates that we cannot take πάντες to mean merely "all types of people" or "most people" or even "Jews and Gentiles alike," as it may mean elsewhere in Paul, since he views Adamic death as true of every last human being.[12] Consequently, the only viable way of avoiding the conclusion that Paul is speaking of universal salvation here is to constrain the meaning of πάντες on contextual grounds, by arguing that the entire passage is concerned with the future destiny of believers, as opposed to the human race in general. Unless it can be shown that this is Paul's only concern here, we should assume that he is speaking of all people, not just all believers, being made alive in Christ, just as all die in Adam.

There are, however, strong contextual indications that Paul is entirely concerned with the future of believers in this chapter, rather than that of all human beings. The issue in Corinth, as he understands it, surrounds the denial of the future resurrection of believers, rather than the post-mortem existence or resurrection of unbelievers, and his argument is mounted entirely with this in mind; in fact, none of his other arguments, either positive or negative, address the future of unbelievers at all. The denial of the future resurrection would, if thought through properly, mean that "your faith is in vain" (v. 14), that "your faith is futile and you are still in your sins" (v. 17), and that "those who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished" (v. 18)—a series of outcomes which would render pitiful those who

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includes all." Boring goes on to argue (p. 281) that the enemies of God subjected to him are "the super-human powers, every ἀρχή, ἐξουσία, and δύναμις that has kept God's creation from being what it was intended to be, such as θάνατος, the last enemy. They are defeated; their power is taken away." This is true, of course, but it counts against his wider argument (that there are both particularist and universalist texts in Paul, depending on the controlling metaphor, and that 1 Corinthians 15 is an example of the latter), since it demonstrates that universal subjection does not require universal salvation.

[10] Despite the logic of Boring, "Language of Universal Salvation," 280–81, on which see above.

[11] The clearest statement of this, other than the present text, is of course Rom 5:12–21; though notoriously controverted with respect to sin, it is at least clear that Paul views death as having spread to all human beings "in Adam."

[12] We may perhaps detect a less comprehensive sense to πᾶς in, e.g., Rom 11:26, 32; cf., e.g., James Dunn, *Romans*, 2 vols. (WBC 38; Waco, TX: Word, 1988), 2:681; Ulrich Luz, *Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus* (Munich: Kaiser, 1968), 292; C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans* (2 vols.; London: T&T Clark, 1979), 2:576–77; Douglas Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 723; and most commentators. For the opposing view, see Robert Jewett, *Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 701–2, 711–12: "It seems most likely that Paul's 'mystery' was believed to include all members of the house of Israel, who, without exception, would be saved. … The expectation of universal salvation in this verse is indisputable, regardless of the logical problems it poses for systematic theologians."

"have hoped in Christ" (v. 19). Paul then describes Christ as the "firstfruits of those who have fallen asleep" (v. 20), a statement which includes both a representative connection between Christ and those Paul is talking about (as we have seen with reference to ἀπαρχή), and a euphemism for death (κοιμάω) which Paul only ever uses of believers.[13] Then we have the Adam/Christ parallel (vv. 21–22), including the verb ζωοποιηθήσονται, which is a favored Pauline term for believers being made alive as part of new creation.[14] This is immediately followed by the three-stage order: the resurrection of Christ the firstfruits, then the resurrection of οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ at his parousia, and then the end, as we have seen (vv. 23–24).[15] The remaining sections of the chapter give no indication that the scope of Paul's discourse has broadened out to include all humanity, and in several ways tell against such an idea (including the ad hominem arguments of vv. 29–34, the contrast between σῶμα ψυχικόν and σῶμα πνευματικόν in vv. 35–49, and the repeated "we" who are the subjects of vv. 50–57). So, with the context clearly indicating a specific focus on the resurrection of those who believe, have hoped in Christ, have fallen asleep in Christ, and belong to Christ, we should understand 15:22b to mean "in Christ, all who are in Christ will be made alive."[16] Such a conclusion comes not merely from the observation that Paul does not sound like a universalist in the rest of 1 Corinthians—although this is both true, and of some significance—but from a close reading of the argument.[17] It is also borne out by studies of similar passages elsewhere in Paul.[18]

II. THE STRONGEST UNIVERSALIST ARGUMENT: 1 COR 15:24–26

Arguably the strongest reason to read Paul in a universalist way here, however, is (3): the destruction of death. Many interpreters, having (rightly) demonstrated that "all" here need not necessarily mean "every single human being," are satisfied to conclude from this that Paul does not have a universalist framework in this pas-

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[13] On the representation implied by ἀπαρχὴ, see further Joost Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia: A Traditio-Historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Cor 15* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 52–55: "Paul speaks about Christians only, since only Christians may consider themselves as represented by Jesus" (p. 55). On κοιμάω, see 1 Cor 7:39; 11:30; 15:6, 51; 1 Thess 4:13–15; cf. also Matt 27:52; John 11:11–12; Acts 7:60; 13:36; 2 Pet 3:4.

[14] E.g. Rom 4:17; 8:11; cf. 1 Cor 15:45.

[15] Thus Thiselton, *1 Corinthians*, 1229, argues rightly that οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ "confirms the soteriological scope of all in v22b."

[16] That Paul does not say this reflects both the wider context of his argument and the rhetorical balance of the Adam/Christ contrast; see, e.g., Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 830–31, who mounts four objections to the alternative view here; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 264–65; David Garland, *1 Corinthians* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 707; Fitzmyer, *1 Corinthians*, 570; Roy Ciampa and Brian Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 764; contra Schrage, *1 Korinther*, 4:163–66.

[17] Cf. 1:18; 3:17; 5:13; 6:9–10; 9:27: 10:1–12.

[18] See, e.g., Douglas Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3:21–26* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), esp. 86–92, 182–83, on the oft-cited example of Rom 3:23–24 ("all have sinned … and are justified"). Campbell argues that this is a parenthetic elaboration of "all who have faith" in 3:22d, thus constraining the meaning of πάντες by the immediate context; see also Jewett, *Romans*, 280–81.

sage, and move on. Yet one is left with the question of what ἔσχατος ἐχθὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος means, if not the deliverance of every human, and in fact the whole cosmos, from the power of death.[19] One is also faced with the question of whether the standard Jewish (and subsequent Christian) views of eschatological judgment, in which the righteous are glorified and the wicked are condemned to an eternal death, can be reconciled with a future world in which death has been destroyed altogether.[20]

It is certainly impossible that, as with the sweeping statements of verses 20–23, we should understand verse 26 as being limited to those who are in Christ. The preceding context constrains the likely meaning of "all will be made alive," but in the case of "the last enemy to be destroyed is death," not only does the context not indicate a limitation in scope, but it emphatically demonstrates the opposite: *every* rule, authority, and power will have been destroyed; *all* the enemies of God will have been subdued; and *all things* will be under subjection. The scope of these statements is cosmic and not merely personal; Paul's language centres on the utter subjugation of all God's enemies, including death (which is pictured as a personified cosmological enemy rather than merely as the end of a life). Thus ἔσχατος ἐχθὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος does not merely mean that believers will be resurrected—although it obviously does mean that—but that death, the hostile power, will have been conquered and banished from creation forever. If a universalist conclusion is to be avoided, it cannot be done by limiting the scope of verse 26 to the resurrection of those in Christ.

As such, there are only two real alternatives to a final, soteriological universalism in this text.[21] The first is the idea that, for Paul, all of the dead are raised—such that it is not just rhetorically but also actually meaningful to say that death has been destroyed—and then face judgment. Paul says nothing to this effect in the present passage, or anywhere else, and few Jewish or Christian writers do, focusing more on the resurrection of the faithful to life. But it is sufficiently of a piece with several other Jewish and Christian traditions, at least one of which Paul knew well, to make it worthy of consideration. Most prominent of these is Dan 12:2–3, which—in the context of the Maccabean persecutions which were so significant in solidifying popular Jewish belief in the resurrection—speaks of many of those who are in the dust awaking, "some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting abhor-

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[19] See especially de Boer, *Defeat of Death*, 136: "The destruction of the 'last' power effects salvation for all human beings, not just some of them."

[20] The literature on Jewish and Christian conceptions of everlasting judgment is voluminous; suffice it to say here that, however varied they are and whatever view one takes of their essential nature, both the language of "death" and a variety of metaphors associated with it are prevalent in many of the relevant Jewish and early Christian sources.

[21] The conclusion of Jean Héring, *La première épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens* (Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1949), 141, that "avec notre monde, ils cesseront d'exister et partageront le sort des 'puissances hostiles,' qui seront anéanties," is also worth mentioning, but it founders on the language of death's *destruction*.

rence."[22] In its original context, this may well have borne witness to a threefold division within Israel at the end of the Antiochene period—those in Israel who had been faithful and thus had been martyred (resurrected to everlasting life), those who had been faithless and apostate (resurrected to everlasting shame), and the rest of faithful Israel (who remained in Sheol)—rather than being a programmatic statement of what would happen to all creation.[23] Nevertheless, it introduced the idea that the unrighteous as well as the righteous would be raised, and that after this there would be an experience of shame and contempt for those who had been unfaithful. Two later Johannine texts display a similar expectation: that the unrighteous, and not just the righteous, will be raised. In John 5:28–29, Jesus says that "all who are in the tombs will hear his voice and come out," the good to life and the evil to judgment; the thought here is similar to that in Daniel 12, except that it involves everyone. Revelation 20, despite its notorious difficulties, is fairly clear in this regard as well: Death and Hades give up their dead and are thrown into the lake of fire, the dead are judged, and then those whose names are not found in the book of life are thrown into the lake of fire as well (vv. 13–15).[24] Alongside these we should also consider the "giving back the dead" passages in the pseudepigrapha, where the earth, Sheol, and hell are said to return those entrusted to them for judgment.[25] When set against this backdrop, the destruction of death which Paul refers to in 1 Cor 15:26, rather than implying a soteriological universalism, could in fact be a necessary precursor to the divine judgment of all humanity.[26]

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[22] Dan 12:2 is widely accepted to be the only unambiguous resurrection text in the Hebrew Bible; see, e.g., James Charlesworth, *Resurrection: The Origin and Future of a Biblical Doctrine* (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 12, 24–26. More ambiguous references include Isa 25:6–8; 26:19; Ezek 37:1–13.

[23] Thus John Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Waco, TX: Word, 1989), 308; alternatively, see the threefold division of Otto Kaiser and Eduard Lohse, *Tod und Leben* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977), 72.

[24] This last example is particularly interesting, despite its lateness relative to the present text, because it sees no tension between describing death as being destroyed (v. 14)—notwithstanding the fact that a second death follows immediately!—and affirming the subsequent condemnation of the unrighteous (v. 15). The neglect of this point mars the discussion of de Boer, *Defeat of Death*, 136: "the dual *personification* of death and Hades in Rev 20:14 (cf. 6:8) and their consignment to permanent perdition *as the last and closing act* of the scenario of events are particularly notable … the destruction of death is the final act." On the basis of Rev 20:15, this is simply not true.

[25] E.g. *1 Enoch* 51:1–2; 4 Ezra 7:31–35; *LAB* 3:10 (which uses the language of "quenching" death); *2 Bar.* 21:23; cf. Richard Bauckham, "Resurrection as Giving Back the Dead: A Traditional Image of Resurrection in the Pseudepigrapha and the Apocalypse of John," in James Charlesworth and Craig Evans, *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 269–91.

[26] One objection sometimes made to this view is that Paul had been a Pharisee, and Josephus's description of Pharisaic resurrection belief was limited to the raising of the righteous (*J.W.* 2:163). Three brief observations should be made in response: first, Paul's eschatology had been substantially reconfigured around the resurrection of Christ, and it is therefore unwarranted to insist that it must have been typically Pharisaic at this time; second, Josephus's misrepresentation of other resurrection beliefs, notably those of the Essenes (*J.W.* 2:153–58; *Ant.* 18:18), means we should be cautious about drawing too firm a conclusion based on his reports; and third, Josephus's apologetic purpose may well have influenced him to diminish any Jewish belief in the resurrection of the wicked. In addition to the Jewish and Christian traditions already cited, we may consider the passages in Paul's letters where he talks about judgment (particularly Rom 2:5–11; 14:10–12; 2 Cor 5:10), each of which envisages a judgment of believers and unbelievers together. If this is to be held together with 1 Cor 15:50–58—notwithstanding the fact that Paul's intention was not to provide exact eschatological timelines!—it seems more likely that,

The second alternative to a final soteriological universalism, and one which is probably to be preferred, is the view that Paul is speaking climactically and rhetorically here, drawing on Jewish imagery to describe the total subjugation of all God's enemies, without necessarily implying anything about the fate of unbelievers. A vital background passage, often neglected but displaying the same combination of specific resurrection promises for God's people couched in the universal language of death's destruction, is Isa 25:6–8. Discussions of this important text are usually postponed in the secondary literature until the exegesis of 15:54, but it sheds important light on Paul's thinking here, partly because the Hebrew uses the language of "destroying" (בִּלַּע) death just as Paul will in 15:26, and partly because of the way Paul echoes Isaiah's universality and particularity in 15:21–22. The Septuagint of Isa 25:6–8 describes death as having been swallowed forever, and then identifies those for whom the divine feast is prepared using a string of six "all"s, which move from the multiethnic (all nations) to the universal (all individuals): <u>πᾶσι</u> τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ... <u>πάντα</u> τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ... <u>πάντα</u> τὰ ἔθνη ... κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς <u>πᾶν</u> δάκρυον ἀπζο <u>παντὸς</u> προσώπου ... ἀπὸ <u>πάσης</u> τῆς γῆς. On the face of it, this would seem a resoundingly universalist set of affirmations, depicting the swallowing of death as liberating not just a large group of people from all nations, but every single human being. Yet it sits within a chapter which makes it clear that some people will not experience the defeat of death, the divine feast, and the wiping away of tears, but rather ruination, judgment, and humiliation (25:1–5, 10–12), and within a discourse that contrasts the delighted songs of the "strong city" with the languishing devastation of the "ruined city" (24:1–25:5; 26:1–21).[27] Within Isaiah 24–27, it seems, both the swallowing/destroying of death, and the repeated word "all," concern the global, widespread, and climactic scope of what Yahweh will do, in contrast to the more ethnically and numerically restricted scope of what he has done so far, rather than the eschatological redemption of every individual in the world (unless we are to see much of chaps. 24–27 as redundant).[28] Apparently Paul, using a strikingly similar contrast to Isaiah's—death is "destroyed," which means that though "all" are currently covered in death, "all" will experience death's defeat—is using rhetorically powerful and universally framed language to suggest a similar reality.[29]

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for Paul, the resurrection would precede judgment, rather than the other way around; this also coheres well with the "giving up the dead" passages in the pseudepigrapha. It remains open for anyone to respond that Paul nowhere describes the resurrection of the unrighteous dead to judgment—but then it must also be admitted that, other than saying that they face judgment, Paul nowhere describes the cessation of their existence either.

[27] Discussions about the possible stages of redaction need not concern us here; it is the final version of the text, to which Paul undoubtedly had access (cf. 15:54), that matters.

[28] Progressions from apparent universalism to apparent particularism occur elsewhere in canonical Isaiah; see, e.g., 2:1–5 followed by 2:6–4:1; 55:1–56:8 followed by 56:9–57:13; 66:18–23 followed by 24; and so on. The idea of a polemically universalist insertion into a particularist mini-apocalypse, without any attempt to remove the particularism, should be judged implausible.

[29] Cf. Isa 26:19.

Consequently, although we may accept (3) in the terms we expressed it above—namely, that Paul's language in 15:26 leaves no room for a group of human beings continuing under the dominion of death forever—this does not lead inexorably to a final soteriological universalism. For Paul, the defeat of death was an essential and climactic part of Christ's cosmological victory, but it did not negate the judgment of all. Thus, while Paul could say with certainty that all who are in Christ will be "made alive," he could not (and does not) say the same of every single human being. The related Jewish and Christian texts we have considered here speak of the earth or Hades "giving up the dead," of "awakening," and of "coming out of the tomb," but not of "resurrection," let alone being "made alive" in the Pauline sense.[30]

III. CONCLUSION

As such, it remains highly unlikely that Paul espouses a soteriological universalism in 1 Cor 15:20–28—but establishing this point is not simply a question of demonstrating that the scope of πάντες is narrowed by the immediate context. This is true, of course, but it risks missing the point; the most extensive recent efforts to demonstrate Pauline universalism from this text, including those of Boring and de Boer, focus elsewhere, especially on the destruction of death. Nevertheless, even this argument comes unstuck when read against the backdrop of Paul's broader eschatology and, to take one important OT text, the vision of Isaiah 25. The people who can be certain of their eschatological resurrection, for Paul, are those who are in Christ (1 Cor 15:22), of Christ (15:23), and who have hoped in Christ (15:19).

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[30] The exception that proves the rule is 4Q521, which says the Holy One will "bring life to the dead ones" (line 12); here, of course, the focus is on the faithful. It is highly unlikely, if our understanding of Paul's eschatology here is correct, that he would have used a word like ζωοποιέω to refer to any unbelievers who were raised for eschatological judgment.