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Avondale College of Higher Education, b.j.reynolds@hotmail.com

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School of Ministry and Theology

ECHOES OF DANIEL IN 1 AND 2 THESSALONIANS

An Honours Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of

Bachelor of Ministry and Theology (Honours)

by

Benjamin J. Reynolds

October 2013

Statement of Original Authorship

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DEDICATION

To my parents

Les and Angelia Reynolds

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this thesis has been as much an emotional journey as an intellectual one. There have been times when I have come close to giving up on the whole project, but the support and encouragement of those around me over the past few months has been a source of both inspiration and motivation to see it through to completion. Among the many individuals who have helped me along the way, the following deserve special mention.

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My deepest and most heartfelt thanks, of course, goes to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has sustained and blessed me throughout the course of writing the present study.

ABSTRACT OF UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH

Honours Thesis

Avondale College of Higher Education

School of Ministry and Theology

Title: Echoes of Daniel in 1 and 2 Thessalonians

Name of Researcher: Benjamin J. Reynolds

Name and Degrees of Faculty Adviser: Associate Professor Robert K. McIver, BSc, BA
(Theol), BD (Hons), MA, PhD.

Date Completed: October 2013

Over the last few decades there has been a growing interest regarding the use of the
Hebrew Scriptures in the New Testament. One of the most frequently referenced books in the
New Testament is the book of Daniel. However, the significance of Daniel as an influential
source for the New Testament writers in general, and the apostle Paul in particular, has yet to
be fully explored.

Recognising this, the aims of the present study were to: 1) offer a methodological
approach for identifying if and where Paul alludes to or echoes Daniel in 1 and 2
Thessalonians; 2) examine the effect these references have in their new context; and 3)
explore how they inform us about Paul's understanding of Daniel.

Six potential references to Daniel were evaluated: four in 1 Thessalonians and two in 2 Thessalonians. Three of these were classified as probable (Dan 12:2 in 1 Thess 4:13-15; 5:10; Dan 7:13 in 1 Thess 4:17; Dan 11:31, 36 in 2 Thess 2:3-4) and three were classified as possible (Dan 8:23 in 1 Thess 2:16; Dan 2:21 in 1 Thess 5:1; Dan 7:9-10, 27 in 2 Thess 1:5-10).

An examination of each of these references led us to conclude that: first, similarities with sayings of Jesus indicate that Paul had most likely re-read Daniel through the lens of the gospel tradition; second, Paul was not drawing on themes and passages that were disconnected from each other, but were part of the same apocalyptic narrative that had proved a source of comfort to many generations of believers in the midst of persecution; and third, as part of that, he understood himself and the believers to be living within that narrative, as indicated by his interpretation of the enemy of God's people in Daniel 11:40-45 as still being future.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
ExpTim	*The Expository Times*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IVPNTC	IVP New Testament Commentary
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
NCB	The New Century Bible Commentary
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIVAC	The NIV Application Commentary
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
PNTC	The Pillar New Testament Commentary
SacPag	Sacra Pagina
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentary
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The investigation of the use of the Hebrew Scriptures in the New Testament has been a

growing area in the field of biblical studies.[1] Among the books most frequently referenced by

the writers of the New Testament is the book of Daniel. The fourth edition of the United

Bible Societies *Greek New Testament* (UBS4) lists five quotations from Daniel and some 130

allusions or verbal parallels. Likewise, the twenty-eighth edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum*

Testamentum Graece (NA28) lists some 200 potential references.[2] It is therefore surprising

that the significance of the book of Daniel as an influential source for the New Testament

writers has not always been recognised and has therefore not been fully explored.[3] While a

number of studies have examined the influence of Daniel on the Gospels and Revelation,[4] not

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[1] The literature on this topic is vast. A number of recent studies include, G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007); Steve Moyise, *Evoking Scripture: Seeing the Old Testament in the New* (New York, NY: T & T Clark, 2008); Stanley E. Porter, ed. *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006); Kenneth Berding and Jonathan Lunde, eds. *Three Views on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2008); Craig A. Evans, ed. *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004). In addition to these, see the select bibliography in G. K. Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 149-62.

[2] Cf. Craig A. Evans, "Daniel in the New Testament: Visions of God's Kingdom," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, vol. 2 (eds. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Boston, MA: Brill Academic, 2002), 490.

[3] David Wenham, "The Kingdom of God and Daniel," *ExpTim* 98 (1987), 132. For the influence of Daniel on Christian apocalyptic and eschatological thought, see N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992), 266, 280-99; Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament," in *A Commentary on Daniel*, by John J. Collins (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 90-123. The importance of Daniel within the wider context of Second Temple Judaism is also widely acknowledged, see e.g. John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998); G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010); David Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple* Period, vol. 2. *The Jewish Sages and their Literature* (trans. Azzan Yadin; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 38.

[4] See the literature review in the following chapter.

much attention has been given to an examination of the use of the book of Daniel and the extent of its influence on the letters of the apostle Paul.[5]

Purpose of the Study

The present study will therefore search for any intertextual relationships between the book of Daniel and Paul's letters to the Thessalonians.[6] Building on the work of others, it will: 1) offer a methodological approach for identifying if and where Paul alludes to or echoes Daniel in 1 and 2 Thessalonians; 2) examine the effect these references have in their new context; and 3) explore how they inform us about Paul's understanding of Daniel. The purpose of investigating these intertextual relationships is that they not only provide windows through which we can catch a glimpse of Paul's understanding of the precursor text, but also of the larger narratives and themes of which they are a part.

Limitations of the Study

A number of Paul's letters have potential references to Daniel and could therefore have been included in this study.[7] However, the Thessalonian correspondence has been chosen for three primary reasons. First, a survey of references to Daniel in the New

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[5] Possible reasons for this include: 1) the fact that Paul never appears to explicitly quote from or allude to Daniel in the way that he does to many other Scriptural passages; and 2) the absence of Danielic motifs that are ubiquitous in the Gospels, such as the Son of Man.

[6] The authenticity of 2 Thessalonians as a letter from Paul is disputed. However, the present study will proceed on the reasonable assumption that Paul was the author. For a discussion on this point, see chapter five.

[7] See Appendix. It has long been recognised that although there are no explicit quotations of the Hebrew Scriptures in 1 and 2 Thessalonians, they do contain a number of allusions and echoes. In addition to the commentaries, see E. Elizabeth Johnson, "Paul's Reliance on Scripture in 1 Thessalonians," in *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation* (ed. Christopher D. Stanley; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2012), 143-62; Jeffrey A. D. Weima, "1-2 Thessalonians," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 871-89.

Testament reveals a proportionately higher number in 1 and 2 Thessalonians.[8] Second, these letters contain similar apocalyptic themes and motifs as those in Daniel.[9] Third, there is a long-standing interpretive tradition that has recognised references to Daniel.[10] As with any writer, there would have been a matrix of cultural and traditional influences that Paul would have made use of, either consciously or unconsciously, and some of these will be noted. But the present study will be limited primarily to an investigation of the intertextual relationships between Daniel and the Thessalonian correspondence.

Outline of the Study

Including this introduction, the present study will be divided into six chapters. The next chapter will review the relevant literature that has been written concerning Paul's use of Scripture. Attention will be given to the literary, narrative and rhetorical approaches that have been developed, and a review undertaken of studies on Daniel in the New Testament. The third chapter will establish the approach, sources, definitions and methodology that will guide the present study. In the fourth chapter, the methodological approach will be applied to 1 Thessalonians where three echoes (Dan 8:23 in 1 Thess 2:16; Dan 12:2 in 1 Thess 4:13-15; 5:10; Dan 7:13 in 1 Thess 4:17) and one allusion (Dan 2:21 in 1 Thess 5:1) will be examined. The same will be done for 2 Thessalonians in the fifth chapter, examining a group of echoes (Dan 7:9-10, 27 in 1 Thess 1:5-10) and an allusion (Dan 11:31, 36 in 2 Thess 2:3-4). The

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[8] See Appendix.

[9] E.g. resurrection (Dan 12:2-3; 1 Thess 4:14-16), transportation by clouds (Dan 7:13; 1 Thess 4:17), the association of archangels with the final events (Dan 10; 12:1; 1 Thess 4:16), concern with "times and seasons" (Dan 2:21; 1 Thess 5:1), a figure who opposes and persecutes God's people (Dan 7, 8, 9, 11-12; 2 Thess 2:3-10). On the presence of apocalyptic language in the Thessalonian correspondence, see e.g. Todd D. Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 191-206; Charles A. Wanamaker, "Apocalypticism at Thessalonica," *Neotestamentica* 21 (1987), 1-10.

[10] See the footnotes in the evaluation of each allusion and echo in chapters four and five for commentators from the past century who have identified potential references.

final chapter will summarise the findings of the present study, offer some conclusions, and

provide recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The last several decades have witnessed a rapidly growing interest in the New Testament's use of the Hebrew Scriptures in general and Paul's use in particular.[11] As a result, there are scores of books and journal articles that contribute to this discussion in one way or another.[12] The present chapter will: firstly, provide a brief introduction to biblical intertextuality and review representative studies that have followed the literary, narrative, and rhetorical approaches to Paul's use of Scripture; secondly, review a number of studies on the presence and influence of the book of Daniel on the Gospels, Revelation and Paul's letters; and thirdly, provide a brief summary and evaluation of the literature as it relates to the present study.

Biblical Intertextuality

Literary theorists use the term "intertextuality" to refer to the relationship between two or more texts. The term *intertextualité* was originally coined by Julia Kristeva in 1969,

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[11] For a number of helpful surveys on the scholarly discussion of Paul's use of Scripture, see Earle E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1981 [1957]), 2-5; I. Howard Marshall, "An Assessment of Revent Developments," in *It is Written – Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (eds. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988), 1-12; Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1989), 5-14; Christopher D. Stanley, "Paul and Scripture: Charting the Course," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture* (eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2008), 3-12. Some of the issues involved in this area are discussed in Stanley E. Porter, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Common on Method and Terminology," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures* (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 79-96; idem, "Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice* (eds. Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Pheonix, 2006), 98-110. See also Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2001), 75.

[12] A bibliography prepared by the members of the Paul and Scripture Seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature contains a list of some 300 studies. See http://paulandscripture.westmont.edu/wikindx/ (accessed 20.09.13).

who demonstrated that texts are composed of elements already available within a culture.[13]

The relationship that exists between texts can be explicit or implicit, intentional or unintentional. Languages, in both written and oral forms, are based on prior understandings of metaphors, concepts, images and idioms,[14] the meaning of which can be either static or dynamic as they are used at different times and in different places. The study of intertextuality affirms that no text is an island and can therefore only be properly understood within the matrix of other texts that have influenced it.

The concept of intertextuality entered the field of biblical studies some 20 years later, most notably in the work of Sipke Draisma and Richard Hays.[15] This opened up new possibilities for understanding the relationship between the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament that had not yet been considered. An intertextual approach to Paul thus investigates his references to the Hebrew Scriptures by examining how they carry connotations and associations that bring additional meaning to the text, whether by comparison or contrast with the original context. Biblical intertextuality has a number of different strands that focus on particular aspects of this relationship, most notably the literary, narrative, and rhetorical approaches.[16]

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[13] Robert L. Brawley, "Intertextuality," in *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: I-Ma*, vol. 3 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2008), 64. While being the first to use the term, awareness of intertextual relationships has been around as long as literature itself. See Michael Worton and Judith Still, eds. *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1990), 2-7.

[14] Richard N. Soulen and R. Kendall Soulen, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism*, 3rd ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 87.

[15] Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and Biblical Studies: A Review," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 23, no. 2 (2002), 418-9, credits these two scholars for bringing intertextuality into the consciousness of biblical studies. Sipke Draisma, ed. *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings* (Kampen: Kok, 1989); Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*.

[16] Moyise, "Intertextuality," 419-28, lists five different approaches: intertextual echo, narrative intertextuality, exegetical intertextuality, dialogical intertextuality, and postmodern intertextuality. He later merged some of these into three more broadly defined categories: intertextual (or literary), narrative, and rhetorical approaches which are followed here. Idem, *Paul and Scripture: Studying the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (London: SPCK, 2010), 111-25.

Literary Approach

Those who read Paul through the literary-critical lens pay close attention to both his direct and indirect references to Scripture, taking into account the larger context of the quotations, allusions and echoes of the passages that he draws from. This approach holds that Paul did not simply run through his mental concordance to find a proof text that would fit his purposes. Instead, it is argued that he was more sensitive to the wider context of the passages he refers to.

The most influential work that has advanced this approach has been written by Richard Hays. In his ground-breaking book *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, Hays demonstrates that Paul's letters reveal a deep engagement with the Hebrew Scriptures. Drawing on modern literary criticism, he examines Paul's more subtle use of Scripture by listening carefully for any intertextual echoes.[17] To do this, he offers seven criteria for assessing echoes that function as "modestly useful rules of thumb."[18] This criteria includes: 1) availability – was the precursor text readily available to Paul and his audience? 2) volume – how explicit is the echo in terms of vocabulary? 3) recurrence – does Paul cite or allude to the same passage elsewhere? 4) thematic coherence – does the echo fit with what Paul is saying? 5) historical plausibility – could Paul and his readers have understood the intended meaning? 6) history of interpretation – have other interpreters heard the same echoes? and 7) satisfaction – does this reading make sense?[19] Hays cautions that the application of these criteria is "less a matter of method than of sensibility."[20]

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[17] His thought was significantly shaped by the work of such literary critics as John Hollander and Thomas Greene. See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 14-21, 29, 173-8. It would be fair to say that almost all the subsequent studies in this area are in some way indebted to the work of Hays.

[18] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 212.

[19] For an elaboration of each of these, see ibid, 29-32. Cf. his more recent book *The Conversion of the Imagination: Essays on Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 34-45 in which he slightly revises some of these criteria.

Following in his footsteps, Christopher Beetham has developed these criteria further in his study *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians*.[21] He divides his criteria into two tiers: essential criteria and confirmatory criteria. The first tier includes: 1) availability; 2) word agreement and rare concept similarity; and 3) an essential interpretive link, to distinguish between an allusion and an echo. Having passed through the first tier, a proposed allusion or echo must pass through comfirmatory criteria in the second tier: 1) scholarly assesment; 2) Old Testament and Jewish interpretive tradition; 3) other verified references from the same precursor text; 4) occurances elsewhere in Paul's letters; and 5) thematic coherence.[22] Two contributions of Beetham's work are, first, the careful distinction he makes between allusions and echoes. This is reflected in both his working definitions and criteria. Second, the consideration of the interpretive tradition of a given passage. Because the meaning of a text can change through succesive reinterpretations over time, this is particularly important to keep in mind.[23]

In his study of Romans 2, Timothy Berkley advances a new category within the realm of intertextuality which he calls "reference" texts.[24] These are passages that Paul had

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[20] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 21. For a critique of Hays' work, see Kenneth D Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God's People Intertextually* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2005), 61-5; Porter, "Further Comments," 98-110; Craig A. Evans, "Listening for Echoes of Interpreted Scripture," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 47-51; and Christopher Stanley, *Arguing With Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (New York, NY: T & T Clark, 2004) who dialogues with Hays in the footnotes throughout his book. For a response to some of his critics, see Richard B. Hays, "On the Rebound: A Response to Critiques of Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 70-98.

[21] Christopher A. Beetham *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2008).

[22] Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture*, 27-35.

[23] However, one of the weaknesses in his study is that echoes can be established on the basis of availability and word agreement alone. It would be more ideal if there were more checks in place for verifying an intertextual echo.

[24] Timothy W. Berkley, *From a Broken Covenant to Circumcision of the Heart: Pauline Intertextual Exegesis in Romans 2.17-29* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2000), 49-50. For a critique of Berkley's work, see Moyise, *Evoking Scripture*, 40-41; 47-48.

carefully studied and reflected on at some earlier time that not only provided appropriate language, but shaped his theology and formed the foundation of his argumentation. Such exegetical sources usually lie hidden beneath the surface and are often not quoted directly. Since there are no explicit references to Daniel in the Thessalonian correspondance, this concept will be important to consider. In order to detect these "reference" passages, Berkley has employs a set of criteria based on those of Hays: 1) common vocabulary; 2) vocabulary clusters; 3) links with other texts 4) explication; 5) recurrence; 6) common themes; and 7) common linear development.[25] Berkley omits the criterion of "availability" because this is not really in question,[26] and "historical plausibility" because it is based on a limited understanding of Paul's sitation. He also considers the "history of interpretation" criteron to be redundant since he is searching for echoes that others have overlooked. The criterion of vocabulary groups, similar themes, and linear development will be particularly relevant for the present study in that they provide additional checks for determining the likelihood of an allusion or echo.

<center>Narrative Approach</center>

Building on the literary approach, other scholars have argued that Paul's quotations, allusions and echoes should be read and interpreted not only within their context, but also in light of the larger narrative framework of Scripture – Creation, the Fall, Israel, Exile, Jesus, and the People of God. However, identifying which specific aspect of this narrative Paul might have been referring to is not always clear. For N. T. Wright, it is the story of Israel's return from exile. Although many Jews had physically returned from Babylonian exile, they

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[25] For an elaboration of each of these, see ibid, 60-4.

[26] See Stanley E. Porter, "Paul and His Bible: His Education and Access to the Scriptures of Israel," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 97-124.

remained in spiritual exile under the curse of the Law awaiting the fulfilment of the

covenantal promises found in Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah 40-55.[27] Wright therefore argues

that Paul understood Scripture as the story of God's faithfulness to these promises which

pointed forward towards the climax that arrived in the death and resurrection of Jesus. As the

representative of Israel, Jesus took upon himself the curse and exhausted it, opening the way

for the promised blessings to flow out to the Gentiles. Paul therefore read the Scriptures "as

the covenant book whose final key had now been supplied."[28]

In her monograph *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition*, Sylvia

Keesmaat has demonstrated how the Exodus narrative influenced Paul's use of Scripture in

Romans 8 and Galatians.[29] Since it has been demonstrated that the retelling of past traditions

involved a reinterpretation that continued to shape the identity of the community and provide

hope from generation to generation, Paul was likely to have done the same.[30] Because the

story of the Exodus is implicit in Paul's argument, Keesmaat employs the criteria developed

by Hays for discerning intertextual echoes to compare some of the prominent themes such as

slavery, adoption, suffering and inheritance in Paul with the Creation and Exodus narratives.

She concludes that the "intertextual matrix" that Paul draws from is not a collection of

isolated themes and motifs. Instead, this matrix forms part of a larger story in which "Adam

and Abraham explain their past, the exodus gives meaning to their present, the whole story

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[27] N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1996), 126-9, 268-74, 428-30.

[28] Idem, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 264-5. In a recent article, Wright poses a searching question regarding this approach: "was Paul's retrieval of the scriptural narrative a matter of typology, setting ancient and recent events in parallel? Or was Paul appealing to a *single continuous narrative*, running from Abraham, and even Adam, through the exile and the long, dark years that followed, eventually arriving at the place 'when the fullness of time arrived' (Gal. 4.4)?" idem, "Paul in Current Anglophone Scholarship," *ExpTim* 123, no. 8 (2012), 371.

[29] Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).

[30] Ibid, 16-22.

provides hope for their future."[31] The narrative approach thus ties together Paul's references to Scripture in a cohesive way. However, the specific narrative that he might have been referring to must grow out of the text, not be imposed on it.

Rhetorical Approach

In recent years, some scholars have applied rhetorical critical methods to the study of Paul's use of Scripture.[32] In his study *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, John Heil contends that Paul used Scripture not only to inform his audience, but also to persuade them to accept his teachings.[33] Since Paul spent a year and a half in Corinth proclaiming the "word of God" he would have had plenty of time to teach the Corinthian believers its importance and provide them with an appreciation of its continuing authority for believers. While the literary and narrative approaches look at the larger context of the passages Paul is quoting or alluding to, Heil suggests that when Paul introduces a quotation, his audience did not need to know the original source or context because they simply recognised the authority of Scripture when they heard it.[34]

On the basis of the low levels of literacy and the limited accessibility to the Scriptures in Paul's day, Christopher Stanley has argued that it would have been almost impossible for any congregation, not least those that were predominantly Gentile, to have recognised a quotation and to have known its surrounding context.[35] Instead, Paul used Scripture in an effort to add authority to his positions and thus persuade his audience to accept his teachings.

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[31] Ibid, 227. Other studies that follow the narrative approach include J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "in Concert" in the Letter to the Romans* (Boston, MA: Brill Academic, 2002); Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London: T & T Clark, 2004).

[32] Stanley, "Paul and Scripture: Charting the Course," 6-7.

[33] John Paul Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2005).

[34] Ibid, 247-8.

[35] Stanley, *Arguing With Scripture*, 39-60.

He also used Scripture to illustrate a point, to provide a basis for his arguments, and to draw lessons from a biblical character or event.[36] Stanley categorises Paul's audiences into three groups which knew the Scriptures to a greater or lesser extent and explains how each group would have responded to Paul's quotations. This provides an important critique of some of the assumptions that may undergird literary and narrative studies, such as the availability and familiarity of Scripture for the congregations Paul was writing to.

Daniel in the New Testament

A number of studies that have examined the use and influence of Daniel on different parts of the New Testament have adopted some of these intertextual approaches. The following review will group them according to their respective sections of the New Testament.

The Gospels

In an attempt to understand the ambiguous phrase "the abomination of desolation" in Matthew's gospel, Michael Theophilos adopts an approach which focuses on intertextual prophetic echoes,[37] a concept that will be important for the present study. Following the work of Hays and others, he briefly outlines seven criteria for identifying allusions: 1) key words or phrases; 2) similar circumstances; 3) similar narrative structure; 4) the proposed precursor text is congruent with the theological trajectory; 5) the use of similar allusions by the author elsewhere; 6) similar application of the precursor text in other documents; and 7) appropriate rationale for the allusion or typological association.[38] The application of these criteria, within

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[36] Ibid, 173.

[37] Michael Theophilos, *The Abomination of Desolation in Matthew 24.15* (London: T & T Clark, 2012).

[38] Ibid, 4.

the larger constraints of his study, leads Theophilos to conclude that the "abomination" refers to Israel's covenantal infidelity, particularly her rejection of Jesus as Messianic King, while the "desolation" refers to the natural consequence of Israel's disobedience, specifically God's punishment of Jerusalem by Rome.[39]

Stefanos Mihalios has developed a methodological approah to determine whether or not the use of "hour" in the Gospel of John and the first Epistle of John are allusions to the eschatological "hour" in the book of Daniel.[40] The criteria he uses to guide his study include: 1) verbal parallelism between the the Johannine text and the proposed passage in Daniel; 2) exegetical investigation to determine if the "hour" in the OT text is eschatological, as it is in John; 3) cluster of similar words; 4) parallel themes; 5) presence of other verified references to the same precursor text; and 6) Jewish interpretive tradition.[41] He thus includes specific criterion related to interpretive tradition (similar to that of Beetham) and vocabulary clusters creating more robust criteria for establishing echoes. The application of his methodology leads Milhalios to conclude that most of the Johannine allusions to Daniel are in John 5:28-29, although they are also present in 12:23, 27; 16:16-23; 1 John 2:8.[42]

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[39] See also Desmond Ford, *The Abomination of Desolation in Biblical Eschatology* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979). Ford traces the interpretation and influence of this concept from its first appearance in Daniel through to its meaning in Mark 13 and subsequent developments in 2 Thessalonians 2 and Revelation. This is achieved through a comparative study of the parallel concepts and verbal expressions between each of the respective passages.

[40] Stefanos Mihalios, *The Danielic Eschatological Hour in the Johannine Literature* (New York, NY: T & T Clark, 2011).

[41] Ibid, 9-10.

[42] Other studies that have examined the influence of Daniel on the Gospels include Lars Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 Par* (Lund: Gleerup, 1966), 235, who argues that the eschatological discourse in Mark 13 was a "midrash" on Daniel 2, 7, 8, 9 and 11-12.

<center>Revelation</center>

The influence of Daniel on the book of Revelation has never been disputed. Greg Beale has written more on John's use of Daniel than anyone else to date. His first major work was a comprehensive study of the allusions to Daniel in Jewish apocalyptic literature and has demonstrated how they inform our understanding of John's use of Daniel in the book of Revelation.[43] The four criteria by which he evaluates potential references include similarities of 1) theme; 2) content; 3) specific construction of words; 4) and structure.[44] Beale classifies John's references to Daniel into three categories: clear, probable, and possible allusions. A similar classification will be used in the present study. The application of this methodology leads Beale to conclude that "Daniel is the most formative influence on the thought and structure of Revelation,"[45] especially chapters 4-5, 13 and 17. He also believes that John's repeated use of Daniel 7 indicates that his audience would have interpreted their situation as the fulfilment of the tribulation and ultimate vinidication portrayed in the vision of that chapter.[46] It will be interesting to see if this understanding of a continuous narrative is also evident in Paul's understanding of Daniel as relfected in the Thessalonian correspondence.

<center>Pauline Epistles</center>

In 1979, Maurice Casey published a comprehensive study on the interpretation and influence of the Son of Man on subsequent Jewish and Christian literature until the end of the

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[43] Beale, *Use of Daniel*. He has developed this further in subsequent studies, e.g. idem, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998); idem, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999).

[44] Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 306-11.

[45] Ibid, 297.

[46] Cf. the chapter on John's use of Daniel in Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 45-63. He also provides a critique of Beale's conclusions (59-62). For an evaluation of the subsequent discussion between Beale and Moyise, see Jon Paulien, "Dreading the Whirlwind: Intertextuality and the use of the Old Testament in Revelation," *AUSS* 39, no. 1 (2001), 5-22.

first century CE.[47] After examining the interpretation of Daniel 7 within Syrian, Western and Jewish traditions, he turns his attention to the New Testament. In his brief chapter on the epistles, he notes the most commonly proposed references to Daniel 7 in the letters of Paul, namely 1 Cor 6:2; 15:23-28, 47; Phil 2:7; 1 Thess 4:17; and 2 Thessalonians 2. After evaluating each passage he emphatically concludes that there are no traces of Daniel 7 in any of them.[48]

Similarly, Adela Yarbro Collins traces the Son of Man tradition through each of the four Gospels and the book of Revelation and then looks at the influence of the book of Daniel as a whole on the New Testament.[49] She confirms the long held understanding that Daniel 7 has had by far the greatest influence on the New Testament writers, but adds to this the significant influence of "desolating abomination" of Dan 9:27 and of the resurrection in Daniel 12. However, it is interesting that there is only one short paragraph on the influence of Daniel on the epistles: the description of the "man of lawlessness" in 2 Thessalonians 2.[50]

Recognising the significance of the term "mystery" (μυστήριον) in apocalyptic literature, Benjamin Gladd has studied its use in Second Temple Judaism and demonstrated how this use informs our understanding of Paul's use of the term in 1 Corinthians.[51]

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[47] Maurice Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979).

[48] He states quite bluntly, that "The numerous attempts to find Dan. 7:13 and the Son of man behind some Pauline passages have been due to the erroneous belief in a Jewish Son of man concept and to the failures of New Testament scholars to solve the Son of man problem in the Gospels" (ibid, 154).

[49] Collins, "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament," 90-123. See also James D. G. Dunn, "The Danielic Son of Man in the New Testament," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, vol. 2 (eds. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Boston, MA: Brill Academic, 2002), 528-49.

[50] Ibid, 108-9. Other commentary introductions yield similar results, e.g. Zravko Stefanovic, *Daniel: Wisdom to the Wise* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2007), 36-40. In addition to 2 Thessalonians 2, Andrew E. Steinmann, *Daniel* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 2008), 43-48, notes Dan 12:3 in Phil 2:15; while Jim Edlin, *Daniel: A Commentary in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 2009), 20, goes further by stating that the visions of Daniel 7-12 "clearly shaped Paul's expositions on resurrection and the return of Christ in 1 Thess 4-5, 2 Thess 2, and 1 Cor 15." He seems to be following John Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC; Dallas, TX: Word, 1989), xxix, who considers Daniel to have influenced Paul's eschatological understanding reflected in these passages "via the 'midrash' that underlies Mark 13."

[51] Benjamin L. Gladd, *Revealing the* Mysterion*: The Use of Mystery in Daniel and Second Temple Judaism with Its Bearing on First Corinthians* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009).

Recognising some of the inherent problems in the study of intertextuality, he begins by providing concise definitions of "quotations" and "allusions" and adopts a two-tiered methodological approach, not unlike that of Beetham. The first tier includes: 1) common vocabulary and syntax; 2) corresponding subject matter; and 3) availability. The second tier of validating criteria includes: 1) acknowledgment by other commentators; 2) the influnece of tradition on the allusion; and 3) confirmed allusions to the same passage elsewhere in Paul's letters. For Gladd, the interpretation of "mystery" in the book of Daniel as revealed eschatological wisdom, finds confirmation by its subsequent use in Second Temple literature. A detailed exegesis of key passages in 1 Corinthians leads Gladd to conclude that Paul's use of "mystery" was informed by this understanding derived from Daniel.

Looking at the larger themes, Craig Evans has written an essay looking at the visions of God's kingdom in Daniel and how they influenced Jesus, the Gospel writers and Paul.[52] He states that there are "important traces of the Danielic tradition in Paul,"[53] and identifies three passages in Paul's letters to the Corinthians that find their origin in Daniel: the saints judging the world (1 Cor 6:2); the delivery of the kingdom (15:20-28); and the house not made with hands (2 Cor 4:13-5:10). However, he believes that these concepts were probably mediated through the gospel tradition. This triangular relationship between Daniel, the Jesus tradition and Paul will need to be taken into account in the present study.

Summary Statement

A review of representative intertextual studies has shown that the literary and narrative approaches to Paul's use of the Hebrew Scriptures not only have the potential to provide new insights into his understanding of individual parts of the Scriptures, but how

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[52] Evans, "Daniel in the New Testament," 490-527.

[53] Ibid, 523.

those parts fit within the whole. The various criteria that have been utilised in these approaches will provide an important foundation for the present study, particularly those that relate to vocabulary, theme, scholarly assessment and the usage of the precursor text elsewhere. The rhetorical approach offers a valid critique of some of the assumptions that may underlie studies that take a literary or narrative approach, such as the limited availability and familiarity of the precursor text by many of those in the congregations Paul was writing to. However, this approach will not be as helpful for the present study since it generally focuses on direct quotations, which are not present in 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and is more concerned with a reader-response approach than an author-oriented approach, which will be adopted.

Our survey of literature that has specifically looked at Daniel in the New Testament has revealed that several important studies have already dealt with the influence of Daniel on the writers of the Gospels and Revelation. Many of these studies have adopted criteria from the literary approach, modifying some of them to meet their particular purposes. It has also been observed that limited work that has been done to investigate if and where Paul makes reference to the book of Daniel. Apart from the comprehensive study by Gladd, there appears to have been no specific attempt to examine the influence of Daniel in the letters of Paul.[54] The present study will therefore attempt to contribute to that discussion.

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[54] I am uncertain if this is also true of the literature published in French and German.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Discovering previously unknown allusions to or echoes of old texts within new ones can bring fresh insights and add new meaning to familiar passages. However, the existence of a similar idea between two or more texts does not necessarily mean that there is an intertextual relationship. There is a danger for interpreters to fall off either side of the intertextual pathway by identifying references where there are none or by missing them when there are.[55] In order to avoid these common pitfalls, the following methodological approach has been developed to provide guardrails for the present study of potential references to Daniel in the Thessalonian correspondence.

The Problem of Approach

The basic elements of written communication include the author, the text, and the reader. There have been three major movements in hermeneutical studies over the past two centuries concerning who (or what) determines the meaning of a text. The focus moved from the author in the nineteenth century, to the text as an independent entity in the early part of the twentieth, then shifted to the reader toward the end of the century.[56] A common analogy to describe the differences between these is that the text can be a window, through which we catch a glimpse of another world (author-oriented approach); a work of art, that is to be

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[55] Samuel Sandmel addresses some of these issues in his article "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962), 1-13.

[56] For a history of these three movements, including the recent return of authorial intent into the discussion, see Jeannine K. Brown, *Scripture as Communication: Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 57-78. See also Kevin J. Vanhoozer, "The Reader in New Testament Interpretation," in *Hearing the New Testament* (ed. Joel B. Green; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 301-4.

studied and admired (textual-oriented approach); or a mirror, in which we find our own

illumination (reader-response approach).[57]

Regarding the study of intertextuality, Stanley Porter states that "If one is interested in

establishing a given author's use of the Old Testament, it would appear imperative to orient

one's discussion to the language of the author, rather than the supposed, reconstructed

'knowledge' of the audience."[58] Because the purpose of the present study is to investigate the

use and influence of Daniel in the Thessalonian correspondence, an author-oriented approach

will be adopted. Additional reasons why this approach is to be preferred are that it avoids

some of the difficulties of trying to establish the shared assumptions and biblical knowledge

of the audience[59] and, since we have more information available on Paul than the

congregations he was writing to, there is more historical ground to stand on.[60] An author-

oriented approach will thus require that the authorship of 1 and 2 Thessalonians be

established before any proposed allusions or echoes can be examined. This does not to deny

the important role of the audience in the interpretation of a text. The present study is simply

interested in how Daniel may have influenced Paul's language in his correspondence with the

Thessalonian believers, not in their understanding of it.[61]

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[57] Brown, *Scripture as Communication*, 69.

[58] Stanley E. Porter, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Common on Method and Terminology," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures* (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 95.

[59] Such as those outlined by Stanley, *Arguing With Scripture*, 39-60.

[60] For further advantages of this approach, see Robert H. Stein, "The Benefits of an Author-Oriented Approach to Hermeneutics," *JETS* 44, no. 3 (September 2001), 451-66.

[61] It has been argued that it is impossible for the interpreter to enter the mind of the author, often referred to as the "intentional fallacy." Whether Paul was consciously or unconsciously referring to a passage out of his familiarity with the Hebrew Scriptures, there is still a relationship that exists with the language and concepts that he had studied at an earlier time and the way it is expressed in what he has written. All that is available for interpreters is the written communication that can be compared with earlier material to determine possible precursor texts. See Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture*, 12-15.

The Problem of Sources

The prevalence of references to the book of Daniel throughout the New Testament clearly demonstrates that it was widely known within early Christian communities.[62] While it is likely that there were Hebrew and Aramaic versions of Daniel available to Paul,[63] the priority of the Septuagint (LXX) text in his quotations, as well as its influence on his writing style and vocabulary, has long been recognised.[64] This priority makes sense considering he spoke Greek and wrote to Greek-speaking audiences throughout the Roman Empire.

The early Greek translation of Daniel was probably written in the late second or early first century BCE.[65] Because its relationship to other books in the LXX is unclear, it is usually referred to as the Old Greek (OG) text. By the end of the fourth century, a more literal Greek translation attributed to Theodotion (TH) had replaced the OG due to a number of textual differences between the latter and the Hebrew and Aramaic versions.[66] However, despite its generally accepted late second century CE date, both the TH and OG are attested in the New Testament.[67] The present study will use the OG as the primary precursor text but will draw on other versions if they add further understanding to our interpretation.[68]

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[62] See also the references in footnote 3.

[63] For a detailed discussion of these, see John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 2-3.

[64] Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 11-20; 150-52; Moisés Silva, "Old Testament in Paul," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (eds. G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin and D. G. Reid; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993), 630-4.

[65] Ernest Lucas, *Daniel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002), 19; Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. DiLella, *The Book of Daniel* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 78. Collins, *Daniel*, 9, believes a late second century date is more probable.

[66] Collins, *Daniel*, 3-4. For more on the two Greek versions of Daniel, especially their composition and relationship, see the detailed study of Tim McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996).

[67] For examples, see Collins, *Daniel*, 9-10.

[68] Collins points out that the major differences between the Hebrew and OG versions are found in Daniel 3-6, which lie outside of the precursor texts that will be examined in the present study (ibid, 6).

The Problem of Definitions

Previous studies of intertextuality have had to wrestle with the problem of categorising various types of referencing. While explicit references (quotations and citations) have been easier to define, implicit references (allusions and echoes) have been much more difficult.[69] Acknowledging the difficulty in distinguishing between the latter, some commentators use the terms almost synonymously. For instance, Hays conflates allusions and echoes, referring to them as allusive or intertextual echoes, the former being more obvious and the latter more subtle.[70] However, we maintain that there is an important distinction between the two.[71]

On the one hand, allusions refer to conscious referencing of a specific text or texts. They are a "literary device intentionally employed by an author to point a reader back to a single identifiable source, of which one or more components must be remembered and brought forward into the new context in order for the alluding text to be understood fully."[72] A reference will be considered an allusion if there is a linear marker of more than two words but less than five.

Echoes, on the other hand, are a more subtle "literary mode of reference that is not [necessarily] intended for public recognition yet derives from a specific predecessor. An author's wording may echo the precursor consciously or unconsciously and / or contextually

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[69] See discussion by Stanley E. Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture* (eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2008), 29-40.

[70] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 29.

[71] The following definitions are based on those of Beetham. For a discussion on the nature and issues for each term, see his *Echoes of Scripture*, 17-24; cf. footnotes in Gladd, *Revealing the* Mysterion, 3-4. Contra Beale, *Handbook*, 32, who regards "this distinction may ultimately not be that helpful." However, he does suggest Beetham's argument for distinguishing between them as the best he has seen.

[72] Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture*, 20.

or non-contextually."[73] The author does not necessarily intend to point the audience to the precursor text(s).[74] However, those readers or hearers who are familiar with the text(s) will be able to identify their origin and appreciate the new fusion of meaning it brings to the immediate and wider context. Echoes of different sources can also overlap and be heard in chorus with each other. The present study will focus on those of Daniel, but will also mention other sources that have been identified as contributing to the concepts and language in the Thessalonian correspondence.

Criteria for Evaluating Allusions and Echoes

The following criteria have been adopted for the present study to evaluate potential allusions or echoes.[75] To borrow the phraseology of Hays, these are "modestly useful rules of thumb."[76] They are simply guidelines and need not be applied in a wooden manner because there is always an element of intuition involved in interpretation. The seven criteria fall into two groups: the first four are primary and the last three are confirmatory. An allusion must meet all four of the primary criteria, while an echo needs to meet only three. The last three criteria will be used as a means of confirming both allusions and echoes and may not necessarily apply to every potential reference. Because the present study is only concerned with the book of Daniel, and its influence on the writers of the New Testament has already been established, the criteria of availability will be assumed.

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[73] Ibid, 24.

[74] John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1981), 64, states that this is not the point of an echo.

[75] The reader will recognise my indebtedness to the work of Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*; Gladd, *Revealing the* Mysterion; Berkley, *From Broken Covenant*; and Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture*.

[76] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 212.

1. *Common Vocabulary and/or Rare Concept Similarity*[77]

The first indication of a potential intertextual relationship is the presence of identical or similar words between the two texts. An author can freely modify the precursor text to meet his or her purpose, so variation in words can be expected. Because echoes can be based on single words, articles, conjunctions and personal pronouns will not be taken into account unless there is evidence to suggest they should be. The likelihood that a passage in Daniel is behind a passage in 1 or 2 Thessalonians is increased when there are a number of significant vocabulary correspondences. These may not necessarily be found in one verse or paragraph, but scattered throughout the larger narrative of the original context.[78] The presence of any rare or technical concepts will also indicate a stronger possibility of a relationship between the two passages.

2. *Common Theme and/or Linear Development*[79]

The presence of common words and concepts alone is not sufficient evidence to demonstrate the influence of, or dependence on, a precursor text. There must also be some significant thematic correspondence between the two texts that tie them together. Similar themes or motifs should therefore be present in both passages. If the same vocabulary and / or themes are developed in the same general sequence in both the precursor text and the successor text, this will not only provide supporting evidence but will also serve to highlight the narrative that is being told.

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[77] This criterion merges Beetham's "word agreement and rare concept similarity" (*Echoes of Scripture*, 29) with Berkley's "vocabulary clusters" (*From Broken Covenant*, 61).

[78] Berkley, *From Broken Covenant*, 61. This is a more precise version of the volume criterion developed by Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 30.

[79] This criterion merges Berkley's "common themes" and "common linear development" (*From Broken Covenant*, 64).

3. *Essential Interpretive Link*[80]

According to the definition that will be used in the present study, an allusion depends on the precursor text to be fully understood. This is a conscious reference by the author and distinguishes it from an echo, which can be either intentional or unintentional. To meet this criterion, the precursor text must "have a component that, when brought forward to the alluding text, unlocks the riddle of the alluding text."[81] The fact that an audience may not always recognise an allusion does not automatically make it invalid. It simply means that they will have a limited understanding of what is being said.

4. *Scholarly Acknowledgement*

It is important to ask if other interpreters have recognised the same reference, and if so, what their comments are and how they classify it. While some may not consider it to be an allusion or echo, if they identify it as having similar language to a passage in Daniel, this is sufficient evidence to consider it to be a potential reference. This evidence offers support if others have seen it, and caution if they have not.[82]

5. *Comparison with Similar Passages in the LXX*

Once a potential intertextual relationship has been measured against the primary criteria, a brief survey of other similar passages in the LXX will be conducted. These will have been identified by other interpreters on the basis of similar language and motifs. This will not necessarily mean that Daniel is not a potential precursor text. A text may have a number of

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[80] This is a restatement of Beetham's criterion by the same name (*Echoes of Scripture*, 30-32).

[81] Ibid, 30.

[82] Ibid, 32.

overlapping allusions or echoes so it needs to be determined how likely the passage in Daniel is to have been influential.[83]

6. *Comparison with Similarities in the Gospel Tradition*

The parallels between passages in the Thessalonian correspondence and the gospel tradition have long been recognised.[84] It will therefore be important to examine these similarities as they relate to the proposed allusions and echoes to determine what kind of relationship exists. This examination will help answer the question of whether Paul was drawing from Daniel, or if he was drawing from a saying of Jesus, or a combination of the two. Although it is generally accepted that the Synoptic Gospels were written after 1 and 2 Thessalonians,[85] they will be the source of comparison.

7. *Occurrence Elsewhere in Paul's Letters*

Finally, does Paul refer to the proposed passage in any of his other letters? Evidence of such references will provide further confirmation of the likelihood of an allusion or echo and will also provide an indication of the importance of Daniel as an influence on Paul's thought. It is beyond the scope of this study to verify or classify these references outside of the Thessalonian correspondence. They will only be considered if they have been identified by others.

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[83] Once again, this is not to deny the presence of other Jewish or Hellenistic influences. As stated in chapter one, the limitations of the present study will only focus on the affinities between the book of Daniel and the Thessalonian correspondence.

[84] E.g. David Wenham, *Paul: Follower of Jesus Christ or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 305-37; Gary S. Shogren, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012), 30-37.

[85] For a helpful discussion on the dating of the Synoptic Gospels, see e.g. D. A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, eds. *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 152-6, 179-82, 207-10, all of which are dated after 50 CE when 1 Thessalonians was most likely to have been written. For more on the dating of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, see the introductions to each letter at the beginning of chapters four and five.

Classification

Once a proposed allusion or echo has met the first set of criteria and has then been confirmed by those that are applicable in the second set, the weight of evidence will determine which category it will fall into. Since it is impossible to know for certain whether an author is consciously or unconsciously referring to another text, even in the case of allusions, the results of evaluating each passage will fall into two tentative categories: *probable* for stronger connections, and *possible* for more subtle ones.

Analysing the Effect of the Allusion or Echo

After classifying a potential reference, the allusion or echo will be evaluated in light of the surrounding literary and historical context to determine its effect: How does Paul use the precursor text? What meaning does it give to what he is writing to the Thessalonians? To gain some understanding of the effect of an allusion or echo, the precursor text also needs to be examined to understand the connotations and resonances carried by the word or phrase. It is important to listen for any "whispered or unstated correspondences"[86] within the wider context. The narrative within the precursor text will also be considered. After examining the precursor text, attention will then be turned to the new context in which the allusion or echo is found and will be examined in light of this. The cumulative evidence will then be drawn together to determine the effects of the intertextual relationship on the Thessalonian text. This will be followed by some brief conclusions regarding Paul's understanding of the precursor text and its implications.

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[86] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 20.

Summary Statement

The present chapter has outlined the methodological approach that will be adopted in this study. It will be oriented towards the author as the one whose language has been influenced by the precursor text. The focus will be on the potential influence of Daniel on Paul and his intentional or unintentional use of its apocalyptic language and motifs in 1 and 2 Thessalonians. The OG translation of Daniel will be taken as Paul's primary source. The basic definitions of an allusion as a conscious reference, and echo as either a conscious or unconscious reference will be followed. Seven criteria will be used to evaluate each proposed allusion and echo: 1) common vocabulary and/or rare concept similarity; 2) common theme and/or linear development; 3) essential interpretive link; 4) scholarly acknowledgment; 5) comparison with similar passages in the LXX; 6) comparison with similarities in the Jesus tradition; and 7) occurrence elsewhere in Paul's letters. Once these criteria have been applied to a potential reference, the reference will then be classified as either an allusion or an echo. An exegetical analysis of the precursor text in Daniel and the successor text in the Thessalonian correspondence will then be carried out, followed by a statement of the effects of the allusion or echo within its context.

CHAPTER FOUR

ECHOES OF DANIEL IN 1 THESSALONIANS

There is no dispute regarding the authorship of 1 Thessalonians.[87] It is almost universally

accepted that Paul was the author of this letter and that it was written in Corinth around 49-50

CE following his brief visit to Thessalonica.[88] At first, the mention of Silvanus and Timothy

alongside Paul (1:1), and the frequent use of the first person plural pronoun throughout the

letter, appears to indicate joint authorship. However, while his companions might have

played the role of a scribe, the evidence suggests that the letter was most probably dictated by

Paul.[89] This being the case, we can be fairly certain that he was familiar with the book of

Daniel.[90]

Having identified Paul as the author, the present chapter will examine an echo of

Daniel 8 in 1 Thess 2:16, an echo of Daniel 12 in 1 Thess 4:13-5:11, an echo of Daniel 7 in 1

Thess 4:16-17, and an allusion to Daniel 2 in 1 Thess 5:1. Each one will be evaluated

separately according to the methodological approach outlined in chapter three.

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[87] Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 17, states that "no contemporary scholars of repute seem to doubt the authentic Pauline character of the letter." See also Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 3-4; Ben Witherington, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 9; Carson and Moo, *An Introduction*, 534-35; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (WBC 45; Waco, TX: Word, 1982), xxxii-xxxiv. For a concise statement of the arguments raised by one nineteenth century commentator against Pauline authorship, and a response to those arguments, see Gene L. Green, *The Letters to the Thessalonians* (PNTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 55-56.

[88] See Acts 17.1-8. For a discussion on the dating of 1 Thessalonians, see Robert Jewett, *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1986), 59-60; Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology.* (trans. Doug Stott; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 362-4.

[89] The occasional appearance of the first person singular pronoun makes clear (2.18; 3.5; 5.27). For a detailed dicussion of Paul's use of pronouns in the Thessalonian correspondence, see Abraham J. Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians* (AB 32B; New York, NY: Doubleday, 2000), 86-89; cf. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer: His World, His Options, His Skills* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1995), 19-20.

[90] See "The Problem of Sources" in the previous chapter.

Daniel 8 in 1 Thessalonians 2:16

Evaluation of the Echo

Daniel 8:23 OG	1 Thessalonians 2:16
καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν <u>πληρουμένων</u> τῶν <u>ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν</u> ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ἀναιδὴς προσώπῳ καὶ συνίων προβλήματα.	κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν λαλῆσαι ἵνα σωθῶσιν, εἰς τὸ <u>ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν</u> τὰς <u>ἁμαρτίας</u> πάντοτε. ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος

The first potential reference is the phrase "to fill up the measure of their sins" (ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας) in 1 Thess 2:16 which is reminiscent of "their sins are coming to the full" (πληρουμένων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν) in Dan 8:23. This proposal meets the three criteria necessary for identifying an echo: 1) common vocabulary and rare concepts, 2) common theme and linear development, and 3) scholarly acknowledgment.[91] Two common words are shared between these two passages (πληρουμένων/ ἀναπληρῶσαι, ἁμαρτιῶν/ἁμαρτίας).[92] Although there is a slight variation in the verb that is used, both come from the same root (πληρόω). The concept of a limited number of sins that can be committed after which judgment is executed, appears only three times in the LXX (Gen 15:16; Dan 8:23; 2 Macc 6:14; cf. 1 Chron 36:16) indicating that it is a rare concept. There is a common theme and linear development of God's people being oppressed by a persecuting power, which is then the subject of divine judgment, in both passages. A number of commentators have

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[91] Because there are more than two words in common, most would probably consider this an allusion rather than an echo. However, because a full understanding of the phrase is not dependent on a knowledge of the precursor text it will be classified as an echo.

[92] As stated in the previous chapter, personal pronouns will not be taken into account unless there is some indication that they should be.

acknowledged Dan 8:23 as an antecedent of the language Paul uses, although most consider Genesis 15 as the primary precursor text.[93]

In Genesis 15, Abraham was told by YHWH that he would have a son of his own through whom all the nations of the earth would be blessed. His descendants would be as numerous as the stars and would eventually possess the land. But before that time would come, they would live as slaves in a foreign land until the fourth generation, "for the iniquity of the Amorites [was] not yet complete" (v. 16).[94] The verb that is used here is the same as that in 1 Thessalonians 2 (ἀναπληρόω). The Amorites had not yet reached the point when God would judge them. Given Paul's frequent use of Genesis 15 this could very likely be the source of his language.[95] If this is the case, what evidence is there that Daniel 8 may have also had some influence on Paul's language?

First, commentators have pointed out that Paul interpreted the opposition of the Jews to the spread of the gospel within his apocalyptic worldview.[96] This is clearly seen by his use of the image of a scale weighing up the measure of sins resulting in judgment in 1 Thess 2:16, which belonged to Jewish apocalyptic tradition.[97] Second, the theme of persecution and

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[93] Gary S. Shogren, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012), 115; Earl J. Richard, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (SacPag; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2007), 122; Victor Paul Furnish, *1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2007), 71; Green, *Thessalonians*, 148; Fee, *Thessalonians*, 100n. 47; Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 88; G. K. Beale, *1-2 Thessalonians* (IVPNTC; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003), 84; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 116; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 176; Michael W. Holmes, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 85; Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *First and Second Thessalonians* (Interpretation; Louisville, KN: John Knox, 1998), 37; I. Howard Marshall, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (NCB; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983), 80; Ernest Best, *A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1972), 118; James Everett Frame, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1912), 113.

[94] Unless otherwise stated, all Scripture quotations are from the English Standard Version (ESV).

[95] E.g. Rom 4:3, 9, 18, 22; Gal 3:6.

[96] E.g. Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 116; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 176; Marshall, *Thessalonians*, 80.

[97] See Wis 19:4; 2 Macc 6:14; 4 Ez 4:34-37; 7.74; 2 Bar 21:8; 48:2-5. This imagery is also reminiscent of Dan 5:25-28.

judgment is central in both passages. Daniel described a king who would arise and destroy "mighty men and the holy people" and then mysteriously be "broken" (8:21-26), while Paul states that those who were persecuting the believers in Judea would be subject to divine judgment (1 Thess 2:16-17). Third, contrary to Genesis 15, the judgment spoken of in Daniel 8 appears to be eschatological. The vision of chapter 8 is said to refer to the "time of the end" (vv. 17, 19, 26), revealing its eschatological focus (cf. 12:4).[98] Likewise, the verb "to come upon" (φθάνω) in 1 Thess 2:16 appears seven times in the New Testament and five of those are used in eschatological contexts.[99] On this basis, it would be reasonable to accept the possibility that Daniel 8, in addition to Genesis 15, may have had some influence on the language of 1 Thess 2:16.

The concept of human actions reaching a divine limit appears in a saying of Jesus recorded in Matt 23:29-38. This passage also makes reference to the murdering of prophets, the persecution of God's messengers, filling up the measure of sins, and the final judgment.[100] The parallels are striking and would appear to indicate that this was indeed the source of Paul's language. While not denying that this might have been the case, his Pharisaic training in the Scriptures of Israel meant that he would have also been familiar with the original sources upon which this tradition was based. It would therefore be best to say that this echo would have been mediated through the gospel tradition that is reflected in Matthew.

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[98] On this, see Desmond Ford, *Daniel* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1978), 160-77, who provides five reasons that point to an eschatological fufilment of this vision, including: the purpose of apocalyptic was eschatological; parallels between the visions of chapters 7, 9, 10-12 all point to the same consummation of the coming kingdom; and the apocalyptic question "How long?" in 8:14 that can only be answered eschatologically. See also Stefanovic, *Daniel*, 323; Leon Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973), 223-24. Contra Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Leicester: InterVarsity, 1978), 159; Tremper Longman III, *Daniel* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1999), 205-6.

[99] Matt 12:28; Luke 11:20; Phil 3:16; 1 Thess 4:15; and the present verse.

[100] Cf. Luke 11:47-51. On these parallels, see David Wenham, *Paul: Follower of Jesus Christ or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 319-26, 332-3; R. Schippers, "The Pre-Synoptic Tradition in 1 Thessalonians II 13-16," *NovT* 8 (1966), 223-34.

The evidence suggests that Paul was using language that finds its origins in Gen 15:16 and was subsequently modified in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, as indicated by its use in Dan 8:23. The echo of the Genesis language gained new resonances in Daniel, which appears to be more suited to the context within which Paul was using it. Because the use of the phrase also appears to have taken on additional meaning outside of the LXX, and was present in the gospel tradition, it should only be considered a faint *possible* echo.

Exegesis of the Echo

The concept of filling up the measure of sins appears at significant points throughout redemptive history, beginning with Abraham in Genesis 15. Greg Beale has observed that in each case, God stated "that his enemies had to complete a certain amount of sin before they could be considered ripe for definitive judgment, which would always conclude a particular epoch and launch another."[101] This can be seen by the use of the phrase in the vision of Daniel 8.

The account of the vision begins with Daniel referring to the one that he had seen previously, pointing out that the content of this vision is in some way dependent on that of chapter 7.[102] Daniel first saw a ram (vv. 3-4) followed by a goat (vv. 5-8), which are identified by the angel Gabriel as Medo-Persia (v. 20) and Greece (v. 21) respectively. The prominent horn on the Grecian goat was broken and replaced by four other horns that represented four kingdoms (v. 22). When they had reached the full measure of their sins, another king would arise who would become great and destroy mighty men and the saints

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[101] Beale, *Thessalonians*, 84.

[102] Baldwin, *Daniel*, 155.

(vv. 23-25). He would even rise up against the Prince of princes, God Himself,[103] but would then be brought to an end through divine intervention (v. 25). This was written to provide encouragement to Daniel's persecuted audience. The ultimate message was that "the destruction of the persecutor would be the work of God himself."[104] The concept of sins reaching their full measure during a time of continuing persecution fits well within the historical context of 1 Thess 2:13-16.

The persecution that began with the arrest of Jason (Acts 17:6) at the time of Paul's hasty departure from Thessalonica appears to have continued.[105] The phrase appears at the end of Paul's description of the mistreatment the believers had experienced in Judea at the hands of their fellow Jews: "who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out, and displease God and oppose all mankind by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles that they might be saved – so as always to fill up the measure of their sins" (1 Thess 2:15-16).[106] It should be noted, however, that Paul was referring to a specific group of Jews that had shown hostility toward the Christians, not to the Jews in general.[107] The sins they had been piling up would lead to the judgment to come. In fact, Paul states that "wrath has come

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[103] Commentators are in general agreement of this interpretation. See Baldwin, *Daniel*, 157; Collins, *Daniel*, 333; André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1976), 162.

[104] Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. DiLella, *The Book of Daniel* (AB 23; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 236.

[105] 1 Thess 1:6; 2:14-16; 3:3. On the Jewish involvement in persecution, see N. H. Taylor, "Who persecuted the Thessalonian Christians?" *HTS* 58, no. 2 (2002), 784-801. The nature of this persecution could have been economic, familial, social or physical. Whether this led to the death of any of the Christians is unknown. See Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica*, 208-27.

[106] A number of scholars consider these negative Jewish sentiments too harsh to have been written by Paul, e.g. Richard, *Thessalonians*, 119-27; and the seminal article by Birger A. Pearson, "1 Thessalonians 2.13–16: A Deutero-Pauline Interpolation," *HTR* 64, no. 1 (1971), 79-94. For a detailed discussion of the issue, see C. J. Schlueter, *Filling up the Measure: Polemical Hyperbole in 1 Thessalonians 2:14-16* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), who argues for its authenticity on rhetorical grounds; and Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica*, 24-45, who concludes that there are no form-critical, syntactical, historical or theological reasons to consider 2:13-16 as a post-Pauline interpolation.

[107] For more on this, see Frank D. Gillard, "The Problem of the Antisemitic Comma between 1 Thessalonians 2:14 and 15," *NTS* 35 (1989), 481-502; Gaventa, *Thessalonians*, 36-37.

upon them at last."[108] Judgment will fall upon them as it did on the nations before them that filled up the measure of their sins. Far from being anti-Semitic, it seems that Paul was stating that the actions of the first century-Jews was "part of a national pattern of past generations" which was "reaching a climax in their persecution of Christ, Christian prophets and apostles and in the hindering of the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles."[109] Due to their parallel circumstances, Paul considered the Thessalonian believers to have become imitators of those in Judea. By implication, what would be true of those persecuting the believers in Judea would be true of those who were persecuting the believers in Thessalonica.

Effects of the Echo

This possible echo effectively places the experience of the believers within the midst of a persecuting power that would ultimately be subject to divine wrath. For the Christians in Judea, it would be the Jews who were in opposition to them. For the Christians in Thessalonica, it would be those who were opposing and persecuting them (whether Jews or Gentiles or both). The persecution might continue, but divine judgment would soon come, as depicted in the destruction of the opposing power represented by the small horn. This possible echo of the vision of Daniel 8 also reveals Paul's apocalyptic worldview in which such affliction was characteristic of the end times, where the greater extent of persecution believers would experience was an indication of the imminence of the end.[110]

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[108] Cf. Matt 23:29-36. Although the verb ἔφθασεν is in the aorist, Paul appears to be using it in a proleptic way. It is so certain that, although future, he describes it as having already taken place.

[109] Beale, *Thessalonians*, 85.

[110] Abraham Smith, "The First Letter to the Thessalonians," in *The New Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2000), 704.

Daniel 12 in 1 Thessalonians 4:13-15; 5:10

Evaluation of the Echo

Daniel 12:2 OG	1 Thessalonians 4:13-15; 5:10
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν <u>καθευδόντων</u> ἐν γῆς χώματι ἐξεγερθήσονται, οὗτοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ οὗτοι εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον.	Οὐ θέλομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῶν <u>κοιμωμένων</u>, ἵνα μὴ λυπῆσθε καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα. εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς <u>κοιμηθέντας</u> διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ. Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς <u>κοιμηθέντας</u>· 5.10 ἵνα εἴτε γρηγορῶμεν εἴτε <u>καθεύδωμεν</u> ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν

The second potential reference to Daniel is the phrase "those who sleep" (κοιμωμένων) in 1 Thess 4:13-15 and 5:10 which appears in Dan 12:2. This proposal meets the three criteria necessary for identifying an echo: 1) common vocabulary and rare concepts, 2) common theme, and 3) scholarly acknowledgment. The verb used for sleep in 1 Thess 4:13-15 (κοιμάω) is synonymous with that used in 5:10 and Dan 12:2 as a metaphor for death (καθεύδω).[111] Although the two passages share only one word in common, sleeping and waking as a metaphor for death followed by resurrection, is a rare concept in the Hebrew Scriptures. The theme of God's people waking from the sleep of death in the resurrection at the end of the age is present in both passages. A number of commentators have also noted, or at least referenced, Daniel 12 as having some degree of influence on Paul's description.[112]

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[111] 1 Thess 5:6-10 is the only place where Paul uses καθεύδω and he does so in three ways: metaphorical (v. 6), literal (v. 7), and as a euphemism for death (v. 10). We cannot be certain as to why Paul is not consistent in his use of the phrase. For a comparison of the terminology between 4:13-17 and 5:6-10, see Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 189.

[112] Shogren, *Thessalonians,* 180; Nicholl, *From Hope to Dispair*, 22-23, 66; Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 131, 137; N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (London: SPCK, 2003), 216; James

The metaphor of sleep was widely used as a euphemism for death in the ancient world.[113] Such usage is also evident throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, although there are only a handful of passages besides Daniel 12 that speak of the resurrection as awaking from sleep.[114] In Jeremiah's oracle of the fall of Babylon, YHWH declares that her leading men will become drunk and fall into a perpetual sleep from which they will never wake (51.39, 57). Similarly, Job describes those who die as lying down and entering a sleep from which they cannot be roused (14.12). While both of these passages use the metaphor of sleeping and waking, they contain no hope of resurrection. The only other passage that uses this metaphor for resurrection is Isaiah 26 in a song that describes Judah's complete dependence on YHWH and his promise to them that they had not laboured in vain: "Your dead shall live; their bodies shall rise. You who dwell in the dust, awake and sing for joy!" (v. 19). Although there is general agreement that this passage influenced Daniel,[115] Dan 12.2-3 remains the clearest and most influential reference to a belief in resurrection in the Hebrew Scriptures.[116]

D. Hester, "Apocalyptic Discourse in 1 Thessalonians," in *The Intertexture of Apocalyptic Discourse in the New Testament* (ed. Duane F. Watson; Atlanta: SBL, 2002), 158; Peter W. Macky, *St. Paul's Cosmic War Myth: A Military Version of the Gospel* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 1998), 197; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 167; A. F. Klijn, "1 Thessalonians 4.13-18 and its Background in Apocalyptic Literature," in *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett* (eds. M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson; London: SPCK, 1982), 69; Lars Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 Par.* (Lund: Gleerup, 1966), 189. Others simply reference it as one example in the Hebrew Scriptures where the sleeping-waking metephor is used, such as Green, *Thessalonians*, 217; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 263; Best, *Thessalonians*, 185; Frame, *Thessalonians*, 166.

[113] For a detailed discussion on this point, see Thomas H. McAlpine, *Sleep, Divine and Human, in the Old Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 135-49.

[114] For the metaphor of death as sleep, see e.g. 2 Sam 7:12; 1 Kings 2:10; 11:43; 2 Kings 4:31; 13:21; Ps 13:3; Nah 3:18.

[115] Wright, *Resurrection*, 115-16. It has also been argued that while Daniel may have drawn on Isa 26:19, he was really drawing on Isa 65 and 66. See G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1972), 171. Wright rejects the either/or interpretations of this and other resurrection passages (Hos 6:1-2; Ezekiel 38-39) that argue that they are either speaking of individual resurrection or national restoration, see e.g. Collins, *Daniel*, 394-98.

[116] Udo Schnelle, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. M. Eugene Boring; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 175; Collins, *Daniel*, 392; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 243; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 167, goes one step further when he states that Dan 12 "served as a precedent for connecting the sleep of death with the resurrection." Contra Goldingay, *Daniel*, 308, who asserts that it has a "this-worldy connotation."

Further evidence points toward Daniel as a primary precursor text. First, both passages feature an angelic being, "Michael" in Dan 12:1 and "the archangel" in 1 Thess 4:16.[117] The term "archangel" (ἀρχάγγελος) is not used in the LXX, but it does appear in much of the Second Temple literature with reference to a specific group of angels.[118] By the beginning of the first century CE, Michael had come to be recognised as the most prominent archangel, a natural development given his position as the guardian of God's people.[119] This understanding is reflected in the New Testament, with Michael being mentioned by name in Revelation 12:7 and specifically called "the archangel" (ὁ ἀρχάγγελος) in Jude 9. Given his association with the resurrection of the saints in Daniel, it is likely that Paul was referring to Michael.[120]

Second, neither passage describes a universal resurrection. In Daniel, it is only "the many" that are raised, some to everlasting life, some to everlasting contempt.[121] Of those who are raised, the concern is primarily with the fate of "the wise" and "those who lead many to righteousness." Similarly, in 1 Thessalonians the issue Paul is addressing concerns "the dead in Christ," those who had died within their community of faith.

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[117] The evidence suggests that Paul had a specific angel in mind. Some translations (e.g. NKJV and ESV) are more tentative (or literal?) by translating it as "the voice of *an* archangel."

[118] This group primarily consists of four (e.g. 1 En 40:9; 54:6; 71:8-9, 13; Apoc Mos 40:3; Sib Or 2:215), but also as a larger group of seven (e.g. 1 En 20:1-7; Tob 12:15).

[119] Darrel D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 48-51. It is interesting to note that he is also described as blowing the trumpet at the final judgment in Apoc. Mos. 22.1.

[120] So Shogren, *Thessalonians*, 186; Fee, *The First and Second Letters*, 177. Contra Leon Morris, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, rev. ed. (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 143, and Best, *Thessalonians*, 197, who both argue that Paul is not refering to any specific angel. Janice Kay Fraser suggests two possible reasons why Paul may not have referred to him by name: "to discourage irrelevant speculation about angelic hierarchies such as are found in Jewish literature; also to guard against the dangers of angel worship (cf. Col 2.18)." *A Theological Study of Second Thessalonians: A Comprehensive Study of the Thought of the Epistle and Its Sources* (Ph.D. Thesis; University of Durham, 1979), 299-300. A further reason might be the Thessalonians' lack of familiarity with Jewish angelology.

[121] Collins, *Daniel*, 392. Contra Baldwin, *Daniel*, 204, who argues that "the many" means "all".

Finally, the wider context of Daniel 12 contains the notion of two groups, those who have fallen asleep and those who "wait and arrive" at the appointed time (v. 12). It is interesting to note that the Hebrew word "arrives" (נָגַע) in this verse is rendered as φθάνω in the TH text of Daniel, which is the same verb used in 1 Thessalonians 4:15.[122]

There are four other places where echoes of Daniel 12 have been heard in Paul's letters. Not surprisingly, the first is in his major discourse on the resurrection in 1 Corinthians, where he writes: "There are heavenly bodies and earthly bodies, but the glory of the heavenly is of one kind, and the glory of the earthly is of another. There is one glory 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" (15:40-42). The context indicates that Paul was drawing largely from the creation story, but the connection that he makes between resurrected bodies and the lights in the heavens was probably inspired by Daniel 12: "And those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky above; and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever" (v. 3).[123]

The same metaphor is used by Paul in Phil 2:15, but this time it is used to describe the living: "… that you may be blameless and innocent, children of God without blemish in the midst of a crooked and twisted generation, among whom you shine as lights in the world."[124] Paul ends the same letter with another possible echo of Daniel 12, speaking of those "whose names are in the book of life" (4:3).[125]

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[122] Klijn, "1 Thessalonians 4.13-18 and its Background," 69.

[123] Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians* (PNTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 805.

[124] Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmens, 1991), 296; Bonnie B. Thurston and Judith M. Ryan, *Philippians and Philemon* (SacPag; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2005), 95, consider this to be an allusion.

[125] Of course, it could be argued that Paul had some other passage in mind (e.g. Exod 32:32; Pss 69:28; 139:16; cf. 1 En 47:3), but Dan 12:1 is just as likely as the rest

The fourth passage where traces of Daniel 12 have been found is 2 Thessalonians 2, where the "restrainer" is thought by some to be an oblique reference to Michael the archangel.[126]

Although passages such as Isaiah 26 may have had some influence, the foregoing evaluation of the evidence suggests that Paul's description of the dead in Christ awaking at the voice of the archangel is far more likely to have been a *probable* echo of Daniel 12.

Exegesis of the Echo

The resurrection appears at the end of the vision recorded in Daniel 10-12.[127] It is the longest and most detailed vision in the book, covering much of the same ground as the vision of chapter 8.[128] This concluding literary unit consists of a prologue (10:1-11:1), the vision proper (11:2-12:4), and an epilogue (12:5-13). For three weeks Daniel had been fasting and praying concerning the difficulties his people had been facing upon their return from exile (10:1-3). In response, an angel was sent to comfort and inform him of the continued struggle they would face and of the hope of ultimate vindication.

Only two kingdoms are mentioned by name in the vision, the Persian (11:2) and the Greek (vv. 3-4). The latter would then be divided into northern and southern kingdoms and the relationship between them is described (vv. 5-20). A ruler from the north would rise to take centre stage, conquering and destroying the opposition, reaching its climax when he vented his anger on the holy temple and God's faithful people (vv. 21-39). This self-exalting

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[126] For more on this, see the following chapter.

[127] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 306-7, reminds us that this is not an abstract statement on the resurrection. It must be interpreted within its context.

[128] For a comparison of chap 8 and chaps 10-12, see Charles Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1977 [1923]), 224-5. Hartman and DiLella note that "[t]his apocalypse [chaps 10-12] is modeled to some extent on the one in ch 8" (*Daniel*, 276).

antagonist would then be brought to an end (vv. 36-45), coinciding with a period of unprecedented distress. At that moment, Michael the archangel "stands" which leads to the deliverance of those whose names are written in the book (12:1).[129] The nature of their deliverance is explained in the following verse: "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (v. 2). Daniel's people, who would face a time of trouble that had never been seen or experienced before, were promised vindication through resurrection.

The situation Paul was addressing may have reminded him of this scenario. While the extent of persecution experienced by the Thessalonian Christians could hardly be described as unprecedented, the hope it promised was applicable. First Thessalonians 4:13-18 is recognised as the most extensive and important description of the return of Christ.[130] It was written in response to a particular question raised by the believers regarding those who had died before the Lord's return.[131] After Paul's premature departure, some of their number had unexpectedly died, which in light of Christ's imminent return, had naturally caused some concern regarding their fate.[132] To comfort them in their misunderstanding, Paul responds in two parts. First, the resurrection of Jesus stands as a guarantee that the believers will also experience resurrection and be present at His return (v. 14). Second, he appeals to "the word

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[129] The verb "to stand" is significant, as indicated by its frequent appearance throughout chapter 11 (vv. 2, 3, 4, 7, 16, 20, 21). On the judicial nature of this passage, see Collins, *Daniel*, 390.

[130] Joseph Plevnik, *Paul and the Parousia* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 65. Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 299, says that 4:13-18 is "the single clearest statement of [Paul's] parousia belief."

[131] We are not told how they had died. For the possibility of persecution being a cause, see Karl Donfried, "The Imperial Cults and Political Conflict in 1 Thessalonians," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1997), 215-23.

[132] Marshall, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 120-2, lists five different hypotheses about how and why this question arose. The most convincing explanation seems to be that the believers were not concerned about whether or not those who had died would be raised, but rather "the fear that they would be disadvantaged by not being able to participate in the assumption to heaven" (Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 166). This explanation was originally argued for by Joseph Plevnik, "The Taking Up of the Faithful and the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18," *CBQ* 46 (1984), 274-83.

of the Lord," which states that the living and the dead believers will equally share in the glory of His return (vv. 15-17).[133] Like those in Daniel 12 who had "fallen asleep," those who had died in the Lord would be raised first when he "will descend from heaven with a cry of command, with the voice of an archangel, and with the sound of the trumpet of God" (v. 16).[134] Then those "who are alive, who are left, will be caught up together with them" (v. 17).[135] Therefore, all believers will participate in the assumption and no group will be at any disadvantage.

Effects of the Echo

For those who have ears to hear, this echo adds new dimensions to the hope Paul is trying to instil in the believers by his words of comfort and encouragement. Those who have fallen asleep can be seen as experiencing that which was promised to Daniel and his people, who would rest and rise again like "the wise" who will shine brightly, and "those who lead many to righteousness," like the stars forever. This echo also serves to provide further insight into the role of Michael the archangel in the final events. Not only will his "stand" mark the end of the age, his "commanding shout" will wake the dead.

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[133] Weima, "1-2 Thessalonians," 880.

[134] A detailed discussion of the shout of command, the call of the archangel, and the trumpet of God can be found in Plevnik, *Paul and the Parousia*, 45-60.

[135] For a comparison of the language Paul uses here and elsewhere regarding the afterlife, see J. Delobel, "The Fate of the Dead according to 1 Thes 4 and 1 Cor 15," in *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (ed. R. F. Collins; Leuven: Leuven University, 2000), 340-7.

Daniel 7 in 1 Thessalonians 4:17

Evaluation of the Echo

Daniel 7:13 OG	1 Thessalonians 4:17
ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν <u>νεφελῶν</u> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος ἦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασεν καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσηνέχθη	ἔπειτα ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγησόμεθα ἐν <u>νεφέλαις</u> εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα· καὶ οὕτως πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα.

The third potential reference to Daniel is the cloud imagery in 1 Thess 4:17 which is reminiscent of Dan 7:13. This proposal meets the three criteria necessary for identifying an echo: 1) common vocabulary, 2) common theme and linear development, and 3) scholarly acknowledgment. The single word "clouds" (νεφέλαι) on its own could hardly be grounds for an echo, but its appearance in such an apocalyptic context cannot be overlooked.[136] Clouds are a regular element in theophanies throughout the Hebrew Scriptures and were often a means of transport for God.[137] There is a common theme and linear development of believers in the midst of persecution followed by vindication and entering into eternal fellowship with God. While many interpreters have heard echoes of Daniel 7, some remain unconvinced.[138]

For instance, Joseph Plevnik points out that the cloud motif in 1 Thess 4:17 does not refer to the Lord *descending* from heaven, but rather of the saints *ascending* to heaven. The

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[136] Fee, *Thessalonians*, 180, notes that this is the only occurrence of the image in Paul's letters.

[137] Cf. Pss 68:4; 104:3-4; Isa 19:1; Nah 1:3; Ezek 1:4-28. Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 175, states that this imagery influenced Daniel's description of "one like a son of man" being transported to the Ancient of Days, "and from here the clouds passed into the stock of apocalyptic images."

[138] Those that have referenced Daniel 7 include David Luckensmeyer, *The Eschatology of First Thessalonians* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 259; Green, *Thessalonians*, 226; Richard, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 244-8; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 276; Furnish, *Thessalonians*, 102-103; Weima, "1-2 Thessalonians," 880; Fee, *Thessalonians*, 180; Smith, "The First Letter to the Thessalonians," 724; Marshall, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 130; Bruce, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 102; Wright, *Resurrection*, 217; Sylvia C. Keesmaat, "In the Face of the Empire: Paul's Use of Scripture in the Shorter Epistles," in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 204-5; Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, 186-87.

focus on and function of the clouds in 1 Thessalonians is therefore the assumption. This is different from the gospel tradition where clouds function as a means of transportation for the Son of Man from heaven to earth, not earth to heaven (Matt 24:30; Mark 14:62). The dissimilarity between the descriptions of the Lord's coming in 1 Thessalonians 4 and in the synoptic tradition, which was clearly influenced by Daniel 7, brings into question Paul's reliance on Daniel.[139] But this does not entirely prove that Paul was not echoing Daniel 7. Collins notes that Dan 7:13 "does not indicate whether the [Son of Man] is ascending or descending or moving horizontally."[140] In the early Christian tradition, the clouds not only carry the Son of Man to earth (Mark 14:62), they also carry the risen Lord to heaven (Acts 1:9; cf. Rev 11:12). The movement of the clouds, and those transported by them, should therefore not be considered as sufficient evidence that Daniel 7 was not in view. They should simply be regarded as "the place of meeting between humans and the divine."[141] In addition to this, the imagery is used in a context of the vindication of God's people, which is similar to its use in Daniel.[142]

Another passage that has been suggested as a source of the imagery in 1 Thess 4:16-17 is the Sinai theophany recorded in Exodus 19, "On the morning of the third day there were thunders and lightnings and a thick cloud on the mountain and a very loud trumpet blast" (v. 16). While not wishing to deny the possibility that this passage may have had some influence, the differences indicate that it would have been secondary.[143] The clouds have a different

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[139] Plevnik, *Paul and the Parousia*, 88; cf. Casey, *Son of Man*, 153. See also the arguments advanced by Nicholl, *From Hope to Dispair*, 29.

[140] Collins, *Daniel*, 311.

[141] Green, *Thessalonians*, 226.

[142] Thomas Kazen, "The Coming of the Son of Man Revisited." *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 5, no. 2 (2007), 158; cf. Wright, *Resurrection*, 216

[143] For the following points, see Plevnik, *Paul and the Parousia*, 90, cf. 10.

function, veiling YHWH's presence at Sinai but providing a means of transport to the Lord in 1 Thessalonians. The theme itself is dramatically different. Sinai was a time of judgment and law-giving, but the Lord's return is a time of deliverance and reunion. After meeting with Lord at Sinai the Israelites returned to their tents, but in 1 Thessalonians the saints remain with the Lord forever. As far as the Hebrew Scriptures are concerned, Daniel 7 remains the most likely precursor text.

Some scholars have argued that, while the background for this imagery is ultimately found in the Hebrew Scriptures, Paul was drawing on a gospel tradition that is reflected in Synoptic Gospels.[144] This understanding depends somewhat on a particular understanding of the phrase "a word of the Lord" (1 Thess 4:15). There have been three primary ways this expression has been interpreted. The first is that Paul was referring to an actual statement made by the historical Jesus, similar to 1 Cor 7:10; 9:14 and 11:23.[145] A number of possible sources in the gospel tradition have been suggested.[146] The most likely is reflected is Matt 24:29-44 where the Son of Man is pictured coming on the clouds, the angels are present, a loud trumpet call, the gathering of the elect, and the comparison of the end with the coming of a thief. A similar view is that Paul is citing an unknown saying of Jesus that is not found in the Gospels.[147] While this is a possibility, there is little evidence to support it. Another widely accepted understanding of this phrase is that it refers to a prophetic word revealed to Paul

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[144] Wenham, *Paul*, 305-37; cf. his earlier work, idem, "Paul and the Synoptic Apocalypse," in *Gospel Perspectives: Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels*, vol. 2 (ed. R. T. France and D. Wenham; Sheffield: JSOT, 1981), 345-75; Best, *Thessalonians*, 198.

[145] So Green, *Thessalonians*, 222; Fee, *Thessalonians*, 174; Michael W. Holmes, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 147; Wannamaker, 175; Marshall, *Thessalonians*, 127-127.

[146] E.g. Matt 10:39; 20:1-2; 24:31, 34; 25:6; 26:64; Luke 13:30; John 5:25; 6:39-40; 11:25-26.

[147] So Morris, *Thessalonians*, 140-1; Joachim Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, 2nd ed. (trans. Reginald H. Fuller; London: SPCK, 1964), 80-83. Cf. Raymond F. Collins, *Studies on the First Letter to the Thessalonians* (Leuven: Leuven University, 1984), 159.

himself.[148] Elsewhere, he refers to commands of the Lord that are similar but not identical with sayings found in the gospel tradition (e.g. 1 Cor 7:10; cf. 7:6, 12, 25). The very same phrase "the word of the Lord" is also found in the LXX as part of the prophetic tradition.[149] However, this interpretation does not account for the similarities which are found in the gospel tradition.

An interpretation that seems to make the most sense of the evidence is that Paul was drawing from all three sources – the Hebrew Scriptures, the gospel tradition and his own prophetic insight from the risen Lord.[150] It is highly likely that he was influenced by a tradition similar to that found in Matthew 24, but he also appears to have supplemented and interpreted it based on his own apocalyptic understanding of Daniel 7.[151] The differences between each of these sources indicate that Paul was merging the imagery of both to meet the present situation of those to whom he was writing. He took the material and made it his own. The relationship between them can be demonstrated by the following diagram:

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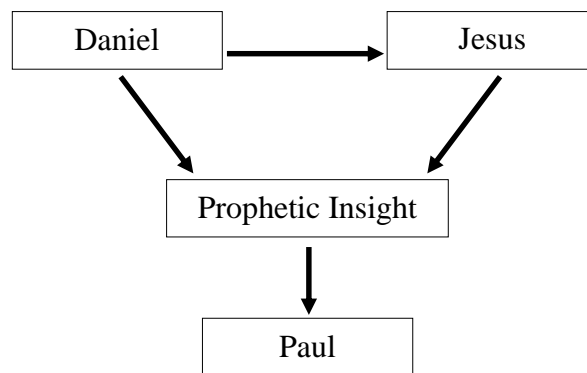
[148] So Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 268-69; Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 303; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 170; Best, *Thessalonians*, 189-93.

[149] 1 Kgs 21:35; Hos 1:1; Ezek 34:1; 35:1.

[150] Michael W. Pahl, *Discerning the 'Word of the Lord'* (New York, NY: T & T Clark, 2009), 167-9, offers another alternative interpretation. While acknowledging the possibility of "the word of the Lord" referring to a Scriptural passage, a gospel tradition, or prophetic revelation, he believes the evidence suggests that the phrase "refers to the proclaimed gospel message about Jesus centred on his death and resurrection which forms the theological foundation of Paul's response (cf. 4:14)."

[151] Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 135-7. Cf. Malherbe's description of this position in *Thessalonians*, 268.

Given the importance of Daniel 7 within early Christianity,[152] it is no surprise that echoes of this vision have also been heard in some of Paul's other letters.[153] Perhaps the clearest reference is found in his rebuke of the Corinthian believers who were taking each other to court: "Or do you not know that the saints will judge the world? And if the world is to be judged by you, are you incompetent to try trivial cases?" (1 Cor 6:2). This idea finds its origins in Dan 7:21-22, where the same key words of "saints" (ἅγιοι) and "judge" (κρίνω) occur.[154] Later in the same letter, Paul provides a description of events that have some similarities to 1 Thess 4:13-17. Since Christ has been raised from the dead (1 Cor 15:20), all those who belong to him will also be raised (v. 23). He will then deliver the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and authority and power (v. 24) and having put everything in subjection to him (v. 28). This scenario is based on that found in Daniel 2 and 7 where God's kingdom is established forever and is given to the Son of Man, to whom the nations are made subject.

The foregoing evidence leads us to conclude that the cloud imagery in 1 Thess 4:17 is primarily drawn from Daniel 7 with additional resonances of the gospel tradition and Paul's own prophetic insight. This reference will therefore be classified as a *probable* echo.

Exegesis of the Echo

In the vision of chapter 7, Daniel sees four successive beasts rising up from the sea, each exercising more power than the previous (vv. 2-8). These are later interpreted by the

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[152] In addition to the literature reviewed in chapter 2, see Wright, *The New Testament*, 266, 280-99; Macky, *Cosmic War Myth*, 49-50.

[153] Contra Casey, *Son of Man*, 151-56, who argues that there are no traces of Daniel 7 in general, and the Son of Man in particular, in the New Testament epistles.

[154] Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 233; Evans, "Daniel in the New Testament," 525; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* (AB 32; New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2008), 252.

angel as being four successive empires that would rise and rule the then known world (v. 17). The scene transitions from these beastly empires to a celestial courtroom, where the Ancient of Days sits in judgment over them (vv. 9-10).[155] The climax of the vision is reached when the sentence is passed and "one like a son of man" comes with (or on) the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days and receives everlasting dominion and a kingdom that will never be destroyed (vv. 13-14). The judgment is given in favour of the saints and they too possess the kingdom (v.22) while their eschatological enemy represented by the small horn is "annihilated and destroyed forever" (v. 26, NASB). The arrival of the Son of Man therefore marks the end of temporal empires and the beginning of God's eternal empire. This arrival was a direct challenge to the oppressive nations under which God's people suffered.

The meaning and identity of the enigmatic Son of Man has been one of the most contested issues in apocalyptic literature.[156] Two of the primary issues that arise in this discussion are whether the Son of Man is an individual or collective entity.[157] The question that concerns us at present is how Paul's probable echo of this scene in 1 Thessalonians reveals his own understanding of this figure.

Paul continues his response to the concern of the believers regarding the fate of those who had died and would die before the coming of the Lord. After describing the resurrection of the saints (vv. 15-16), the living come into focus: "we who are alive, who are left, will be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air" (v. 17). The theme of

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[155] There is debate as to whether this takes place in heaven or on earth. See Goldingay, *Daniel*, 164-5; Collins, *Daniel*, 303. Its location does not have any significant impact on the argument being advanced.

[156] Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 101; cf. the comments by Michael B. Shepherd, "Daniel 7:13 and the New Testament Son of Man," *WTJ* 68 (2006), 99.

[157] To evaluate the arguments in favour of each position would take us far beyond the limits of the present paper. For those who support the individual interpretation, see e.g. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 101-4. Some take a middle position, arguing that the Son of Man represents, but is not identified with, the saints. E.g. Ford, *Daniel*, 139; George E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 146-7. For those who support the collective interpretation, see e.g. Wright, *The New Testament*, 291-97; Casey, *Son of Man*, 24-25.

togetherness indicates that Paul's concern for the believers was more pastoral than theological.[158] The living should not sorrow as those who have no hope (v. 13), because they will be reunited with their loved ones and will be "caught up together with them in the clouds." For Paul, it is the believers that are, like the Son of Man in Daniel 7, carried in the clouds to meet the Lord, who would appear to correspond to the Ancient of Days. As the saints in Daniel 7 inherit the kingdom, so the saints in 1 Thessalonians 4 will remain with the Lord forever (v. 17).

Effects of the Echo

Paul's probable use of Daniel 7 reveals a challenge to the Roman Empire. As Sylvia Keemaat suggests, "he is evoking the powerful image of God's coming salvation to defeat one empire [Babylon], and he is doing so to confront the claims of another [Rome]."[159] For those who have ears to hear, this echo effectively makes this promise the grounds of hope for the believers in Thessalonica.[160] By doing this, Paul also places the Thessalonians within the story of Scripture. There is continuity between God's covenant people in the Hebrew Scriptures and those who belong to Christ.

This echo also provides a possible glimpse into Paul's understanding of Daniel 7.[161] If the saints being carried on the clouds to meet the Lord in the air is a reflection of his understanding, then it would appear that he interpreted the Son of Man as a collective entity representing the people of God meeting the Lord, who in this scenario would represent the

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[158] Fee, *Thessalonians*, 179.

[159] Keesmaat, "In the Face of the Empire," 204.

[160] Ibid, 205.

[161] The fluidity of apocalyptic imagery means we can only speculate on the basis of the limited evidence available in this passage.

Ancient of Days. How this relates to the understanding of the synoptic tradition is the subject of another study. But it may provide "crucial clues as to the development of the Son of Man imagery in early Christian tradition."[162]

Daniel 2 in 1 Thessalonians 5:1

Evaluation of the Allusion

Daniel 2:21 OG	1 Thessalonians 5:1
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλλοιοῖ <u>καιροὺς</u> <u>καὶ</u> χρόνους, καθιστᾷ βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθιστᾷ, διδοὺς σοφίαν τοῖς σοφοῖς καὶ φρόνησιν τοῖς εἰδόσιν σύνεσιν	Περὶ δὲ τῶν <u>χρόνων</u> <u>καὶ</u> τῶν <u>καιρῶν</u>, ἀδελφοί, οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε ὑμῖν γράφεσθαι

The fourth potential reference to Daniel is the phrase "the times and seasons" (τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν) in 1 Thess 5:1 which is also found in Dan 2:21. This proposal meets the four criteria necessary for identifying an allusion: 1) common vocabulary and rare concepts, 2) common theme, 3) essential interpretive link, and 4) scholarly acknowledgment. There are two significant words that are shared between these two texts, "times" (χρόνων) and "seasons" (καιρῶν), although they are not listed in the same order. The phrase only appears twice in the LXX (Dan 2:21; Wis 8:8), which increases the likelihood of Daniel being the precursor text.[163] Both passages share a common eschatological theme. The definite articles indicate that Paul was specifically alluding to something that his audience was already aware of. Whether this was a direct allusion to Daniel 2, or to something he had taught them that was independent of it, cannot be known with any certainty. However, a full appreciation of what is being said would have required a knowledge of this phrase within its interpretive

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[162] Kazen, "The Coming of the Son of Man Revisited," 160.

[163] Cf. Dan 7:12; Neh 10:34; 13:31.

tradition which was derived from Daniel. Many commentators have also acknowledged

Daniel 2 as having some influence on its use here and in early Christian literature.[164]

Preoccupation with eschatological timing appears throughout biblical and Jewish

literature.[165] There were at least two occasions when the disciples asked Jesus about the final

events.[166] The first prefaces the Olivet Discourse in which the timing of the day of the Lord is

said to be unknown (Matt 24:3, 36; cf. Luke 17:20). The second was just before Jesus

ascended to heaven. When his disciples asked if he was going to restore the kingdom to Israel

at that time, he replied, "It is not for you to know times or seasons [χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς] that

the Father has fixed by his own authority" (Acts 1:6-7). This is the only other occurrence of

this phrase within the biblical canon which suggests that the phrase had taken on specific

meaning within the early Christian communities. The fact that it only appears within

eschatological contexts indicates that it refers to the events that belong to "God's final

eschatological 'wrap-up'."[167]

Echoes of Daniel 2 have also been heard elsewhere in Paul's letters, most notably in

his use of the word "mystery" (μυστήριον) in Rom 16:25-26, 1 Cor 15:51, Eph 3:5-6, Col

1:26 and 2 Thess 2:7. Its first appearance in the LXX refers to the hidden content of

Nebuchadnezzar's dream which concerned the eschatological establishment of God's eternal

kingdom (Dan 2:18-19, 27-30, 47), which is similar to the way Paul uses the word.[168]

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[164] It has been noted by Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 144; Richard, *Thessalonians*, 249; Furnish, *Thessalonians*, 107; Fee, *Thessalonians*, 186n. 12; Holmes, *Thessalonians*, 165; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 288; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 178; Marshall, *Thessalonians*, 132; Best, *Thessalonians*, 204; Frame, *Thessalonians*, 179-80.

[165] E.g. Dan 12:6; 4 Ezra 4:33; Rev 6:10.

[166] Shogren, *Thessalonians*, 200.

[167] Fee, *Thessalonians*, 186. Cf. Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 288-9.

[168] For a detailed study on the use of μυστήριον in Paul's letters, see Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament*, 222-55. See also Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians* (PNTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 109.

Writing to the believers in Corinth, Paul counselled them not to put their trust in human wisdom but in the hidden wisdom of God that, from the very beginning, was for their glory (1 Cor 2:6-7). Daniel's prayer of thanksgiving to God for revealing the dream and its meaning to him contains the same ideas of wisdom (Dan 2:20, 21, 23; 1 Cor 2:6) associated with mystery (Dan 2:19; 1 Cor 2:7) which reaches the depths of understanding (Dan 2:22; 1 Cor 2:10).[169]

Whether the "times and seasons" in 1 Thess 5:1 was a direct allusion to Daniel 2, or to something he had taught the believers that was independent of it, cannot be known with any certainty. The foregoing evidence therefore suggests that this should only be considered a *possible* allusion to Daniel 2.

Exegesis of the Allusion

Not long after Daniel had been taken into Babylonian exile, king Nebuchadnezzar had a disturbing dream that left him sleepless (Dan 2:1). Unable to understanding its meaning, he summoned "the magicians, the enchanters, the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans" to recount and interpret his dream (vv. 2-3).[170] No one except Daniel was able to. After requesting understanding from God, the mystery was revealed to Daniel who then stood before Nebuchadnezzar and disclosed its meaning.

In his dream, the king saw an idol made up of four different metals that was then smashed into pieces by a rock from out of nowhere, which became a mountain that filled the whole earth (vv. 31-35). The four metals represented four successive empires that would rise and fall, until God's eternal kingdom, represented by the rock, would be established (vv. 36-45). The phrase under consideration appears in Daniel's prayer of praise and thanksgiving to

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[169] Ciampa and Rosner, *First Letter to the Corinthians*, 125-26.

[170] Although the terms are used interchangeable, there were some subtle distinctions between these groups. See Goldingay, *Daniel*, 46.

God for revealing the dream and its meaning to him: "Blessed be the name of God forever and ever, to whom belong wisdom and might. He changes times and seasons [καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους]; he removes kings and sets up kings; he gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who have understanding" (vv. 20-21). The Babylonian empire may have appeared to be all powerful, but it is God who ultimately steers the course of history and gives power to whom he wills (v. 37).

The opening phrase of 1 Thess 5.1 "now concerning" (περὶ δὲ) indicates that Paul is about to address another issue which the believers had concerns about.[171] The theme is the same as that which preceded it, but the focus moves from concerns about the fate of the believers who had died (4:13-18) to the fate of the believers who were living (5:1-11).[172] The question had to do with the "the time and seasons" of the day of the Lord, about which, Paul says, "you have no need to have anything written to you" (5:1). This statement, along with the two definite articles, indicates that the terms were well known to the believers. Some commentators have tried to distinguish between "times" (χρόνων) and "seasons" (καιρῶν), with the former referring to the quantity or duration of time before the coming of the Lord and the latter referring to the quality or moment in time when it will take place.[173] Most interpreters regard such a distinction as unhelpful and interpret it as a hendiadys.[174] The phrase itself seems to have been used as a symbol for the end time period when divine

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[171] Cf. the same phrase in 1 Thess 4:9, 13. In 1 Corinthians περὶ δὲ is used to mark the beginning of Paul's responses to the specific questions of his audience (7:1, 25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1, 12).

[172] Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 177-78, observes that there is a transition from "the salvation to be brought about at the parousia" in 4:13-18 to the "impending judgment and the possible threat that this might pose to Christians" in 5:1-11. For a discussion concerning the apparent contrast between these two sections, see Smith, "The First Letter to the Thessalonians," 725-6.

[173] Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 144-5; Morris, *Thessalonians*, 148-9.

[174] While it is true that they were distinct in classical Greek literature, they had basically become synonymous by the first century CE. See Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 288; Fee, *Thessalonians*, 186; Nicholl, *Hope to Despair*, 50.

intervention and judgment would occur.[175] We cannot be certain what Paul had taught them

regarding this while he was with them, but what he says here seems to indicate that there

should not be any speculation about when the day of the Lord would come. His concern was

how it would come and how the believers should live in light of its imminence.

Effects of the Allusion

Once again, for those who have ears to hear, this allusion provides an insight into

Paul's understanding of the eschatological scenario which is based on the book of Daniel.

The events outlined in the interpretation of the dream in Daniel 2, and their fulfilment, were

to assure the Thessalonian believers that they had no need for worry or concern. God was in

full control of the final events that would precede the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ. He

was in control of the "times and seasons" and all that happens within them. It was not for

believers to know when the day of the Lord will come, but that they should be ready for it

when it does.

Summary

The present chapter has evaluated four intertextual relationships between 1

Thessalonians and Daniel. Apart from the possible echo of Daniel 8 in 1 Thess 2:16, the

references were found within Paul's description of the coming of the Lord (4:13-5:11). In this

passage we have observed that Paul merges a number of apocalyptic images that are drawn

from passages in Daniel that speak of God's coming salvation and the vindication of his

people. These images include resurrection as waking from the sleep of death, transportation

by clouds, and concern with the "times and seasons."

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[175] Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 178.

An examination of the precursor texts and the use of similar language in the gospel tradition has revealed that Paul re-read Daniel through the lens of this tradition, making the material his own. The four references to Daniel were taken from visions that portray the final events at the end of the age. They are therefore not random echoes, but are part of the apocalyptic story in which Paul and the believers found themselves living.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECHOES OF DANIEL IN 2 THESSALONIANS

The second letter to the Thessalonians begins much the same way as the first, with greetings from Paul, Silvanus and Timothy (1:1).[176] Unlike 1 Thessalonians, however, there is considerable debate regarding the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians. The question of Pauline authorship has primarily centred on two apparently contradictory lines of evidence – the similarities between the two letters on the one hand, and the differences between the two on the other.[177] This has led some to believe that it was more likely to have been written by one of Paul's followers towards the end of the first century.[178] Without reciting all of the arguments for and against authenticity,[179] the present study will proceed on the assumption that Paul was the author of 2 Thessalonians on the basis of the following considerations: 1) there is more external evidence in early Christian literature to support the Pauline authorship

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[176] There have always been a small number of commentators who have argued that 2 Thessalonians was written first. This position has been most comprehensively set forth by Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 37-45, whose arguments build on those of Thomas. W. Manson, *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1962), 259-78. For a defense of the traditional chronology, see Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 26-30; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 361-4.

[177] Carson and Moo, *An Introduction*, 537-39. For a history of interpretation, see Anthony C. Thiselton, *1 & 2 Thessalonians Through the Centuries* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 11-15. It would be fair to say that if we didn't have 1 Thessalonians, there would have probably been no question regarding the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians. Raymond F. Collins, "The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians," in *Letters That Paul Did Not Write: The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Pauline Pseudepigrapha* (Good News Studies 28; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), 215, notes that the relationship between the two letters lies at the heart of this debate. More specifically, had the letter not contained the apocalyptic passage in 2:1-12 there would have probably been no issue. See Fee, *Thessalonians*, 238.

[178] E.g. J. A. Bailey, "Who Wrote II Thessalonians?" *NTS* 25 (1979), 131-45; G. Holland, "'A Letter Supposedly from Us': A Contribution to the Discussion about the Authorship of 2 Thessalonians," in *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (ed. Raymond F. Collins; Leuven: Leuven University, 1990), 394-402.

[179] The most convenient summary of the arguments can be found in Green, *Thessalonians*, 59-64. For a more detailed evaluation of the debate, see Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 17-28; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 350-74.

of 2 Thessalonians than there is for 1 Thessalonians;[180] 2) the internal evidence not only refers to an earlier letter (2:15), the author claims that it is genuine (3:17);[181] 3) the situation-specific character of the letter, which would have been rejected if it was pseudonymous;[182] 4) contrary to much scholarly opinion, pseudonymity was not a well-accepted way of writing letters in early Christian communities;[183] 5) the differences in tone and style make good sense within the historical context since it appears that Paul's initial relief had turned to frustration;[184] and 6) the differences in eschatology are also better explained within the historical situation, as far as it can be reconstructed.[185]

As in the first letter, the biggest issue concerned the day of the Lord. As Paul wrote to encourage and remind them concerning its imminence and the events that would precede it, it seems reasonable to expect to hear significant echoes of scriptural passages that shed light on

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[180] Green, *Thessalonians*, 59. For a detailed study on the external attestation, the use of tradition and the literary style supporting the authenticity, see Daniel MacDougall, *The Authenticity of II Thessalonians with Special Reference to its Use of Traditional Material* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation; Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1993).

[181] Most probably in light of the fact that false letters had apparently been circulating under Paul's name (2.2). For Paul's practice of signing letters, see Jeffrey A. D. Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 118-35.

[182] Karl P. Donfried, *Paul, Thessalonica, and Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 66; cf. Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 373.

[183] See especially the studies by Terry L. Wilder, *Pseudonymity, the New Testament, and Deception* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004) and Jeremy N. Duff, *A Reconsideration of Pseudepigraphy in Early Christianity* (D.Phil. Thesis; University of Oxford, 1998), who both demonstrate that the appeal to pseudonymity is based on questionable assumptions. The evidence from early Christianity reveals that the practice of pseudonymity was rejected as being deceptive.

[184] Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica*, 53; Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 298 n. 23; Ford, *Abomination of Desolation*, 195-7.

[185] Nicholl, *Hope to Dispair*, 205-8. In addition to this, Fee, *Thessalonians*, 237, points out that "the writing of a commentary on this letter in and of itself tends to push one toward authenticity regarding authorship, so that there has been only one significant commentary in English over the past century and a half that has tried to make sense of this letter as a forgery." The commentary he refers to is that by Earl Richard in the Sacra Pagina series. However, even if it could be proven that Paul was not the author, a Pauline disciple would have known and drawn from the same scriptural passages and traditions that were important to his understanding.

the issue at hand. The present chapter will therefore examine a group of echoes of Daniel 7 in

2 Thess 1:5-10 and an allusion to Daniel 11 in 2 Thess 2:3-4.

Daniel 7 in 2 Thessalonians 1:5-10

Evaluation of the Echo

Daniel 7:9-10, 27 OG	2 Thessalonians 1:5-10
ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτου θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο, καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ χιὼν λευκόν, καὶ ἡ θρὶξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον καθαρόν, ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ <u>φλὸξ πυρός</u>, οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ <u>πῦρ φλέγον</u> ποταμὸς <u>πυρὸς</u> εἷλκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, <u>χίλιαι χιλιάδες</u> ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ, κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν, καὶ βίβλοι ἠνεῴχθησαν… καὶ ἡ <u>βασιλεία</u> καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ὑποκάτω παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐδόθη <u>ἁγίοις</u> ὑψίστου	ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς <u>βασιλείας</u> τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε, εἴπερ δίκαιον παρὰ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλῖψιν 7 καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ μετ᾽ <u>ἀγγέλων</u> δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐν <u>πυρὶ φλογός</u>… ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς <u>ἁγίοις</u> αὐτοῦ

The first potential reference to Daniel is a collection of images in 2 Thess 1:5-10 which also

appear in Dan 7:9-10, 27. This proposal meets the three criteria necessary for identifying

echoes: 1) common vocabulary, 2) common theme and linear development, and 3) scholarly

acknowledgment. There are four words that are shared between these two passages,

"kingdom" (βασιλεία), "fire" (πῦρ), "flame" (φλόξ), and "saint" (ἅγιος), with a possible fifth

referring to heavenly beings, the "thousand thousands" (χίλιαι χιλιάδες) and the "mighty

angels" (ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως). The same notion of deliverance through divine judgment upon

the oppressors of God's people and of the saints inheriting the kingdom is present in both

passages. While Daniel 7 has been referenced by a number of commentators as containing similar language, most consider Isaiah 66 to be the primary precursor text.[186]

While acknowledging the influence of Isaiah, what evidence is there to suggest that Daniel may have also had some influence on the language of this judgment scene? There are at least six elements in 2 Thess 1:5-10 that are also found in the vision of Daniel 7, some of which are absent in Isaiah 66.

First, both describe the eschatological judgment. Of all the divine judgment scenes in the Hebrew Scriptures, perhaps none stands out as vividly as that contained in the vision of Daniel 7. Second, Paul encourages the believers by reminding them that they were suffering for the sake of "the kingdom of God." The theme of God's kingdom is more central to Daniel than any other book in the Hebrew Scriptures.[187] An intrinsic aspect of being part of God's present and future kingdom involves persecution, it is therefore no surprise that this is also central to both passages. Third, the judgment that is executed in response to the persecution of God's people is often accompanied by heavenly beings. In Daniel 7, it is the "thousand thousands" that serve the Ancient of Days, in 2 Thessalonians 2, it is the "mighty angels." Fourth, the blazing fire that surrounds the Lord Jesus at His return is a common element in descriptions of theophany and divine judgment in the Hebrew Scriptures.[188] It is a significant feature in the vision of Daniel 7: the throne of the Ancient of Days was "fiery flames; its wheels were burning fire. A stream of fire issued and came out from before him" (vv. 9-10). Fifth, the fire that goes out from the presence of God is also the means by which the

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[186] Those that acknowledge Daniel 7 include Macky, *Cosmic War Myth*, 199-201; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 400; Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 195; Richard, *Thessalonians*, 307; Fee, *Thessalonians*, 257-60; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 226-7; Green, *Thessalonians*, 289; Bruce, *Thessalonians*, 151. For the influence of Isaiah 66, see esp. Roger D. Aus, "The Relevance of Isaiah 66:7 to Revelation 12 and 2 Thessalonians 1," *ZNW* 67 (1976), 252-68; idem., "God's Plan and God's Power: Isaiah 66 and the Restraining Factors of 2 Thess 2:6-7," *JBL* 96, no. 4 (1977), 537-53.

[187] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 330. For a survey of the kingdom of God in the Hebrew Scriptures, including Daniel, see Martin J. Selman, "The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament." *TynBul* 40, no. 2 (1989), 161-83.

[188] E.g. Exod 3:2-6; 19:18; Ps 18:8; Ezek 1:13, 27; Hab 3:4.

persecuting powers are eternally destroyed – the beast in Daniel 7 and those who do not know

God and those who do not obey the gospel in 2 Thess 1:8. Sixth, the same sequence of events

are found in both passages: the saints suffer persecution; the day of divine judgment arrives;

as a result the persecutors are destroyed and the saints are vindicated and receive the

kingdom. These parallels could hardly be accidental.

A number of these elements are also found in the descriptions of the return of Christ

in the gospel tradition.[189] The most similar account is Matthew 24 where there is judgment (v.

51), persecution (v. 9), the presence of the angels (v. 31), destruction (v. 22), and the saints

(those to whom the discourse was given). However, the absence of the "blazing fire" and the

inheritance of the kingdom by the suffering saints suggests that Paul is not totally dependent

on the gospel tradition. The description of the eschatological judgment in 2 Thess 1:5-10 is

more likely to have been based on his own reading of Daniel 7 alongside this tradition.[190]

The foregoing evaluation leads us to conclude that these references are echoes

because nothing from the original context is required to gain a more complete understanding

of Paul's description. However, because it is unclear whether Paul had Daniel 7 or Isaiah 66

or both in mind, it must be concluded that this is a *possible* echo.

Exegesis of the Echo

The notion of suffering followed by the inheritance of the kingdom and the

destruction of the persecuting power is the central theme in the vision of Daniel 7. The fourth

beast that arose out of the apocalyptic sea is distinguished from the previous three by its

destructive characteristics, "it had great iron teeth; it devoured and broke in pieces and

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[189] Shogren, *Thessalonians*, 250.

[190] It was pointed out in the previous chapter that Paul echoes Daniel 7 elsewhere (e.g. 1 Cor 6:7; 15:20-28) so that ground need not be covered again here.

stamped what was left with its feet… and it had ten horns" (v. 7). Then another small horn

grew appeared and destroyed three other horns, revealing the destructive nature it inherited

from the beast it grew out of.[191] It had eyes like human eyes and spoke pompous things (v. 8).

Daniel's attention then turned to the divine throne room (vv. 9-10), but returned to the little

horn power, specifically to the "great words" that it was speaking. Suddenly, the fourth beast

along with its horns were consumed in the fire (v. 11). At that point, the Son of Man figure

appeared and received dominion, glory and an eternal kingdom (vv. 13-14). The

interpretation of the vision reveals that the small horn would wage war against the saints and

persecute them "until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given for the saints of the

Most High, and the time came when the saints possessed the kingdom" (vv. 21-22).

Tribulation and inheriting the kingdom therefore belong together. This relationship is clearly

seen in the description of the coming judgment in 2 Thess 1:5-10.

Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians implies that the situation had deteriorated in

a number of areas. First, the believers were still enduring affliction and persecution; and

second, some had begun to assume that the day of the Lord had already arrived. Following

his prayer of thanksgiving (1:2-4), Paul first addressed the issue of suffering by referring to

the evidence of God's righteous judgment (v. 5). There is some uncertainty regarding the

meaning of "evidence" (ἔνδειγμα) and its relationship with "the righteous judgment of God"

(τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ).[192] The best explanation seems to be that since some of the

believers had assumed that the day of the Lord had come, a day when the world would be put

to rights, the persecution they were continuing to endure contradicted this understanding. As

a result, God's justice would have been seriously called into question. It is no surprise then

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[191] Collins, *Daniel*, 299, points out that horns are a symbol of power in the biblical tradition.

[192] Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 220, claims that "the interpretation of this verse is pivotal for a proper understanding of the whole letter."

that Paul deals with the righteousness of God's judgment up front.[193] Those who will inherit the kingdom are characterised by persecution which also serves to purify them so that they may be counted worthy of inheriting the kingdom of God (cf. 1 Thess 2:12).[194]

Paul continues to encourage the believers by once again drawing on a number of apocalyptic traditions (cf. 1 Thess 4:13-5:11).[195] D. S. Russell points out that the "doctrine of the last judgment is the most characteristic doctrine of Jewish apocalyptic. It is the great event towards which the whole universe is moving… On that day the wrongs will be set right."[196] There were at least two reasons why the persecution they were experiencing was evidence of God's righteous judgment. First, God would repay those who had been afflicting them with affliction (v. 6). Second, those who were afflicted would be granted relief (v. 7). Here we see the concept of the reversal of fortunes. Divine judgment is always double sided: it condemns the unrighteous and vindicates the righteous. Paul uses three prepositional phrases to describe the judgment: it is "from heaven" (ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ);[197] the Lord will be accompanied by "his mighty angels" (μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ); and his revelation will be "in blazing fire" (ἐν πυρὶ φλογός).[198] As a result, the wicked suffer eternal destruction and the Lord will be glorified in his saints (vv. 9-10).

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[193] Jouette M. Bassler, "The Enigmatic Sign: 2 Thessalonians 1:5," *CBQ* 46 (1984), 508-9. With some minor revisions, her position is followed by Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 222-3; Green, *Thessalonians*, 284; Nicholl, *Thessalonians*, 149-50.

[194] Cf. Rom 8:17; Acts 14:22; esp. Dan 11:35; 12:10. Whether this is referring to God's kingdom in its present or future state does not concern us here. However, most commentators prefer the latter e.g. Beale, *Thessalonians*, 184; Green, *Thessalonians*, 285; Bruce, *Thessalonians*, 149.

[195] Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 406.

[196] D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: SCM, 1964), 380.

[197] That he will come "from heaven" (ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ) is the exact same phrase used in 1 Thess 4:16 which indicates Paul is unpacking more of what he wrote there.

[198] English translations are divided over whether ἐν πυρὶ φλογός belongs to v. 7 (NIV, NASB, NCV) or v. 8 (ESV, NKJV, NRSV). There is some textual variation concerning this phrase, with some manuscripts having "in fire of flame" (ἐν πυρὶ φλογός) and others "in flame of fire" (ἐν φλογὶ πυρός). See discussion in Weima, "1-2 Thessalonians," 884. Cf. Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 400.

Effect of the Echo

The apocalyptic vision of Daniel 7 clearly seems to have shaped Paul's understanding of the final events as seen in his description in this passage. As pointed out in the previous chapter, this vision presents a direct challenge to the empires under which God's people have had to endure suffering. For those with ears to hear, this collection of echoes serves to remind the believers of the great hope they have of vindication and their inheritance of the kingdom "for which [they were] also suffering" (v. 5).

Daniel 10-12 in 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12

Evaluation of the Allusion

Daniel 11:31, 36 OG	2 Thessalonians 2:3-4[199]
11:31 καὶ σπέρματα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναστήσονται καὶ βεβηλώσουσιν <u>τὸ ἁγίασμα</u> τῆς δυναστείας καὶ μεταστήσουσιν τὸν ἐνδελεχισμὸν καὶ δώσουσιν βδέλυγμα ἠφανισμένον. 11:36 καὶ ποιήσει κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ <u>μεγαλυνθήσεται ἐπὶ πάντα θεὸν</u> καὶ λαλήσει ὑπέρογκα καὶ κατευθυνεῖ, μέχρις οὗ συντελεσθῇ ἡ ὀργή, εἰς γὰρ συντέλειαν γίνεται.	… ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ <u>ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα</u> λεγόμενον <u>θεὸν</u> ἢ σέβασμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς <u>τὸν ναὸν</u> τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεός.

Of all the potential references to Daniel in the Thessalonian correspondence, perhaps none is as clear and well attested as the allusion to the persecuting figure in Dan 11:30-45.[200] This proposal meets the four criteria necessary for identifying an allusion: 1) common vocabulary

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[199] A number of expressions in this chapter indicate that the author was aware of both the Greek and Hebrew text of Daniel. See Aus, "God's Plan and God's Power," 541-44.

[200] Vos, *Pauline Eschatology*, 111, states that Paul's dependence on Daniel "hardly requires pointing out."

and rare concept similarity, 2) common theme and linear development, 3) essential interpretive link, and 4) scholarly acknowledgment. Paul adapted the language to meet his purposes, substituting synonyms in his description of the eschatological opponent of God's people, a concept that appears only once in the Hebrew Scriptures.[201] The two passages describe the appearance of an eschatological figure that will cause trouble for God's people but will be brought to an end by divine intervention. This allusion to Daniel should be recognised in order to gain a more complete understanding of Paul's description of the events that will precede the day of the Lord. Of course, it is quite possible that his audience may not have had access to the book of Daniel, but the fact that he is reminding them of what they already knew (v. 5) indicates that what he had previously taught them was based on this apocalyptic scenario. Commentators are virtually unanimous that Paul was alluding to Daniel 11 in his description of this final foe.[202]

Echoes of other passages in the Hebrew Scriptures have also been heard in 2 Thess 2:1-12, the main ones being Ezekiel 28, Isaiah 11, 14, 66 and Deuteronomy 13.[203] While acknowledging their influence, the allusion to Daniel has the loudest volume.

David Wenham has noted a number of parallels between the gospel tradition and 2 Thessalonians 2. Both Paul and Jesus begin with a warning against false rumours that the day of the Lord had already arrived (2 Thess 2:2-3; Mark 13:5-7); that a terrible event would

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[201] While Paul clearly draws on language from Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28, neither describe an eschatological opponent.

[202] E.g. Shogren, *Thessalonians*, 280-2; Green, *Thessalonians*, 310; Beale, *Thessalonians*, 206-7; Fee, Thessalonians, 283 calls it an echo; Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 218 Malherbe, 420; Macky, *Cosmic War Myth*, 192-94; Holmes, *Thessalonians*, 231; Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 246-47; Weima, "1-2 Thessalonians," 887; Richard, *Thessalonians*, 327-8; Bruce, *Thessalonians*, 168; Marshall, *Thessalonians*, 190; Vos, *Pauline Eschtology*, 111; Best, *Thessalonians*, 288; Charles H. Giblin, *The Threat to Faith: An Exegetical and Theological Re-examination of 2 Thessalonians 2* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), 59-63; Frame, *Thessalonians*, 255. Contra Morris, *Thessalonians*, 222, who believes that Paul was so saturated with the language of the Hebrew Scriptures that he naturally made use of it here.

[203] Detailed studies of some of these as precursor texts include Aus, "God's Plan and God's Power," 537-53; Ivor H. Jones, "Once More, Isaiah 66: The Case of 2 Thessalonians," *in The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North* (ed. Steve Moyise; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 235-55.

happen first, referred to as the revealing of "the man of lawlessness" (2 Thess 2:3-8) and

"desolating sacrilege" (Mark 13:14-27), followed by a time of unprecedented distress; this

lawless one would perform deceptive signs and wonders, which are also spoken of in the

eschatological discourse (Mark 12:22). Wenham thus believes that "there is a case for seeing

2 Thessalonians 2 almost as a brief précis of the teaching of Jesus in Matthew 24 and Mark

13."[204] While the parallels are striking, there are some differences which indicate that Paul is

not entirely dependent on the gospel tradition: the absence of an eschatological enemy and

the power or person that restrains him; the absence of political and natural phenomena; and

the flight from the abomination of desolation. According to Lars Hartman, Paul shows an

awareness of the sources behind this tradition (i.e. Daniel) by supplementing it with

additional material from the Hebrew Scriptures.[205] The absence of the restraining power in

the gospel tradition, which is central to Paul's eschatological understanding in 2

Thessalonians 2, strongly supports this contention.

There are at least four points where Paul's dependence on Daniel is evident: the

apostasy; the eschatological enemy; the "mystery" of lawlessness; and the restrainer. This

should therefore be classified as a *probable*, if not *certain*, allusion to Daniel 7-12 in general,

and Daniel 11 in particular.

Exegesis of the Allusion

The vision of Daniel 10-12 was briefly outlined in the previous chapter: the vision

begins with the kingdoms of Persia and the Greece (vv. 2-4). The latter is then divided into

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[204] Wenham, *Paul and Jesus*, 117; cf. idem, *Paul: Follower of Founder*, 316-9. Jon Paulien, *What the Bible Says about the End-Time* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1994), 96, also notes that the only time the word "alarmed" (θροεῖσθαι) appears in the NT is in 2 Thess 2:2, Mark 13:7 and Matt 24:6. However, the circumstances in which the word is used is quite different: in the Synoptic Gospels, it concerns wars and rumours of wars; in 2 Thessalonians 2, it concerns rumours that the day of the Lord had already come.

[205] Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, 204-5.

northern and southern kingdoms and the relationship between them is described (vv. 5-20).

A ruler then rises in the north to take centre stage, conquering and destroying the opposition

(vv. 21-29). His attention is then turned towards the covenant community upon whom he

vents his anger. This attack on God's people will be in the form of persecution, deception and

desecration of the temple: he will favour those who have forsaken the holy covenant (v. 30);

seduce them through flattery to act wickedly towards it (v. 32); and defile the sanctuary by

setting up the abomination that causes desolation (v. 31). Many would be intrigued and join

them in this apostasy (v. 34). All of this seems to be contained in Paul's use of the word in 2

Thess 2:3.[206] He would then "exalt himself and magnify himself above every god" (v. 36).

After this blasphemous act, he will be brought to an end (v. 45).[207]

Although most commentators consider this to be a historical description of the actions

of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, there are several indications in vv. 40-45 that

point beyond him.[208] First, the language is more mythical and cosmic than that used up to this

point in the vision. Second, the period described is located in "the time of the end" (v. 40),

which is far beyond the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Third, the events in vv. 40-45 find no

parallel in his life or death. It is therefore reasonable to interpret this figure as an

eschatological enemy of God's people. This understanding is not only reflected in the

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[206] Vos, *Pauline Eschatology*, 111.

[207] These characteristics of "the man of lawlessness" are further enhanced by examining the way the vision of chaps 10-12 builds on those of chaps 7-8. Fraser, *Second Thessalonians*, 148-9, argues that the latter are much "richer source material." The little horn speaks great things (7:8, 20) and magnifies himself to the Prince of the host (8:11f; cf. 2 Thess 2:4); casts down truth (8:12; cf. 2 Thess 2:10f); persecutes the saints (7:22, 26f, cf. 2 Thess 2:8); until judgment is given for the saints (7:21, 25) which is followed by the reign of the son of Man (7:14, 27, cf. 2 Thess 2:8). Cf. Ford, *Daniel*, 252-3; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 283; Russell, *Method and Message*, 277.

[208] I am indebted to Longman, *Daniel*, 281, for these three points.

reappearance of this figure in subsequent apocalyptic literature,[209] but also Paul's reference to the same figure in 2 Thessalonians 2.

After comforting the believers in the face of persecution (1:5-10), Paul turns to address a false teaching that had to do with "the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and our being gathered together with him" (2:1).[210] Once again, the issue concerned the coming of Jesus and the events associated with it. Paul's continued use of apocalyptic language reveals that his concern here is more pastoral than doctrinal.[211] There is no clear evidence that the believers were asking questions about the day of the Lord or how Paul knew of the problem, but his opening statement (vv. 1-2) contains a number of words and phrases that indicate he is about to elaborate on what he wrote in 1 Thess 4:13-5:11.[212] Apparently, an idea had been circulating among the Thessalonian believers that the day of the Lord had "already come" (v 2).[213] Paul, uncertain about whether this teaching came "by a spirit or a spoken word, or a letter seeming to be from" him (v. 2), responded by encouraging them not to be shaken or alarmed by such a rumour. He warned them not to be deceived, and reminded them (v. 5) that the day of the Lord would not come until two things had taken place (v. 3).[214]

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[209] Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (trans. John Richard de Witt; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 513-4. The synoptic tradition also interprets the actions of Antiochus as foreshadowing a future antichrist (e.g. Mark 13:14).

[210] Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 414, notes how 2 Thess 1:5-10 is the presupposition for 2:1-12, as much as 1 Thess 4:14-28 was for 5:1-11. The second section of both deal with false doctrine.

[211] Giblin, *The Threat to Faith*, 41.

[212] This relationship is seen by Paul's presentation of the same three points in the same order: the coming of the Lord Jesus (1 Thess 4:15; 2 Thess 2:1); being assembled to meet him (1 Thess 4:17; 2 Thess 2:1); and the day of the Lord (1 Thess 5:1; 2 Thess 2:2).

[213] The verb ἐνέστηκεν has been interpreted in two ways: the day of the Lord "has already come" or the day of the Lord "is in the process of coming." While the majority of commentators prefer the former, some have argued for the latter. For a discussion of these two views, see Shogren, *Thesssalonians*, 275-7.

[214] Many commentators have seen a number of apparent inconsistencies between 2 Thess 2:1-4, which speaks of preliminary events, and 1 Thess 5:1-5, which speaks of imminence. A number of possible explanations have been advanced. See e.g. Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 207-8; Beale, *Thessalonians*, 143-57, 199-211.

The "falling away" or "rebellion" (ἀποστασία) must take place "first."[215] The definite article points to a specific event that both Paul and the believers were familiar with. Although the word ἀποστασία can refer to either political or religious apostasy, its usage in the LXX is always in a religious sense.[216] The context and clear allusion to Daniel's description of an eschatological enemy that would cause compromise among God's people confirms that this is the meaning it carries here.[217] There would thus be a time of backsliding from the faith. Second, "the man of lawlessness" (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας)[218] must be revealed (ἀποκαλυφθῇ).[219] Paul appears to be deliberately contrasting the revelation of the Man of Lawlessness with the revelation of the Lord Jesus in 2 Thess 1:7, the former being a parody of the latter.[220] He is therefore presented as a counterfeit messiah, referred to as the antichrist in the Johannine epistles.[221]

He is also called the "son of destruction," a title that is also used of Judas in John 17:12. The language "son of" is a Hebraism that is found throughout the New Testament which means "one who shares in, or stands in close relationship to someone or something."[222]

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[215] Although "first" (πρῶτον) may mean the apostasy would happen before the revelation of this antichrist figure, it probably applies to both events happening simultaneously. It is quite possible that the revelation of this figure will instigate the apostasy.

[216] E.g. Josh 22:22; 2 Chron 29:19; 33:19; Jer 2:19; 1 Macc 2:15; cf. Acts 21:21; 1 Tim 4:1; Heb 3:12.

[217] Beale, *Thessalonians*, 204. He goes on to list four reasons why this "apostasy" will occur within the covenant community: apostasy assumes a turning from God; this is consistent with its use in the Hebrew Scriptures; it is also consistent with the context of deception *within* the church; and it is supported by a similar passage in *Martyrdom of Isaiah* 2:4-5.

[218] Some ancient manuscripts have "of sin" (ἁμαρτίας) instead of "of lawlessness" (ἀνομίας), but the latter is to be preferred. See Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 419.

[219] The passive form of the verb indicates that it is God who reveals him, he is sovereign over these climactic events.

[220] This is further supported by the use of the word "coming" or "appearing" (παρουσία) for both in vv. 8 and 9.

[221] 1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 7.

[222] Fee, *Thessalonians*, 282.

Therefore, it does not refer to the destruction he causes, but to his own destruction, which is elaborated on in v. 8.[223]

Although Paul does not name this figure, he provides a number of characteristics by which he can be identified: 1) he "opposes and exalts himself against every so-called god or object of worship" (v. 4a); 2) "he takes his seat in the temple of God, proclaiming to be God (v. 4b); 3) he is presently being restrained (v. 6); he will perform deceptive signs and wonders by the power of Satan (vv. 9-10). Thus the Man of Lawlessness is not Satan himself, but a medium through which he opposes God and works to destroy his people.

While it is almost certain that Paul was alluding to the antagonistic figure in Daniel's vision, there are some subtle differences between the descriptions in Daniel 11 and 2 Thessalonians 2 that should be noted. When Paul alluded to the exaltation of this antagonist, he inserts "so-called god" (λεγόμενον θεὸν), perhaps to avoid putting the would-be gods on the same level as God himself.[224] In Daniel, the eschatological enemy exalts himself against every god, but only speaks against the God of gods, and in fact worships a foreign god (vv. 36-38), whereas "the man of lawlessness" claims to be God himself, and takes his seat in the temple of God.

After reminding the believers of the two future events and the accompanying deception that must precede the coming of the Lord Jesus (vv. 3-5), Paul warned them about the present deception that they must guard themselves against. Just because the antichrist had not yet come physically, "the mystery [μυστήριον] of lawlessness [was] already at work" (v. 7). This is another important word derived from the book of Daniel, the only place in the

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[223] i.e. "doomed to destruction" (NIV). Contra Wanamaker, *Thessalonians*, 245, who interprets the phrase as describing "his role as an agent of destruction for Satan."

[224] Frame, *Thessalonians*, 255.

Hebrew LXX where it appears in an eschatological setting.[225] His influence is not limited to the future, it is "already at work" through the lies and deceptions of false teachers, but the full manifestation of this eschatological enemy is currently being restrained.

The identity of who or what has been restraining Man of Lawlessness has been one of the great mysteries for commentators and, to a large extent, remains one. Outside of the canon, the word "to restrain" (κατέχειν) had the idea of restraining or holding in captivity.[226] In the New Testament the verb means to "hold fast" (e.g. Rom 7:6; 1 Cor 11:2; 1 Thess 5:21), but it can also mean "hold back," "delay," "restrain" (Luke 4:42; Rom 1:18; Philm 13). Part of the difficulty involves the switch between a neuter participle (τὸ κατέχον) in v. 6 and a masculine participle (ὁ κατέχων) in v. 7. This is perhaps best understood as referring to one event, but emphasising two aspects of it: the former emphasising the event itself, and the latter emphasising who is responsible for it.[227] Summaries and critiques of the various interpretations can be found in most commentaries so we will limit ourselves to that which is most relevant for the present study.[228]

A growing number of commentators have suggested that the one who restrains the Man of Lawlessness is the archangel Michael.[229] There are at least four points that support

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[225] Beale, *Thessalonians*, 218, notes that the use of μυστήριον throughout the New Testament indicates that prophecy is being fulfilled "but in an unexpected manner." See also his comprehensive study of all the uses of μυστήριον in the NT in idem, *Use of the Old Testament*, 215-72.

[226] Nicholl, *Hope to Despair*, 227 n. 10.

[227] Fee, *Thessalonians*, 286, although he believes it is "fruitless" to join in the speculation as to who is meant by these participles (286n. 64). Cf. Nicholl, *Thessalonians*, 247.

[228] E.g. Marshall, *Thessalonians*, 196-200; Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 432-3. It should also be stated here that no view is free from difficulty; it must be based on the weight of evidence.

[229] Vos, *Pauline Eschatology*, 131-32; Fraser, *Second Thessalonians*, 289-301; Hannah, *Michael and Christ*, 132-34; Nicholl, *Hope to Despair*, 225-49 (orginally published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* 51 [2000]:27-53); Beale, *Thessalonians*, 216-7, implies that it is Michael; Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 208-12; Shogren, *Thessalonians*, 287-88. Contra Best, *Thessalonians*, 296ff.

this position.[230] First, it makes the best sense within Paul's apocalyptic worldview and the

context of this passage. The image of an angel restraining or binding a demonic being is not

uncommon in apocalyptic literature.[231] Michael in particular was known as the protector of

God's people and was seen as the leader of the heavenly host.[232] Second, Paul's allusion to

the prophetic narrative of Daniel 10-12 would suggest that it might also contain some notion

of restraining. In the preface to the vision, Michael is said to be restraining the Prince of

Persia so that the revelation could be delivered to Daniel (10:13). While the verb "to restrain"

(κατέχειν) is not used in either the OG or TH translations for this verse, a similar word "to

hold against" (ἀντέχειν) is used in 10:31 to describe Michael's action with the princes of

Persia and Greece. Furthermore, Michael is present during the career of the eschatological

enemy and his "stand" marks a time of unprecedented distress (11:36-12:3). Nicholl has

convincingly argued that the OG rendering of "to stand" (עָמַד) in Dan 12:1 refers to standing

or passing aside. Since Paul frequently uses the LXX in his letters, this understanding would

have more than likely been known to him. Thus, when Michael stands aside, the final

eschatological rebellion will take place.[233] Third, the two occasions Michael is named in the

New Testament, he is presented as the opponent of an eschatological enemy (Jude 9; Rev 12).

Fourth, as an extension of the previous point, there is general consensus among

commentators that "the restrainer" refers to someone or something that is contrary to "the

man of lawlessness," a characteristic that naturally fits the role of Michael.

If indeed Michael is the one to whom Paul is referring, why is he not named? A

number of suggestions have been made. Darrel Hannah notes that a study of the noun "angel"

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[230] I am in debt to Nicholl, *Hope to Despair*, and Hannah, *Michael and Christ*, for the following arguments.

[231] Rev 20:2; 1 En 10:4, 11-12; 18:12-19.2; Tob 8:3; Jub 48:15; cf. Rev 7:1-3.

[232] 1 En 90:14; 2 En 22:6-7; 1QM 17:6-8a.

[233] Nicholl, *Hope to Despair*, 245; followed by Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 211.

(ἄγγελος) in the New Testament reveals that Paul is reluctant to use the word in his letters, preferring other terms instead. He believes this is possibly due to Paul's primarily Hellenistic audiences finding such references to angels uncultured.[234] Janice Fraser suggests two possible reasons: to avoid any speculation concerning angelic hierarchies, and to guard against angelic worship.[235]

Effects of the Allusion

The foregoing analysis leads us to conclude that Paul was not only alluding to Daniel, but picking up and developing the prophetic narrative of chapters 10-12.[236] Gordon Fee states that "with his adoption of the language of Daniel, Paul reveals his understanding of that passage as referring to an event that was yet to come."[237] The clearest indication of this is the use of the word μυστήριον in 2:7. It reveals that Paul understood the vision of the eschatological enemy in Daniel 11 "as beginning to be fulfilled in the Thessalonian church in an enigmatic manner not clearly foreseen by Daniel."[238] It is therefore quite reasonable to suggest that in 2 Thessalonians 2 we find "an updated version of Daniel's end-time imagery."[239]

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[234] Hannah, *Michael and Christ*, 122-3.

[235] "It is impossible to say whether Paul would have told the Thessalonians about Michael by name: he may have only spoken of a supernatural power or person, or he may have described Michael as the κατέχον and therefore only needed to repeat this term to recall his teaching to them." Fraser, *Second Thessalonians*, 299-300.

[236] G. K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 201. Although Antiochus Epiphanes may have fulfilled some of these characteristics, there is evidence that points beyond him to an eschatological figure. He is simply a shadow of what is to come (see Baldwin, *Daniel*, 199-200).

[237] Fee, *Thessalonians*, 283.

[238] Beale, *Thessalonians*, 218.

[239] Macky, *Cosmic War Myth*, 193.

Summary

The present chapter has evaluated two intertextual relationships between 2 Thessalonians and Daniel. A close investigation of 2 Thess 1:5-10 has revealed that there are a collection of echoes of Daniel 7 that, when pieced together, suggest that Paul is drawing on the same apocalyptic narrative that had proved a source of comfort to many generations of believers in the midst of suffering. Those who were persecuted would be vindicated and inherit the kingdom while those who were persecuting would be condemned to eternal destruction.

The allusion to Daniel 11 in 2 Thess 2:3-4 also revealed that Paul was not only using similar apocalyptic language, but developing the eschatological scenario in Daniel 10-12. He understood Daniel 11:30-45 in particular as awaiting its ultimate fulfilment in the appearance of an eschatological enemy. The implication of this is that while Antiochus may have foreshadowed this figure, he was not the fulfilment of the events described.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present study has been to: 1) offer a methodological approach for identifying if and where Paul alludes to or echoes the book of Daniel in 1 and 2 Thessalonians; 2) examine the effect these references have in their new context; and 3) explore how this informs us about Paul's understanding of Daniel. This final chapter will demonstrate how each of these aims have been achieved and offer some recommendations for further study.

Conclusions

First, the application of the methodological approach, informed by the literature review in chapter 2 and explained in chapter 3, has resulted in six potential references to Daniel: four in 1 Thessalonians and two in 2 Thessalonians. Three of these were classified as probable (Dan 12:2 in 1 Thess 4:13-15; 5:10; Dan 7:13 in 1 Thess 4:17; Dan 11:31, 36 in 2 Thess 2:3-4) and three were classified as possible (Dan 8:23 in 1 Thess 2:16; Dan 2:21 in 1 Thess 5:1; Dan 7:9-10, 27 in 2 Thess 1:5-10). The cumulative evidence reveals that Paul's language was indeed influenced by Daniel, although not always directly. The close affinities with passages in the Synoptic Gospels indicate that Paul was also familiar with an early Christian interpretation of Daniel that stood behind those passages. However, his supplementation of additional apocalyptic elements that are present in the Daniel but absent in the gospel tradition, indicates that he was not entirely dependent on them. It should therefore be concluded that Paul's language was influenced by his re-reading of Daniel through the lens of the gospel tradition.

Second, the effect of the intertextual relationships that have been examined in the present study reveal that Paul was not drawing on themes and passages that were disconnected from each other, but were part of the same apocalyptic narrative that had proved a source of comfort to many generations of believers in the midst of persecution. These references placed the Thessalonian believers within that continuing story which would reach its full consummation at the return of the Lord, when those who were persecuted would be vindicated, and those who were persecuting would be condemned and destroyed. Furthermore, this suggests continuity between God's covenant people in the Hebrew Scriptures and those who belong to Christ. The promises that are true for Abraham's physical descendants are true for his spiritual descendants (cf. Gal 3.29).

Finally, these intertextual relationships have provided us with a glimpse of Paul's understanding of Daniel. He was not randomly drawing on types and patterns from unconnected events. He read the Scriptures as Israel's story moving toward its climax in the coming of Jesus and its consummation at his return. This was seen in his development of the eschatological role of Michael the archangel and of the eschatological enemy. His interpretation of the ultimate fulfilment of the events in Daniel 11:36-45 as being still future have a number of implications for the way that vision is understood. It cannot simply be history written down after the fact, nor some form of quasi-prophecy. We have also cautiously observed that Paul may have understood the Son of Man in Daniel 7 as having a collective rather than individual identity. However, it would be unwise to make any conclusions regarding this on the basis of such limited evidence.

Recommendations for Further Study

Due to the limitations of the present study, only a brief assessment was made of the interpretive traditions that had grown up around particular apocalyptic phrases and images in Daniel. Further study of the way in which the book of Daniel was read and interpreted in the first century CE would help to locate Paul's references more firmly within his historical context and would provide insightful comparisons with the way Daniel, and his imagery, was used and interpreted by Paul's contemporaries. This would also go a long way toward gaining some possible understanding of why Paul never refers to Daniel in the same way that he does to so many other books in the Hebrew Scriptures.

The application of the methodological approach to 1 and 2 Thessalonians has proven useful in evaluating potential references to Daniel. It would therefore be recommended to apply this approach, with modifications in line with the previous paragraph, to Paul's other letters to see if they yield similar results. It is hoped that the results of the present study will be a catalyst for an ongoing investigation of the full significance of Daniel as an influential source for Paul.

APPENDIX

Daniel	Paul	UBS4	NA28	NTOT	WBC	AB	ICC	PNTC	NIGTC	SacPag	Hermeneia
Dan 5:28	Rom 9:28		•		•	•	•				
Dan 2:18-19, 27-30, 47	Rom 11:25-26				•	•	•			•	
Dan 2:18 (TH)	Rom 12:1		•			•					
Dan 2:21	Rom 13:1		•							•	
Dan 8:17, 19; 11:35	Rom 13:11									•	
Dan 2:18-19, 27-30, 47	Rom 16:25-26										
Dan 2:20-22	1 Cor 1:24							•		•	
Dan 2:19-22	1 Cor 2:6-8, 10-11		•	•		•		•		•	
Dan 7:22	1 Cor 6:2	•	•	•		•		•	•	•	
Dan 4:9 (TH)	1 Cor 13:2			•				•			
Dan 3:95	1 Cor 13:3		•	•							
Dan 2:47	1 Cor 14:25	•	•			•		•			
Dan 2:44	1 Cor 15:24	•									
Dan 7:14	1 Cor 15:24							•			
Dan 12:2-3	1 Cor 15:40-41							•	•		
Dan 2:18-19, 27-30, 47	Eph 1:9				•		•	•		•	
Dan 4:27	Eph 1:19		•								
Dan 12:3	Eph 2:15	•									
Dan 2:18-19, 27-30, 47	Eph 3:3, 5, 9			•							
Dan 2:8	Eph 5:16		•		•		•	•			
Dan 12:3	Phil 2:15		•			•		•	•	•	
Dan 12:1	Phil 4:3	•			•	•		•	•	•	
Dan 2:18-19, 27-30, 47	Col 1:26-27; 2:2; 4:3			•	•			•	•		•
Dan 2:8	Col 4:5					•		•	•		•
Dan 8:23	1 Thess 2:16			•		•	•	•	•	•	
Dan 12:2	1 Thess 4:13-15					•	•		•		
Dan 7:13	1 Thess 4:16-17			•	•	•		•		•	
Dan 2:21	1 Thess 5:1					•	•		•	•	
Dan 12:2	1 Thess 5:6, 10				•				•	•	
Dan 7:9-10, 13-14	2 Thess 1:7			•	•	•		•	•	•	
Dan 11:36	2 Thess 2:3-4	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Dan 2:18-19, 27-30, 47	2 Thess 2:7				•					•	
Dan 6:21, 28	2 Tim 4:17	•	•		•					•	

This table represents a compilation of potential references to Daniel that have been acknowledged in the letters of Paul. The list has been compiled on the basis of what scholars and commentators have agreed on. The indexes in the fourth edition of the United Bible Societies *Greek New Testament* (UBS4) and the twenty-eighth edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (NA28) were consulted and formed a baseline which was supplemented by a selection of commentaries representing different approaches to Paul. These include the *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (OTNT),[240] the Word Biblical Commentary (WBC) series,[241] the Anchor Bible (AB) series,[242] the International Critical Commentary (ICC) series,[243] the Pillar New Testament Commentary (PNTC) series,[244] the New International Greek Testament Commentary (NIGTC) series,[245] the Sacra Pagina (SacPag) series,[246] and the Hermeneia series.[247]

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[240] G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson, *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007).

[241] James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (WBC 38B; Waco, TX: Word, 1988); Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990); Ralph P. Martin and Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians* (WBC 43; Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1983); Peter T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon* (WBC 44; Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1982); F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (WBC 45; Waco, TX: Word, 1982); William D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles* (WBC 46; Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2000). At the time of this study, the volume on 1 Corinthians had not yet been published.

[242] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; New York, NY: Doubleday, 1993); idem, *First Corinthians* (AB 32; New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2008); Markus Barth, *Ephesians 1-3* (AB 34; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974); John H. P. Reumann, *Philippians* (AB 33B; New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2008); Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke, *Colossians* (trans. Astrid B. Beck; AB 34B; New York, NY: Doubleday, 1994); Abraham J. Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians* (AB 32B; New York, NY: Doubleday, 2000).

[243] C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, vol. 2. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1979); Ernest Best, *Ephesians* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998); James Everett Frame, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1912); I. Howard Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999). At the time of this study, the updated volume on 1 Corinthians by Earl E. Ellis had not yet been published.

[244] Colin G. Kruse, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (PNTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012); Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010); Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999); Gene L. Green, *The Letters to the Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002). At the time of this study, no volume on the Pastoral Epistles had been published.

[245] Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmens, 1991); James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996); Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990). At the time of this study, no volumes had been published on Romans and Ephesians.

A mark has been made to indicate when a Greek New Testament or commentator makes some kind of reference to a text in the book of Daniel that contains language similar to that of Paul. They may not recognise any intertextual relationship, but their acknowledgement of the similarity provides an appropriate place to begin evaluating whether or not a relationship exists.

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[246] Brendan Byrne, *Romans* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1996); Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1999); Margaret Y. MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000); Bonnie B. Thurston and Judith M. Ryan, *Philippians and Philemon* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2005); Earl J. Richard, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2007); Benjamin Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2007).

[247] Robert Jewett, *Romans* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2007); Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Philadelphia, PN: Fortress, 1975); Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (trans. William R. Poehlmann and Robert J. Karris; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1971); Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1972). At the time of this study, no volumes had been published on Ephesians and 1-2 Thessalonians.

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