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THE INTERMEDIATE STATE IN LUKE - ACTS

J. Osei-Bonsu.

It has been maintained that in Luke we find an abandonment of the apocalyptic idea of the resurrection of the body at the Parousia. Instead, what we have, it is claimed, is the idea of an immortal soul whose future destiny is decided at the moment of death. Luke 16:19-31 and 23:43 are adduced in support of this view. Thus E. Schweizer, who is opposed to the whole concept of the intermediate state in the NT, can say: "... Luke... seems to be interested in a bodily resurrection... immediately after death (16:22 ff.?.; 23:43?) and thus avoids expressions which might suggest the mere survival of the soul" ² In a similar vein C.G. Montefiore can say that in Luke 16:19-31 Luke adopts the Greek view of the after-life, according to which "instead of waiting, all alike, in Hades or Sheol, till the Resurrection and the last Judgment, the good and the bad are judged at once. Straightway after death, the good go to heaven, the bad to hell".³

It is the purpose of this article to show that both Luke 16:19-31 and 23:43 imply the intermediate state of the soul between death and resurrection, and hence do not support the thesis that in these passages Luke has adopted a Greek view of the after-life. We shall also show that our interpretation of these Lucan passages is supported by Acts 2:27,31 which, as we shall demonstrate, refer to the intermediate state.

Luke 16:19-31

Before stating our reasons for interpreting this parable of Dives and Lazarus as referring to the intermediate state, we must first say a few words about an Egyptian folk tale which has been adduced as its background and which features in all discussions of the parable.⁴

The story concerns a young boy, Senosiris (Si-Osiris), who is born to a prince called Satmi in answer to the prayer of his wife who had been barren up to that time. He is born as the reincarnation of an ancient sage.

One day, in Memphis, Satmi saw the splendid funeral of a rich man and the squalid burial of a poor man, both of whom had died about the same time. He is surprised when his son, Senosiris, expresses the wish that when his father died he would be like the poor man. To explain this mysterious statement to his father, he takes him to the next world. There, in the seventh hall, they see the god Osiris sitting in judgment. They see a man arrayed in fine linen and standing next to Osiris, and he is identified as the poor man who had received the squalid burial. They also see the rich man who is being tormented, and Senosiris explains to his father that the poor man's good deeds had so outweighed his misdeeds that he had been given a place of honour near Osiris, who decreed that he should be given the funeral equipment of the rich man, who had been condemned for his injustice.

According to H. Gressman⁵ this Egyptian story came into Palestine where it appeared in seven different versions. The earliest version tells the story of a poor student and a rich publican, Bar Ma'jan. When the poor student dies he receives a squalid burial, whereas the rich publican receives a splendid burial because of one good deed he had performed. A friend of the scholar, however, had a dream in which he saw the poor man walking in the gardens and parks beside springs of water, while Bar Ma'jan was tormented, like Tantalus, unable to reach the water. Thus the student had no reward in this life, so that he might be fully rewarded in the after-life, while the publican was rewarded for his one good act in this life, so that he might not be rewarded in the next.

Some scholars think that the Lucan parable is based on such a funeral story. But we cannot here go into the question of the relationship between the parable and the Egyptian story.⁶ Rather we shall concentrate our attention on the question of whether the story as we have it in Luke teaches the intermediate state and whether its Egyptian counterpart throws any light on the question of the intermediate state in Luke.

J. Jeremias takes Luke 16:19-31 to refer to the intermediate state. He writes, "That Lk.16:22-31 refers to the state after death and not after the last judgment may be seen from the use of the word $\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$ in 16:23 (not $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha$) and also from comparison with the Egyptian and later Jewish story which Jesus uses".

In connection with the first point made in the above quotation, we should note that Jeremias says that the NT makes a 'sharp distinction' between Hades and Gehenna:

"This distinction is a. that Hades receives the ungodly only for the intervening period between death and resurrection, whereas Gehenna is their place of punishment in the last judgment; the judgment of the former is thus provisional but the torment of the latter eternal (Mk.9:43 and par., 9:48). It is then b. that the souls of the ungodly are outside the body in Hades, whereas in Gehenna both body and soul, reunited at the resurrection, are destroyed by eternal fire (Mk.9:43 and par., 45,47 and par., 48; Mt. 10:28 and par.)"⁸

W.J.P. Boyd, however, has challenged this distinction, maintaining that "Gospel usage...suggests that Gehenna and Hades are synonymous terms".⁹ With regard to Luke 16:19-31 he argues that Hades does not refer to the intermediate abode of disembodied souls. He adduces the following reasons: (a) Dives' punishment takes place in Hades, not Gehenna. (b) The description of Dives in bodily terms shows that he is not a disembodied soul. (c) There is no indication that Dives' punishment in Hades is provisional. (d) Abraham's statement that Dives's brothers do not have to go to Hades if they believe and obey Moses and the prophets shows that Hades is not the place where the dead must necessarily go.¹⁰

In order to decide whether Jeremias or Boyd is correct, we must briefly examine the NT usage of the terms Hades and Gehenna; in particular we must determine whether Luke makes a distinction between Hades and Gehenna.

We start with Gehenna which occurs twelve times in the New Testament.¹¹ According to Matt. 5:22 the person who calls his brother 'fool' shall be liable to the Gehenna of fire. In Matt. 5:29 Jesus advises that the eye that is the cause of sin should be plucked out, lest the whole body be cast into Gehenna. Matt. 5:30 repeats the same thought for the offending right hand. In Matt. 18:8-9 and Mark 9:43-48 it is said that the offending hand and foot should be cut off lest the whole body be cast into Gehenna. According to Matt. 10:28 both soul and body can be destroyed in Gehenna. In the parallel passage, Luke 12:4-5, which does not contain the word 'soul', it is said that God has the power to kill and cast into Gehenna. In Matt. 23:15 Christ speaks of the scribes and the Pharisees making a proselyte "a son of Gehenna" (υἱὸν γέεννης). In Matt. 23:33 Christ speaks of "the judgment of Gehenna" which will affect the scribes and the Pharisees. Finally in Jas. 3:6 it is said that the fiery tongue of malice is lit by the flames of Gehenna.

From the use of 'Gehenna' in these passages we can draw the following conclusions:

- (1) Gehenna is regarded as a place of punishment.
- (2) This punishment is by means of fire (cf. Matt. 5:22; 18:8,9; Mark 9:43-48; Jas. 3:6).
- (3) This fire is eternal (cf. Mark 9:44 εἰς τὴν γέενναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀβύσσου; 9:48: τὸ πῦρ οὐ βρένυσται)
- (4) People in this place or state are presented as having bodies (cf. the references to 'eye', 'right hand', 'hand and foot', 'body', 'tongue', etc.).

Next we look at 'Hades' which occurs ten times in the NT. In Rev. 1:18 Christ has the keys of death and Hades.¹² Hades here clearly refers to the abode of the dead. In Rev. 6:8 Hades is personified and rides after Death. In Rev. 20:13 Hades yields up the death for judgment. Here Hades clearly denotes the intermediate abode of the dead between death and judgment.¹³ In 20:14 Death and Hades are flung into the fiery lake. Since its duty of holding the

dead in the interim between death and judgment is over, Hades is flung into the lake of fire. Though Boyd says that "the lake of fire is not identified with Gehenna",¹⁴ it most probably is to be identified with Gehenna. If it is not Gehenna, what is it? In any case, the fact that Hades is destroyed in the fiery lake shows that it has no permanent character, and supports the view that it is the temporary abode of the souls of all the dead except those of the martyrs (6:9) who, because of their martyrdom, have been given the privilege of going to heaven immediately after death.

In Matt. 11:23 (par. Luke 10:15) it is said that Capernaum will be brought down from Heaven to Hades. This saying seems to allude to Isa. 14:13,15, where the King of Babylon who is described as saying 'I will ascend to heaven' is brought down to Sheol.¹⁵ The LXX rendering of Sheol in this Isaiah passage as Hades indicates that the term refers to the abode of the dead. The same is probably true of Matt. 11:23 and Luke 10:15. Whereas in the OT Sheol was regarded as the abode of the dead generally, in NT times it came to be regarded also as a place of punishment (cf. Dives in Hades). Here in a context where Christ condemns Capernaum, "the thought is not merely of humiliation, but also perhaps of punishment".¹⁶

In Matt. 16:18 Christ promises that "the gates of Hades" will not prevail against the Church. The idea of the gates here is that they prevent the inhabitants of Hades from leaving.¹⁷ It gives the idea of a prison, Christ's promise is that the gates "will not close to imprison (in death) those who belong to the messianic community".¹⁸ Thus the powers of the underworld, the abode of the dead, will not overcome the Church. Hades here is the abode of the dead.

In Acts 2:27 where Luke quotes Ps.16:10 the term 'Hades' occurs: "For thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades, nor let thy Holy One see corruption". Luke regarded Hades as a temporary abode, as an intermediate state before

the resurrection, because in his comment on Ps. 16:10 given in Acts 2:31 he says, "He (i.e. David) foresaw and spoke of the resurrection of Christ, that he was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption". According to Luke then Jesus' body was buried in a tomb (Luke 23:50-56). God preserved this body from decay (ἡλικία-ψόρα, Acts 2:27,31) and his soul went down to Hades (Acts 2:32) on the third day (Luke 9:22; 18:33) as a unity of flesh, bones and spirit (Luke 24: 36-43).¹⁹

Acts 2:24 also throws light on Luke's view of Hades here as the intermediate state. Here God is said to have raised Jesus up "having loosed the pangs of death, because it was not possible for him to be held by it". Hades is here presented as travailing with many souls in her womb. We find the same idea in 4 Ezra 4:41-42 where the intermediate state is in view.²⁰

If, for the moment, we leave aside the use of Hades in Luke 16:23, we can draw the following conclusions about other occurrences of the term in the NT:

- (1) Hades is used of the abode of the dead (cf. especially Rev. 1:18; 20:13; Matt. 11:23 (par.Luke 10:15); Matt. 16:18; Acts 2:27).
- (2) Hades is clearly presented as the intermediate abode of the dead in Rev. 20:13,14; Acts 2:27.

Now the question arises whether 'Hades' in Luke 16:23 should be taken to refer to the intermediate state as in Acts 2:27; Rev. 20:13,14, or whether it should be taken to mean a place of eternal punishment equivalent to Gehenna. In our view it must refer to the intermediate state. It is unlikely that Luke would have used Hades to refer to the intermediate state in Acts 2:27 and to the final state of eternal punishment in Luke 16:23. Moreover the objections advanced by Boyd against taking Hades in Luke 16:23 to refer to the intermediate state are not convincing:

(a) He says that Dives' punishment takes place in Hades, not Gehenna. This is undeniable, but we must note that punishment was sometimes a feature of the intermediate state also (cf. 1 Enoch 22).

(b) Boyd appeals to the description of Dives and Lazarus in bodily terms to show that they are not regarded as disembodied spirits in the intermediate state; rather, he says, they are in the final state with their bodies.²¹ But we should point out that they are described in bodily terms, for as I.H. Marshall correctly says, "there is no other way in which they can be visualized".²²

(c) With regard to Boyd's argument that there is no indication that Dives' punishment in Hades is provisional, we can say that neither is the punishment said to be eternal, as in Matt. 18:8-9; Mark 9: 43-48 where 'Gehenna' is used.

(d) Finally Boyd says that Dives' request that his five brothers should be warned so that they do not "come to this place of torment too" shows that Hades is not the place where all the dead must necessarily go. But "this place of torment" need not refer to Hades as a whole, but rather that section of Hades where Dives was. Part of the problem here is that those scholars who deny that Hades refers to the intermediate state assume that only Dives is in Hades.²³ Indeed Lazarus is said to be in "Abraham's bosom", but the crucial question here is where "Abraham's bosom" is located. This is not stated in the passage. It is likely that 'Abraham's bosom' was in Paradise, for the patriarch, according to Test. Abr. 20A, is regarded as being in Paradise. We must add, however, that Abraham's bosom' is nowhere used as a synonym for Paradise. It is likely that Abraham's bosom' was located in Hades. A great gulf is said to separate Lazarus and Dives, and this suggests that their abodes faced each other. The probability that their abodes were in Hades is suggested by the Egyptian folk tale which underlies

the Lucan story. In the Egyptian story both the publican and the student are in different sections of the same region of the underworld (Amnte); the same may be true of the Lucan account. Thus 'Abraham's bosom' where Lazarus is, and 'this place of torment' where Dives is, represent respectively the blessed and unblessed section of Hades.²⁴ The fact that they are separated by an unbridgeable gulf does not speak against their being temporary abodes,²⁵ as is shown by 1 Enoch 22 where the intermediate state is in view.

A further argument for the view that Luke 16:19-31 refers to the intermediate state derives from the strong similarities between this Lucan passage and 1 Enoch 22 which refers to the intermediate state of souls between death and judgment.²⁶ According to 1 Enoch 22:8!12 Hades is divided into compartments ("hollow places") for the righteous and wicked souls. We find a similar division between the abode of the good Lazarus and the wicked rich man, for according to Luke 16:16 "a great gulf" (Χάσμα μέγα) separates Lazarus from Dives. It is noteworthy that the expression Χάσμα μέγα , which occurs only here in the entire NT, is found also in 1 Enoch 18:11 where it denotes an abyss where souls are punished.

1 Enoch 22:3-4 speaks of certain "hollow places" in which are kept the souls of the dead until the day of judgment. In the compartment for the spirits of the righteous is found "a bright spring of water" (1 Enoch 22:9; cf. 22:2). In Luke 16:24 we learn that there is water in the place where Lazarus is, since Dives requests Abraham to send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water to cool his tongue. Against this background of 1 Enoch 22:9, Dives' request for water becomes more intelligible, since the water was found only in the compartment of the righteous. Also, if the water of 1 Enoch 22:2,9, is the magical water of life mentioned in 1 Enoch 17:4, then this would satisfactorily explain how a single drop of water could completely quench Dives' thirst (Luke 16:24).²⁷

1 Enoch 22: 10-11 speaks of a compartment for rich sinners who escaped punishment in this life. Similarly we read in Luke that Dives, who "feasted sumptuously every day" and had his share of "good things" in this life, receives punishment in his section of Hades (16:19). Both 1 Enoch 22:10 and Luke 16:25 use $\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ for "life-time" which is remarkable especially since "the use of $\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ in this sense of 'life time' is almost if not quite unique in the New Testament. 1 Cor. 15:19 and, less clearly 1 Tim. 4:8, are the only passages which show any resemblance to this usage".²⁸ Also striking is the use of the word $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\upsilon\sigma$ in both 1 Enoch (22:11) and in Luke (16:23,28). This word occurs only here in Luke and in Matt. 4:24.

In both 1 Enoch 22 and 4 Ezra (7:85-86,93) the righteous and wicked souls in the intermediate state of Hades see one another; this is also the case with Dives and Lazarus in Luke's story, though we must add that in the final state also (after the last judgment) the good and the bad can see one another (Luke 13:28).

Finally, just as Dives was fully conscious of his situation after death and remembered his brothers who ran the risk of torment in Hades, so also, according to 1 Enoch 22:5-7 Abel was fully aware of his plight, and made suit against his brother Cain who had killed him.

In view of all these similarities, especially in the case of the words $\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota\alpha$, $\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ and $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\upsilon\sigma$, it is likely that there is some relationship between Luke 16:19-31 and 1 Enoch 22,²⁹ and that the Lucan passage, like 1 Enoch 22, refers to the intermediate state.

From all the foregoing it seems most probable that the Lucan passage teaches, not the final state, but the intermediate state. For Luke Hades is the place where all the dead go (Acts 2:27f.). The section for the righteous souls is called 'Abraham's bosom' which may be identical with Paradise. The wicked go to another section where they receive preliminary punishment before the final judgment, after which they are thrown into Gehenna (Luke 12:4-5).³⁰

This picture of Luke's eschatology is not contradicted by Luke 23:43 which we shall now discuss.

Luke 23:43

Some scholars claim that Jesus' words to the dying thief ("Today thou shalt be with me in Paradise", Luke 23:43) imply that he and the criminal would pass immediately after death into paradise, which they identify with heaven. Thus C.G. Montefiore can say that Jesus' promise to the dying thief is that "he shall not merely 'rise' and take part in the Kingdom, but he shall pass at once after death into paradise. Paradise must mean heaven, the heavenly paradise".³¹ But it seems to me that we cannot be sure that 'Paradise' here refers to heaven.

The word 'Paradise' is a loan word from Old Persian (Pairi-daeza)³² In Persian the word referred to a nobleman's or a king's park. The word was adopted into Greek and was used in this sense by the LXX in Neh.2:8; Cant.4:13; Eccl. 2:5. The LXX also used the word 'Paradise' to translate the Garden of Eden in Gen.2-3. Various ideas were held about 'Paradise' in later Judaism. It was believed that as a result of Adam's sin Paradise was removed and hidden at the very end of the earth (1 Enoch 60:23), in the East (2 Enoch 31:1; 43:3; 1 Enoch 32:2) or in the North (1 Enoch 77:3); other Jews believed that Paradise was hidden on a mountain or in heaven: in the third heaven, according to 2 Enoch 8:1-8, or in the seventh heaven, according to Asc. Isa. 9:7. It was believed that Paradise, which existed in a hidden form, would be restored to man in the age to come (cf. 2 Baruch 51:10f.) when the Messiah would "open the gates of Paradise" (Test. Levi 18:10). But in some strands of Judaism it was believed that the souls of some righteous men went to this hidden paradise at death: paradise houses the souls of the departed patriarchs, according to 1 Enoch 70:4; Test. Abr. 20A; Apoc. Mos. 37:5, as well as the souls of the elect and the righteous (1 Enoch 60:7f.,23; 61:12; 70:4).

In the NT the term 'Paradise' occurs only three times: in 2 Cor.12:4; Rev. 2:7 and Luke 23:43. In 2 Cor. 12:2 Paul speaks of being caught up "even to the third heaven",

In Rev. 2:7 the term is used as a symbol of heaven and its bliss.

The meaning of the term in Luke 23:43 is not easy to determine. Some scholars have suggested that Jesus expected that his death on the cross would result in an immediate ushering in of the general resurrection and the new age, so that he and the criminal would be in heaven, the new Eden, on that day of crucifixion. This interpretation recognises that the use of $\delta\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon$ here as in Luke 2:11; 4:21; 5:26; 19:11 implies that the era of salvation has arrived on that calendar day of crucifixion. This interpretation, however, is unlikely since Luke did not hold that the resurrection and the new age would come with the day of crucifixion.

Alternatively, Jesus may have meant that he and the criminal would go that day to the heavenly paradise as it is presented in 2 Cor. 12:2 and 2 Enoch 8:1-4, possibly as a result of martyrdom. One could in fact appeal to S.Dt.32:4, 307 (133) which expresses a similar hope of entry into the world to come after a martyr death.³³ But this view is not easy to reconcile with Luke's teaching elsewhere (Acts 2:27,31) that Jesus did not ascend immediately to heaven but went to Hades to await his resurrection and ascension.

G.W. MacRae³⁴ thinks that it is impossible to determine on exegetical grounds alone whether Paradise here in Luke 23:43 refers to heaven itself or a place where the souls of the righteous await redemption. In my opinion, however, in view of the fact that Luke in Acts 2:27,31 regarded Christ's soul as going to Hades, it is possible that Luke regarded Paradise here, like Abraham's bosom, as the blessed section of Hades, the intermediate state. Thus Jesus may be promising the criminal that he would be with him that day in the paradisiacal section of Hades where the righteous souls await resurrection.³⁵

If our interpretation of Hades (Luke 16:23) and Paradise (Luke 23:43) is correct, then it cannot so easily be maintained that Luke has abandoned the apocalyptic idea of the resurrection of the body at the Parousia and has adopted a Greek view of the after-life.

Notes:

1. J. Dupont, "Die individuelle Eschatologie im Lukas Evangelium und in der Apostelgeschichte", in Festschrift J. Schmid, Orientierung an Jesus, 1973; C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (2 vols., New York, 1968 (first edition 1972) Vol. 2 p.538; J.M. Creed, The Gospel according to St. Luke (London, 1965 (first edition 1930)) 212-13; H.J. Michel, "Heilsgegenwart und Zukunft bei Lukas", in Gegenwart und Kommendes Reich (Schülegabe Anton Vögtle, ed. P. Fiedler und D. Zellar, Stuttgart, 1975) 111; J. Wellhausen, Das Evangelium Lucae (Berlin, 1904) 91.
2. E. Schweizer, IDNT 9, 656.
3. C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, Vol. 2, p.538.
4. See. F.L. Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis (Oxford, 1900) 44-50; G. Maspero, Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt (London, 1915) 144-50; see also H. Gressmann, Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus (Berlin, 1918); J.M. Creed, The Gospel according to St. Luke, 208-210; I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke (The New International Greek Testament Commentary : Exeter, 1978) 632-39.
5. H. Gressman, Vom reichen Mann and armen Lazarus; cf. J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus (London, 1963^c) 182-87.
6. For this, see, among others, J. Jeremias, Parables, 182-87; J.D.M. Derrett, "Fresh Light on St. Luke xvi.II. Dives and Lazarus and the preceding Sayings" NTS 7

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6. (1960/61) 364-80; Law in the New Testament, (London, 1970) 78-99; H.J. Cadbury, "A Proper Name for Dives", JBL 81 (1962) 399-402; K. Grobel, "Whose Name was Neves", NTS 10 (1963/64) 373-82; C.H. Cave, "Lazarus and the Lucan Deuteronomy". NTS 15 (1968/69) 319-25; C.F. Evans, "Uncomfortable Words - V (Lk 16:31)", ExpTim. 81 (1969/70) 228-31; O. Glombitza, "Der reiche Mann und der arme Lazarus", Nov.T. 12 (1970) 166-80;
7. J. Jeremias, TDNT, V, 769 n. 37; cf. also J. Jeremias, Parables, 184-85.
8. J. Jeremias, TDNT, I.658.Cf. also H. Bietenhard, (in C. Brown (ed.), The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (hence NIDNTT) : Exeter, 1975-78, Vol. 2, p.208) who says of Gehenna: "It was also to be distinguished from Hades which houses the souls of the dead before the last judgment."
9. W.J.P. Boyd, "Gehenna - According to J.Jeremias", in E.A. Livingstone (ed), Studia Biblica 1978 II (Papers on the Gospels (Sixth International Congress on Biblical Studies, Oxford 3-7 April 1978) Sheffield, 1980) 12.
10. Ibid., 11.
11. On Gehenna see also W. Strawson, Jesus and the Future Life (London, 1970²[first edition 1959]135-142.
12. R.H. Mounce, The Book of Revelation (New London Commentaries: London: 1977) 81 n.50.
13. Cf. G.E. Ladd, A Commentary on the Revelation of John (Grand Rapids, 1972) 273.
14. W.J.P. Boyd, "Gehenna", 11.
15. Cf. I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 425; W. Strawson Jesus and the Future Life, 130.
16. I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 425.
17. Cf. W. Strawson, Jesus and the Future Life, 133ff.
18. D. Hill, The Gospel of Matthew (London, 1972) 261.
19. Cf. A. Wikenhauser (Die Apostelgeschichte, Regensburg [1961] 45) who says: "Jesus hat nach seinem Tode das allgemeine Schicksal der toten geteilt, und seine Seele

Notes (contd)

19. weilte in der Unterwelt (im Hades); aber Gott hat seinen Leib wieder erweckt und mit der Seele vereinigt".
20. In 4 Ezra 4: 40-42 there is mention of "storehouses" where souls are kept as they await resurrection; these storehouses are compared with "pregnant wombs" and are said to be "impatient to give back all the souls committed to them since time began"(4 Ezra 4: 41-42a).
21. Cf. also R.E. Bailey (Life after Death: A New Testament Study in the Relation of Body and Soul, unpublished Ph.D.thesis, Edinburgh University (1962) 420-21) who says: "That a bodiless existence is not meant is clear from the descriptions of the fate of the rich man and Lazarus (they speak, can drink, etc.)".
22. I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 637; cf. Str.B.II, 228-31. 228-31. See also R.H. Gundry (Soma in Biblical Theology, Cambridge (1976) 114) who says that here "the intermediate state of the soul apart from the body is described in terms analogous to physical life".
23. So J. Weiss (und W. Bousset), Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments (Göttingen, Vol.I, 1917) 489; E. Klostermann, Das Lukasevangelium (Handkommentar zum NT: Tübingen, 1929²) 168f.; K. Hanhart, The Intermediate State in the New Testament (Groningen, 1966) 198ff.
24. Cf. A.J. Mattill, Luke and the Last Things (Dillsboro, North Carolina, 1979) 26-32. Thus we disagree with R.E. Bailey (Life After Death, 420) and W. Strawson (Jesus and the Future Life, 211) when they say that 'Abraham's bosom' is not to be located in Hades (Bailey) or that it does not refer to the intermediate state (Strawson).
25. Pace K. Hanhart (Intermediate State, 198) who says that "both the pain of the rich man in flames and the unbridgeable chasm underline the finality of his condition"; R.E. Bailey (Life After Death, 420) who says that v.26 indicates that "the fates of the rich man

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25. and Lazarus are final and irrevocable"; W. Strawson (Jesus and the Future Life,) 211) who sees here "an unchangeable and final division".
26. In the following we draw on the work of A.J. Mattill (Luke and the Last Things, 27-31).
27. See A.J. Mattill, *ibid*; 29 L.W. Grensted, "The Use of Enoch in St. Luke 16: 19-31", ExpTim. 26 (1914/15) 334. L.W. Grensted, *ibid*.
29. Cf. L.W. Grensted, *ibid.*; A.O. Standen, "The Parable of Dives and Lazarus, and Enoch 22", ExpTim. 33 (1921/22) 523; S. Aalen, "St. Luke's Gospel and the Last Chapters of 1 Enoch", NTS 13 (1966/67) 13.
30. In this connection we should note that Irenaeus and Tertullian interpreted the Lucan passage with reference to the intermediate state. In Adv. Haer. 5.31.2 Irenaeus refutes the view of those who claimed that at death souls ascend immediately to heaven. In connection with Luke 16:19-31 he says that "each class (of souls) receives a habitation such as it has deserved, even before the judgment" (Adv. Haer.)2.34.1.) Tertullian is even more explicit. On 'Abraham's bosom' he comments: "Although it is not in heaven, it is yet higher than hell, and is appointed to afford an interval of rest to the souls of the righteous, until the consummation of all things shall complete the resurrection of all men" (Contra Marcion) 4.34). Tertullian may have concluded that 'Abraham's bosom' was higher than hell because the rich man is said to have 'lifted his eyes' to see Lazarus. But as I.H. Marshall (The Gospel of Luke, 637) points out, this does not necessarily mean that Lazarus was above him, for the phraseology is stereotyped (see 2 Sam. 18:24; see also K. Grobel, "Whose Name was Neves", 379) But Tertullian was right in interpreting the story to refer to the intermediate state before the resurrection.

31. C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, Vol. 2, p.627; cf. J. Dupont, "Die individuelle Eschatologie", 19-20; S.M. Gilmore, "The Gospel according to St. Luke"; Interpreter's Bible 8 (1952) 290, 411; H.J. Michel, "Heilsgewalt und Zukunft bei Lukas", 111; K. Hanhart, Intermediate State, 198ff.
32. On 'Paradise' see IDNT, V.765ff; NIDNTI, II, 760-64.
33. Cf. I.H. Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 873.
34. G.W. MacRae, "With Me in Paradise", Worship 35 (1961) 235-40.
35. Cf. A.J. Mattill, Luke and the Last Things, 33-34; P. Grelot, "Aujourd'hui tu seras avec moi dans le Paradis", RB 74 (1967) 194-214; H. Bietenhard and C. Brown (NIDNTI, II, 761-62) who say, "In Lk.23:43 it (i.e. paradise) is no doubt dependent on contemporary Jewish conceptions, and refers to the at present hidden and intermediate abode of the righteous. Jesus promises the robber fellowship with him already 'today' in paradise.....The intermediate state thus becomes essentially fellowship with Christ (cf. Acts 7:58; 2 Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23)". Thus we must reject the interpretation which R.E. Bailey (Life After Death, 452) gives to 'Paradise' in this verse"....it was not the promise of Paradise as such which Jesus promised the repentant thief (Luke 23:43), but rather the prospect of being with Himself. Truly, where He is, that is Paradise". This attempt to twist the meaning of 'Paradise' must be rejected, for the Jews, as we have seen, had definite notions of what Paradise was, and these notions by no means correspond to the idea of Paradise suggested by Bailey. Moreover, the thief is promised that he will be both with Christ and in Paradise.

We welcome this contribution by Dr J. Osei-Bonsu who studied NT under Professor Cranfield at Durham University and later completed his Ph.D at Christ's College, the University of Aberdeen. He lectures on NT in Ghana University.
Ed.