

Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis or dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis or dissertation in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis or dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis or dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

Signature:

Meghan R. Henning

Date

Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth: The Pedagogical Function of Hell in Matthew
and the Early Church

By

Meghan R. Henning

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Division of Religion

New Testament

Carl R. Holladay, Ph.D.

Advisor

Adela Yarbro Collins, Ph.D.

Committee Member

Luke Timothy Johnson, Ph.D.

Committee Member

Carol Newsom, Ph.D.

Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.

Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth: The Pedagogical Function of Hell in
Matthew and the Early Church

By

Meghan R. Henning

M.A.R., Yale Divinity School, 2007

Advisor: Carl R. Holladay, Ph.D.

An abstract of

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Division of Religion

New Testament

2013

Abstract

Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth: The Pedagogical Function of Hell in Matthew and the Early Church

By Meghan R. Henning

This dissertation uses historical critical analysis to explore the rhetorical function of the early Christian concept of hell in both canonical New Testament texts and apocryphal literature. I contend that ancient Christian writers adapted the rhetorical function of the descriptions of Hades in Greek and Roman literature to create a concept of hell in forging a distinctively Christian version of Greek cultural education, *paideia*. Through my analysis I not only explore the ways in which early Christians were using the rhetoric of hell but also trace the history of this interpretive process. I argue that Matthew's gospel is the nexus in which early Christian ideas about eternal punishment began to crystallize and became the focal point for later apocalyptic authors who interpret and reshape Matthew's "weeping and gnashing of teeth" in a variety of pedagogical contexts. As such the dissertation has two aims: to explore rhetoric in early Christianity in light of Greek and Roman rhetorical practices and to trace the history of an important scripturally informed concept in the early Church.

Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth: The Pedagogical Function of Hell in
Matthew and the Early Church

By

Meghan R. Henning

M.A.R., Yale Divinity School, 2007

Advisor: Carl R. Holladay, Ph.D.

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Division of Religion

New Testament

2013

For Mary Jo and Ray Henning, who showed me the path to “true
paideia.”

Acknowledgments

I owe a debt of gratitude to many people who have generously traveled with me on this journey through the hallows of early Christian hell. No one could imagine a better tour guides than Carl R. Holladay and Adela Yarbro Collins. First, I would like to thank Carl Holladay, who has enthusiastically and tirelessly led me through each phase of this project, helped to distill my initial ideas with his trademark precision, offered thoughtful conceptual and stylistic feedback, and read every footnote with a special combination of technical acumen and grace. I am also especially grateful to Adela Collins, whose continued mentorship has made it possible for me to embark on this journey and many others, and whose insightful commentary on each draft inspires better historiography. I would have never embarked upon this particular journey if it had not been for the guidance of Luke Timothy Johnson and Carol A. Newsom, who were both instrumental in the early phases of this project. Without Luke Johnson's dynamic historical imagination, and excellent pedagogy, my understanding of Greek and Roman *paideia* would be dramatically dimmer. Carol Newsom was eager to help me plan my trip to hell, patiently guiding my study of the Hebrew Bible and relevant Jewish apocalyptic texts, with her contagious enthusiasm for creative and careful scholarship.

I am also enormously grateful to Blake Leyerle and Tobias Nicklas, scholars whose interest in this topic and whose critical feedback have renewed my energy and sharpened my focus at crucial moments in the writing process. I would also like to thank those scholars who have generously allowed me to read portions of their works in progress, namely Radcliff Edmonds, Christopher Hays, Katerina Oikonomopoulou, and Clare Rothschild.

I am grateful for the help of a number of other scholars at Emory who have provided sage advice and inspiration both in and out of the classroom especially Michael Joseph Brown, Gail O'Day, Thomas R. Flynn, Steven Kraftchick, Vernon K. Robbins, Marina Rustow, and Walter Wilson. I am also very thankful for the environment of collegiality and intellectual exchange that has been cultivated by my friends at Emory, especially Edward Dixon, Zev Farber, Joshua Jipp, Ingrid Lilly, Matthew Lynch, Kelly Murphy, John Quant, Gilberto Ruiz, Shively Jackson Smith, and Jackie Wyse-Rhodes.

I am thankful for the support of a number of scholars in the Boston area who have made it possible for me to complete my work. François Bovon provided guidance and support for my work at the onset of this project, for which I am most grateful. The faculty and staff at Boston University have provided me with an institutional “home away from home,” welcoming me as a teacher, researcher, and a part of the wonderful community there. In particular I owe special thanks to Brian Stone, James Walters, Jennifer Knust and Nathan Bieniek. I am also grateful for the friendship of a number of my fellow doctoral students here in Boston, especially Tom Fratz, Jim Jumper, Hilary Kapfer, Chan Sok Park, Chris Stroup, and Danielle Tuminio.

Candida R. Moss has been a font of unfailing support, encouragement, and wit, without which the days spent working on this project, and others, would be long and arduous. Candida, I am grateful for you as mentor, scholarly exemplar, and most of all as the very best friend.

I also would like to thank my parents, Mary Jo and Ray Henning, who were my first models of excellent *paideia*.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my husband Doug Daniels, who daily spurs me on in the pursuit of *lux et veritas*, in countless ways.

Chapter 1 Introduction: The History of Hellish Rhetoric

- I. Why Hell?: The Historical Relevance of the Rhetoric of Eternal Punishment, 1
- II. A Word about Terminology for Eternal Punishment, 5
- III. History of Scholarship, 6
- IV. Outline of the Book, 17

Chapter 2 Death, Judgment, and the Abode of the Dead as Malleable Rhetorical Tools in the Hebrew Bible

- I. Introduction, 22
- II. Concepts of the Abode of the Dead in the Hebrew Bible, 26
 - a. All Dead Travel to a Common Place, 30
 - b. The Place of the Dead as a Descriptor, 36
 - i. Dark, Dusty and Generally Undesirable Place, 36
 - ii. A Poetic Marker for Depth, or a Remote Place, 38
 - iii. The Opposite of the Heavens, 38
- III. The Abode of the Dead as a Rhetorical Tool in the Hebrew Bible, 39
 - a. Vivid or Dramatic Imagery: The Abode of the Dead as Spectacle or Metaphor, 39
 - b. Sorting the Dead: The Abode of the Dead Signifying Judgment or Punishment, 45
 - c. The Abode of the Dead as a Tool for Moral Formation in the Hebrew Bible, 51
 - i. The Life and Death Contrast in the Hebrew Bible, 51
 - ii. The Abode of the Dead as Ethical Motivation, 57
- IV. Conclusion, 66

Chapter 3 Eternal Judgment, Punishment, and the Afterlife as an expression of *Paideia* in Greek and Latin Literature

- I. Introduction, 69
- II. Greek and Roman Rhetoric and Education: The Role of Ethical Instruction within Greek and Roman *Paideia*, 71
 - a. *Paideia* as Rhetorical Training, 71
 - b. *Paideia* and Early Christianity, 77
 - c. *Paideia* as Cultural and Ethical Education, 81
 - d. *Ekphrasis*: The Pedagogical use of Rhetoric in Transmitting Cultural Values, 86
- III. Greek and Roman Examples of Hell as *Paideia*, 104

a.	Prevalence of Homer and Virgil in Ancient School Texts,	104
b.	Visualizing Punishment: The Use of <i>Ekphrasis</i> in Depictions of Hades,	107
i.	The Katabasis,	107
ii.	Evidence of <i>Ekphrasis</i> : The Language of Perception,	111
iii.	Evidence of <i>Ekphrasis</i> : The Presence of <i>Enargeia</i> or “Vividness,”	115
iv.	Explicit Communication of the Didactic Function of the <i>Ekphrasis</i> ,	121
c.	The Spectacle of Punishment as <i>Paideia</i> ,	125
IV.	Conclusion,	132
	Chapter 4 <i>Periēgēsis</i> ?: The Journey through the Places of the Dead in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature	
I.	Introduction,	134
II.	The Genre of Geographic “Tours” in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature,	136
III.	The Rhetorical Function of “Tours”: Parallel to <i>Periēgēsis</i> of Greek and Latin Literature?,	147
a.	Spatial Differentiation: Directional Cues and Geographic Descriptions,	149
b.	Order and Meaning: Implicit <i>Paideia</i> in the Jewish Apocalypses,	158
IV.	Conclusion,	171
	Chapter 5 A Choice Between Two Ways: The Rhetorical Function of Eternal Punishment in the New Testament	
I.	Introduction,	173
II.	<i>Ekphrasis</i> or <i>Enargeia</i> ?: Analyzing the Rhetoric of Description in the NT,	175
III.	The Pedagogical Function of Eternal Punishment in Matthew’s Sources,	179
a.	Mark 9:42-50,	179
i.	Mark’s Own Sources,	179
ii.	The Rhetorical Shape of Mark 9:42-50,	182
b.	Q 10,15 and 12, 4-5,	189
IV.	The Pedagogical Function of Eternal Punishment among Matthew’s Contemporaries,	195
a.	Luke,	196
b.	James,	204
c.	2 Peter,	209
d.	Revelation,	214
V.	Conclusion,	223
	Chapter 6 The Pedagogical Role of Eschatological Judgment, Eternal Punishment, and the Afterlife in Matthew	
I.	Introduction,	224

- II. Education in Matthew: An Exercise in Community Formation, 225
 - a. Matthew's Audience, 225
 - b. Matthew's Interest in *Paideia* and the Formation of *Ecclesia*, 230
- III. The Role of Apocalyptic Eschatology within Matthew's "Curriculum," 239
- IV. The Pedagogical Function of Eternal Punishment in Matthew, 246
 - a. Matthew's Use of Terminology, 246
 - b. Evidence of *Ekphrasis*: The Presence of *Enargeia* or "Vividness," 250
 - c. Explicit Communication of the Didactic Function of the *Ekphrasis*, 262
 - d. The Description of Punishment as *Paideia*: Rhetoric of Ethical and Cultural Education, 267

V. Conclusion, 277

Chapter 7 The Pedagogical Function of Hell in the Early Christian Apocalypses and the Early Church

- I. Introduction, 279
- II. Dating and Reception of Tours of Hell, 281
- III. Interpreting and Expanding the New Testament Picture of "Hell" in Early Christian Apocalypses, 291
 - a. Interpreting Matthew in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, 292
 - b. Reading Matthew and Paul together in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, 301
 - c. Reinventing the Beatitudes in the *Gk. Apoc. Ezra*, 313
 - d. "Biblical Theology" in the *Gk. Apoc. Mary*, 317
- IV. The Pedagogical Function of Hell in the Early Christian Apocalypses, 322
 - a. Evidence of *Ekphrasis*: *Periēgēsis*, 322
 - b. Evidence of *Ekphrasis*: Language of Perception, 326
 - c. Evidence of *Ekphrasis*: *Enargeia* or "Vividness," 330
 - d. The Spectacle of Punishment as *Paideia*: Explicit Communication of the Didactic Function of *Ekphrasis*, 336
- V. The Pedagogical Function of Hell in the Early Church Fathers, 346
 - a. Chrysostom: Zeal in Appropriating Hell as the Heart of Christian *Paideia*, 348
 - b. Augustine: Distinguishing Christian *Paideia* from the Tools of the Empire, 351
- VI. Conclusion, 354

Chapter 8: Conclusion: The Landscape of Hell and the Cultivation of Early Christianity

- I. How did "Hell" Emerge as an Educational Tool for Early Christians?, 357
- II. Hell, What is it Good For?: Damnation and the Cultivation of Culture, 363
- III. Dante's Spell: Reflections on Our Hellish Inheritance, 367

Bibliography, 370

Appendix A: Concepts of the Abode of the Dead in the Hebrew Bible, 401

Appendix B: The Abode of the Dead as a Rhetorical Tool in the Hebrew Bible, 408

Appendix C: *Ekphrasis* in Greek and Latin Texts that Deal with Hades extensively, 415

Appendix D: *Enargeia* of “Hell” in the New Testament (apart from Matthew), 416

Appendix E: *Enargeia* of Eternal Punishment in Matthew, 417

Appendix F: Eschatological Fire in Matthew, 418

Appendix G: “Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth” in Matthew, 420

Chapter 1

Introduction: The History of Hellish Rhetoric

“And just as the degrees of blessedness in Heaven are measured in accordance with the degrees of charity and grace in life, so the degrees of punishment in hell are measured according to the degree of crime in this life.” (Malleus Maleficarum, Question 15)

I. Why Hell?: The Historical Relevance of the Rhetoric of Eternal Punishment

In the *Malleus Maleficarum*, a fifteenth-century treatise that was intended to justify the prosecution of witches, the eternal stakes of practicing witchcraft are articulated in a way that mirrors the ancient Christian understanding of heaven and hell.¹ Within the context of these public hearings, the reference to the threat of otherworldly torment was utilized as a motivation for right behavior and doctrinal compliance in this world. In this interpretation of the afterlife, the rewards and punishments after death are measured in degrees so that the punishment in hell fits the crime on earth, expressing the ancient concept of *lex talionis*.² Aided by the imagery from Dante’s *Divine*

¹ See Christopher S. Mackay, *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

² The term *lex talionis* is used to refer to a variety of forms of retributive justice in which the punishment somehow “fits” the offense. For further literature on the topic see Chapter 7, n. 54.

Comedy, ancient notions of hell were widely used in medieval and early modern Europe.³ This hellish rhetoric has had a profound legacy on the modern world, shaping not only contemporary Christian ideas about the afterlife and divine justice, but also secular notions of criminal justice.⁴

Although early modern Christians and medieval Christians like Dante had a critical role in the transmission and interpretation of this rhetoric, they were not the first Christians to use the afterlife as a persuasive tool. The language of damnation appears in the New Testament and the picture of eternal torment is expanded in other early Christian literature, most notably the early Christian apocalypses. When modern readers encounter these texts of torment, the most commonly asked question is “does hell exist?” Even among scholars of the early twentieth-century there was a temptation to focus on whether Matthew’s discussion of the “outer darkness” belongs to the words of the historical Jesus, or if the myth of the redeemer’s descent to Hades belongs to the central message

³ For a more thorough history of the rhetoric of hell in early modern Europe see Piero Camporesi, *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991). For a discussion of the specific ways in which the *Apocalypse of Paul* is interpreted in medieval fantastic literature, see Tamás Adamik, “The *Apocalypse of Paul* and Fantastic Literature,” in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 144–57.

⁴ For instance, the concept that future punishment could act as a “deterrent” for certain behaviors plays a major role in the United States criminal justice system.

of the early Church.⁵ While these questions are certainly of importance for the understanding of the historical Jesus, or for doctrinal matters, they are post-enlightenment questions that are posed to ancient texts. These questions probably would not have occurred to the ancient audiences who heard Matthew or the early Christians who preserved the *Apocalypse of Peter* and read it on a regular basis. Since the concept of “other worlds” beyond the present physical world would fit well within the realm of the “possible,” the most pressing questions for the ancient audience would be “who is in hell?,” “why are they there?,” or “what happens there?” For early Christians, then, the descriptive details were the salient features of otherworldly punishment, which conveyed a message about how to live in this world.⁶

Simply observing that hell functioned rhetorically in order to educate readers in an ancient context is only the starting point for our inquiry.

⁵See, for examples, Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (New York: Abingdom, 1970), 60-68; Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007), 1: 14-15; repr. of *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. Kendrick Grobel, 2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1951-55).

⁶ This distinction is not simply based upon assumptions about pre-enlightenment thought, but is based in the rhetorical theory of the ancient world. See Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.30, who asserts that “truth” is not as important for the rhetorical effect of imagery as is “verisimilitude.” For fuller discussion of this idea and its implications for our study, see Chapter 3, pp. 88-90.

We also need to clarify what kind of education these depictions of hell provided, why hell appealed to ancient authors as a pedagogical tool, and what effects the rhetoric of damnation was expected to have upon ancient audiences. Our primary sources for answering these questions include Jewish, Greek, and Roman depictions of the abode of the dead, since early Christian depictions of hell were crafted by authors who were conversant in the discourses of a rapidly changing cultural milieu. In this sense, our study is built upon the work of early twentieth-century scholars who noted that the Christian interest in hell was gleaned from surrounding cultures and was not part of the “kerygma” of the early church.⁷ In another sense, we are departing from that line of thinking, not primarily excavating the text in order to find the sediment of specific myths or ideas about the afterlife in early Christian hell. We will demonstrate that whether or not hell contains the “kernel” of the Christian message, it was viewed by ancient Christians as a useful vehicle for communicating the message. As a vehicle for educating early Christians, a better understanding of the rhetoric of eternal punishment

⁷ See Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 65-66, in which he argues that the New Testament passages that refer to hell are “echoes” of the myth of the redeemer’s struggle with the demons of the underworld, “a myth which originally has nothing to do with the person of Jesus but only later has been adapted to him.” Similarly, Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1:14-15, contends that the threat of “hell-fire” in the synoptic gospels is “only a primitive expression for the idea that in what a man does his own real being is at stake—that self which he not already is, but is to become.”

can provide invaluable data about the attempts of early Christians to establish, fortify, and expand their fledgling communities.

II. A Word about Terminology for Eternal Punishment

Since we are interested in the way that the language of “hell” functions, we will be attentive not only to the various terms used to describe each instance of otherworldly discourse, but also to the relationship between these terms and their literary and historical contexts. Although the goal of this study is to determine how the concept of hell functioned within early Christianity, our historical investigation will also include texts in which there is no concept of hell at all, or a seed of the idea at most. In some cases, the lexical distinctions that are made in an individual text will suffice (Gehenna, Sheol, Hades, etc.). More frequently, however, the linguistic terms themselves will fall short of describing the way that the concepts functioned in their ancient environs, and we will use other descriptors instead (abode of the dead, judgment, eternal punishment etc.).

In places where we are discussing the development of the idea or more than one concept we may use the word “hell” in order to gesture toward the broader constellation of ideas under consideration. This use of the term “hell” will be particularly important as we move through the early Christian materials, in which the conceptual and lexical distinctions

between different depictions of the otherworld begin to be blurred, subsumed, and transformed into the early Christian concept of hell.⁸

III. History of Scholarship

Several broader studies have been conducted which trace the origins of the early Christian idea of hell, including monographs by Alan Bernstein, Jan Bremmer, Georges Minois, Alan Segal, and Herbert Vorgrimler.⁹ To some extent, these works are dependent upon the body of literature which treats the afterlife, the abode of the dead, and the cult of the dead within contemporaneous religious and cultural contexts. Greek and Roman ideas about the descents to Hades have been examined in detail, clarifying the relationship between the descents to Hades and ancient Orphism, and elucidating the way in which these

⁸ See Chapter 6, pp. 227-231, for a discussion of the way in which Matthew's alternating use of the terms Gehenna and Hades indicates the slippage occurring between the terms, and the incipient notion of "hell" that emerges out of Matthew's use of diverse terminology to depict eternal punishment.

⁹ Georges Minois, *Histoire des Enfers* (Paris: Fayard, 1991); Alan E. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Herbert Vorgrimler, *Geschichte der Hölle* (München: W. Fink, 1993); Jan Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife: The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Alan F. Segal, *Life after Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2004).

descents to Hades operated in different literary contexts.¹⁰ Several of the studies on the afterlife within ancient Judaism have focused upon the range of meaning of the various terms for the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible and their semantic and cultural antecedents,¹¹ or have explored the specific cultic practices surrounding death.¹² More recently

¹⁰ Eduard Norden, "Die Petrusapokalypse und ihre antiken Vorbilder," in *Kleine Schriften zum klassischen Altertum* (ed. Eduard Norden; 1893; repr., Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966), 218-33; Fritz Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974); Raymond J. Clark, *Catabasis: Vergil and the Wisdom-Tradition* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1979); Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, "Reading" Greek Death: *To the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press Press, 1995); Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (2d ed.; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Radcliffe G. Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the "Orphic" Gold Tablets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui, *Orphism and Christianity in Late Antiquity* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010); Katerina Oikonomopoulou, "Journeying the Underworld of Lucian's *Cataplus*," in *Education and Representations of the Beyond in Later Antiquity* (ed. A. Lefteratou, K. Stamatopoulos, and I. Tanaseanu-Döbler; Göttingen, Forthcoming).

¹¹ Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969); Ruth Rosenberg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol Within the Context of ANE Beliefs." (Ph.D. diss.: Harvard University, 1980); Philip Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2002).

¹² Herbert C. Brichto, "Kin, Cult, Land and Afterlife – A Biblical Complex," *HUCA* 44 (1973): 1–54; Marvin Pope, "The Cult of the Dead at Ugarit," in *Ugaritic in Retrospect:*

Hebrew Bible scholars have engaged broader thematic questions about the way in which death, burial, and the afterlife were depicted in different literary and historical contexts.¹³ In addition to the Hebrew Bible notions of the abode of the dead, the extra-biblical materials are also invaluable sources for understanding ideas about the afterlife within ancient Judaism, specifically the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish apocalyptic literature.¹⁴

Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic (ed. G. D. Young; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 159–79; George C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment* (JSOT Supp. 43; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985); Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1986); Theodore J. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit* (HSM 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Stephen L. Cook, “Funerary Practices and Afterlife Expectations in Ancient Israel,” *Religion Compass* 1 (2007): 1–24.

¹³ Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Bryan Cribb, *Speaking on the Brink of Sheol* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009); Shaul Bar, *I Deal Death and Give Life* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2010); Christopher B. Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II and in First Isaiah* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011); Robert Williamson Jr., “Death and Symbolic Immortality in Second Temple Wisdom Instructions” (Ph.D. diss.: Emory University, 2011).

¹⁴ Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Kelley Coblenz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19: “No One Has Seen What I Have Seen”* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); John J. Collins, “The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls,”

Scholarly inquiry regarding the early Christian conception of hell has been focused on the early Christian apocalypses, since they are the earliest sources in which the topic of hell receives significant attention. Following the discovery of the Akhmim fragment (winter 1886-87), Albrecht Dieterich was one of the first scholars to show concerted interest in the early Christian apocalypses and the topic of hell.¹⁵ Dieterich traced a genetic relationship between Greek literature on the afterlife and the *Apocalypse of Peter*.¹⁶ In particular, he concluded that the Egyptian Christian community behind the Akhmim fragment relied upon Orphic-Pythagorean traditions for its understanding of heaven and hell.¹⁷ As later scholars have argued,¹⁸ the major weakness of Dieterich's

in *Other Worlds and their Relation to this World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (ed. Tobias Nicklas et al.; Boston: Brill, 2010), 95–116.

¹⁵ Although Dieterich's work was foundational for twentieth-century scholarship, he was preceded by several others. Dieterich's work was preceded by a few editions of the text and an article by Eduard Norden, which appeared just a few months before Dieterich's monograph. See Norden, "Die Petrusapokalypse," 218-33.

¹⁶ Dieterich began his work by dealing more broadly with Greek popular belief in the afterlife. Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (1913; repr., Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1969), 19-45.

¹⁷ Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 225-32. Leading up to this conclusion Dieterich discusses the Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries and in particular the Orphic descents to Hades.

¹⁸ Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 41-45; Jan N. Bremmer, "The Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?," in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 5-7.

work was the chapter in which he claims that Jewish apocalyptic literature did not influence the *Apocalypse of Peter*.¹⁹ That critique aside, Dieterich's work paved the way for the comparative study of Greek and Roman views of the afterlife and those of early Christians. Dieterich's case for a direct relationship between the concept of Hades in the Greek and Roman *nekylia* traditions and early Christianity has been strengthened by later scholars, especially as new evidence has come to light. Our work builds upon the work of this group of scholars, arguing not only for inherited imagery, but for a shared rhetorical orientation between the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades and early Christian understandings of hell.

Martha Himmelfarb's *Tours of Hell* argues against Albrecht Dieterich, contending that the tours of hell have significant Jewish antecedents and are not primarily analogous with Orphic-Pythagorean literature.²⁰ Instead, Himmelfarb isolates the "demonstrative explanation" as a key form in the *Apocalypse of Peter* and in the tours of hell, found in many tour apocalypses and originating in the Book of the Watchers.²¹ Himmelfarb's work not only provides a needed analysis of the relevant

¹⁹ See Dieterich, *Nekylia*, 214-24.

²⁰ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 41-45. Dieterich's own work was likely influenced by the tendency of the early twentieth-century "history of religions" school to preference "pagan" religions and texts over and against Jewish themes.

²¹ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 45-56.

Jewish apocalypses and their antecedents, but her careful charting of the historical relationships between the relevant apocalyptic texts is also axiomatic for others who study these texts.²² However, in her examination of the Jewish parallels as a corrective to Dieterich, Himmelfarb leaves out the significant Greek and Latin materials (apart from a few summaries).²³ While the “demonstrative explanation” and the tour format are not unique to the ancient Jewish depictions of the afterlife,²⁴ Himmelfarb’s emphasis on the Jewish apocalypses provides a fuller picture of the various streams of tradition that influenced early Christian conceptions of eternal punishment. Furthermore, her work on the format and function of the apocalyptic “tours” infuses new life into the conversation, shifting our focus away from literary dependence toward the mode of presentation of these vivid scenes of torment and their effects on ancient audiences.

After the publication of Himmelfarb’s work, scholarship has moderated between her claims and the earlier assertions of Dieterich. For instance, Richard Bauckham notes that Himmelfarb has “probably

²² See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 133, 171, for graphic summaries of her conclusions.

²³ See the critiques of Himmelfarb’s work in Richard Bauckham, “Early Jewish Visions of Hell,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (ed. Richard Bauckham; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 50–52; Bremmer, “The Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?,” 6–7.

²⁴ For a discussion of the form of the “tour” see chapter 4, pp.128-31

played down too much the extent to which this development was indebted to Greek ideas.”²⁵ Instead Bauckham rightly corrects this vision with regard to the *Apocalypse of Peter*:

It is important to be clear on two points and the difference between them: (1) that the immediate sources of the *Apocalypse of Peter*'s description of the punishments in hell were certainly in Jewish apocalyptic; but also (2) that these Jewish apocalyptic traditions may very well include images and ideas which ultimately derive from Greek *katabasis* literature.²⁶

On the whole, Bauckham intends “to support and make more precise the connexion she [Himmelfarb] establishes between the tours of hell and the broader tradition of tour apocalypses.”²⁷ Bauckham is also trying to close the gap that Himmelfarb leaves between the cosmic tours that do not include tours of hell (i.e. *1 Enoch*) and apocalypses exclusively concerned with the fate of the dead (i.e. *Apocalypse of Peter*).²⁸ With respect to these aims, Bauckham's work makes helpful advances toward a fuller picture of the concept of hell in antiquity. For the present study, perhaps the most relevant contribution that Bauckham makes is his

²⁵ Richard Bauckham, "The Apocalypse of Peter: A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba," in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden Brill, 1998), 207.

²⁶ Bauckham, "Apocalypse of Peter," 207.

²⁷ Bauckham, "Early Jewish Visions of Hell," 51.

²⁸ Bauckham, "Early Jewish Visions of Hell," 51.

assumption that hell functions pedagogically, although he does not expound upon it.²⁹

Like Bauckham, Jan Bremmer has sought to revive the connection between the Greek and Latin descents to Hades, and the Jewish and Christian apocalypses, but with a particular focus upon the “Orphic-Pythagorean ideas about the underworld”:

The conclusions of Bauckham seem in general unassailable. Yet while happily conceding his main points, we are still faced with the problem raised by Dieterich as to whether the ApPt stands in the Orphic-Pythagorean tradition.... A balanced view about Dieterich’s ideas still remains a desideratum.³⁰

²⁹ While Bauckham suspects that hell functioned pedagogically in antiquity, he does not elaborate upon this assumption, nor does he provide an understanding of ancient pedagogy to confirm this suspicion: “Hell, we must suppose, tended increasingly to crowd paradise out of our tradition both because it was thought pedagogically more effective to warn people with pictures of punishment in hell than to attract them with pictures of reward in heaven.” See Bauckham, “Visiting the Places of the Dead in the Extra-Canonical Apocalypses,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (ed. Richard Bauckham; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 94.

³⁰ Jan N. Bremmer, “Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?,” 7–8. See Chapter 4, p.129, n.15, for a discussion of Radcliffe Edmonds, who qualifies the certitude with which we can identify an “Orphic-Pythagorean” tradition in the Greek and Latin descents.

In particular, Bremmer focuses upon “recent insights” into ancient Orphism, which he believes strengthen Dieterich’s basic hypothesis.³¹ In more recent essays Bremmer revises this hypothesis, suggesting that the lines of influence were multidirectional. According to his most recent hypothesis Bremmer concludes that Virgil was influenced by the Jewish Sibylline Oracles, and in turn, some Jews were inspired by the Orphic tradition.³² Bremmer’s hypothesis betrays his willingness to think of the exchange of ideas in antiquity as a fluid process in which different groups adopted different components of the concept of hell to suit their own purposes, rather than imposing a linear model of “development”

³¹ For summary of the evidence see Bremmer, “Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?,” 7–14.

³² See Jan N. Bremmer, “Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell: Observations on the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (ed. Tobias Nicklas et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 318–21; Jan Bremmer, “Tours of Hell: Greek, Roman, Jewish and Early Christian,” in *Topographie des Jenseits: Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (ed. Walter Ameling; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2011), 13–34. As Tobias Nicklas rightly cautions, however, the various cultural influences on our text do not necessitate complex theories regarding the text’s provenance (such as the one Bremmer has recently suggested). See Tobias Nicklas, “‘Insider’ und ‘Outsider’: Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung ‘jenseitiger Orte’ in der Offenbarung des Petrus,” in *Topographie des Jenseits: Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (ed. Walter Ameling; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2011), 35–48.

upon the evidence.³³ In addition to acknowledging that there are different kinds of “influence” at play in the ancient world, Bremmer’s work also demonstrates that the matter of the influence of Greek and Latin literature upon the Jewish apocalypses is not a “yes or no” question. In this regard Bremmer’s arguments have paved the way for our own, in which we will contend that the Jewish and Christian apocalypses utilize the Greek and Latin rhetoric of visual description (*ekphrasis*, *enargeia*) and the form of the descriptive tour (*perigeisis*), but also utilize imagery that would appeal to their unique audiences.

These attempts to moderate between Dieterich and Himmelfarb clarify the relationships between the Jewish, Greek, Roman, and early Christian texts, and ultimately illuminate the origins of the earliest conceptions of Christian hell. Since our own study is not only concerned with the genesis of this idea, but also the way in which hell was operative for early Christians, the most germane lines of inquiry are those that take the work of Bauckham and Bremmer as their starting point.³⁴ These studies

³³ For an excellent discussion of the dangers of imposing philosophical models of “development” upon the history of thought, see Candida R. Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom: Diverse Practices, Theologies and Traditions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 6–8.

³⁴ Bauckham and Bremmer also fit into this group of more recent scholarship themselves, working on questions of reception history. See, for example, Richard Bauckham, “Augustine, the ‘Compassionate’ Christians, and the Apocalypse of Peter,”

ask different sets of questions, considering the geographic provenance, circulation, and influence of the early Christian apocalypses themselves.³⁵ For instance, Tobias Nicklas has examined the way in which *Apoc. Pet.* 4 represents a distinctive view on “bodily resurrection,” deftly pointing to the ways in which the *Apocalypse of Peter* interprets other traditions and provides an important witness to the concept of an “eschatological bodily resurrection.”³⁶ In endeavors like this one, the historian is able look both backwards and forwards and thereby

in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Boston: Brill, 1998), 149-59, which details Augustine’s reception of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. See also, Jan. N. Bremmer, “Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell,” 322, in which he concludes that “In the end, every Apocalypse has to be looked at as the product of a tradition that has been appropriated in a particular time and place.”

³⁵ See, for example, Attila Jakab, “The Reception of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ancient Christianity,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 174–86; Kirsti Barrett Copeland, “The Holy Conquest’: Competition for the Best Afterlife in the *Apocalypse of Paul* and Late Antique Egypt,” in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (ed. Tobias Nicklas et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2010); Tobias Nicklas, “Resurrection-Judgment-Punishment: *Apocalypse of Peter* 4,” in *Resurrection from the Dead: Biblical Traditions in Dialogue* (ed. Geert Van Oyen and T. Shepherd; BETL; Leuven: Peeters, Forthcoming), 457–70.

³⁶ Nicklas, “Resurrection-Judgment-Punishment.” Nicklas demonstrates that in the case of *Apoc. Pet.* 4, the resurrection has nothing to do with salvation, but is an occasion for God’s judgment.

cultivates an understanding of the subtle changes in both the form and function of a concept over time. In this spirit, the history of interpretation and the history of human thought are ever on the horizon within this book, beckoning us to be mindful of the ways in which the communities that produced and preserved our texts were carefully cultivating each of the distinctive iterations of hell's horrors. Thus, the work of this book is not only to demonstrate that there was some continuity in the ways in which hell functioned pedagogically in antiquity, but also to characterize the innovations in pedagogical methods or content in each text.

IV. Outline of the Book

This book will proceed thematically, grouping the sources, first, according to their rhetorical orientation and cultural milieu. As a result, we will follow only a rough chronology, beginning with the earliest sources (Hebrew Bible) and ending with later sources (early Christian apocalypses and church fathers). Along the way, however, some of the texts will be out of order chronologically (discussing Lucian before *1 Enoch*, for example), in order to compare the rhetorical function of "hell" across texts of the same genre or cultural heritage.

Chapter 2 begins our discussion by examining the concept of the abode of the dead within the Hebrew Bible. This chapter introduces the numerous terms that refer to the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible,

as well as the diverse ways that the concept was employed rhetorically. In addition to simply describing the conditions after death, the abode of the dead is used in the Hebrew Bible as vivid imagery, as a symbol of divine judgment, or as a tool for moral formation. These different rhetorical uses of the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible provided a broad range of images and concepts, which facilitated the early Christian use of hell as an educational tool.

Chapter 3 examines the Greek and Roman sources, using the concepts of *paideia*, and the rhetoric of visual description in order to illuminate the rhetorical function of Hades. This chapter begins with a broader discussion of *paideia*, and then evaluates the extent to which Greek and Latin descriptions of Hades were used in service of this program of education. First, we will describe the concept of *paideia* in detail, describing its role in the development and maintenance of Greek and Roman cultural and ethical ideals. We will then use the school handbooks and the Progymnasmata in order to demonstrate that Greek and Roman “students” were reading texts that included visual descriptions of Hades, and the effect that this visual rhetoric was intended to have upon its audiences. This discussion will conclude with an evaluation of the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades, arguing that these texts employed the rhetoric of visual description in order to “emotionally move” readers to engage in specific behaviors or a particular kind of involvement in the polis.

Chapter 4 treats the depictions of the otherworld that are found in the Jewish apocalypses. This chapter explores the parallels between the tours of the otherworld in the apocalypses and the rhetoric of the Greek and Latin journeys to Hades. The purpose of this comparison is not to demonstrate literary dependence, but to acknowledge the ways in which the rhetoric of description in the apocalypses overlaps with that of the Greek and Latin texts we have surveyed. We will begin with a discussion of the “tour” genre in the Jewish apocalypses and the date and provenance of each text under consideration. Then, we will evaluate the way in which these tours use the rhetoric of visual description, similar to that of the Greek and Latin texts, but with distinctive pedagogical outcomes.

Chapter 5 begins our study of the early Christian materials, surveying the depictions of eternal punishment in the New Testament. This chapter will treat the texts that mention eternal punishment only a few times, or in a cursory fashion. This chapter will demonstrate that the rhetoric of visual description is present in the depictions of eternal punishment found in Mark, Luke, James, 2 Peter, and Revelation, but is used much less frequently than in Matthew. What is more, these visual descriptions of “hell” function pedagogically in a much more limited sense than in Matthew and later Christian texts, drawing primarily from the tradition of the “Two Ways” that we saw at work in the Hebrew Bible descriptions of the abode of the dead.

Chapter 6 deals with the depictions of eschatological judgment and eternal punishment that are found throughout the Gospel of Matthew. This chapter will begin with the emphasis on teaching in Matthew, demonstrating that Matthew was particularly interested in educating early Christians in service of the formation of the fledgling *ecclesia*. Next, we will discuss the prominent role of eschatological judgment in Matthew, emphasizing the way in which Matthew uses eschatology in service of his particular pedagogical aims. Finally, we will argue that Matthew's depictions of eternal punishment function pedagogically, combining the Greek and Roman rhetoric of visual description, and the imagery of the abode of the dead from Jewish, Greek, and Roman texts. At this nexus of ecclesial development, eschatology and eternal punishment, the earliest depiction of Christian hell was born, and through later interpretations of Matthew this rhetoric of eternal punishment would dominate the way that early Christians conceived of hell.

Chapter 7 demonstrates the way in which the New Testament depictions of eternal punishment were interpreted and expanded in the early Christian apocalypses and the church fathers. Our analysis of the early Christian apocalypses will note the predominance of the Matthean imagery in these graphic depictions of hell, and examine the ways in which the apocalyptic authors expand and enliven Matthew's conception of the "outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth." In

the early Christian apocalypses the rhetoric of description is more detailed and vivid, bringing audiences face to face with specific sinners and their gruesome punishments. Mirroring the rhetoric of visual description from the Greek and Roman tours of Hades, as well as the tour format itself, the apocalypses provide a more comprehensive behavioral model than what was merely suggested in the New Testament. Finally, our brief discussion of the rhetorical function of hell in the church fathers demonstrates that hell was also used as a part of early Christian *paideia* outside of the apocalypses.

Chapter 8 summarizes our findings and draws conclusions regarding the significance of this study to the history of early Christianity. We will also briefly reflect upon the ways in which the concept of hell as pedagogy has been employed in our own world, often without regard for the mismatch between the ancient context and our own.

Chapter 2

Death, Judgment, and the Abode of the Dead as Malleable Rhetorical Tools in the Hebrew Bible

“For the wise the path of life leads upward, in order to avoid Sheol below.” (Prov 15:24)

I. Introduction

In order to demonstrate the way in which “hell” functioned rhetorically for ancient Christians, we need to consider two things: 1) the imagery of the underworld that was readily understood by first century audiences and 2) the typical ways in which those images were already being used by surrounding cultures. Thus, our investigation will begin with the plethora of terminology for the abode of the dead in ancient Judaism. Within the Hebrew Bible, Sheol and the other relevant terms are conceived broadly,¹ and invoked in a variety of literary contexts,² for a variety of rhetorical purposes.³

¹ For instance, Sheol is used more neutrally to signal death (i.e. Gen 42:38; 44:29; 44:31) but it is also described as a dark, dusty, miserable place (i.e. Job 17:13,16; 21:13, 26).

² For a full summary of the places in which the various terms occur, see Appendix A. References to Sheol occur throughout the Hebrew Bible in narrative contexts (1 Sam 2:6; 2 Sam 22:6), the Psalter (Ps 6:5; 18:5; 30:3; 49:15; 89:48; 116:3; 139:8), Wisdom literature (Job 7:9; 11:8; 21:13; Prov 7:27; Eccl 9:10), and the Prophets (Ezek 31:17;

Within this conceptual diversity, there are instances in the Hebrew Bible in which the concept of the abode of the dead is used by the ancient authors as a tool for educating their audiences. This use of the “abodes of the dead” as a tool for moral formation is invoked most frequently in passages that present the contrast between life and death to the reader as a motivation for ethical behavior. When we refer to this “paraenetic” function of the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible, we are careful to note that there is very little evidence regarding educational practices within Ancient Judaism.⁴ Although some have painted a

32:21, 27; Isa 14:9; 28:15; Hos 13:14; Amos 9:2; Hab 2:5). Two different terms for “Pit” occur in the Psalter, Wisdom literature, and the Prophets (שְׁחַת: Job 17:14; 33:18; Ps 16:10; 30:9; 55:23; 103:4; Isa 38:17; 51:14; Ezek 28:8; Jonah 2:6; בְּוֹר: Ps 28:1; 30:3; 55:23; 69:15; 88:4-6; 143:7; Prov 1:12; Isa 14:15, 19; 38:18; Ezek 26:20; 31:14; 32:18-30). The term Abaddon is used in Wisdom literature and the Psalter (Job 26:6; 28:22; 31:12; Ps 88:11; Prov 15:11; 27:20). The Valley of Hinnom (which was later called Gehenna) is mentioned in both narrative and prophetic contexts (Josh 15:6; 18:16; 2 Kgs 23:10; Neh 11:30; Jer 7:31-32). There is even a reference to eternal shame and contempt found in the apocalyptic section of Daniel (12:1-2).

³ To name just a few rhetorical uses, the abode of the dead can signal untimely death in a dramatic context (Gen 37:35); it is personified in a poetic context as a metaphor for human separation from God (Job 28); and it is referred to as a means of containing the “wicked,” illustrating the consequences of human sin (See Ps 31:17-18; likewise, in Numbers those who challenge the priesthood go down to Sheol (Num 16:30-33).

⁴ Graham Davies notes that “explicit evidence from the Old Testament itself is indeed ‘slight.’” Davies, “Were there Schools in Ancient Israel?,” in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel*

maximalist picture of the evidence and posited a “system” of ancient Jewish education, complete with specific schools, this depiction is difficult to sustain with historical evidence.⁵ Thus, we do not have a

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 199-201. The texts normally cited include the appointment of tutors in 1 Chr 27:32 and 2 Kgs 10:1-6, the possible reference to a school building in 2 Kgs 6:1, the instruction offered by Lady Wisdom in Prov 1:20-33 and 8:1-36, the inference that one might pay a fee for wisdom in Prov 4:7, 17:16 and 23:23, and references to teachers and students in Prov 5:13, 13:14, 25:7; Ps 119:99; and Isa 8:16. Scholars who see evidence for schools in ancient Israel prior to the exile argue that the references in the Hebrew Bible *combined* with the indirect evidence from other sources demonstrate that there was an educational system during this period. André Lemaire, *Les Écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël* (Fribourg: Editions universitaires, 1981), 41; “Schools and Literacy in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism,” in *Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2001), 207–17. Other scholars have argued that these references are inferential at best, and provide only circumstantial evidence for schools prior to the exile. See Roger Norman Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 33–35; Friedemann W. Golka, “Die israelitische Weisheitsschule oder ‘des Kaisers neue Kleider’,” *VT* 33 (1983): 11; James L. Crenshaw, “Education in Ancient Israel,” *JBL* 104 (1985): 601–15; *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 5–6.

⁵ For the most recent review of relevant scholarship, see David McLain Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 113. Carr argues that scholars have been misled by their search for a literacy-based curriculum aimed at the education of the general populace. He suggests that for the geographical region in which Israel was located, education was

formal rubric for evaluating whether a passage was part of ancient Jewish “pedagogy.” Likewise, there is no definitional way to distinguish between other rhetorical orientations within the Hebrew Bible. Thus, our investigation will proceed descriptively, focusing on the way that the concepts of the abode of the dead function within their distinct literary and historical contexts.

First, this chapter will examine the available understandings of the afterlife within the Hebrew Bible. Throughout this discussion we will not attempt to construct a monolithic concept of Sheol or a consistent schema of the abodes of the dead within the Hebrew Bible. Rather, we will be attentive to the distinctive rhetorical moments in which the abode of the dead is invoked, and so account for the full rhetorical range of the concept. Finally, this chapter will demonstrate that the contrast between life and death and the concept of the “Two Ways” functioned as components of moral instruction, laying the foundation for later depictions of a differentiated afterlife that would function pedagogically. Our analysis of the diverse conceptions of the afterlife within the Hebrew Bible will demonstrate that the “abode of the dead” was used *implicitly* for the purpose of moral instruction in the Hebrew Bible, and as we shall see

more likely to be centered on practical training within the family unit. In a later period of Judean history, the “literacy model” makes more sense. See Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

in Chapter 4, explicitly with increasing frequency and clarity leading up to the first century CE.

II. Concepts of the Abode of the Dead in the Hebrew Bible

Many of the previous studies of “hell” in ancient Judaism have been philological, concerned primarily with the range of meaning of the terms “sheol,” “abaddon,” “gehenna” and “pit.”⁶ Most of the broad surveys on the conceptual history of hell have argued that the ideas of eternal judgment or future punishment of the dead do not emerge within ancient Judaism until the exile⁷ or the Hellenistic period.⁸ Implicit in this model

⁶ Edmund F. Sutcliffe, *The Old Testament and the Future Life* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1946), 36–68; Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 21–99; Sidney Jellicoe, “Hebrew-Greek Equivalents for the Nether World, Its Milieu and Inhabitants, in the Old Testament,” *Textus* 8 (1973): 1–19; Ruth Rosenberg, “The Concept of Biblical Sheol Within the Context of ANE Beliefs.” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1980); David J. Powys, *“Hell”: A Hard Look at a Hard Question: The Fate of the Unrighteous in New Testament Thought* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 1998), 66–106. In addition to the terms discussed here, Tromp surveys over two dozen different terms for the underworld in the HB.

⁷ For example, Hallote suggests that prior to the Persian period Sheol was a netherworld, located directly below Israel. During the exile, this idea made less sense to the displaced Jews, and the concept of a heaven and a hell that could be reached no matter where one died emerged. The Jews then borrowed this dualistic understanding of the afterlife from the Persian religion (Zoroastrianism). There is no clear evidence for the idea that Sheol was thought to exist only beneath Israel prior to the exile. What is

is the idea that judgment and punishment of the dead were concepts borrowed from Persian and Greek culture, and thus represent a move toward the dualistic concept of the afterlife that is espoused by early Christians.⁹ In some cases this general schema has been used in order

more, Hallote's hypothesis does not account for the diversity of thought regarding abodes of the dead after the exile (compare Ezek 31:14-15 and Dan 12:1-2). See Rachel S. Hallote, *Death, Burial, and Afterlife in the Biblical World: How the Israelites and Their Neighbors Treated the Dead* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2001), 127–28. For others who see the exile as a turning point in conceptions of the abode of the dead, see also Charles Steven Seymour, *A Theodicy of Hell* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2000), 23; Jan Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife: The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 162–67.

⁸ Georges Minois, *Histoire des Enfers* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 42–45; Herbert Vorgrimler, *Geschichte der Hölle* (Munich: W. Fink, 1993), 56–59; Bremmer, *Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*, 8–9; Alan F. Segal, *Life after Death: a History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 254, 279.

⁹ Hallote, *Death, Burial, and Afterlife*, 127–28; Jaime Clark-Soles, *Death and the Afterlife in the New Testament* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 18. In contrast, see Herbert C. Brichto, “Kin, Cult, Land and Afterlife – A Biblical Complex,” *HUCA* 44 (1973): 1–54, who argued for a robust understanding of the dead as a part of the ancient family, and found evidence for this view of an “afterlife” throughout the Hebrew Bible.

to depict a thought trajectory toward Christian ideas of hell as a place of judgment and punishment.¹⁰

However, these broader conceptual overviews tend to overlook the fact that the abode of the dead in ancient Judaism is not uniformly understood, either before or after the exile.¹¹ Furthermore, we are left to

¹⁰ As Michael Knibb has noted, however, the diverse perspectives on life after death in the Hebrew Bible make the project of tracing the development of the ideas of afterlife nearly impossible. He argues that these are “difficulties that beset any attempt to trace the development in the Old Testament of a belief in resurrection or life after death, difficulties that are compounded by the uncertainties concerning the date of many of the relevant passages (e.g. Isa 26:19).” Likewise, Jon Levenson cautions that “nothing distorts the proper understanding of Sheol in the Hebrew Bible more than the traditional Jewish and Christian understanding of the afterlife as the locus of reward and punishment....Sheol, though an unhappy place, is no hell.” See Michael A. Knibb, “Life and Death in the Old Testament,” in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological, and Political Perspectives: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (ed. R.E. Clements; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 408; Jon D. Levenson and Kevin J. Madigan, *Resurrection: The Power of God for Christians and Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 75–76.

¹¹ Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 40, provides a welcome corrective for these generalizing trends in scholarship: “No static, propositional account of the ancient Israelite understanding of postmortal existence can do justice to the dynamism they inscribe.” Likewise, Christopher B. Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II and in First Isaiah* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 185, argues against “models in which there is a sudden shift in the post-exilic period to belief in the afterlife and

wonder how the diversity of Jewish concepts of the netherworld functioned rhetorically in their various historical contexts.¹² For instance, are texts which describe Sheol concerned with what happens to a person after death? Or are vivid details of Sheol recounted for other rhetorical purposes? Does judgment at the end of life carry with it an implicit warrant for good behavior during life? Or is future judgment invoked simply as a promise to the reader that justice will be executed even if the Deuteronomic law is not? As a means of correcting this trend

YHWH's authority over the underworld." Instead, Hays argues for gradual growth over time. See Gönke Eberhardt, *JHWH und die Unterwelt: Spuren einer Kompetenzerweiterung JHWHs im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 393.

¹² See Bryan Cribb, *Speaking on the Brink of Sheol* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009); Shaul Bar, *I Deal Death and Give Life* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2010), as examples of two recent studies that have attempted the same task. Cribb's book is a form-critical study that sets out to identify and characterize a genre of HB literature that he calls "death stories," isolating those places in the Hebrew Bible that deal with death in significant ways, and looking for common themes (51-92). He discusses the way in which "death stories" are often used in service of a rhetorical or theological purpose (310-12), most often to characterize the dying person. Bar, on the other hand, reaches the more commonly held conclusion, that Sheol *always* refers to the final resting place of the wicked: "The dead reside in Sheol, the underworld. The Bible associates that realm with unnatural and premature death and always paints it in frightening and negative terms. It is the abode of the wicked, the final destination from which there is no return" (424).

in scholarship, the present investigation will not presume that each term under consideration was used consistently over time.¹³ Instead, we will identify the diverse patterns of thought surrounding the abode of the dead and analyze the rhetorical function of each of the relevant texts independently.

a. All Dead Travel to a Common Place

Many Hebrew Bible texts refer to a common fate of the dead as a matter of fact. In these texts Sheol (שְׁאוֹל),¹⁴ the pit (בּוֹר, פֶּחַת and שְׁחַת)¹⁵

¹³ For defense of the idea that “there is not simply one view of the afterlife that can be generalized for all of ancient Israel over the thousand year period of the Hebrew Bible’s composition,” see Richard Friedman and Shawna Dolansky Overton, “Death and the Afterlife: The Biblical Silence,” in *Death, Life-after-Death, Resurrection, and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 37-59.

¹⁴ For examples of the use of Sheol as a term for the place for all of the dead, see Gen 37:35; 42:38; 44:29, 31; Num 16:30, 33; 1 Sam 2:6; 2 Sam 22:6; 1 Kgs 2:6, 9; Job 7:9; 14:13; 17:13, 16; 21:13, 26; 26:6; Ps 6:5; 18:5 (cf. 2 Sam 22:6); 30:3; 88:3; 89:48; 116:3; 141:7; Prov 1:12, 5:5; 7:27; 23:14; Song 8:6; Isa 28:15; 38:10,18; Hos 13:14; Hab 2:5. For further examples of the way that Sheol generally refers to the “netherworld,” and a summary of each use of the terms for the “abode of the dead” in the Hebrew Bible see the charts in Appendix A.

¹⁵ These various words for “pit” are closely associated with death or the grave. For examples of this usage see Job 17:14; 33:18; Ps 16:10; 30:3, 9; 55:23; 88:4,6; 103:4; Isa 38:17-18; Ezek 31:14; Jon 2:6.

and Abaddon (אַבְדֹן)¹⁶ are used to indicate the place in which all of Israel's dead dwell.¹⁷ For example, Ps 89:48 uses Sheol poetically, as a metonym for death, "Who can live and never see death? Who can escape the power

¹⁶ "Abaddon" is personified along with Death and Sheol in the poetic uses in Job 26:6; 28:22. In Ps 88:11, Abaddon is used poetically as a metonym for the grave. See Appendix A for all of the occurrences of the term Abaddon.

¹⁷ The majority of scholars argue that in the Hebrew Bible "Sheol" was understood primarily as the abode of all dead people. Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926); R. L. Harris, "she'ol," in *TWOT* (ed. G.L. Archer R.L. Harris; Chicago, 1980); Minois, *Histoire des Enfers*, 8-9; Richard Bauckham, "Hades, Hell," *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 3: 14-16; Theodore J. Lewis, "Dead, Abode of the," *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 2:101-05; Bernstein, *Formation of Hell*, 140-46; Powys, "Hell," 83; Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife: The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol*, 8-9. Bauckham, "Hades," 14, also argues that "Sheol" retains this meaning outside of the Hebrew Bible: "In most early Jewish literature Hades or Sheol remains the place to which all the dead go (2 Macc 6:23; 1 En. 102:5; 103:7; Sib. Or. 1:81-84; Ps. Phoc. 112-113; 2 Bar. 23:4; T. Ab. A 8:9; 19:7) and is very nearly synonymous with death (Wis 1:12-16; 16:13; Pss. Sol. 16:2; Rev 6:8; 20:13)..." In contrast, Ruth Rosenberg argues that Sheol is etymologically to be understood as a "place of judgment" and thus the focus in the HB use of Sheol is on the Divine judgment, not the details of the locale. Rosenberg, "Concept of Biblical Sheol," 6.

of Sheol? Selah.” In references like this one, the abode of the dead is understood as a morally neutral place, in which all of the dead reside.¹⁸

This concept was so widely understood that some texts even use the abode of the dead as a metonym for death or the grave. For instance, when King Hezekiah is deathly ill he remarks that he is “consigned to the gates of Sheol” for his remaining days (Isa 38:10).¹⁹ Likewise, the NRSV has even translated Sheol (שְׁאוֹל) as “grave” in Song of Songs 8:6.²⁰ What is more, later readers of the Hebrew Bible associated the concept of “Sheol” with death and the grave, as evidenced by the LXX.²¹ While Sheol was not synonymous with the grave, the two concepts were close enough conceptually that Sheol was a useful metonym for death and the grave in

¹⁸ In this regard the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible is similar to the underworld of the Greeks and Babylonians. Bernstein, *Formation of Hell*, 139. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 74, argues that Ps 89 is one of “a handful of passages that affirm that Sheol is the end point for everyone,” stating that that passage equates death and Sheol, “with the clear implication that individuals, no matter how they have died, cannot escape the dreary netherworld.”

¹⁹ See also Ps 88, in which Sheol, Abaddon and the Pit are used as metonyms for the grave.

²⁰ In other translations Sheol is not translated as “grave.” The NASB has “netherworld” and the NAB reads “Sheol.”

²¹ In the LXX, Sheol (שְׁאוֹל) is most often translated as Hades (ᾍδης), equating the Jewish concept of the abode of the dead with the Greek idea of the underworld as the final resting place for all human beings.

poetic contexts.²² One possible explanation for this close conceptual relationship is that Sheol did not refer to an animate “afterlife,”²³ and thus, was a spatial corollary to death, the holding place for all of the dead.

Despite these references to the abode of the dead as the common destiny of humanity, Ruth Rosenberg has argued that “Sheol” always refers to an “unnatural death” and is predominantly a place of punishment and judgment in the Hebrew Bible.²⁴ As we shall see below, there are passages in the Hebrew Bible that look at death, and thus residence in the abode of the dead, as a marker of God’s judgment.

²² Harris, “she’ôl,” 892, sees the concept of “grave” behind every reference to Sheol, arguing that Sheol never refers to the “underworld.” Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, 461–62, takes a more nuanced stance, contesting that Sheol is the netherworld, but “the ideas of the grave and of Sheol cannot be separated....Sheol is the entirety into which all graves are merged....Sheol should be the sum of the graves....the ‘Ur’ –grave we might call Sheol....Where there is grave there is Sheol, and where there is Sheol there is grave.” Given the range of ways in which Sheol is used rhetorically (in many cases having nothing to do with the grave), Sheol seems to be intimately related to death and the grave, but not synonymous with them. As Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 163–64, has argued, “the concept of the grave and of Sheol or its semantic equivalents were consistently kept apart....no concept of the ‘Ur’ grave is attested in the Bible.”

²³ As Collins, “Root of Immortality,” 181, notes, the shadowy existence of the shades in Sheol is not considered “‘life’ in any meaningful sense of the word.” See Eccl 9:10.

²⁴ Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 87–90.

However, Rosenberg's argument requires that one read all of the uses of this term through her own etymological lens.²⁵ And as Rosenberg herself is forced to admit, there are some passages in which this reading of "Sheol" is a poor fit (she cites 1Kgs 2:6; Ps 89:49; Eccl 9:10, though our own study has isolated a larger number of instances in which the term refers to the place for all of the dead more generally).²⁶ While Rosenberg's thesis provides an excellent alternative to the consensus of

²⁵ As Christopher B. Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II and in First Isaiah* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 176, notes, the etymology of the word Sheol is "disputed," and none of the theories is "convincing enough to have generated consensus." One suggestion is that Sheol is from the root שָׁח ("to lie desolate"), with a suffixed ל. For discussion of this option see Ludwig Köhler, "Problems in the Study of the Language of the Old Testament," *JSS* 1 (1956): 19–20; John Day, "The Development of the Belief in Life After Death in Ancient Israel," in *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason*, (ed. John Barton and David James Reimer; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996), 231. Another possibility is suggested by Rosenberg, who argues that the HB concept of Sheol is based on the forensic sense of the root שָׁחַל, "to interrogate, call to account, and possibly to punish." This etymological connection is based on the Akkadian Gilgamesh cycle, and several Hebrew Bible texts. Rosenberg proposes that "to call to account" ultimately developed into "to punish," which supports her thesis that Sheol is a place of punishment in the Hebrew Bible. See, "Concept of Biblical Sheol," 10-12. Regardless of the etymological root of the terms used for the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible, there is still a possibility that the different authors of these texts used the terms variously. Rosenberg, however, excludes this possibility.

²⁶ Rosenberg, "Concept of Biblical Sheol," 88 n.1.

her time, namely that Sheol was simply thought of as the “Ur-grave,”²⁷ her conclusions place similar limits on the semantic range of the terminology.²⁸

Rhetorically speaking, the uses of Sheol, the pit, and Abaddon as markers for the common fate of the dead reflect the range of attitudes toward death in the Hebrew Bible. Death can be viewed quite literally as the inevitable end of one’s biological life.²⁹ Or, death is understood

²⁷ For detailed description of what Pedersen and his followers meant by “Ur-grave” see n.19 above. Pedersen, *Israel*, 461–62; Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 133 cf. 139; Christoph Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den Individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments* (2. Aufl.; Zürich: Theologischer, 1987), 83–85.

²⁸ See Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 74–75, for a critique of Rosenberg’s attempt to harmonize the distinct concepts. Levenson argues that there are “competing theologies” in the Hebrew Bible regarding the abode of the dead. The concept of Sheol as the universal destination is consistent with the ancient Mesopotamian and Canaanite cultures, and survives in the Hebrew Bible, especially in Wisdom literature. The more numerous texts that distinguish between “those who go to Sheol and those who die blessed” are part of a “bold and younger affirmation of the LORD as savior.” Despite his suggestion that the tradition “developed,” Levenson is careful to note that this development “was neither inevitable nor linear, and the remnants of the older view remained, even in relatively late texts.” (74-75)

²⁹ For examples, see Gen 3:19c; 1 Kgs 2:2; 2 Sam 14:14; Job 14:1-2. John J. Collins, “The Root of Immortality: Death in the Context of Jewish Wisdom,” *HTR* 71 (1978): 179; See, Michael A. Knibb, “Life and Death in the Old Testament,” 402–3.

“qualitatively,” as the absence of human flourishing and wisdom.³⁰ A life that ended suddenly or prematurely might be perceived as “divine punishment.”³¹ In poetic contexts death is occasionally seen as an escape from God’s wrath or the weariness of life.³² On the whole, however, death is valued negatively, as the end of life and the cessation of existence.³³

b. The Place of the Dead as a Descriptor

i. Dark, Dusty, and Generally Undesirable Place

³⁰ As Collins, “Root of Immortality,” 180, notes, the sage of Proverbs equates folly and the hatred of wisdom with death, so that the fool experiences “death” while he is still alive. For examples of the opposition between the way of life and the way of death in Proverbs, see Prov 3:18; 8:35-36; 9:18; 10:11; 12:28.

³¹For examples, see Deut 28; Lev 26; Amos 7:9, 11. See also Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 87–90; Knibb, “Life and Death in the Old Testament,” 403.

³² For examples, see Exod 14:11-12; 1 Kgs 19:4; Job 3:11-22; 14:13; Eccl 2:15-18; 6:2-6. Knibb, “Life and Death in the Old Testament,” 403; Bernstein, *Formation of Hell*, 141.

³³ Knibb, “Life and Death in the Old Testament,” 403. Aversion to death is expressed in a variety of ways, whether through individual or group panic (e.g. 1 Sam 19:11-12; 2 Kgs 7:6-7; Josh 2:9), or personal torment over the idea of meeting God (e.g. Num 16:34; Judg 13:22).

Some of the descriptions of the abode of the dead reflect the negative valuation of death in Israelite society.³⁴ Sheol and the pit (בֹּרַי) are described as dark,³⁵ dusty,³⁶ and watery.³⁷ In Isa 14:9-15 the shades of the dead come to greet Babylon in Sheol, which is filled with maggots and worms.³⁸ In Isa 38:17-18, the reader learns that the inhabitants of the pit (שְׁחַת) cannot praise God. Similarly, the Psalmist refers to the pit (בֹּרַי) as a place in which one cannot hear God's voice (28:1), and God's face is hidden (143:7). Ecclesiastes provides another image of desolation, reminding the reader that "there is no work or thought or knowledge or wisdom in Sheol" (9:10).

If these descriptions of the abode of the dead are not uninviting enough, the pit(בֹּרַי), Sheol, and Abaddon are all described as places that

³⁴ Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 80-98, 129-51. For a summary of all of the passages which describe the abode of the dead see Appendix A.

³⁵ See Job 17:3; 18:8; Ps 88:4 (בֹּרַי); 88:13; 143:3; Lam 3:6.

³⁶ See Job 17:16; 21:26.

³⁷See Ps 42:8; 69:2-3, 15-16 (בֹּרַי); 88:7-8; Jonah 2:3-6. On the various water images associated with Sheol see Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 59-66. Rosenberg, "Concept of Biblical Sheol," 171-72, has argued that the water imagery is indicative of the divine judgment that occurs in the abode of the dead.

³⁸ Another example of worms in Sheol is found in Job 21:26.

have a mouth and “consume” humans.³⁹ Sheol is notorious for its insatiable appetite, which is compared with that of human eyes, a barren womb, the dry earth, fire, and the wealthy.⁴⁰ For example, Song 8:6 uses Sheol as a metaphor for passion: “for love is strong as death, passion fierce as the grave [*Sheol*]. Its flashes are flashes of fire, a raging flame.”

ii. A Poetic Marker for Depth, or a Remote Place

Other descriptions of the place of the dead focus on death as a removal from the present world. The pit (בּוֹר) is described as a deep place, far removed from the land of the living.⁴¹ Likewise, Sheol is a place that is reached by “going down” (יָרַד).⁴² In Jonah 2:2, Sheol is used poetically to indicate a really deep place: “out of the belly of Sheol I cried, and you heard my voice.”

iii. The Opposite of the Heavens

³⁹ In Isa 5:14 Sheol widens its mouth, and in Ps 69:15 the pit (בּוֹר) envelopes with its mouth. See also Ps 141:7 and Prov 1:12.

⁴⁰ See Prov 27:20 (so also Abaddon); 30:16; Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5 (so also Death). In Ugaritic myth, “death (Môt)” is portrayed with a mouth that swallows up Baal. For a detailed discussion of the imagery of consumption in the Baal cycle see Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 22–25.

⁴¹ See Ps 69:16; 88:4.

⁴² See Num 16:30; Job 7:9; Isa 57:9; Ps 88:3–4.

Similarly, the abode of the dead is sometimes used as a counterpoint to the heavens, reflecting the understanding that there is space above and below the plane on which humans dwell. For instance, Sheol is contrasted with the heavens in Job 11:8 and Ps 139:8 in order to demonstrate that God is vast and omnipresent. Likewise, Amos 9:2 juxtaposes heaven and Sheol in order to convey the idea that no place is out of YHWH's reach: "Though they dig into Sheol, from there shall my hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, from there I will bring them down." In Isa 7:11 Sheol and the heavens are used metaphorically as measures of the depth and height of the sign Ahaz was invited to request from God.

III. The Abode of the Dead as a Rhetorical Tool in the Hebrew Bible

a. Vivid or Dramatic Imagery: The Abode of the Dead as Spectacle or Metaphor

Many of the texts that describe the abode of the dead do so demonstratively: explaining what happens after death, depicting death negatively, or presenting the layout of the cosmos. In other texts, the abode of the dead has a more specific rhetorical function, and is employed as a dramatic image in service of the larger argument or rhetorical aim of the passage. In some cases the description of Sheol is part of a literary device such as a metaphor, using the familiar imagery of

the abode of the dead to elaborate upon another concept.⁴³ Elsewhere, the abode of the dead is invoked in order to create a spectacle, or visual reminder of some larger principle.⁴⁴

Isaiah 66 uses the imagery of vision and unburied corpses in Gehenna for this rhetorical purpose, creating a spectacle that allows the righteous to feel vindicated.⁴⁵ In Isa 66 YHWH comes in fire to execute

⁴³ For example, see the analogy between Sheol and the arrogant in Hab 2:2-8, discussed below. For further instances of the abode of the dead as a vivid image see Appendix B.

⁴⁴ Isa 66:24 is one example of this rhetorical use of the abode of the dead, and will be elaborated upon below.

⁴⁵ Although the text of Isaiah does not use the term Gehenna in this passage, scholars have argued that readers would have readily identified the valley of Isaiah 66 with the Valley of Hinnom. Unlike the other abodes of the dead surveyed thus far, this one is not understood to be beneath the earth. Rather, Gehenna refers to an actual valley, based upon the Hebrew גֵיא־הַחַיִּים /Aramaic גַּי־הַחַיִּים, “Valley of Hinnom”; a valley currently known as the Wadi er-Rababeh, running S-SW of Jerusalem. As illustrated in Appendix A, the references to the Valley of Hinnom in the Hebrew Bible are primarily descriptions of the geographic locale. This place was a site of idolatrous worship in the Hebrew Bible, and is associated with fire and torment. This region was the boundary between the inheritance of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15.8; 18.16) and the northern border of Judah after captivity (Neh 11.30). It was also the site of child sacrifice to Molech and Baal [and thus may be associated with the underworld of Molech who was worshipped there] (Jer 7.31, 19.4-5; 32.35; 2 Kgs 16.3; 21.6; 2 Chr 28.3; 33.6). See Minois, *Histoire des Enfers*, 40; Duane F. Watson, “Gehenna,” 926;

judgment and purify the earth of his enemies.⁴⁶ Those who are judged favorably by God are spared and come forth to worship YHWH (66:23).⁴⁷

As Israel's righteous come forward in worship they look (וַיִּרְאוּ) at the

bodies of the unrighteous who were killed by God's wrath in Isa 66:15-

16:

And they shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people who have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh (66:24).

Hallote, *Death, Burial, and Afterlife*, 126. For a good summary of the literature on Molech and child sacrifice see Christopher B. Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II and in First Isaiah*, 180–83.

⁴⁶ “The fire is both material and symbolic of the Divine wrath that destroys the wicked” (cf. Ps 89:46). See Minois, *Histoire des Enfers*, 40. (translation from the French, mine), Minois also notes that fire is mentioned as an instrument of purification in many other passages in the Hebrew Bible.

⁴⁷ Isa 66:23-24 is a later addition to the text, which “fills out the picture of the judgment” of the disobedient Israelites of the early lines of the poem. John L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), 209. These verses stand in continuity with Isa 1, attempting to present the book of Isaiah as a “unified composition.” See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2003), 308–17.

For later readers of Isaiah, the gaze of the righteous accentuates the spectacle, establishing the corpses in Gehenna as a “perpetual monument to the issue of infidelity.”⁴⁸

This “perpetual monument” serves as both a promise and a threat, vindicating the righteous in the face of their enemies. Within the text, the enemies of YHWH are threatened by the “worm that shall not die”, a dramatic visual reminder that there are serious consequences for “rebellion.” For the readers of the text this threat is a promise to Israel’s righteous that YHWH will judge the enemies of Israel and punish them harshly. The gaze of the righteous onlookers within the text is aligned with that of the readers who wish to see this dramatic spectacle of punishment realized. As we shall see later, Isa 66:24 would capture the imaginations of early Christian authors who would employ this set of vivid images for a different rhetorical purpose.⁴⁹

While Isa 66 utilized the immortal worms and perpetual fire of Gehenna to create a dramatic scene, Hab 2 leverages the traditions regarding Sheol’s voracious appetite in order to dramatically depict the violence done by “the proud.” In Hab 2:2 the image of Sheol is part of a “vision” that is intended to be memorialized: “Write the vision; make it plain on tablets, so that a runner may read it.” Habakkuk’s vision

⁴⁸ McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, 209.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 5, p.170-72.

begins with a command for the reader to “look at the proud,” in order to see that their spirit is inferior to that of the righteous (Hab 2:4). Then, the reader “sees” the wealthy and arrogant of Babylon, who are compared with Sheol personified: “They open their throats wide as Sheol; like Death they never have enough. They gather all nations for themselves, and collect all peoples as their own.” (Hab 2:5) The prophet elaborates upon this imagery, demonstrating that the wealthy and arrogant will be mocked and will become “booty” for their creditors (Hab 2:7): “Because you have plundered many nations, all that survive of the peoples shall plunder you-- because of human bloodshed, and violence to the earth, to cities and all who live in them” (Hab 2:8).⁵⁰ Here, the analogy between Sheol and the wealthy and arrogant of Babylon is part of Habakkuk’s lasting vision, written down so that all might imagine wickedness personified. The prophet’s metaphor capitalizes upon the available concepts of the appetites of Sheol⁵¹ in order to make the image of Babylon’s arrogance more dramatic.

Similarly, Sheol and the Pit are used figuratively in Jonah 2 as part of a dramatic depiction of Jonah’s loyalty to YHWH. From within the belly of the fish, Jonah prays to YHWH, crying “out of the belly of Sheol”

⁵⁰ The punishment of the wealthy and arrogant that is prefigured in Hab 2:6-8 foreshadows the “measure for measure” punishments that one finds in the Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic “Tours of Hell.”

⁵¹ See p. 35 above for a discussion of the appetites of Sheol.

(Jonah 2:1-2). This comparison between his perilous condition inside the fish and “Sheol” is particularly apt because some of the common descriptions of Sheol match Jonah’s experience. Jonah describes his circumstances in language that emphasizes that he is in a remote place, consumed by waters:⁵²

You cast me into the deep, into the heart of the seas, and the flood surrounded me; all your waves and your billows passed over me. Then I said, 'I am driven away from your sight; how shall I look again upon your holy temple?' The waters closed in over me; the deep surrounded me; weeds were wrapped around my head (Jon 2:3-5)

Through the figurative references to Sheol and the Pit, Jonah’s prayer dramatically depicts his dire situation within the belly of the fish. He claims that he “went down to the land whose bars closed upon me forever,” and his “life was ebbing away” (Jonah 2:6-7).⁵³ Finally, when Jonah remembers YHWH and prays, his life is “brought up from the Pit” (2:6), and the fish spits Jonah onto dry land (2:10). Throughout Jonah 2 the author uses the imagery associated with Sheol and the Pit in order to convey that Jonah was on the brink of death. This metaphorical use of

⁵² See p. 35, n.37 above for discussion of the depth of Sheol and the use of water imagery to describe the abode of the dead as “dangerous.”

⁵³ For a discussion of the “bars” or “gates” of Sheol, see Bauckham, “Hades, Hell,” 15; Lewis, “Dead, Abode of the,” 103. The concept that the netherworld had “bars,” “gates,” or was the “land of no return” was common in Egyptian, Babylonian, Akkadian and Greek conceptions of the abode of the dead. The idea of the “gates of Sheol” is found in several places in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 38:10; Job 38:17; Ps 9:14; 107:18) and later Jewish writings (Wis 16:13; 3 *Macc.* 5:51; *Pss. Sol.* 16:2).

the abode of the dead adds a dramatic air to Jonah's prayer, vividly portraying his thanksgiving toward YHWH in the direst of circumstances.

b. Sorting the Dead: The Abode of the Dead Signifying
Judgment or Punishment

While many of these descriptions of the abode of the dead are used as dramatic images in service of a larger rhetorical purpose, the descriptions themselves do not indicate that ancient Israelites had developed a concept of the afterlife.⁵⁴ As discussed above, these descriptions merely reflect the negative attitudes toward death that were present in Israelite society. These attitudes toward death are also reflected in the texts that equate the abode of the dead with Divine judgment and punishment.⁵⁵ In ancient Israel death is a condition to be

⁵⁴ As Collins, "Root of Immortality," 181, notes, the only reference to the afterlife in the Hebrew Bible is found in Daniel 12:1-2. Knibb, "Life and Death in the Old Testament," 407-411; Minois, *Histoire des Enfers*, 43.

⁵⁵ For a summary of places in which the abode of the dead is used to signal judgment or punishment see Appendix B. Some scholars have argued that the abode of the dead was predominantly understood in this regard, as the place where the foolish or wicked reside after death. Philip Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Downers Grove, Ill: InterVarsity, 2002), 80-82, argues similarly, that Sheol "is portrayed predominantly as the fate of the wicked." Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 70-81, argues that Sheol is primarily the place for the foolish and discontented, or those who don't live full and productive lives. He cites the ending of Job as an example in which a person dies "contented" and Sheol is not mentioned.

avoided, and those who are morally wicked have little hope of escaping the grasp of Sheol.⁵⁶

In Num 16, Sheol serves as a means of distinguishing between the “holy” and those who “have despised YHWH” (16:5, 30).⁵⁷ Korah and the two hundred men who followed him in his rebellion against Moses and Aaron are brought before the people. Moses tells the people:

If these people die a natural death, or if a natural fate comes on them, then YHWH has not sent me. But if YHWH creates something new, and the ground opens its mouth and swallows them up, with all that belongs to them, and they go down alive into Sheol, then you shall know that these men have despised YHWH. (Num 16:29-30)

Johnston makes this argument from silence, contending that when individuals “face a contented death at the end of a full and happy life, or where this is narrated, there is no mention of Sheol.” (82) While Levenson and Johnston are correct to point out that Sheol is not always used as the neutral abode for all of the dead, their arguments require the reader to assume that every narrative of death in which Sheol is not mentioned is an intentional reference to a beatific death.

⁵⁶ While all humans will die and go to Sheol, the abode of the dead is still held out as a place to be avoided for as long as possible. For a fuller discussion of what is actually meant by “escaping the grasp of Sheol” see pp. 48-52 below.

⁵⁷ Thomas W. Mann has argued that most of this passage belongs to J and is mingled with two priestly strains. Mann proposes that Num 16 reveals final redactor’s interest in crafting a cohesive narrative about holiness and death. See Thomas W. Mann, “Holiness and Death in the Redaction of Numbers 16:1-20:13,” in *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope* (ed. John H Marks and Robert McClive Good; Guilford, Conn.: Four Quarters, 1987), 182, 190.

Immediately after Moses speaks these words the men of Korah are swallowed, along with all of their possessions, proving that they are wicked and Moses is holy (16:31-33). In this context, “going down alive into Sheol” is the visible manifestation of Divine judgment, setting the men of Korah apart as “despisers of YHWH” (16:30).⁵⁸

Similarly, the abode of the dead is invoked in a prophetic context in order to signal the divine judgment of those prideful people who oppose Israel. Throughout Isaiah, the pit (בֹּרַחַ) and Sheol are used to indicate God’s judgment of specific groups of people: Jerusalem’s nobility (5:14) and the king of Babylon (14:15-20) are both “brought

⁵⁸ Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 38, argues that this is a key place in which Israel’s tradition diverges from Ugaritic myth, asserting Sheol as a realm that is under Divine control. For other narrative texts in which being sent to Sheol is a sign of judgment, see 1 Sam 2:6; 22:6; Job 24:19. In the Psalter, the concept that the wicked are consigned to Sheol is rehearsed in song. (Compare the songs of Hannah and David 1 Sam 2:6; 22:6). For individual lament psalms that associate descent into the pit and divine judgment, see Psalm 28; 88; 147. See Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 83. The liturgical context for these songs indicates that the concept of Sheol was widely understood as a symbol of Divine judgment. For evidence of the use of the Psalms in worship, see James L. Crenshaw, *The Psalms: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 1–10. For more on the role of the “wicked” in the Psalms, see Erich Zenger, *A God of Vengeance? Understanding the Psalms of Divine Wrath* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996).

down to Sheol, to the depths of the pit” (14:15).⁵⁹ In both of these passages, being sent to Sheol is a means of humiliating the proud. The nobles of Jerusalem not only go down to Sheol, but they are also “brought low” and the “eyes of the haughty are humbled.” (Isa 5:15).⁶⁰ Likewise, the king of Babylon is mocked by the shades in Sheol (14:16-17) and is assigned a shameful burial with those “pierced by the sword” (Isa 14:19).⁶¹ In its original context, the image of the humiliation of the Babylonian king could be seen as a response to the common images of the astral immortality of dead kings.⁶² Here the netherworld imagery is

⁵⁹ See also, the contrast in Isa 57:1-9 between the righteous who rest in peace on their couches and the children of sorcerers and adulterers who wander about, even as far as Sheol. “There is no peace for the wicked” (Isa 57:21).

⁶⁰ The language of this chapter is reminiscent of the Canaanite story of the god Athtar, casting the king of Babylon as the paradigmatic proud person who falters because of his lack of humility. For a discussion of the links between Ugaritic myth and the conceptions of Sheol in the Hebrew Bible see Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 20–28.

⁶¹ For other instances of death by the sword and divine judgment leading to banishment in the netherworld, see the lament Ps 88:5-6, Ezekiel’s laments over the Prince of Tyre (Ezek 26), the King of Egypt (Ezek 31 and 32:1-21, 31-32), the Kings of Assyria (Ezek 32:22-23), Elam (Ezek 32:24-25) and Meshech-Tubal (Ezek 32:26-28). Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 85; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 173.

⁶² For a discussion of the way in which Isa 14 reflects an “Israelite royal ideology which had incorporated Canaanite and Egyptian notions,” see Matthias Albani, “The Downfall

not only used to critique the Babylonian king, but also any strain of royal ideology that assigns divine status to the king.

In Ezek 31-32 a similar trope is used. The threat of physical punishment or death is used in Ezekiel as a means of prophetic judgment.⁶³ Egypt is judged for her pride and sent to “the uttermost parts of the Pit” (בְּיַרְכְּתֵי-בֹרַי), and to the places in Sheol and the Pit that are reserved for the uncircumcised and those who die by the sword (Ezek 31:15-17; 32:21-28).⁶⁴ Thus, for Ezekiel, there is a fate worse than

of Helel, the Son of Dawn: Aspects of Royal Ideology in Isa 14:12-13,” in *The Fall of the Angels* (ed. Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Struckenbruck; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 62-86, see esp. p. 82. This work is part of a trend in scholarship to identify the elements of Israelite thought about the heavenly destiny of heroes that were borrowed from Egypt. See also Klaas Spronk, “Down with Hêlêl! The Assumed Mythological Background of Isa 14:12,” in *Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf* (ed. M. Dietrich and I. Kottsieper; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 717-26.

⁶³ As the introduction to Egypt’s many physical punishments the reader learns that the end result will be that “they shall know that I am YHWH” (Ezek 30:25-26).

⁶⁴ Similarly, in Ezek 26:19-21 Tyre is thrown down into the pit (בֹּרַי), so that she will not be inhabited nor “have a place in the land of the living.” In Ezek 28:8-10 Tyre’s destruction is described with language similar to that of Ezek 31: she dies a violent death, is thrust into the pit (שְׁחַת), and is relegated to the company of the “uncircumcised.” Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 85. See Ps 55:23 for another text which implies that the wicked will be relegated to “the lowest pit” (לְבֵּאֵר שְׁחַת), indicating that their behavior will drastically shorten their life spans.

death. The judgment of Egypt (and Tyre) is marked not only by banishment to Sheol or the pit, but by being relegated to one of the more shameful and remote places within the abode of the dead.⁶⁵ Within Ezekiel, these oracles inform the reader that Israel's enemies who are deemed "mighty" will be humbled by YHWH in death.⁶⁶ Parallel to the shameful spectacle that is made of Babylon in Isaiah 14, these world powers are threatened with a dishonorable death in the "uttermost parts of the pit," along with the uncircumcised and those slain by the sword.⁶⁷ By graphically humiliating the great "powers" of the world in Sheol, Ezekiel demonstrates the power of God. In this way the prophet utilizes

⁶⁵ Sutcliffe, *The Old Testament and the Future Life*, 58, notes that although this phrase is used poetically in Isa 14 and Ezek 31-32 to make a strong contrast between YHWH and the kings of the earth, it "at least helped towards the conception of that belief in very different futures for the good and the wicked after death which we shall see was dominant in the centuries immediately before Christ."

⁶⁶ See Ezek 31:14-16; 32:18, 23-25, 29-30. Compare these passages with Isa 14. See also Job 33:19-21, in which those who disobey the instructions of God are "chastened with pain upon their beds." On the rhetorical function of this spectacle of pain, see John E Hartley, *The Book of Job* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 444.

⁶⁷ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 173, notes that although Isaiah's song is "more colorfully depicted and more passionately glowing," the import of these descriptions of the underworld is the same. Both Isaiah and Ezekiel emphasize the distinction between "honorable" and "dishonorable" death.

Sheol in order to visually represent the transitory nature of worldly “pomp.”⁶⁸

The descriptions of the punishments of the “powerful” are followed by a warning for Israel (Ezek 33), in which the sentinel explains that the wicked will die and the righteous ones, who turn from their sin, will live (Ezek 33:1-20). After the prophet foretells the fall of the city and the desolation of the land, he exclaims, “Then they shall know that I am YHWH, when I have made the land a desolation and a waste because of all their abominations that they have committed” (Ezek 33:29).⁶⁹ In this prophetic warning, the “pit” (בֹּוֹר) and Sheol demonstrate YHWH’s character and the potential consequences of disobedience.

In these passages, the shame of Sheol and the pit are brought upon those who oppose Israel as a reminder that divine judgment will “bring low” the proud and arrogant. Like Num 16, Isaiah and Ezekiel depict consignment to the abode of the dead as the consequence for a specific sin: prideful enmity against Israel. Yet while the abode of the

⁶⁸ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 178, argues that this imagery would have a particular effect on the audience, inciting repentance: “...that God in his judgment bestows saving terror on those who see it, in the hope that they awake to a proper fear of him and return to him.” While Zimmerli’s hypothesis represents one possibility, the judgments and punishments of the foreign rulers could alternatively have been a beacon of hope for Israel, allowing the audience to feel vindication (and not fear as Zimmerli suggests).

⁶⁹ See also Ezek 33:33: “they will know that a prophet has been among them.”

dead is used to signify judgment and punishment throughout the Hebrew Bible, no additional punishment or judgment occurs there—the trip to the depths is the punishment in and of itself.⁷⁰

c. The Abode of the Dead as a Tool for Moral Formation in the Hebrew Bible

i. The Life and Death Contrast in the Hebrew Bible

In the Hebrew Bible life and righteousness are contrasted with death and sin.⁷¹ This basic contrast is the foundation for the tradition of the “Two Ways,” distinguishing between the “Way of Life/Righteousness” and the “Way of Death/Wickedness.”⁷² In particular, Deuteronomy

⁷⁰ Dan 12:1-2 does indicate that there is eternal punishment for the wicked, in the form of “shame and everlasting contempt.” However, Dan 12 does not posit that these punishments occur in Sheol/the Pit/Abaddon.

⁷¹ Collins, “Root of Immortality,” 180-183; Knibb, “Life and Death in the Old Testament,” 400; Jack T. Sanders, “Wisdom, Theodicy, Death, and the Evolution of Intellectual Traditions,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 36 (2005): 264; Robert Williamson Jr., “Death and Symbolic Immortality in Second Temple Wisdom Instructions” (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2011), 20-21.

⁷² For select references to the tradition of the “Two Ways” see Deut 11:28-30; 30:15-16; Josh 24:15; Jer 21:8-14; Ps 1:6; 118:29-30; 138:24; Prov 4:11-12; 15:11-20; Sir 6:18-31; 21:10; *Sib. Or.* 8:399-401; *T.Abr.* 8-13; *T.Ash.* 1:3-5:4; *2 En.* 30.15; *4 Ezra* 7.3-15; Philo, *Ebr.* 150; *Agr.* 104; *Post.* 154; *Ceb. Tab.* 1.1-2.2. See Christopher B. Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II and in First Isaiah*, 196–200, for an excellent discussion of the way in which this tradition was employed rhetorically in the HB.

makes this connection, linking a full and prosperous “life” with obedience to the commandments.⁷³ Proverbs elaborates on this theme, connecting moral formation with “life” and ignorance with “death.” For instance, Proverbs 4 juxtaposes the understanding gleaned from instruction with wickedness and folly. The author addresses the “sons” in his audience, encouraging them to heed their father’s teaching and instruction (Prov 4:2, 13). These “teachings” are described as “good” (טוֹב, 4:2) and equated with keeping commandments (4:4), the grace and beauty of Lady Wisdom (4:9), living a long life (4:10), health (4:22), and the path of the righteous (4:11, 18). In contrast to this exhortation to receive their fathers’ teachings, the sons are admonished to avoid the path of the wicked (4:14, 19), which is characterized by deep darkness (4:19), evil (4:14, 27), violence (4:17) and deceitful speech (4:24). Proverbs 4 contrasts attentiveness to one’s education and ignorance (4:1-10) with the paths of righteousness and wickedness (4:11-19). Here a moral valuation is being made, aligning those who receive instruction with righteous conduct, health, and living a long life.

This connection between life and righteousness need not be taken literally to mean that wickedness results in the end of one’s biological life (although in some cases it does). Robert Williamson argues that in Prov 10-29, the places in which the righteous person “transcends death” are

⁷³ See Deut 4:1; 5:33; 8:1; 30:15-20; and 32; also Lev 18:5; Neh 9:29.

“symbolic.”⁷⁴ That is, if a righteous person is said to “overcome Sheol” or be “redeemed from the Pit” the implication is not that this person never dies. Instead the righteous person transcends Sheol “symbolically,” “via progeny, influence, inheritance, and the persistence of one’s memory.”⁷⁵ By the same token, the idea that the wicked are headed for Sheol could also be viewed symbolically or qualitatively, as a cessation of one’s family line or the absence of basic human flourishing.⁷⁶ In either case, “death”

⁷⁴ Williamson Jr., “Death and Symbolic Immortality in Second Temple Wisdom Instructions,” 45–77. Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 39, sees the matter slightly differently, arguing that ancient Israelites conceived of death in “two stages, one characterized by intense affliction but capable of reversal and another permanent and irreversible, like death as modern secular thought conceives it. In fact, they saw illness as continuous with death and thought of the reversal of illness as so miraculous as to be in the nature of a resurrection.” For both Williamson and Levenson, the modern reader has to read the language about death and the abode of the dead with the understanding that biological death is not always indicated.

⁷⁵ Williamson Jr., “Death and Symbolic Immortality in Second Temple Wisdom Instructions,” 77. Compare Williamson’s concept of “symbolic immortality” with the “duality of death” discussed by Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 81, in which the righteous are able to perceive that they “live on” in some sense, while the wicked cannot.

⁷⁶ Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 38–39, demonstrates that the ancient Israelite life-death boundary was different from our own, such that a person could be “dead” long before their physical life had ended if they were “gravely ill, under lethal assault, or sentenced to capital punishment.”

(biological or qualitative) is viewed negatively in the Hebrew Bible, and as such is a fate worth postponing for as long as possible. This basic theme is repeated throughout the Hebrew Bible, indicating that a premature or unnatural death is the consequence for sin and a punishment carried out by YHWH. For instance, Hannah's song (1Sam 2:1-10) teaches that YHWH has the power to "bring down to Sheol," and "to raise up to life," and that YHWH will protect the faithful and "cut off the wicked in darkness" (1Sam 2:6, 9).

The contrast between life/death and righteousness/sin is also illustrated in David's final instructions to Solomon in 1 Kgs 2. David's speech contrasts Solomon's righteousness, wisdom, and prosperity with the sin and death of his enemies. David begins by instructing Solomon in the "way of life," associating Solomon and the line of David with obedience to the commandments:

...and keep the charge of YHWH your God, walking in his ways and keeping his statutes, his commandments, his ordinances, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses, so that you may prosper in all that you do and wherever you turn (1Kgs 2:3).⁷⁷

⁷⁷ שָׁכַל, which is translated here as "prosper," is a term associated with intellectual tradition by Whybray. This passage is said to exhibit a connection to Wisdom literature because of the use of the language of instruction, the emphasis on Solomon's wisdom, and the success that comes from following God's teachings and ordinances. See Whybray, *Intellectual Tradition*, 137. As we argue here, the life/death contrast and

This charge is immediately followed by instructions for dealing with David's enemies after his death.⁷⁸ Twice in this passage David assumes that Solomon will assert control over who goes to Sheol and how they will arrive there, whether "in peace" or "in blood" (1Kgs 2:6, 9). Those who have murdered David's associates (1Kgs 2:5) and cursed him (1Kgs 2:8) are to be "brought down with blood to Sheol" (1Kgs 2:9).⁷⁹ In both cases, Solomon's "wisdom" is the lens through which he sees David's instructions. In this manner, Solomon is depicted as a wise and righteous adherent to both God's commandments and David's instructions.⁸⁰ As a result of his wisdom and righteousness, Solomon will

its association with obedience/wickedness is exhibited throughout the HB, and not simply in one strain of the tradition.

⁷⁸ Koopmans argues, on the basis of the poetic structure of 1 Kgs 2:1-10, that the executions which David prescribes parallel his own actions at the beginning of his reign (2 Sam 1:13-16; 4:9-12). See William T. Koopmans, "The Testament of David in 1 Kings 2:1-10," *VT* 41 (1991): 447.

⁷⁹ In 1 Kgs 2:6, David phrases this differently, urging Solomon "do not let his gray head go down to Sheol in peace." In essence he is contrasting natural death with premature death at the hands of Solomon.

⁸⁰ Benjamin E. Scolnic notes that David's instructions to Solomon are to be understood within the context of a "moral code" and not primarily as political necessities. For Scolnic at least, this text presents moral instruction for Solomon as well as for the imagined audience of 1Kings. See Benjamin E. Scolnic, "David's Final Testament: Morality or Expediency?," *Judaism* 43 (1994): 26. In contrast, Hens-Piazza

enjoy prosperity. In contrast, David's enemies are guilty of specific sins, and they will be judged by Solomon and cast prematurely into Sheol.

Implicitly 1 Kgs 2 conveys the idea that a wise person like Solomon, who obeys God's commands, will not "go down to Sheol in blood," but will live a prosperous life and die of natural causes in old age ("his grey head" will "go down into Sheol in peace," 1 Kgs 2:6). The references to "instruction," "wisdom" and "prosperity" suggest that this text may have been part of ancient Israel's moral formation.⁸¹ The implication, however, that the "wise" can somehow put off going to Sheol is used elsewhere as the impetus for moral behavior.

ii. The Abode of the Dead as Ethical Motivation

The Psalms and Proverbs both hold out hope that a person can receive instruction and thus avoid the fate of the wicked, who are

contends that these instructions are political exigencies. See Gina Hens-Piazza, *1-2 Kings* (Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries; Nashville: Abingdon, 2006), 22-27.

⁸¹ Whybray includes this passage in his "intellectual tradition." Whybray, *Intellectual Tradition*, 90-91. See others who argue for the broad influence of Wisdom literature within the Hebrew Bible: Gerhard von Rad, "Josephgeschichte und altere Chokma," *VTSup* 1 (1953): 121-27; Mark Sneed, "Is the 'Wisdom Tradition' a Tradition?," *CBQ* 73 (2011): 50-71. Some scholars have critiqued Whybray and others who look for "Wisdom influence" outside of the typical boundaries of Wisdom literature. James L. Crenshaw, "Method in Determining Wisdom Influence upon Historical Literature," *JBL* 88 (1969): 129-142; Michael V. Fox, "Wisdom in the Joseph Story," *VT* 51 (2001): 26-41.

prematurely cast into Sheol.⁸² In Ps 16:10, the Psalmist's soul is not lost to Sheol or the pit (תַּהוֹמֹת) because of YHWH's instruction (Ps 16:7).⁸³

Likewise, the Psalm of the Korahites (Ps 49, cf. Num 16) indicates that although both the wise and foolish will see death, the foolish will “waste away” in Sheol.⁸⁴ David J. Zucker and Hans-Joachim Kraus have both

⁸² Rosenberg, “Concept of Biblical Sheol,” 90–91. See Ps 16:10-11; 49; 55:15; 86:11-13; Prov 5:5; 7:27; 9:18; 15:24; 23:12-14. Although this theme is most prominent in Psalms and Proverbs, it is also picked up in Job and the Prophets. See Job 24:19; Isa 5:14; 14:9-15; 28:9-18; 51:14; 57:9; Hab 2:5. While we have cautioned against the idea that Sheol could be avoided entirely, Mitchell J. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1-50* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 90–91, 301–2, argues that in some of the Psalms (See Ps 16:10; 49:16) “avoiding Sheol” is meant literally.

⁸³ Here the psalmist makes an explicit contrast between the path of life (Ps 16:11) and the abodes of the dead (Ps 16:10). Although Christians have read a reference to resurrection here, the original context of the Psalm does not indicate such a meaning. More likely the psalmist is either referring to “acute mortal danger” (see Kraus below) or he is making a metaphorical reference to the tension between life and death. Alternatively, Dahood argues that the psalmist expects to be “taken up” like Enoch and Elijah. See Dahood, *Psalms I*, 91; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 239–41. In contrast, Gregory V. Trull, “An Exegesis of Psalm 16:10,” *BSac* 161 (2004): 304-21, reads Psalm 16:10 as a reference to the resurrection.

⁸⁴ The psalmist proclaims “But God will ransom my soul from the power of Sheol, for he will receive me. Selah (Ps 49:15). See Dahood and Zucker on the ironic and dialectical nature of thought in Psalm 49. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1-50*, 300-302; David J. Zucker, “The Riddle of Psalm 49,” *JBQ* 33 (2005): 150-51.

argued that Psalm 49 has a didactic function, utilizing the threat of Sheol in order to warn its readers about the dangers of wealth.⁸⁵ In Psalm 86, the psalmist depicts himself as a willing student, eager for YHWH to “teach him the way” (Ps 86:11).⁸⁶ In response to YHWH’s teaching the psalmist rejoices in his redemption from Sheol (Ps 86:13).⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Kraus notes that this lesson is “announced through the inspired singer of wisdom (v.4)” and describes the Psalm as “didactic poetry” which “stands in judgment and disarms the imposing world of wealth and success.” Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 485; Zucker, “The Riddle of Psalm 49,” 151. In contrast, Michael D. Goulder has argued that this psalm is not a Wisdom psalm, but is a politically motivated warning. Although Goulder’s analysis makes some sense if all of the Psalms of the Sons of Korah are read together, it does not explain the apparent pedagogical thrust of Psalm 49 for an independent audience. See M. D. Goulder, *The Psalms of the Sons of Korah* (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, Dept. of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 1982), 195.

⁸⁶ In fact, as Hossfeld and Zenger note, this Psalm “may well have originated in the milieu of (Wisdom) scribal scholarship.” See Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100* (ed. Klaus Baltzer; trans. Linda Maloney; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 371.

⁸⁷ As we have discussed above, “redemption from Sheol” does not imply that the Psalmist will not die someday. For discussion of this “symbolic death transcendence” see pp. 48-52 above. Dahood, *Psalms I*, 295, calls this reference to “deepest Sheol” a kind of “theological wordplay” that contrasts the “Most High God” with the depths of Sheol.

In Proverbs the abode of the dead is used even more explicitly as a means for motivating readers of the text.⁸⁸ In the opening chapters of Proverbs the way of “wisdom” (חֵכְמָה) is contrasted with the way of “fools” (אֲוִילִים) whose path leads to Sheol.⁸⁹ The person who pays heed to the instructions of his parents and follows the way of wisdom is spared from Sheol.⁹⁰ Prov 15:24 encapsulates this idea: “For the wise the path of life leads upward, in order to avoid Sheol below.”⁹¹ As such, the abode of the

⁸⁸ For instance, Williamson, “Death and Symbolic Immortality,” 129-33, has argued that the juxtaposition between life and death, and wisdom and folly, in Proverbs is a part of a program of enculturation or “worldview defense.”

⁸⁹ See Prov 1:12; 5:5; 7:27; 9:18. For analysis of these two “ways,” see Williamson, “Death and Symbolic Immortality,” 39-45, 120-25. For further analysis of the “strange woman” of Proverbs who leads the student to folly and Sheol, see Carol A. Newsom, “Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of Proverbs 1-9,” in *Gender and Difference* (ed. P.L. Day; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 142-60; Christl Maier, *Die “fremde Frau” in Proverbien 1-9: Eine exegetische und sozialgeschichtliche Studie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); Matthew Goff, “Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184),” *JSJ* 39 (2008): 20-45.

⁹⁰ See pp.48-52, above for fuller discussion of the figurative sense of the language regarding redemption from or avoidance of Sheol.

⁹¹ Cf. Prov 1:9; 4:9; Job 31:36. See R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs. Ecclesiastes* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), 96-99.

dead is invoked as the ultimate consequence for folly, or failure to internalize the “lesson” of Proverbs.⁹²

In Job, the abode of the dead is mentioned in contexts that focus on ethical transformation or preventing immoral behavior. In particular, Elihu’s speech (Job 33) utilizes the imagery of redemption from the pit (תּהוֹם; Job 33:15-22):

For God speaks in one way, and in two, though people do not *perceive* it. In a dream, in a *vision* of the night, when deep sleep falls on mortals, while they slumber on their beds, then he opens their *ears*, and terrifies them with warnings, that he may *turn them aside from their deeds*, and keep them from pride, to spare their *souls* from the Pit, their *lives* from traversing the River. (Job 33:14-18)

In this vision, God “opens their ears,” providing moral formation for the prideful. Here the language of moral instruction (visions, open ears, spared souls, turning aside from deeds) is juxtaposed with the bodily suffering that those who resist such education endure (pain, achy bones, loss of appetite, bones that stick out from their flesh Job 33:19-21).⁹³

⁹² So affirms Prov 23:13-14, in which a poorly disciplined (and poorly educated) child is destined for Sheol: “Do not withhold discipline from your children; if you beat them with a rod, they will not die. If you beat them with the rod, you will save their lives from Sheol.”

⁹³ For other places in the Hebrew Bible in which the bodily language of education is used in combination with the abode of the dead to educate the audience of the text, see Job 26:6; 28:22; Job 31:12; Ps 86:11-13; Prov 7:27; Isa 14:9-15; 66:24. Isa 14 is a

The express purpose of this instruction is to prevent these disobedient souls from going to the underworld, or “traversing the River.”⁹⁴ On the level of the text, God provides terrifying “warnings” in order to prevent souls from ending up in the Pit.⁹⁵ For Job, and for the reader of Elihu’s speech, this vision is meant to be instructive as well.

After being offered mediation by an angel, one of these “sinners” whom God warned is restored to “his youthful vigor.” Back from the brink of the Pit, this person testifies to his fellow “sinners,” to Job and to the readers of Job: “That person sings to others and says, ‘I sinned, and perverted what was right, and it was not paid back to me. He has redeemed my soul from going down to the Pit, and my life shall see the light.’” (Job 33:27-28) This sinner’s testimony is the means by which Elihu offers a lesson on redemption to Job.⁹⁶ As Carol Newsom has argued, the speeches of Elihu are later additions to the text, and are best

particularly striking example of this, in which the onlookers “see” the rulers in the underworld, “stare” at them, and “ponder” their fate.

⁹⁴ The MT has *וְחִיתוּ מֵעֵבֶר בְּשִׁלַּח*, while the LXX reads *μη̄ πεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολέμῳ*. As Marvin Pope has noted, this reference to the “River” is to the path to the mythical realm of the dead, “the infernal stream, the river of Hubur of Mesopotamian mythology and the Styx of the Greeks.” See Marvin H. Pope, *Job* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), 250.

⁹⁵ For more on the instructional tone of this passage, see Hartley, *Job*, 443-44.

⁹⁶ Elihu makes the pedagogical purpose of his speech explicit to Job in 33:31-33: “...listen to me; be silent, and I will teach you wisdom.”

understood in dialogue with the other speeches in Job.⁹⁷ By drawing parallels between the rhetorical tenor of Job 33 and other discourses of moral repentance in the Hebrew Bible, Newsom demonstrates that the primary aim of Elihu's speech is to shift the frame of the moral discourse among Job and his friends.⁹⁸ Thus, Elihu's speech in Job 33 uses the bodily language of instruction and the language of repentance in order to re-articulate the "moral lesson" that is learned from Job's experience. For both Job and Job's audience, the story of redemption from the pit offers a more general ethical call to repentance and communion with God.

In Isaiah, this theme is expanded. Not only are the "wise" saved from premature consignment to the abode of the dead, but Sheol is in direct competition with YHWH's teachings for the people's allegiance. In Isa 28 the prophet recounts that the "drunkards of Ephraim" (28:1-3)

⁹⁷ Newsom argues that although Elihu's speech takes up the forensic terminology of Job's speech in chapters 9 and 13, this speech is a later addition to the text, which is in dialogue with Job's earlier speeches. She posits that the author of Job 33 takes up forensic terminology because "he recognizes a new mode of moral and religious discourse in Job's use of legal language to recast the terms of his relationship with God, a mode of discourse he finds deeply troubling." See Carol A. Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 209.

⁹⁸ Newsom, *Job*, 211-16, compares Elihu's moral imagination with that of the lament and thanksgiving Psalms, as well as 2 Sam 12, 2Chron 33:10-18, 1Macc 6, 2 Macc 9 and Dan 4.

have damaged the fabric of society to such a point that “the priest and prophet reel with strong drink” (28:7).⁹⁹ The prophet worries that in the face of such social decay there will be no students left to learn from the words of YHWH, “precept upon precept” (28:10, 13): “Whom will he teach knowledge, and to whom will he explain the message? Those who are weaned from milk, those taken from the breast?” (28:9).¹⁰⁰ Not only have YHWH’s students abandoned moral instruction in favor of folly and drunkenness, but they have made a covenant with death and Sheol (28:15).¹⁰¹ This covenant with death and Sheol represents the people’s flagrant ignorance of YHWH’s teaching (28:11-14) and their preference for “lies” and “falsehood” over “righteousness.”¹⁰² In its original context,

⁹⁹ Marvin Sweeney has classified this chapter of Isaiah as a “prophetic instruction, which is designed to give guidance to its audience. See Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (FOTL 16; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996), 364.

¹⁰⁰ As Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 364-66, argues, these rhetorical questions are typical of “prophetic instruction.”

¹⁰¹ Sweeney posits that this chapter of Isaiah is presupposing Hezekiah’s attempts at dissolution of the alliances with his neighbors. When viewed in this light, the death imagery in vv.15 and 18 is borrowed by the prophet “from the death imagery often associated with the *marzēah* feasting and drinking alluded to in vv.7-8 to describe the outcome of such alliances” (Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 371).

¹⁰² For a detailed literary analysis of this rhetorical move, see Cheryl Exum, “Whom Will He Teach Knowledge?” A Literary Approach to Isaiah 28,” in *Art and Meaning*,

the covenant with death and Sheol likely referred to Judeans making a covenant with the Egyptian goddess Mut as a means of protection from Assyria.¹⁰³ Isaiah's warning then, is that Mut, signified by "death and Sheol," is a hollow substitute for the teaching of YHWH. In this passage, death and Sheol are vying for the allegiance of God's people, in competition with YHWH who is depicted as a Divine educator.

So far we have demonstrated that the foolish who end up in Sheol serve as a negative example, encouraging readers to take their moral formation seriously in order to "avoid" the abode of the dead for as long as possible. In these examples, the abode of the dead and other death imagery is drawn into an instructional context, exploiting the fundamental life/death contrast that is used throughout the Hebrew Bible to reinforce ethical behavior. In this regard the abode of the dead is only used as "pedagogical rhetoric" in a secondary sense, as a means of illustrating the "Two Ways" that are before the reader. This use of the abode of the dead as a tool for moral formation is only one of several ways in which the concept functions rhetorically within the Hebrew

Rhetoric in Biblical Literature (ed. David J.A. Clines, David M. Gunn, and Alan J. Hauser; JSOTSup 19; Dept. of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 1982).

¹⁰³ For a detailed explanation of this interpretation see Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Judah's Covenant with Death (Isaiah XXVIII 14-22)," *VT* 50 (2000): 472-83; Christopher Hays, "The Covenant with Mut: a New Interpretation of Isaiah 28:1-22," *VT* 60 (2010): 212-40.

Bible. Nevertheless, the concept of the “Two Ways” would shape the way that the Hebrew Bible images of Sheol, the Pit, Abaddon, and Gehenna are interpreted and used by later authors.

IV. Conclusion

A survey of the relevant depictions of the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible reveals that the conceptions of the netherworld were as diverse as the attitudes to death itself. One idea was that all of the dead went to a common place. Since dwelling in Sheol did not represent an animate existence in the fullest sense of “afterlife,” the concept of the abode of the dead was closely related to the grave (another holding place for the dead) and death itself. The abode of the dead could be invoked as a metonym for death and affliction, or more particularly to describe an “undesirable” locale that was “below.” The descriptions within the Hebrew Bible and in the myths of surrounding cultures depicted the netherworld as dark, dusty, wet, and remote—“visiting” was not an option (the bars would keep you inside), but no one would want to stay.

In some cases the descriptions of Sheol, Abaddon, the Pit, and Gehenna were particularly vivid, and in these cases the abode of the dead served as a rhetorical tool for dramatizing the idea of punishment, death, or a near death experience. Because the abode of the dead was such a diversely used concept, the terms themselves could be used figuratively to vividly describe a range of circumstances such as

darkness, removal from the world, isolation, death, mourning or bodily peril (to name a few). References to the abode of the dead were also used to demarcate the Divine judgment of the “wicked” and the “proud.” In these instances the netherworld became a place for Israel’s enemies, who would be sent to Sheol prematurely, as the direct result of their arrogant encroachment upon YHWH’s people.

We have also described the limited sense in which the netherworld was used as a tool for moral formation. First, we highlighted the broad theme of the life and death contrast within the Hebrew Bible, demonstrating that premature death was associated with folly and wickedness. We then demonstrated that language for the netherworld is often drawn into instructional contexts that employ the tradition of the “Two Ways.” Where this theme is employed in tandem with language for the abode of the dead, moral formation is viewed as a kind of pit-prevention plan. Since Sheol could also be understood as the abode for all of the dead, however, one was not necessarily “saved” from Sheol forever. Instead, the person who pursued the “Way of Righteousness” was promised a full and prosperous life.

As we shall see in the chapters to follow, early Christians would massage the idea of the “Two Ways” so that the “Way of Righteousness” would not only lead one away from the netherworld, but toward a

heavenly afterlife.¹⁰⁴ What is more, the Greek and Latin use of Hades as a pedagogical tool would capture the early Christian imagination, so that “hell” was not only a motivation for moral formation, but a place that could provide a road map for proper engagement in the world.

¹⁰⁴ Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 81, reminds readers that there is “no antipode to Sheol in the sense of a heavenly locale to which the blessed go after death,” however; there is a “spatial antipode to Sheol” in the temple in Jerusalem, or in the continuation of one’s name or memory through a line of descendants.

Chapter 3

*Eternal Judgment, Punishment, and the Afterlife as an expression of
Paideia in Greek and Latin Literature*

“Seek not to speak soothingly to me of death, glorious Odysseus. I should choose so I might live on earth, to serve as the hireling of another, of some portionless man whose livelihood was but small, rather than to be lord over all the dead that have perished.” (Achilles in *Od.* 11.488-494)

I. Introduction

So far we have seen that Sheol is broadly conceived in the Hebrew Bible, in some places simply referring to the “netherworld” and in others signaling judgment or punishment. Likewise the depictions of “Hell” in Greek and Latin literature range from poetic tours of Hades that are found in Homer (*Odyssey* 11 and 24) and Virgil (*Aeneid* 6) to the philosophical reflections on the afterlife presented in Plato (*Republic* 614 and *Phaedo* 107c-115a). Unlike the Jewish understandings of Sheol and Gehenna that were surveyed in chapter 2, Greek and Latin depictions of Hades are explicitly pedagogical. The underworld is invoked in Greek and Latin literature in order to educate the audience. The educational content of Greek and Latin “hell literature” often has an ethical orientation, aimed at providing instructions for how people ought to

conduct themselves in their mortal lives, and is thus part of the broad program of cultural education known as *paideia*.

In this chapter we will examine the Greek and Roman programs of rhetoric and education in order to evaluate the extent to which depictions of the underworld served a pedagogical function in their original contexts. First, the chapter will summarize the primary role of *paideia* as a technical training process. This practical component of *paideia* was aimed at the intellectual formation of the students, who included but were not limited to rhetors. In this way, the program of *paideia* was similar to many modern educational systems, leading the students through courses in grammar, rhetoric, dialect, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and musical theory.¹ This highly stabilized curriculum of Greek and Roman *paideia* had a vital secondary function, which was to provide cultural education. After examining the role of *paideia* within the broader program of the spread of Greek and Roman culture, our analysis will turn to the specific rhetorical device of *ekphrasis* as a pedagogical tool. Developing a clearer understanding of the rhetorical device of *ekphrasis* will enable us to better understand the rhetorical effect that descriptions of hell had on the ancient audience. Finally, this chapter will survey some specific examples of the

¹ Cicero *De or.* 1.187-188, suggests this list of the “liberal arts” and the “literary arts.” By the time of Cicero, a broad range of subjects were included as a part of *paideia*.

pedagogical function of Hell in Greek and Latin literature. Ultimately this chapter will demonstrate 1) that the concept of hell was presented ekphrastically in Greece and Rome, and 2) that this presentation had an emotional impact on the ancient audience, moving them towards specific behaviors or a certain type of engagement in the polis. In this regard, the Greek and Roman understandings of Hades will be illuminated as vehicles for ethical and cultural education.

II. Greek and Roman Rhetoric and Education: the Role of Ethical Instruction within Greek and Roman *Paideia*

a. *Paideia* as Rhetorical Training

Most studies of *paideia*, or Greek and Roman education, focus on the set of educational practices that were used to train literate males in the art of rhetoric.² The reason for this overwhelming focus on *paideia*

² M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971); Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Raffaella Cribiore and American Council of Learned Societies, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001). See also Ruth Webb's description of *paideia* as rhetorical training. She recounts the story from Lucian's autobiography in which he encounters *paideia* personified. Ruth Webb,

as rhetorical training is largely due to the fact that there is a remarkable amount of evidence available for the reconstruction of this facet of ancient schooling.

Recent studies on ancient education conducted by Raffaella Cribiore and Teresa Morgan have mined the educational materials that were preserved on papyrus, ostraca, waxed or whitened wooden tablets and even parchment for evidence of the kinds of exercises that were performed by students and teachers in antiquity.³ In addition to the handbooks, the entire corpus of Greek and Latin literature is littered with texts that describe or prescribe some facet of ancient education. Morgan divides these texts into two distinct types of evidence.⁴ First, there are those sources which are utopian (i.e. Plato's *Republic* or Plato's *Laws*) and describe the ideals of education from a particular point of view. Second, there are the educational texts which describe educational practices with a "greater or lesser degree of systematization or idealization" (i.e. Cicero's *De Oratore*, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, Philo's *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia*, Ps.-Plutarch's *De Liberis*

Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2009), 14. Lucian, *Somn.* 1-13.

³ Cribiore and American Council of Learned Societies, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 13-26; Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 39; Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 4-5.

⁴ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 5.

Educandis).⁵ Taken together, these various types of evidence have allowed modern historians to paint a remarkably detailed picture of education in the ancient world.⁶

What emerges from these histories of ancient education is a description of a system of education that was relatively consistent given the diversity of Greece and Rome, and their respective spheres of cultural and political influence. Henri-Irénée Marrou's foundational work on ancient education demonstrated that during the Hellenistic period a basic system of education was developed that had a highly fixed curriculum.⁷ Marrou goes on to argue that the Romans took up this system, which, by and large, remained stable for the remainder of antiquity.⁸ Fifty years later, Morgan takes up Marrou's argument and augments it by proposing that this educational system was essential to the phenomenon of Empire. She stresses that the content of Greek and

⁵ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 5.

⁶ For instance, see Marrou's widely cited work which details a range of ancient educational practices. Henri Irénée Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982). Mark Joyal's recent sourcebook on education, however, has cautioned that the breadth of evidence should not be mistaken for comprehensive or conclusive information about education in antiquity. Mark Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 123.

⁷ Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 95–226.

⁸ Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 229–313.

Roman teaching took on surprisingly consistent forms despite geographic and socio-cultural differences and the lack of a centralized institution governing education.⁹ Morgan argues that the Greek educational system became so consistent because of geographic and socio-cultural diversity, not in spite of it. Literate education was an essential means for assimilating non-Greeks into Greek culture in order to ensure that Greek rulers could control the empire:

In the Hellenistic period, through education, some of the most important cultural aspects of greekness ceased to be a matter of race or citizenship and became accessible to others by means of a definable, transferrable body of cultural knowledge, and this knowledge became a symbol of status and identity with the ruling minority.¹⁰

Morgan takes her conclusion one step further, arguing that the Romans were interested in Greek culture and education because they saw it as “an effective means of socio-political control.”¹¹

The ancient education of a literate person followed a relatively predictable trajectory.¹² First, the student learned his letters, reading, writing and arithmetic from the γραμματοδιδάσκαλος (also called the

⁹ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 3, 25.

¹⁰ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 23.

¹¹ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 24.

¹² See Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 13–15, for a brief discussion of the ways in which this trajectory may have varied slightly outside of the urban environment, or among students with greater privilege.

γραμματιστής or διδάσκαλος).¹³ Once the student had mastered the γράμματα, he began to study under a γραμματικός, who taught language and literature via a focused study on Homer and the poets.¹⁴ Some students followed the study with the γραμματικός with more focused study of rhetoric and public speaking under the tutelage of a ῥήτωρ.¹⁵

This basic system of education was referred to in antiquity as *enkyklios paideia*. *Enkyklios* can mean either “circular/complete” or “common.” Morgan notes that although most people translate *enkyklios* as “common,” it could also refer to the way in which educational authors understood their works as “complete systems which ‘encircle’ the pupil with everything one needs to know.”¹⁶ In the ancient world *enkyklios paideia* is seen as foundational training and is a prerequisite, or precedes

¹³ Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome*, 48; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 141, 265.

¹⁴ By the first century CE this phase of the curriculum also included grammar, and students were required to compose according to the models of the poets. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome*, 49, 250–51; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 160, 274.

¹⁵ Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World*, 28–45; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 284–85.

¹⁶ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 33.

other forms of training. For instance, Vitruvius recommends *enkyklios paideia* as a precursor to studying architecture.¹⁷

While the synthetic works of Marrou and Morgan provide convincing depictions of a consistent educational system in antiquity, other authors have advised caution when interpreting the evidence for *enkyklios paideia*.¹⁸ Mark Joyal, for example, argues that the papyri and inscriptions provide extensive information about curriculum and educational practices, but that the contemporary literary sources do not always go into enough detail to corroborate the evidence for a consistent system of basic education in the Hellenistic period that is found in the papyri.¹⁹ Although Joyal is correct to qualify the types of evidence adduced in the construction of educational practices, his argument devalues the papyri and inscriptions as sources which are useful for reconstructing common everyday life in antiquity. Furthermore, Joyal admits that although he believes Marrou overemphasized the consistency

¹⁷ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 6.4 Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 35. See also Strabo, who states that his work should be of interest to anyone who is not *apaideutos*, and equates education with having completed the “usual round of courses” (*enkyklios*). Strabo 1.1.22.

¹⁸ Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 14–15; Mark Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 123–124.

¹⁹ Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 123.

of the curriculum in the Hellenistic period, the curriculum of the “seven liberal arts” was firmly instantiated by the Roman period and thrived among Christians into late antiquity.²⁰ For the purposes of the present study, the prevalence of papyri, inscriptions and literary evidence in the Hellenistic period indicates that the idea of *enkyklios paideia* was at least incipient in an earlier period of Greek civilization, and certainly well established by the time in which the Jewish and Christian apocalypses were written.

b. *Paideia* and Early Christianity

By the first century C.E., this concept had been codified through a long history of practice so that early Christians could recognize both the hallmarks of *paideia*, and its value in the preservation of cultural values and norms. In fact, many of the standard studies of the Greek and Roman educational systems provide a discussion of the ways in which Christians preserved the concept and general content of *enkyklios paideia*.²¹

²⁰ Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 166–267.

²¹ Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World*, 119–29; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 314–329; Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 70–95; Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 231–67. In fact, Jaeger devotes an entire volume to the topic; see Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961).

On one hand, Christians in antiquity were intellectually and culturally engaged in the world around them, and thus thought it necessary to send their children to “traditional Hellenistic schools.”²² To this end, Christianity functioned like a philosophical school to which Christian students could align themselves during the course of their regular education in the public educational system.²³ On the other hand, “Christianity opened a new chapter in the history of education,”²⁴ as the “old standbys” of Greek education (Homer, for instance) took on new significance in the Christian context, and were supplemented with catechetical instruction.²⁵ While Christians were interested in the value of the pagan educational system as a means of developing literary competencies, they took care to protect their children from the influence of classical culture that was an integral component of *enkyklios paideia*.²⁶ For instance, Tertullian recognizes that the pagan system of

²² Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World*, 119; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 321–22; Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 46–47.

²³ Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World*, 119–124; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 321–23.

²⁴ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 47.

²⁵ Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 317–26; Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 46–47.

²⁶ Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 324–26, notes that Christians had a slight influence on the schools of Greece and Rome, Christian teachers were said to be

education is a necessary precursor to Christian chatechism, but that the child in the pagan school must take care not to “drink the poison” of Greek and Roman culture that is implicit in his education.²⁷

Scholars of the history of Christianity have also observed the educational tendencies of early Christians as a crucial component of the development and propagation of early Christian culture.²⁸ Parallel to the observations made by Clarke and Marrou, Frances Young argues that early Christian educational practices combined the models of the Jewish

accusing the poets of impiety and error, and Christian students consecrated their work with a blessing or Christian symbol. He also finds the general lack of a Christian church school (with the exception of one that sprung up in 327 C.E.) in antiquity remarkable.

²⁷ Tertullian, *Idol.* 10.5-7. Here Tertullian treats the content of *paideia* as a contagion. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 321. See a similar attitude toward the necessity of pagan education in Origen, *Cels.* III. 58. William V. Harris has incorrectly blamed Christianity for the decline in “ancient reverence for humane *paideia*,” failing to present a nuanced picture of the way in which Christians actually adapted the concept of *paideia* to suit their own needs. See William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 285–322.

²⁸ Peter Robert Lamont Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 121–26; Frances M. Young, “Toward a Christian Paideia,” in *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* (ed. Lewis Ayres and Andrew Louth; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 485–500.

synagogue and the Greek philosophical school.²⁹ Young cites Origen's education of Theodore as evidence that Origen gave his pupils "the equivalent of tertiary (university) education, following the pattern of the established *enkyklios paideia*" but with Christian philosophical content.³⁰ For instance, Origen taught the four cardinal virtues of the Greek ethical curriculum, but with his own Christian spin.³¹ Ultimately, Young argues that Origen's catechetical school replaced the Greek classics with Scripture, using the Bible as "the crown of his Christian *paideia*."³²

Prior to catechetical instruction, in the preliminary stages of *enkyklios paideia*, Christian students were reciting the same *chreiai* as their pagan counterparts,³³ and even memorizing Homer and Virgil.³⁴

²⁹ Young, "Toward a Christian Paideia," 486–87. While Young's article provides a helpful foray into this topic, we are careful to note that early Christian practices, educational and otherwise, varied based upon context.

³⁰ Young, "Toward a Christian Paideia," 488–89.

³¹ As Young, "Toward a Christian Paideia," 489, notes each of the virtues is defined by Origen as a component of the Christian's ethical duty to choose good over evil.

³² Young, "Toward a Christian Paideia," 500.

³³ See excerpt from a student's notebook in *P Bour 1* (= *PSorb* inv. 826). Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 233–34.

³⁴ Augustine describes learning Homer and Virgil's *Aeneid* "by heart." *Conf.* 1.13–14. Here Augustine indicates that he received elementary instruction in both Latin and Greek, "learning to read, write and count." Brown cites the way that Virgil and Homer

The Christian student was instructed to mine these pagan teachings for the “nuggets, like gold and silver” of “truth” as well as “very useful moral lessons.”³⁵ Thus, *paideia* not only offered Christians a basic literary education that enabled them to comprehend Christian teachings, but it also held valuable ethical information that cohered with the purposes of the Christian mission. Peter Brown has argued that relative social mobility of early Christians was directly correlated with their ability to participate in *paideia* and assimilate these pieces of cultural education.³⁶ In fact, the Christian adoption of the Greek and Roman educational system allowed early Christians to be conversant in Greek and Roman culture, and thus to find ways to live “at peace with their neighbors.”³⁷ That is, by participating in the preservation of Greek and Roman culture

were “burned into the memory” of students at an early age. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, 39; Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 244–45. See also Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon*, 61–84, 113–40.

³⁵ Augustine, *On Christian Teaching* 2.145. Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 241–43.

³⁶ Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, 35–70.

³⁷ Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, 122, elaborates: “Paideia offered ancient, almost proverbial guidance, drawn from the history and literature of Greece, on serious issues, issues which no notable—Christian or polytheist, bishop or layman—could afford to ignore: on courtesy, on the prudent administration of friendship, on the control of anger, on poise and persuasive skill when faced by official violence.”

through *paideia*, early Christians opened the door to an elaborate means of preserving and promoting their own cultural values.

c. *Paideia* as Cultural and Ethical Education

Education, according to Plutarch, is even able to correct for those lacking a “good birth.” For Plutarch, *paideia* is the cultural equalizer, a pervasive and powerful tool that allows a person to become a well balanced and functioning member of society.³⁸ As a means of cultural education, *paideia* took on many forms, beyond classroom instruction. For example, Strabo viewed his *Geography* as an educational text, taking seriously his responsibility to educate the citizenry. Reading through Strabo’s *Geography*, one is able to see the educative value of his work, as he demonstrates not only the usefulness of Homer’s poetry, but also the beneficence of the Roman program of colonization.³⁹

Strabo shows us that *paideia* was not limited to a prescribed curriculum, but could be found in anything which promoted the “correct” social ideals and values. Thus, it is not surprising that the texts which

³⁸ Plutarch, Mor. 7C-8F, 12 B. While Plutarch describes in detail that the proper course for the education of children involves a balance between political (public) and philosophical life (private), and between physical and mental exercise, one gains a sense that this balance is not merely applicable to children. In fact, if education is as pervasive and powerful as Plutarch implies, then it stands to reason that *paideia* is a part of all spheres of adult life as well.

³⁹ Strabo 1.1.16; 2.5.26.

reflect on virtue and vice appear most frequently in the school hand fragments.⁴⁰ The Gnostic literature that is cited in these fragments includes both *gnomai* and *chreiai*. *Gnomai* are one or two line quotations from literature, and *chreiai* are ethically significant sayings and doings presented in the form of a brief story about a famous Greek character or in the form of fables.⁴¹ Within gnostic literature, a high value is placed upon education.⁴² Education is thought to improve the quality of the mind, which translates to better prospects for the student to lead a life filled with hope and wealth.⁴³ Due to the enhanced prospects that were available to a student who “learned his letters,” the acquisition of cultural education had a competitive element.⁴⁴ In this regard *paideia* inculcated within the student the cultural competition for virtue. Jaeger

⁴⁰ In schoolhands, the gnostic sayings account for more of the fragments than any other type of literature (around 250 quotations). They are copied by the range of hands and thus must have been used at each stage of *enkyklios paideia*. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 122.

⁴¹ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 122–23.

⁴² Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 130–131.

⁴³ The most important object of education is the fundamental alteration of the “quality of the mind.” That is, “the man who knows his letters has a superior mind.” *Mon. Epiph.* II 615; Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 131.

⁴⁴ The pupil’s prayer in Eustratius, *Vita Eutychii* 8 demonstrates the competitive nature of education: “Lord grant me a good mind that I may learn my letters and beat my friends.” Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 131.

observes that the competition over superior virtue begins with the nobleman's race for ἀρετή in Homer: "The hero's whole life and effort are a race for the first prize, an unceasing strife for supremacy over his peers."⁴⁵

Thus, Greek and Roman *paideia* helped to shape culture by means of an ethical curriculum, which presented students with "a picture of social relations."⁴⁶ As Werner Jaeger observes, cultural education and ethical education are often equivalent or of a singular purpose in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. Jaeger argues that Plato's *Republic* does not subordinate education and ethics to his interest in creating that ideal state. Rather, Plato is "founding politics upon ethics....because in his belief, the principle of action which guides society and the state is the same as that which guides the moral conduct of the individual."⁴⁷

One finds a similar coherence between cultural and ethical education in the ancient writers on education. In his reflections on what

⁴⁵ Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* (3 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 2:7.

⁴⁶ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 128, argues that virtue was not prescribed as specific behaviors in Greek or Roman *paideia*, so much as it was presented as a desirable way of living in the world.

⁴⁷ Werner Jaeger, *Paideia*, 1: 365–66. For Plato's belief that the purpose of the study of Homer is to provide students with models of virtuous behavior for them to follow, see *Resp.* 3.15 and 8.30. Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 101.

materials a student should read, Quintilian reflects on the importance of the ethical content of any given curriculum:

Above all, since boys' minds are young and likely to absorb more deeply anything implanted in them when they are immature and totally ignorant, the goal of our pupils' education should be *not only eloquence but also, more importantly, integrity*. Accordingly, the accepted practice that reading commence with Homer and Virgil is excellent, though a boy does need more mature judgment to appreciate these poets' finer points (but there is time for this since they will be read more than once). For the time being just let his soul be uplifted by the sublime character of epic poetry; let him draw inspiration from the magnificence of its subject matter; *let him be permeated with the most noble ideals*.⁴⁸

Quintilian's advice is notable not only because he stresses the importance of imbuing students with "integrity" and the "most noble ideals" but also because he gives preference to the reading of the poets over prose (an oddity for a teacher of rhetoric).⁴⁹ For Quintilian the "classics" of Homer and Virgil exude the desired social values, having a profound ethical influence even on those students who are not yet able to fully appreciate them. Likewise, Morgan notes that Philo, Plutarch, and Ps.-Plutarch (along with Quintilian) are also interested in ethical interpretations of literature: "Their common concern is how the pupil

⁴⁸ Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.8.4-12, emphasis mine. Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 197.

⁴⁹ Contra a much earlier critique of Homer's use in ethical education in Xenophanes, 10, 11B. Xenophanes criticizes Homer and Hesiod's anthropomorphism of the gods which has made them exemplars of human vice such as "theft, adultery, and mutual deception." Xenophanes laments that "from the beginning all have learned from Homer." Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 8.

learns to distinguish the bad from the good, in order that he may not be corrupted by reading, but may pick up whatever good the authors have to convey.”⁵⁰ As a result of this tacit understanding among educators, knowledge of the poets was upheld as “one of the highest cultural values.”⁵¹ In turn, the grammarian himself was assigned a moral task: “to search for examples of ‘human perfection’ (to try once again to translate ἀρετή) in the annals of the past.”⁵²

d. *Ekphrasis*: the Pedagogical use of Rhetoric in Transmitting Cultural Values

Thus far we have demonstrated the way in which *paideia* functioned more generally as a consistent and pervasive educational system that allowed for cultural and ethical norms to be broadcast widely throughout the empire. This system was such an effective means of cultural and ethical education that early Christians participated in *enkyklios paideia* and then augmented the ethical and cultural content

⁵⁰ Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 145–46.

⁵¹ Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 170.

⁵² Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 169. Jaeger, *Paideia*, 2:32, 41, emphasizes the importance of *example* in Greek education, particularly with reference to the influence of Homeric myth on *paideia*: “Myth and heroic poetry are the nations inexhaustible treasure of great examples...It is significant that such examples are not used in narrative, but always in the speeches. The characters appeal to the myth as a collection of authoritative instances.”

via further instruction (parallel to a philosophical school). Now, we will consider a particular rhetorical device which was used in service of ethical and cultural education in the Greek, Roman, and Christian worlds: *ekphrasis*.

Ruth Webb defines *ekphrasis* as “the use of language to try to make an audience imagine a scene.”⁵³ Webb notes that the definition of *ekphrasis* has shifted throughout history. The definition has developed away from the ancient Greek definition toward a more limited definition that only includes descriptions of art.⁵⁴ In contrast to these more limited definitions of *ekphrasis*, Webb’s primary source for understanding the

⁵³ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 3. For a concise summary of the “state of the question” in contemporary work on *ekphrasis*, see Shadi Bartsch and Jaś Elsner, “Introduction: Eight Ways of Looking at an Ekphrasis,” *Classical Philology* 102 (2007): i–vi.

⁵⁴ Although Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 6, cites four different types of usage of the term *ekphrasis*, she is primarily trying to make a distinction between the subjects of *ekphrasis* and the rhetorical technique itself. Webb cites the *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums* (which in turn served as a model for the Oxford Classical Dictionary) as a specific example of the manner in which the definition of *ekphrasis* was restricted to the rhetorical description of a work of art. Here the definition focuses on the examples in the *Progymnasmata* that describe paintings, but notes that these are only some examples of *ekphrasis*. Later, when J.D. Denniston writes the entry for the *OCD* he misses the idea that paintings are merely some of the most common subjects of *ekphrasis* and defines *ekphrasis* as “an ancient genre specializing in the descriptions of paintings.”

rhetorical concept of *ekphrasis* is the *Progymnasmata*.⁵⁵ This set of elementary exercises demonstrates that *ekphrasis* was an elementary building block of *paideia*.⁵⁶ The term *ekphrasis* is “well established” by the time Theon writes the *Progymnasmata*,⁵⁷ which contains the earliest extant usage of the term.⁵⁸ Theon defines *ekphrasis* as “descriptive language, bringing what is portrayed clearly before the sight. There is

⁵⁵ The use of *Progymnasmata* was less common in the schools of Roman rhetors in 1st century C.E. (Roman educators often thought elementary education was beneath them). Raffaella Cribiore has pointed out, however, that the exercises of the *Progymnasmata* were being copied in the fourth century by Libanius, suggesting that he saw them as part of his duties as a rhetor. Raffaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 143–47.

⁵⁶ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 17. For additional sources on the manner in which the rhetorical tradition was preserved and passed on via the *Progymnasmata*, see Kaster, *Guardians of language*; Aline Rousselle, “Images as Education in the Roman Empire,” in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (ed. Yun Lee Too; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 373–403; Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*. Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*, 146, has demonstrated that many students may have encountered the *Progymnasmata* as the main source of their rhetorical training.

⁵⁷ Unless otherwise noted, the citations from the *Progymnasmata* refer to George A. Kennedy’s translation and notes. George Alexander Kennedy, ed., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

⁵⁸ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 39.

ekphrasis [*sic*] of persons and events and places and periods of time.”⁵⁹ Sometimes verbs of sight or focalization are used in combination with *ekphrasis* and serve as a hint that *ekphrasis* is “in play.”⁶⁰ Unlike other *Progymnasmata* which are defined in formal terms, *ekphrasis* was defined “primarily in terms of its effect on the listener.”⁶¹ In effect

⁵⁹ Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata* 7.118. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 45. Ἐκφρασίς ἐστι λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ’ ὄψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον. In the Greek sources, the elementary exercise of “placing before the eyes” is called *ekphrasis* (in the Latin sources other terms are used for the same rhetorical concept). For example, Aristotle’s definition of *ekphrasis*’ ability to place something “before the eyes” equates *ekphrasis* with other rhetorical terms for vivid description like ἐνάργεια, διατύπωσις and διαγράφη. See Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1411b 24-25. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 51–52, notes that these terms are sometimes distinguished from one another, and at other times used interchangeably.

⁶⁰ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 148. In the ancient novel, *ekphrasis* is often set apart from the narrative in this way: Morales notes that while the use of *ekphrasis* in the ancient novel normally takes the form of a digression, or an aside, they are paradoxically “detached” from the narrative. That is, “the framing and demarcation of these episodes is precisely and paradoxically what makes them stand out and demand attention.” Helen Morales, *Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius’ Leucippe and Clitophon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 183.

⁶¹ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 51.

“...ekphrasis is a speech which ‘leads [the audience] around,’” so that the readers feel as if they are eye witnesses.⁶²

One of the analogies used to describe *ekphrasis* is that of a “journey” or *periēgēsis* in which the speaker is a tour guide, leading the audience around the site that is being described.⁶³ *Periēgēsis* is the rhetorical principle at work in the city descriptions found in epideictic speeches, such as “Aphthonius’ own model ekphrasis of the Alexandrian acropolis which is structured as a tour around the building.”⁶⁴ The

⁶² Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 52. Theon claims that the audience should “almost see” and Nicolaus says that the difference between *diegesis* and *ekphrasis* is that *ekphrasis* attempts to make the listeners into spectators. Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata* 7.119, Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 11.68. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 46–47, 166.

⁶³ See for example, Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.7.23 “speech is like a journey out from a harbor.” Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 54. Hammon and Webb both cite Pausanias’ tour of Greece in his *Periegesis* as an example of this rhetorical device, although this example is not cited in any of the rhetorical sources. Philippe Hamon and Patricia Baudoin, “Rhetorical Status of the Descriptive,” *Yale French Studies*, 61 (1981): 3.

⁶⁴ Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 47-49. Kennedy elaborates that what Aphthonius describes is better known as the Serapeum, “an extensive shrine on a low hill in the southwestern quarter of the city.” Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 55, notes, “Aphthonius is the only one to give advice about the description of places. Despite the fact that his model ekphrasis is of a place, the Alexandrian acropolis, his instructions are brief to the point of obscurity.

rhetorical effect of *periēgēsis* is that the author is able not only to make a sight appear before the audience, but is also able to direct the audience's attention, "adding order and meaning to the undifferentiated mass of sights which is presented to the visitor."⁶⁵ This way of describing the rhetorical task of *ekphrasis* as a journey is particularly relevant to the Christian tours of Hell, in which the narrator is truly a guide, bringing the sights of Hell "before the eyes" of the readers.⁶⁶

The use of *ekphrasis*, however, was by no means limited to tour literature or descriptions of places. Despite the general advice one finds in the *Progymnasmata* on how to create one's own *ekphrasis*, there are

In describing places, as well as periods of time, one should include the surroundings (*ta periechonta*) and contents (*ta en autois huparchonta*)."

⁶⁵ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 54, elaborates: "Ekphrasis in some cases, therefore does not only make 'visible' the appearance of a subject, but makes something about its nature intelligible, an idea which is encompassed by the verb *dēloō* which can mean to explain, to reveal to the intellect, as well as to show."

⁶⁶ See Chapter 7, pp. 295-99 below. Eusebius utilized this rhetorical device, leading listeners around Christian religious sites. Eusebius includes *ekphrasis* of a building in his speech at the dedication of the Holy Sepulcher (335 C.E.). He also delivered a panegyric speech on the Church at Tyre whose rebuilding was being celebrated. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 4.46, *Hist. eccl.* 10.4. Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 64. George Alexander Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1994), 261.

no rigid or consistent stylistic restrictions.⁶⁷ In fact, there is great variety among the examples of *ekphrasis* which are chosen from classical literature for the *Progymnasmata*. Some Homeric descriptions which are used to illustrate *ekphrasis* take up only one or two lines of epic verse.⁶⁸ Other ancient examples of *ekphrasis* are much longer.⁶⁹ By taking into account the diversity among these classical examples from the *Progymnasmata*, Webb's contribution to the study of *ekphrasis* protects the diverse circumstances in which the rhetorical device could be used (rather than merely limiting it to a narrative pause or a description of a work of art).⁷⁰ According to the examples cited by Theon, ps.-

⁶⁷ See the more general guidelines found in each author's treatment of *ekphrasis*: Theon, *Progymnasmata* 118-120; ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 22-23; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 46-47; Nicholaus, *Progymnasmata* 67-71; John of Sardis, *Commentary on the Progymnasmata* 215-16.

⁶⁸ See the description of Thersites in *Iliad* 2, 217 and 219 and the description of Eurybates in *Od.* 19, 246.

⁶⁹ See the description of the Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18 or the night battle in Thucydides 7.

⁷⁰ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 68, argues: "So while some *ekphraseis* might, like descriptions as broadly defined in modern terms, constitute a narrative pause, or a separable passage, even when woven into their contexts, others such as Thucydides' night battle, or Libanios' *ekphraseis* of the Kalends or the hunt, constitute narratives (in the sense of accounts of actions unfolding intime) in themselves." For an excellent discussion of the literary and historical issues involved in determining the relationship between *ekphrasis* and its

Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicholaus, *ekphrasis* may be applied to descriptions of places, times, events, persons or things, and can occur in a variety of genres of literature from epic poetry to historical narratives.⁷¹ These variations in the length and style of ekphrastic examples from Greek and Latin literature allow us to compare examples of *ekphrasis* that occur in the ancient descriptions of Hell that take different forms and occur in a variety of literary contexts.⁷²

literary context see D. P. Fowler, "Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis," *JRS* 81 (1991): 35. After entertaining the range of theoretical arguments in the last century regarding narrative and description, Fowler concludes that ekphrasis cannot be "separated from their contexts—or reduced to them." Contra Valentine Cunningham's argument that presumes that *ekphrasis* is a break from the narrative and inextricably linked to the plastic arts. Valentine Cunningham, "Why Ekphrasis?," *CP* 102 (2007): 57–71.

⁷¹ See Theon, *Progymnasmata* 118; ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 22; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 46-47; Nicholaus, *Progymnasmata* 67-68. While many examples of *ekphrasis* occur in narrative sections of speeches, the application of the rhetoric of description is not limited to speeches. As Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 63, notes, "Many of Theon's examples of *diēgēsis* are drawn from historiography (Thucydides, Philistos, Herodotos) and Homeric epic, as well as from orators such as Demosthenes." Hamon and Baudoin, "Rhetorical Status of the Descriptive," 4, argue that description does not belong to any particular genre.

⁷² There is generic diversity both among the Greek and Roman literature (i.e. Homer's *Odyssey* vs. Plato's *Republic*) as well as the Christian "hell texts" (i.e. Matthew vs. the

Across these disparate contexts, the rhetorical function of *ekphrasis* remains constant. The primary function of *ekphrasis* is to persuade the audience, primarily by evoking emotion from the audience.⁷³ Take, for instance, Quintilian's book 8 of the *Inst.* (8.3.67-9) which illustrates the difference between an ekphrastic display of the sack of a city and a simple statement of the facts. The simple statement of facts, as Quintilian notes, "does not touch the emotions."⁷⁴ Instead, the use of

post-NT apocalypses). As Ian Morris is careful to note, these generic differences should not be mistaken for "development" of the idea of hell, but should be compared as iterations of an idea in different social contexts. See Ian Morris, "Attitudes toward Death in Archaic Greece," *Classical Antiquity* 8 (1989): 313. Thus, these stylistic variations will be helpful to keep in mind as we study the connection between the rhetorical effects of the disparate "hell texts" in Greek and Latin literature as well as the "weeping and gnashing of teeth" in Matthew and the Tour literature in the Apocalypses.

⁷³ For instance, *ekphrasis* could be used in a judicial speech to "be more persuasive." Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata*, 11.69. See also Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.29-30: "What the Greeks call *phantasiai* are the means by which images of absent things are represented to the mind in such a way that we seem to see them with our eyes and to be in their presence. *Whoever has mastery of them will have a powerful effect on the emotions.* Some people say that this type of man who can imagine in himself things, words and deeds well and in accordance with truth is 'good at imagining.'"

⁷⁴ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 74, argues that Quintilian's discussion of *enargeia* is closest to the Greek concept of *ekphrasis* (Quintilian does not treat *ekphrasis* in his preliminary exercise), contrary to those who have looked to his treatment of *digressio* or *excursus* (likely

*enargeia*⁷⁵ or “vividness” evokes pity and concern for the residents of the city:

No doubt, simply to say “the city was stormed” is to embrace everything implicit in such a disaster, but this brief communiqué, as it were, does not touch the emotions. If you expand everything which was implicit in the one word, there will come into view flames racing through houses and temples, the crash of falling roofs, the single sound made up of many cries, the blind flight of some, others clinging to their dear ones in a last embrace, shrieks of children and women, the old men whom an unkind fate has allowed to live to see this day; then will come the pillage of property, secular and sacred, the frenzied activity of plunderers carrying off their booty and going back for more, the prisoners driven in chains before their captors, the mother who tries to keep her child with her, and the victors fighting one another wherever the spoils are richer.⁷⁶

Through his description of *enargeia* Quintilian “discloses his understanding of the psychological processes involved in arousing emotion rhetorically.”⁷⁷ If *enargeia* is executed correctly, the “emotions

because previous discussion of ekphrasis has limited the concept to narrative pauses and descriptions of works of art).

⁷⁵ Quintilian’s rhetorical handbook does not treat *ekphrasis* as an elementary exercise the way that the *Progymnasmata* do. Instead, Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 90, equates *ekphrasis* in the *Progymnasmata* with Quintilian’s treatments of *enargeia*, “the quality of language that appeals to the audience’s imagination.”

⁷⁶ Quintilian, *Inst.*, 8.3.67-9.

⁷⁷ For Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 90, Quintilian’s discussion of *enargeia* helps to fill in the gaps left by the *Progymnasmata* regarding *how* the rhetorical effect is achieved. For a detailed discussion of the way that the rhetorical theory on *ekphrasis* functions in ekphrastic epigrams, see Simon Goldhill, “What Is Ekphrasis for?,” *CP* 102 (2007): 1–19.

will ensue just as if we were present at the event itself.”⁷⁸ In order to use this “vividness” to his advantage, an orator must be able to present images “in accordance with the truth.”⁷⁹ That is, the rhetorical effect of *enargeia/ekphrasis* is dependent upon whether or not it is believable. Quintilian notes that “truth” is not meant to refer to the “facts” of a case, but the verisimilitude of the description: “There are many things which are true, but scarcely credible, just as there are many things which are plausible (‘versimilia’) though false.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.32. See for example the discussion of *ekphrasis* in the Iliad in Laura Slatkin’s essay. Slatkin argues that the focalization of a fallen warrior incites the other characters (even the gods!) to feel emotions of pity, grief and vengeance. Through the character’s visions, the reader is also overcome with the same emotions. Laura M. Slatkin, “Notes on Tragic Visualizing in the Iliad,” in *Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature: Essays in Honour of Froma Zeitlin* (ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 19, 23.

⁷⁹ *secundum verum*, Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.30.

⁸⁰ Quintilian, *Inst.* 4.2.34. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 117, emphasizes that with regard to *ekphrasis* and *enargeia* “truth” is defined as “verisimilitude.” In order for the text to have the desired impact on the audience the orator must conform to the “culturally accepted ‘truth.’” Likewise, Doxapatres argues that in the *ekphrasis* of a battle, one should supplement the description with details that fit the audience expectations of the genre. Doxapatres, *Homiliai* p. 524, l. 30-525, 1.8: “for they say that even if these things did not happen, it is still permissible to say they happened because they are accepted as happening.”

Beyond verisimilitude, Quintilian says that another way to elicit a predictable range of responses from the audience is to use images that are familiar to that particular audience.⁸¹ Webb adds that this advice from Quintilian requires a certain degree of “cultural competence” from both the speaker and the audience.⁸² Thus, there is a disconnect between ancient and modern readers of the ancient texts because we use different “visual vocabularies” with different associations:

The audience’s own cultural competence was, and still is, a crucial factor in the reception of *enargeia* and means that we, as modern readers with our own array of potent images, will not always find ancient examples as vivid and compelling as the original audience might have done, possessing as we do a different visual vocabulary with different associations.⁸³

According to this understanding of the way in which *ekphrasis* functions, ekphrastic depictions of hell in antiquity would require the

⁸¹ “And yet the path to this excellence, which in my judgment is a very great one, is extremely easy. We have only to watch Nature and follow her. All eloquence is about the activities of life, every man applies whatever he hears to his own experience, and the mind finds it easiest to accept what it can recognize.” Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.3.71.

⁸² Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 109–110.

⁸³ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 125–126, also gives the example of Libanius’s speech celebrating a new church in Antioch (Libanius, *Autobiography (Oratio 1.41)*), which he rehearsed for a pagan audience that was utterly confused by his images. Webb concludes: “the failure of this ekphrasis reveals what can happen when speaker and audience do not share the same images and values.”

audiences to be familiar with the images used so that the imagery could “bring what is being shown before the eyes.”⁸⁴

As a rhetorical device that had the power to connect emotionally with an audience and persuade them, *ekphrasis* was a powerful tool for communicating ethical values. Aline Rousselle has demonstrated that visual imagery played an important role in ancient education.⁸⁵ She describes the way in which children learned the traditional images of the mythic heroes as they became familiar with the epic texts.⁸⁶ In this regard the images became a part of the students’ everyday vocabulary of moral and social values. For instance, meeting the “‘black buttocks,’ meaning Heracles” was “a threat that mothers made to their children if they misbehaved.”⁸⁷ Imagery was thought to have so powerful an effect on the ethical character of the student that ancient writers on education were interested in censoring images which were deemed “morally

⁸⁴ ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 10.22. As we will see below in chapter 7, pp. 259-67, this explains why some churches in antiquity felt terror upon reading the *Apocalypse of Peter*, while the images do not really hold the same sway today.

⁸⁵Rousselle, “Images as Education in the Roman Empire.” See also Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 205 and 250, for treatment of images in education.

⁸⁶ Rousselle, “Images as Education in the Roman Empire,” 376–79.

⁸⁷ Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 1.210. Conybeare translates “catching a Tartar.” Rousselle, “Images as Education in the Roman Empire,” 377.

incorrect.”⁸⁸ Ultimately, Rousselle concludes that the abundance of mythic imagery in the educational texts together with the teachings on description used by grammarians and rhetors lead one to imagine Greek and Roman educational systems in which the interpretation of imagery was common currency.⁸⁹

Likewise, in her comparison of Greek and Roman examples of *ekphrasis* and the imagery in the book of Revelation, Adela Collins notes the pedagogical or paranetic uses of the rhetorical device.⁹⁰ Collins cites the descriptions of primeval Athens and Atlantis in Plato’s *Critias* as examples of *ekphrasis* with a “directly didactic aim.”⁹¹ In the *ekphrasis* of Athens, Plato touts the city’s virtues, elevating the culture of historic Athens as a model to be followed.⁹² Similarly, Plato’s ekphrastic

⁸⁸ Aristotle wants to shield children from immoral stories, as well as obscene statues and paintings. Aristotle, *Pol.* 7.17. See also Eusebius’ citation of Plato, *Resp.* 2.378C1-D7 in *Praep. ev.* 2.7, 6-7. Here Eusebius uses Plato to argue against exposing children to the ethical education implicit in the Parthenon frieze of the gigantomachy because it would interfere with the ethical message that quarrelling with one another is wrong. Rousselle, “Images as Education in the Roman Empire,” 379.

⁸⁹ Rousselle, “Images as Education in the Roman Empire,” 403.

⁹⁰ Adela Yarbro Collins, “The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” in *1900th Anniversary of Saint John’s Apocalypse: Proceedings of the International and Interdisciplinary Symposium* (Athens: Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian in Patmos, 1999), 449–464.

⁹¹ Collins, “The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” 450.

⁹² Plato, *Critias* 110D-112D. Collins, “The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” 450.

description of Atlantis denigrates the cultural excess of the Great Kings.⁹³ In the Tablet of Cebes, the ethical content of the message is made more explicit.⁹⁴ Here, an old man narrates the *mythos* portrayed on a tablet found in the temple of Kronos. The ensuing tale is one of virtue and vice personified amidst the journey of human life. En route to the path to “true *paideia* and happiness” the traveler must avoid being ensnared by vices personified as courtesans and the delusions of *pseudopaideia*.⁹⁵ Once he has reached “true *paideia* and happiness,” the virtuous traveler is able to see the “miserable state” of those who did not pursue true *paideia* through awareness of good and evil.⁹⁶ Those who did not heed the images presented by Virtue are depicted as “shipwrecked in life,” and “led about in submission” by the vices.⁹⁷ This final tour of the dwelling place of those who “live wretchedly” conveys an explicit ethical message through its *ekphrasis* of the wicked: do not live ignorantly, choose the path of true *paideia*!⁹⁸ As Collins notes, the paraenetic value of the *ekphrasis* in the Tablet of Cebes provides an excellent parallel to

⁹³ Plato, *Critias* 114E-120D. Collins, “The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” 450.

⁹⁴ Collins, “The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” 460. For text, translation, and notes, see John T. Fitzgerald and L. Michael White, *The Tabula of Cebes* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983).

⁹⁵ *The Tabula of Cebes* 9 and 12-14.

⁹⁶ *The Tabula of Cebes* 24-25.

⁹⁷ *The Tabula of Cebes* 24-25.

⁹⁸ *The Tabula of Cebes* 30-32.

the ethical message imbedded in the imagery of Revelation.⁹⁹ In each of the examples of *ekphrasis* cited by Rousselle and Collins, there is some ethical ground to be won by the author, some moral message for the audience to glean from the images.¹⁰⁰

Why was *ekphrasis* so useful for conveying ethical values?

Perhaps a return to the *Progymnasmata* will elucidate the matter. In his description of *ekphrasis*, ps.-Hermogenes mentions that *ekphrasis* could be studied as part of the exercise of *koinos topos* (common place).¹⁰¹ The *koinos topos* exercise required students to rehearse commonly accepted tropes about virtue or vice to describe a person or action that has already

⁹⁹ Collins, “The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” 461–64, describes the way that the depiction of the harlot in Rev 17 resonates with the Greek ethical tradition, personifying the vice of the Roman empire as a wonton woman. Collins notes that the ethical import of this imagery is confirmed for the reader in the “accusations of luxurious living, arrogance, violence” of Rev 18.

¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 145, observes that “The majority of cases where the use of *ekphrasis* is advised involve situations where the interpretation of a deed is at issue.”

¹⁰¹ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 76, provides a helpful summary: “This was the exercise which contained a rehearsal of commonly accepted opinions about certain categories of person whether heroes or villains—such as tyrants, adulterers, the desecrators of temples and murderers. The exercise provided students with a wealth of ready made assertions about each type of person to be used as necessary to expand upon the vices or virtues of a category of a person or action.”

been judged: “for we are no longer inquiring, (for example) whether this person is a temple robber or a war hero but we amplify the fact as proved. It is called “common”-place because (what we say) applies to every temple robber or every war hero.”¹⁰² Even though they did not associate the two themselves, Theon cites the *ekphrasis* of a murderer as an example of *koinos topos*.¹⁰³ Similarly, Quintilian cites the *koinos topos* of a murderer as an example of *enargeia*.¹⁰⁴ Their vivid descriptions of the murder illustrate the close relationship between *koinos topos* and *ekphrasis*: Theon describes “how brutally and without mercy, by his own hand, when he though a man, set on another human being, drawing his sword and striking a blow...”¹⁰⁵ and Quintilian asks his students a rhetorical question “Shall I not see one man striking the blow and the other man falling? Will not the blood, the pallor, the groans, the last gasp of the dying be imprinted on my mind?”¹⁰⁶

What is more, these examples of *ekphrasis* also demonstrate the parnetic value of *koinos topos*, evoking emotions of anger, hatred and fear towards those who have been judged as “wicked.” Once the

¹⁰² ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 6.12.

¹⁰³ Theon, *Progymnasmata* 109.3-11. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 77.

¹⁰⁴ Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.31-2

¹⁰⁵ Theon, *Progymnasmata* 109.3-11

¹⁰⁶ Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.31-2

audience has had the murder “brought before the eyes” in this way, the emotions would follow, causing the audience to agree with the ethical judgment of the speaker.¹⁰⁷ Thus, the discussion of *koinos topos* in the Progymnasmata demonstrates that *ekphrasis* is useful for ethical education because of its ability to elicit an emotional response through culturally recognized images of vice and virtue. As we will see in the ensuing discussion, the uses of *ekphrasis* that we find in Greek, Roman, and Christian descriptions of the underworld sometimes follow this pattern of *koinos topos*, providing detailed information about the nature of the crimes committed and the wickedness of the persons who committed each type of offence.

III. Greek and Roman Examples of Hell as *Paideia*

a. Prevalence of Homer and Virgil in Ancient School Texts

Before examining the way in which the Greek and Latin texts on hell exhibit the characteristics of *paideia* that have been described in this chapter, let us first consider whether some of these texts may have been a formal part of the Greek or Roman curriculum. The school hands reflect the priority that was given in antiquity to the study of Homer.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ On the inner workings of this rhetorical device, see the exercise on *koinos topos* that is found in ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 6.12-13; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 7.32-25; Nicholaus, *Progymnasmata* 7.35-47.

¹⁰⁸ Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 162–63. Likewise, Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 18, says that

Among those school texts which cite Homer, citations of the *Iliad* are three times more frequent than the *Odyssey*.¹⁰⁹ This statistic correlates with the overall preference for the *Iliad* over the *Odyssey* in antiquity. However, the papyri which do cite the *Odyssey* indicate that the two books which were most popular were books 4 and 11.¹¹⁰ Although the educational texts themselves are not prolific enough to indicate which parts of the *Odyssey* teachers preferred,¹¹¹ the papyri indicate that

Homer was appropriated throughout antiquity “as a teacher for the present.” Cf. ps.-Plutarch, *On the Life and Poetry of Homer*; Robert Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 9; Ronald F. Hock, “Homer in Greco-Roman Education,” in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (ed. Dennis Ronald MacDonald; Harrisburg, Penn: Trinity Press International, 2001), 56–77; Froma Zeitlin, “Visions and Revisions of Homer in the Second Sophistic,” in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic, and the Development of Empire* (ed. Simon Goldhill; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 195–266. In a work of fiction, we even have the suggestion that a slave had studied the *Iliad* in Petronius, *Satyrica* 58.

¹⁰⁹ Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 194.

¹¹⁰ Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 197, notes that this was likely due to the fact that these are the chapters of the *Odyssey* which follow the main characters of the *Iliad*. The readers “longed to meet again in the *Odyssey* the figures known from the *Iliad* and read books 4 and 11 with special attention.” See also the discussion of the *Odyssey* in Porphyry’s *Homeric Questions*, which is also preserved in the scholia. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 108.

¹¹¹ Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 196 n. 52.

ancient education shaped readers interests in such a way that the tour of the underworld in *Odyssey* 11 was one of the two most popular books of Homer's *Odyssey*.¹¹²

In Latin, being educated meant knowing Virgil and Cicero.¹¹³ Thus, by the first century C.E., Homer and Virgil were the educational standards. Quintilian refers to the “accepted practice” of students beginning their education with Homer and Virgil.¹¹⁴ Elsewhere, we learn that Virgil and Homer were not simply read in classrooms, but that these classics were “burned into the memory” of students at an early age.¹¹⁵ As Plato observes, the purpose of studying poetry in general (and Homer in

¹¹² Criore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 197.

¹¹³ Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 259.

¹¹⁴ Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.8.4. Quintilian says that the Greek and Latin languages should be on “equal footing” in an educational context (*Inst.* 1.1.12-14), suggesting that at least some students would have read and memorized both Homer and Virgil in the original language of each text. On the matter of bilingualism in ancient education, see also J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 9–18.

¹¹⁵ Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity*, 39. See also the claim of Niceratus at Xenophon's *Symp.* 3.5, “ ‘My father focused his care on ensuring that I would turn out to be a good man,’ he replied, ‘and forced me to learn every line of poetry that Homer wrote. Even now I could recite the whole of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by heart.’”

particular) is to provide good ethical models for students to emulate.¹¹⁶ Plato qualifies this principle, arguing that the usefulness of a myth is determined by the educational context. In the case of a context in which one is teaching bravery, Plato argues that content of the *Odyssey's Nekyia* can have a negative pedagogical effect, teaching students to “fear death” instead of instilling the desired virtue, bravery.¹¹⁷ Students would be required to memorize the details of these “standard” texts in order to recite them for teachers on simple question and answer quizzes.¹¹⁸ In his reflections on his education in Greek and Latin literature, Augustine describes his frustrations that he had to “learn by heart the wanderings of some Aeneas” and was forced to memorize Homer as well.¹¹⁹

Given the prevalence of both Homer and Virgil within the school texts and the ancient treatises on education, it seems likely that the Hades myth was present in the classroom. Whether students were memorizing

¹¹⁶ Plato, *Resp.* 3.15; 8.30.

¹¹⁷ Plato, *Resp.* 3.386a-387b. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 16–17.

¹¹⁸ For examples of these quizzes on the mythological details of Homer and Virgil, see *PSI* 19 and Suetonius, *Tib.* 70.3 Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome*, 238–39; Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 168–69; Criboire, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 207–209; Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education*, 198–99.

¹¹⁹ Augustine, *Conf.* 1.13-14. Although Augustine was presumably not yet a Christian at the time of his education in Greek and Latin literature, there is evidence in Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon* 61-84, 113-40 that Homer and Virgil were used to educate Christians.

the Nekyia in *Odyssey* 11 and 24 or the adventures of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6, the sources on ancient education suggest that the underworld was used as a means of grammatical and cultural education.

b. Visualizing Punishment: The Use of *Ekphrasis* in Depictions of Hades

i. The Katabasis

Beyond their pedagogical role in the ancient classroom, the depictions of Hades in Greek and Latin literature functioned rhetorically to provide cultural education for their audiences. The myths of *katabasis*,¹²⁰ or descent to the underworld, have been studied extensively by scholars of classics and religion alike. While scholars agree that these myths are thematically linked by their common roots in the Orphic-Bacchic mysteries,¹²¹ they disagree about the nature of the relationship

¹²⁰ Although we are not exclusively investigating *katabasis* or “descent” literature, the Greek and Latin texts which deal with Hades extensively are those that are working with the *katabasis* tradition in some form.

¹²¹ Eduard Norden, “Die Petrusapokalypse und ihre antiken Vorbilder,” in *Kleine Schriften zum klassischen Altertum* (ed. Eduard Norden; 1893; repr., Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966), 218-33; Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (1913; repr., Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1969); Raymond J. Clark, *Catabasis: Vergil and the Wisdom-Tradition* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1979); Lars Albinus, *The House of Hades: Studies in Ancient Greek Eschatology* (Aarhus [Denmark]: Aarhus University Press, 2000); Jan N. Bremmer, “The Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters,

between the Orphic mysteries and other *katabasis* literature.¹²²

Likewise, some scholars trace the *katabasis* myth to the Akkadian and Babylonian descent myths, where others are more reluctant to make a link between Ancient Near Eastern and Greek and Roman cultures and traditions.¹²³ Regardless of their origins, the story of Odysseus's descent

2003); Radcliffe G. Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the "Orphic" Gold Tablets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹²² While some scholars argue for a genetic relationship between Orphism and all other *katabasis* literature, there are others who stress the difficulty in tracing Orphism's influence due to the paucity of information regarding the Orphic traditions. Norden, "Die Petrusapokalypse"; Dieterich, *Nekyia*. In contrast, more recent approaches have tried to qualify the nature of Orphic influence such as Clark, *Catabasis*; Albinus, *The House of Hades*; Bremmer, "The Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?" These more recent approaches also have the benefit of taking into account the new archeological discoveries regarding the Orphic tradition such as the Derveni papyrus and the New Orphic Gold Leaves. Bremmer, "The Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?," 11. More recently, scholars have called into question the category of "Orphic eschatology" altogether, arguing that a defined set of doctrines cannot be reconstructed based upon the scant evidence for "Orphism." See for example, Outi Lehtipuu, *The Afterlife Imagery in Luke's Story of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (NovTSup 123; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 75–80; Radcliffe G. Edmonds, "Redefining Ancient Orphism", Forthcoming 2013, 175–90.

¹²³ Clark, *Catabasis*, 13–36; Richard Bauckham, "Descents to the Underworld," in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 9–32; Alan F. Segal, *Life after Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 33–197. In contrast, others wish to focus on the

to Hades in *Odyssey* 11 actually blends several Greek ideas regarding death.¹²⁴ As the *katabasis* tradition was carried forward from the Homeric epic, each Greek and Roman author utilized the imagery and pieces of tradition that were most relevant to his rhetorical purpose and audience.¹²⁵ Since our study is focused on the rhetorical function of these myths, the following discussion will focus on the manner in which the visual imagery of Hades is employed by each author.

Greek ideas of death in isolation, such as Albinus, *The House of Hades*; Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (2d ed.; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). See also Morris's dismissal of "Iranian" influences on the Greek notion of death, (Morris, "Attitudes toward Death in Archaic Greece," 311).

¹²⁴ Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has argued that there is a blending of ideas about death in Homer's *Odyssey*, combining the more common idea of a "lively afterlife" with the more exceptional concept of a dreary afterlife, in which the shades mindlessly float about. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, "*Reading*" *Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press Press, 1995), 17–56. Morris, "Attitudes toward Death in Archaic Greece," 8:297, provides an alternative to Sourvinou-Inwood's emphasis on psychological factors, stressing the sociological evidence instead.

¹²⁵ For studies that trace the genetic relationship between these various *katabasis* texts, see Norden, "Die Petrusapokalypse"; Dieterich, *Nekyia*; Fritz Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974); Albinus, *The House of Hades*. In contrast, Radcliffe Edmonds has taken a literary approach, comparing the distinctive way in which each author uses particular elements of the myth. Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the "Orphic" Gold Tablets*.

In particular, we will focus on the way in which Greek and Latin depictions of Hades utilize the rhetoric of *ekphrasis*. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* uses the depiction of Sisyphus and the "ruthless stone" as an example of visual rhetoric, using "words that signify actuality" in order to "set things before the eyes" (3.11.2-3). In this brief example of *enargeia*, Aristotle demonstrates that Homer's depiction of the punishment of Sisyphus in Hades "gives movement and life" to the inanimate stone (*Rhet.* 3.11.4), in order to make the punishments described seem "real" and close at hand for his audience. The discussion which follows will demonstrate that the use of *enargeia* to depict the sights and sounds of Hades is not unique to *Odyssey* 11, but is a rhetorical strategy that is common to Greek and Latin depictions of Hades.

ii. Evidence of *Ekphrasis*: the Language of Perception

The most basic indicator of *ekphrasis* is the language of sight.¹²⁶ Odysseus's encounter of the underworld begins with his emotional perception of the ghost of Elpenor, in which he sees his friend and weeps with compassion (τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ δάκρυσα ἰδὼν ἐλέησά τε θυμῷ; Homer, *Od.* 11.55). Here the *ekphrasis* of Odysseus's unburied friend evokes emotion from Odysseus in order to move the audience. In Virgil's *Aeneid* 6, the language of vision abounds, inviting the reader to connect with the

¹²⁶ The following examples of texts which use verbs of perception to indicate *ekphrasis* of Hades is not meant to be exhaustive. To compare the relevant texts in this regard see Appendix C.

tragic experiences of the characters Aeneas encounters.¹²⁷ When Aeneas first arrives at the river Styx, for example, he sees the crowd of the dead who are rushing at the banks of the river, a group which includes “boys and unwedded girls, and sons placed on the pyre *before their parents’ eyes*” (*ante ora parentum*).¹²⁸ Here Virgil does not merely list the people present at the Styx, but he uses the language of visualization in order to place the sadness of premature death and parental loss “before the eyes” of Aeneas as well as the reader.¹²⁹ In the reunion between Aeneas and his father Anchises, visual language is used extensively. At the moment Anchises sees Aeneas across the meadow, he is overcome with tears, and exclaims “Is it given to me to *see your face (datur ora tueri)*, my son, and hear and utter familiar tones?”¹³⁰

After their emotional greeting, Anchises summarizes for Aeneas the punishments that are used to purify the souls who are “not entirely freed

¹²⁷ Smith points out numerous places in book 6 where the language of visualization is utilized to describe Aeneas’ conversation with his father. Alden Smith, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil’s Aeneid* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 85–89. See also the focus on Aeneas’s perception of a scene in *Aeneid* 1.441-493, where Aeneas looks at the depiction of events from the Trojan War. Fowler, “Narrate and Describe,” 31.

¹²⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.308, emphasis mine.

¹²⁹ Smith argues that this image is an example of the way that “Aeneas’ vision never becomes so optimistic as to lose a connection with the past, a state underscored here by the description of parental loss.” Smith, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil’s Aeneid*, 83.

¹³⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.688-689, emphasis mine.

from all evil” before they return to earth for another incarnation.¹³¹

Then, Anchises educates his son regarding Rome’s future, directing his attention to the line of Caesar as a shining hope for Roman rebirth:

Turn hither now *your two-eyed gaze* (*geminas nunc flecte acies*), and *behold* (*aspice*) this nation, the Romans that are yours. Here is Caesar and all the seed of Iulus destined to pass under heaven’s spacious sphere. And this in truth is he whom you so often hear promised you, Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who will again establish a golden age in Latium amid files once ruled by Saturn... (Virgil *Aeneid* 6.788-794)

Compared with the other “sights” of the underworld,¹³² this vision of the future is remarkably positive, using *ekphrasis* to describe Caesar as a beacon of hope for Aeneas’ future and the audience’s present.¹³³ These images which are brought before Aeneas serve a didactic function for Aeneas on the level of the story, and for the audience who is viewing Aeneas’ “future” as their past and present.¹³⁴

The language of sight is also used in Plutarch’s *Moralia: On the Sign of Socrates* in order to introduce the *ekphrasis* of the Styx, or the path to Hades. As Timarchus “marvels” (θαυμάζω) at the sights around him, the reader is invited to marvel along with him and thus learn about

¹³¹ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.735-751.

¹³² For other places where the language of sight is invoked in *Aeneid* book 6 see lines 755, 760, 771, 779, 817-818, 825, 855, 860, 868.

¹³³ Smith, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil’s Aeneid*, 87, describes Julius Caesar as “the one figure on whom the rebirth of Rome in Virgil’s own day depends.”

¹³⁴Smith, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil’s Aeneid*, 89-90.

the nature of the soul.¹³⁵ As Timarchus looks at (ὄραζ) the Styx, an unseen voice explains that there are four principles that govern all things (life, motion, birth, and decay),¹³⁶ and directs Timarchus' attention to the *daemons* which Timarchus sees as stars.¹³⁷ The voice explains the relationship between the souls and their earthly bodies, that some sink more deeply into their bodies than others, becoming “wholly distracted by passions.”¹³⁸ Thus, Timarchus' perception of the Styx and the stars introduce *ekphrasis* of the sights he sees on his journey that in turn serves as a means of educating the audience on the nature of the soul.

Likewise, Lucian utilizes verbs of perception in order to introduce his *ekphrasis* of the underworld. In *Menippus* 2.26, Menippus's “friend” asks Menippus to recount what he “saw” (εἶδεζ) and “heard” (ἤκουσαζ) there, “for it is to be expected, of course, that as a man of taste you did not overlook anything worth seeing or hearing” (θέαζ, ἀκοῆζ). The description of the underworld which follows this introduction is an *ekphrasis* of the fate of the wealthy in Hades. Lucian also uses verbs of

¹³⁵ Plutarch, *On the Sign of Socrates* 591A.

¹³⁶ Plutarch, *On the Sign of Socrates* 591B.

¹³⁷ Plutarch, *On the Sign of Socrates* 591D.

¹³⁸ Plutarch, *On the Sign of Socrates* 591D-F.

perception in *The Dialogues of the Dead*. Here the poor are able to “see” (ὄψονται) the equality between the rich and the poor in Hades.¹³⁹

In another dialogue Hermes directs Menippus to “look over there (ἀπόβλεψον) to your right where you’ll see Hyacinthus, Narcissus, Nircus, Achilles, Tyro, Helen, and Leda, and in fact, all the beauties of old.”¹⁴⁰ Throughout the dialogue that follows, Lucian uses the language of focalization to contrast Helen’s former glory with Menippus’ vision of Helen’s skull in Hades.¹⁴¹ As a result, the audience feels as though they too can see the skull of Helen, and they feel the same disappointment that Menippus feels as he reflects “that the Achaeans didn’t know how short lived a thing they strove for, and how soon it loses its bloom.”¹⁴² Through the *ekphrasis* of Helen, Lucian moralizes about the evanescence of beauty and the futility of chasing it.

¹³⁹ Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 1.3.

¹⁴⁰ Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 5.1.

¹⁴¹ First Hermes directs Menippus to the skulls of the great beauties with the aorist imperative ἀπόβλεψον. Menippus responds that he can only see (ὄρω) bones and bare skulls, which all look the same. After Menippus expresses his disappointment with Helen’s skull, Hermes responds that this is because he never saw (εἶδεν) Helen alive. Hermes completes the *ekphrasis* of Helen’s skull by comparing it to the experience of seeing (βλέπει) flowers after they have dried up, which appear (δόξει) ugly but were once beautiful and colorful. Menippus provides the “moral” to the *ekphrasis* by reflecting on the inability of the Achaeans to perceive (μὴ συνίεσαν) the fleeting nature of beauty.

¹⁴² Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 5.2.

iii. Evidence of *Ekphrasis*: The Presence of *Enargeia* or
“Vividness”

However, these verbs of perception are not the only indicator of *ekphrasis*. The primary characteristic of *ekphrasis* is the “vividness” (*enargeia*) of the description.¹⁴³ How does one determine if a passage is “vivid” enough in order to “lead the audience around”? According to Nicolaus, *ekphrasis* is characterized by the “amount of perceptible detail”... “the exact quantity remaining to be determined by subjective judgment or by convention.”¹⁴⁴ Thus, the “amount of perceptible detail” will be gauged by the context in which a given example of *ekphrasis* is found.

In Homer’s *Odyssey*, many of the sights of Hades are described in vivid detail, bringing the realm of the shades “before the eyes” of the reader. For example, Odysseus attempts to hug his mother, but she repeatedly escapes his grasp “like a shadow or a dream.” Odysseus’s description of this experience conveys to the reader his frustration such that the reader herself feels the anguish of being so close to a loved one

¹⁴³ The following discussion will present examples in which *enargeia* is used to characterize Hades. For comparison of all of the relevant texts see Appendix C.

¹⁴⁴ Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 67-71.

but “out of reach.”¹⁴⁵ Similarly, the punishments being handed down by Minos, son of Zeus are described in vivid detail so that the reader sees and feels the misery of eternal torment.¹⁴⁶ For instance Tityos is punished for raping Leto by being tormented by vultures which “tore his liver, plunging their beaks into his bowels, nor could he beat them off with his hands.” Along with the punishments of Orion, Tantalus and Sisyphus, Tityos’s punishment conveys to the readers the anguish of undergoing judgment in Hades by placing them at the scene of the punishment.

Likewise, Virgil’s *Aeneid* depicts the adventures of Aeneas in the underworld in graphic detail. For example, the *ekphrasis* of Charon the “grim ferryman” gives the audience a sense of foreboding as Aeneas begins his journey: “Charon, on whose chin lies a mass of unkempt, hoary hair; his eyes are staring orbs of flame; his squalid garb hangs by a knot from his shoulders.”¹⁴⁷ These more general images simply convey the appearance of one of Hades’ proprietors, while the images that immediately preceded them vividly depict three different kinds of

¹⁴⁵ The greeting between Aeneas and his father is described similarly in *Aeneid* 6.700: “Thrice he strove to throw his arms about his neck; thrice the form, vainly clasped, fled from his hands, even as light winds, and most like a winged dream.”

¹⁴⁶ *Od.* 11.568ff.

¹⁴⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.298-301.

religious practices: necromancy, initiation into a mystery cult, and prayer to the powers of the underworld.

In *Aeneid* 6.235-265 Virgil juxtaposes the *enargeia* of three different religious practices in order to appeal to the diverse “visual vocabularies” of his audience. Virgil invokes the images of necromancy by calling upon the goddess of the underworld, Hecate, using *enargeia* to bring forth for the readers the familiar images of necromancy: “the ground rumbled underfoot, the wooded ridges began to quiver, and through the gloom dogs seemed to howl as the goddess drew nigh.”¹⁴⁸ Similarly, the images of the shrieking Sibyl (“Away! Away! You that are uninitiated!” *Aeneid* 6.258) and the Golden bough (which could only be broken off by a man who is chosen by Fate, *Aeneid* 6.140-47, 186) bring to mind an initiation ceremony.¹⁴⁹ Combined with the prayer to the underworld gods (*Aeneid* 6.264-67), this juxtaposition of images has caused scholars to wonder why Virgil has brought together the images of

¹⁴⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.247-258. For comparison see the black magical ceremonies performed by Jason in *Apollonius Rhodius* 3.1191-1224. Additionally, the goddess instructs Aeneas to unsheathe his sword, recalling the drawn sword at the necromancy ceremony, used to keep the unimportant ghosts from drinking the blood. *Od.* 11.23-50. Gordon Willis Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 51.

¹⁴⁹ Initiates into the mystery of Persephone carried the branch of a myrtle; see Eduard Norden’s commentary: Virgil, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI* (ed. Eduard Norden; 3. Aufl.; Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1927), 173-74.

necromancy, initiation, and underworld journey.¹⁵⁰ In the context of our discussion of *ekphrasis*, this cacophony of imagery could be explained quite simply as an attempt on Virgil's part to appeal to the different "visual vocabularies" of his broad audience. That is, Virgil is attempting to use *ekphrasis* and wants to be sure that the audience members who may be familiar with different religious practices are all able to picture the scene.¹⁵¹ Through each of these images, the audience would gain a sense that the secretive realm of the underworld is about to be opened, each one connoting a sense of expectation.

In Lucian's depictions of Hades, the *ekphrasis* of the sights, sounds and smells appeal to the audience's senses. Although these works are parodies, they still use many of the same rhetorical features as

¹⁵⁰ Norden suggests that Virgil is merely combining his sources, while Williams argues that these images are used in conjunction with one another as synecdoche so that Virgil "disclaims a factual account of what really happened, since each synecdoche is in turn substituted for it." Virgil, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*, 173–4; Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, 51.

¹⁵¹ For another example of the appeal to a specific "visual vocabulary" in the use of *ekphrasis*, see Aristophanes, *Ran.* 145ff. The description of those who have "wronged a stranger" lying in "mud and ever-flowing shit" in Hades in Aristophanes's *Frogs* is so detailed that it has caused one scholar to suggest that it is actually the *ekphrasis* of Polygnotus's painting that is found in Pausanias 10.28.6. Albinus, *The House of Hades*, 135; Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the "Orphic" Gold Tablets*, 209.

other depictions of Hades.¹⁵² As Menippus arrives at the place of punishment he relays that “there were many pitiful things to hear and to see.”¹⁵³ He hears the sounds of scourges, the wailing of the people, who are being roasted, and the pillories and wheels. He smells and sees the dead from antiquity, who are “moldy,” and reduced to bare skeletons which stare at him “horridly and vacuously and baring their teeth.”¹⁵⁴ Menippus reflects on these vivid images, conveying the virtues of poverty. In the place of punishment the poor receive half as much torture as the rich, and on the Acherusian Plain the skeletons all look alike.¹⁵⁵ In *The Dialogues of the Dead*, Hermes and Charon contrast two vivid images of the dead arriving in Hades in order to comment on the ethical decline of society. In former times the dead would arrive heroically, “covered with

¹⁵² While other texts may state their pedagogical purpose more plainly, Lucian’s parodies educate audiences through the mechanisms of exaggeration and humor. As Katerina Oikonomopoulou, “Journeying the Underworld of Lucian’s *Cataplus*,” in *Education and Representations of the Beyond in Later Antiquity* (ed. A. Lefteratou, K. Stamatopoulos, and I. Tanaseanu-Döbler; Göttingen, Forthcoming), cautions, however, we have to be careful not to presume that Lucian’s criticism is always constructive. See also Joel C. Relihan, *Ancient Menippean Satire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Stephen Halliwell, *Greek Laughter: A Study of Cultural Psychology from Homer to Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁵³ Lucian, *Men.* 14.

¹⁵⁴ Lucian, *Men.* 15.

¹⁵⁵ Lucian, *Men.* 14-15.

blood and wounded.”¹⁵⁶ Presently, Hermes laments, they do not die in battle but are poisoned by a family member or they arrive in Hades “with their legs and bellies all puffed out with rich living, a pale and miserable lot.”¹⁵⁷ This vivid comparison between the dead of the past and the present uses *ekphrasis* to convey Lucian’s overall critique of the lifestyles of those who pursue material wealth. The puffy bodies of the rich represent their lack of bravery and thus are meant to convey the ethical inferiority of the rich to Lucian’s audience.

iv. Explicit Communication of the Didactic Function of the *Ekphrasis*

Given the previous discussion of *ekphrasis* as a pedagogical device, the evidence for *ekphrasis* in the *katabasis* literature suggests that hell functioned pedagogically in the ancient world. Furthermore, the texts themselves illustrate that the *ekphrasis* of the underworld had paraenetic value for ancient audiences.¹⁵⁸ For example, in *Odyssey* 11.223-244 Odysseus’ mother follows her vivid description of the physical realities of mortal death¹⁵⁹ with an instruction to Odysseus to

¹⁵⁶ Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 14.1.

¹⁵⁷ Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 14.1.

¹⁵⁸ For a fuller list of the texts which explicitly cite the pedagogical value of the *ekphrasis* of Hades see Appendix C.

¹⁵⁹ Odysseus’ mother brings the realities of death before the eyes of her son and the reader ekphrastically: “but this is the appointed way with the mortals, when one dies.

pass on what he has learned in Hades to his wife: “But hurry to the light as fast as you can, and bear all these things in mind, so that hereafter you may tell them to your wife.” For the audience of the *Odyssey* this instruction highlights the paraenetic value of the underworld journey, causing them to identify with Odysseus’ wife who will learn about death and life after death as a result of the descriptions of his trip.

Later, Odysseus receives advice that conflicts with his mother’s when he meets Agamemnon and hears Agamemnon’s vivid description of his own death.¹⁶⁰ Agamemnon recounts with emotion how pitiful and gruesome it was to be murdered by his own wife: “but in heart you would have felt most pity had you seen that sight, how about the mixing bowl and the laden tables we lay in the hall, and the floor all swam with blood.”¹⁶¹ Additionally, the *ekphrasis* of Agamemnon’s murder emphasizes the cruelty of his wife: “but she, bitch that she was, turned away, and did not deign, though I was going to the house of Hades, either to draw down my eyelids with her fingers or to close my mouth.”¹⁶²

For the sinews no longer hold the flesh and the bones together, but the strong force of blazing fire destroys these as soon as the spirit leaves the white bones, and the ghost, like a dream, flutters off and is gone.” *Od.* 11.218-222.

¹⁶⁰ *Od.* 11.410ff.

¹⁶¹ *Od.* 11. 418-420.

¹⁶² *Od.* 11.424-426. Note the parallels between this scene and the *koinos topos* of a murderer in Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.31-32 and Theon, *Progymnasmata* 109.3-11.

Here the *ekphrasis* of Agamemnon's death is very moving, and carries an explicit pedagogical message, as Agamemnon encapsulates the "moral" of his own death for Odysseus: "Therefore in your own case never be gentle even to your own wife. Do not declare to her every thought that you have in mind, but tell her some things, and let others also be hidden."¹⁶³

Whether Odysseus decided to speak to his wife or not, the exhortations of his mother and Agamemnon illustrate that his journey to Hades was meant to be educational for both Odysseus and for Homer's audience.¹⁶⁴

Similarly, Aristophanes' *Frogs* describes Hades in a way that provides cultural education for the audience. At the end of the play Pluto commissions Aeschylus to return from Hades to Athens and "educate the thoughtless people" (καὶ παιδεύσων τοὺς ἀνεήτους).¹⁶⁵ Pietro Pucci uses the

¹⁶³ *Od.* 11.440-444.

¹⁶⁴ For examples of those who read *Od.* 11 and 24 didactically in a later period, see Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, 42. Some of the reading practices Lamberton describes could be understood as evidence of second century thinkers seeking educational material within the "hell texts" of Homer. Lamberton describes a Naassenian Gnostic reading of *Od.* 24 in which Hermes the Psychopomp is identified with Christ, "the creative redeeming logos." Proclus (410-85 C.E.) identifies certain parts of Homer's corpus (including 11.601-626) as "didactic poetry." Such poetry "is free from all taint of imitation, for its procedures are not mimetic; rather it 'uses systematic wisdom to reveal to us the very order of things.'" *In Rep.* 1.193.4-8. See also the fragments of Proclus 35.41-43, and Plotinus, *Enneads* 4.3.27.

¹⁶⁵ Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1500-1503.

dialogue between Euripides and Aeschylus in Hades (Aristophanes *Ran.* 1008-12) to illustrate that ancient poetry had a pedagogical function, “to make people better citizens.”¹⁶⁶ Of course Aristophanes’ own work strives to live up to these standards of poetic achievement, putting advice about how to save the Athenian *polis* on the lips of Euripides and Aeschylus.¹⁶⁷ This is similar to the political virtues that are emphasized at the end of the *Aeneid* (6.740-55). In this vision of the future, the review of Roman heroes elevates the virtues of patriotism, selfless service to the state and political achievement.¹⁶⁸

In the *Odyssey*, *Frogs*, and the *Aeneid* Hades is described ekphrastically with the expressed purpose of educating the audience. In each of these works the audience learns from the characters in the

¹⁶⁶ Pucci, Pietro, “Euripides and Aristophanes: What does Tragedy Teach?,” in *Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature: Essays in Honour of Froma Zeitlin* (ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 105–6. Pucci’s overarching thesis is based on the theory of Nicole Loraux, who argues that the “political” dimension of tragedy is often “anti-political” or transgressing the ideology of the polis.

¹⁶⁷ Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1417ff. Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the “Orphic” Gold Tablets*, 156–58.

¹⁶⁸ Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, 55–56, argues that this ending portion of *Aeneid* 6 exalts *iustitia* and *pietas* as well as the importance of a political career in a way that closely parallels the dream of Scipio in Cicero’s *De republica*. Clark, *Catabasis*, 223, argues against the parallel to Cicero.

narrative that the journey through the underworld is meant to provide instruction regarding the afterlife (*Odyssey* 11.223-244), how to manage one's household (*Odyssey* 11.440-444), or how to become model Athenian or Roman citizens (*Ran.* 1427-1430; *Aeneid* 6.740-55). Although each of these texts contains vivid descriptions of underworld punishments, the punishments themselves are not the primary source of *paideia*.

c. The Spectacle of Punishment as *Paideia*

In contrast, the depictions of Hades by Plato, Lucian, and Plutarch do use the spectacle of punishment as the occasion for *paideia*.¹⁶⁹ In Plato's *Republic*, Er's journey to the underworld begins with the *ekphrasis* of two groups of souls, the righteous and the unjust.¹⁷⁰ The souls of the unjust are punished tenfold for their wicked deeds,¹⁷¹ in a place of "squalor and dust"¹⁷² that "bellowed" whenever the "incurably wicked" or those who had not completed their punishments tried to escape.¹⁷³ In Plato's schema of Hades then, the punishments served a pedagogical purpose for the wicked, punishing them long enough and with enough severity to "cure" them of their soul's poor quality.

¹⁶⁹ In order to compare which texts use punishment as *paideia* and those which do not, see Appendix C.

¹⁷⁰ Plato, *Resp.* 10.614C.

¹⁷¹ Plato, *Resp.* 10.615B.

¹⁷² Plato, *Resp.* 10.614D.

¹⁷³ Plato, *Resp.* 10.615E.

What is more, the *ekphrasis* of these punishments also serves a pedagogical purpose for the audience of the *Republic*. As Er looks upon the judges and the souls of the righteous and the unjust, they approach him and commission him to “be the messenger to mankind to tell them of that other world, and they charged him to give ear and observe everything in the place.” This commission serves as an explicit statement of the vision’s pedagogical function, indicating to the readers that the sights which are being brought before their eyes are the fulfillment of Er’s commission. As Er witnesses the souls casting lots for their lives, the ethical lesson of his vision is revealed:

And this is the chief reason why it should be our main concern that each of us, neglecting all other studies, should seek after and study this thing—if in any way he may be able to learn of and discover the man who will give him the ability and the knowledge to distinguish the life that is good from that which is bad, and always and everywhere to choose the best that the conditions allow.¹⁷⁴

Here, the nature of the soul is of the utmost importance and must be attended to with care (by living in moderation) so that a person can enjoy happiness in both his mortal life and in the life to come.¹⁷⁵ Thus, in the *Republic* the punishments of Hades are displayed ekphrastically for Er in order to demonstrate for the audience the importance of choosing the good life over the bad.

¹⁷⁴ Plato, *Resp.* 10.618C.

¹⁷⁵ Plato, *Resp.* 10.619A.

Likewise, the punishments of Hades in Plato's *Phaedo* function to educate the reader on the importance of living a philosophical life. According to Plato's graphic depiction of the underworld, those who lead unphilosophical lives will be punished according to the range of traditional mythic images of underworld torture, while the philosophical pass on to "more beautiful abodes."¹⁷⁶ For instance, Plato vividly describes the four terrible rivers, in which different kinds of sins are punished differently. In this regard Plato's schema is similar to the separation of the dead into different categories in *1 En. 22*.¹⁷⁷ The *ekphrasis* of these punishments is preceded by an exhortation to care for the soul in this life because "if we neglect it, the danger now appears to be terrible."¹⁷⁸ Socrates then goes on to describe the "danger" which can befall the uneducated souls. Those souls which are well educated have no trouble following their guide in eternity, but those which are not are

¹⁷⁶ Plato, *Phaed.* 113D-114C. For commentary on the different sets of imagery that Plato employs in this passage and the manner in which he links the images to the categories of "philosophical" and "unphilosophical," see Ronna Burger, *The Phaedo: A Platonic Labyrinth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 200; Kenneth Dorter, *Plato's Phaedo: An Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 170-75; Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the "Orphic" Gold Tablets*, 211-20.

¹⁷⁷ For further discussion of *1 En. 22*, see Chapter 4, below.

¹⁷⁸ Plato, *Phaed.* 107D-108C.

lost and tormented.¹⁷⁹ Socrates goes on to describe these punishments are a reminder of the terrible things that can befall the uneducated soul. Therefore, in the *Phaedo* the *ekphrasis* of the punishments in Hades serves to educate the audience on the importance of caring for and educating the soul during one's mortal life.¹⁸⁰

Like Plato, Lucian brings forth the description of specific punishments as a means of educating his audience. The content of Lucian's *paideia*, however, is a little different.¹⁸¹ In his satire, *Menippus*, the typical tortures from the *Odyssey* are present,¹⁸² but Lucian focuses his attention instead on the punishments reserved for the rich and powerful.¹⁸³ Not only do the poor receive half as much punishment as

¹⁷⁹ Plato, *Phaed.* 107D-108C.

¹⁸⁰ Contra Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 66. Garland argues that "the notion of judgment in the world to come is evidently not regarded even by Plato as a particularly effective deterrent against criminal activity." Garland cites Plato's *Laws*, arguing that if Plato thought that eternal punishment was pedagogical, it would have been mentioned there along with the secular sanctions for vice. Garland's argument, however, is an argument from silence that does not take into account the rhetorical function of the texts I have summarized here.

¹⁸¹ Lucian mocks the Platonic emphasis on the superiority of the "philosophical souls," depicting the Philosophers in Hades as hypocritical and contentious, disagreeing over the punishment of their fellow philosophers. Lucian, *Men.* 4-5, 13.

¹⁸² Lucian, *Men.* 14.

¹⁸³ Lucian, *Men.* 14.

the rich, but the place of punishment is also where Lucian singles out the rich as “servile and obsequious” while they were being punished, “even though they had been unimaginably oppressive and haughty in life.”¹⁸⁴ Lucian’s *ekphrasis* of the punishments of the rich and powerful is much more vivid than the other punishments he recounts, communicating explicitly the “moral” of Menippus’s tale.¹⁸⁵ For instance, he describes the new guidelines for the punishment of the wealthy that were passed while Menippus was visiting, in which the rich are turned into donkeys and made to bear the burdens of the poor for 250 years.¹⁸⁶ Finally, Menippus’s guide states explicitly the pedagogical value of the punishments he has seen, providing a specific set of guidelines for ethical behavior:

¹⁸⁴ Lucian, *Men.* 14.

¹⁸⁵ Lucian places this “moral” on the lips of Menippus’s guide at the end of his tour. Lucian, *Men.* 21.

¹⁸⁶ Lucian, *Men.* 20. These punishments of the rich and powerful reverse the social roles of individuals on earth. There is an overlap between the “role reversal” that we see in Lucian and the measure for measure punishments of the apocalypses, in the sense that both seek to match earthly crimes with otherworldly punishments that “fit” the earthly offences. See also the *ekphrasis* of the punishment of the powerful: “But you would have laughed much more heartily, I think, if you had seen our kings and satraps reduced to poverty there, and either selling salt fish on account of their neediness or teaching the alphabet, and getting abused and hit over the head by all comers, like the meanest of slaves.” Lucian *Men.* 17.

The life of the common sort is best, and you will act more wisely if you stop speculating about heavenly bodies and discussing final causes and first causes, spit your scorn at those clever syllogisms, and counting all that sort of thing nonsense, make it always your sole object to put the present to good use and to hasten on your way, laughing a great deal and taking nothing seriously.¹⁸⁷

Lucian's express purpose here, of course, is to entertain. Nevertheless, Menippus responds eagerly to these instructions and expresses a desire to return to his life, suggesting that this vision of Hades has changed his outlook and enabled him to live a life "at ease with itself."¹⁸⁸

Similarly, in Plutarch's *On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance* one finds the vivid description of three specific kinds of punishment, each with its own "moral" to be learned by Thespesius.¹⁸⁹ The punishments

¹⁸⁷ Lucian, *Men.* 21.

¹⁸⁸ See the interpretation of Stephen Halliwell, "Greek Laughter and the Problem of the Absurd," *Arion* 13 (2005): 144, who argues that there is still a didactic element to Lucian's humorous material. For a more detailed treatment of the way in which Lucian's *ekphrasis* of places (focusing specifically on cities) accomplishes his rhetorical purposes, see Laura Nasrallah, "Mapping the World: Justin, Tatian, Lucian, and the Second Sophistic," *HTR* 98 (2005): 283–314.

¹⁸⁹ A different goddess is "warden and executioner" of each type of punishment. Poinê deals swiftly with those who committed minor misdeeds, snatching up their possessions but doing no bodily harm. Dikê deals with the souls of those whose "viciousness is harder to heal," laying bare their errors and violently stripping them of their passions. Finally, Erinys punishes those whose souls are "past all healing," dealing with each one "piteously and cruelly" and imprisoning them. Plutarch, *Sera* 564F-565F.

are described in vivid detail, down to the colors of the bruises left by various vices, which Dikē attempts to “heal” through her punishments:

One is drab brown, the stain that comes of meanness and greed; another fiery blood-red, which comes of cruelty and savagery; where you see the blue-grey, some form of incontinence in pleasure has barely been rubbed out; while if spite and envy are present they give out this livid green, as ink is ejected by the squid.¹⁹⁰

Those who did not receive punishment on earth are punished more severely in Hades than those who had,¹⁹¹

surrounded by a different set of officers who compelled them laboriously and painfully to turn the inward parts of their souls outward, writhing unnaturally and curving back upon themselves as the sea-scolopendras turn themselves inside out when they have swallowed the hook.¹⁹²

With the description of each punishment Plutarch makes clear what kind of vice has led to this kind of torment.¹⁹³ The vivid descriptions of the punishments elicit an emotional response from Thespesius on the level of the text,¹⁹⁴ and in turn from Plutarch’s readers. The *ekphrasis* of the

¹⁹⁰ Plutarch, *Sera* 565C.

¹⁹¹ This is comparable to *1En.* 22, where the souls who have not yet received punishment are separated from those who had.

¹⁹² Plutarch, *Sera* 567B.

¹⁹³ See also the “souls of those whose wickedness was due to insatiable and overreaching avarice,” who are dipped first into a lake of molten gold, then into a lake of freezing cold lead, then into a lake of iron, and finally into the lake of gold again.

With each change in temperature and substance the souls underwent horrible agony. Plutarch, *Sera* 567C-D.

¹⁹⁴ Plutarch, *Sera* 566F.

souls undergoing punishment in Hades in Plutarch's *Divine Vengeance* makes the ethical message of the punishments clear: protect your soul from irrationality and the passions in your mortal life, lest it need to be "purified" through caustic punishments after death which, "far transcend those that pass through the flesh."¹⁹⁵

III. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that *paideia* was not merely a remarkably consistent program for rhetorical education. Instead *paideia* has been shown to be a means of cultural and ethical education that was integral in shaping Greek and Roman society as well as early Christianity. Our investigation of the rhetorical devices of *ekphrasis*, *enargeia*, and *koinos topos* has shown that vivid description could turn an ancient listener into a spectator, making an emotional impact on the audience. As such, *ekphrasis* was commonly employed as a tool for ethical education in order to persuade an audience to behave according to a prescribed set of moral values. Our survey of the Greek and Roman texts on hell has demonstrated that the concept of hell was presented ekphrastically. This presentation had an emotional effect on the audience, moving them towards specific behaviors or a specific type of engagement in the polis. In this regard, the depictions of hell in Greek

¹⁹⁵ Plutarch, *Sera* 567B, 565B.

and Latin literature serve as an integral component of the broader program of ethical and cultural education known as *paideia*.

Chapter 4

Periēgēsis?: The Journey through the Places of the Dead in Jewish

Apocalyptic Literature

“From there I traveled to another place. And he showed me to the west a great and high mountain of hard rock. And there were four hollow places in it, deep and very smooth. Three of them were dark and one, illuminated; and a fountain of water was in the midst of it.” (*1 En.* 22:1-2)

I. Introduction

As we described above, the abode of the dead was used in a variety of contexts and for a range of rhetorical purposes in the Hebrew Bible. None of those references to Sheol, Abaddon, the Pit, or Gehenna, however, contained the level of visual detail that one finds in the Jewish apocalypses.¹ In *1 Enoch*, the reader is taken on a “tour,” and visits various places, including the abodes of the dead. While scholarship is divided on the nature of the relationship between the Enochic literature

¹ As Richard Bauckham, “Early Jewish Visions of Hell,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (ed. Richard Bauckham; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 74, cautions, we have to be careful about making too sharp a distinction between Jewish and Christian apocalypses that describe tours of hell (since Himmelfarb has demonstrated that they stem from a single tradition). Nevertheless, there are a few texts which represent either an earlier stage of development within ancient Judaism, or parallel development of the genre within a Jewish context. Thus, we will point out the places where there is evidence of Christian redaction, and focus on those texts that are most likely of Jewish provenance.

and the Greek and Latin descents to Hades,² there is agreement that the tour format of the Enochic literature played some role for later Jewish and Christian apocalyptic authors. In fact, in the Akhmim fragment *1 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* traveled together, suggesting that at least some ancient audiences saw a connection between the two works.³ Thus, on our own journey to understand the rhetorical function of “hell” in early Christianity, we must stop to examine the rhetoric of the “tour” in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature.

In chapter 3 we introduced the concept of *periēgēsis*, one of the metaphors used to explain the *ekphrasis* of places, in which a listener is

²Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 217–24, argues that the *Apocalypse of Peter* was strongly influenced by the “Orphic-Pythagorean” tradition of the *nekylia*, and that the parallels between *1 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* can be explained through the influence of the Essenes who were interested in Orphic-Pythagoreanism. Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 41–45, critiques both Dieterich’s hypothesis that an “Ur-nekyia” existed, as well as the literary parallels he draws between this tradition and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Himmelfarb argues that the Jewish apocalypses provide a more compelling ancestry for the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the other tours of hell. Jan Bremmer, “Tours of Hell: Greek, Roman, Jewish and Early Christian,” in *Topographie des Jenseits: Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (ed. Walter Ameling; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2011), 13–34, moderates between these two positions, critiquing Dieterich’s understanding of “Orphism” but acknowledging that there was an exchange of ideas about hell occurring in the Hellenistic period, citing parallels between *1 Enoch* and Virgil’s *Aeneid* as evidence of this exchange.

³ Bremmer, “Tours of Hell.”

taken on a tour by a guide who describes the “sites” as a way of accentuating certain features and bringing “order and meaning” to the journey. In many ways this rhetorical device is strikingly similar to the rhetorical orientation of the apocalyptic tour, in which the seer is lead around by a guide and describes the sites to his audience. Nevertheless, the present discussion is not an argument for direct literary influence, nor an attempt to minimize the distinctiveness of the Jewish “tours of hell.” Rather, this chapter seeks to observe the extent to which there is an overlap in the rhetorical orientation of the various bodies of literature that influenced the New Testament and Christian apocalypses. We will demonstrate that the Jewish apocalyptic “tours” functioned similarly to the Greek rhetoric of *periēgēsis*, but also used images that would bring the scenes “before the eyes” of an ancient Jewish audience. As such, these tours brought “order and meaning” to the abode of the dead, and in some cases described punishments that were implicitly pedagogical.

II. The Genre of Geographic “Tours” in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

The apocalypses that deal with journeys to the netherworld have been categorized by scholars as “tours of hell”⁴ or “descents to hell,”⁵ emphasizing the journey itself as one of the distinctive features of the text. These “tours” belong to a larger sub-genre of apocalyptic literature

⁴ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 41–66.

⁵ Richard Bauckham, “Descents to the Underworld,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 9–49.

known as the “other worldly journeys,” which offer tours of a variety of otherworldly spaces including, but not limited to, the places of the dead.⁶ The earliest extant instances of apocalyptic tours of the places of the dead are in *1 Enoch*.⁷ In the Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1-36) the places of the dead are stops along the way in a larger cosmic tour that also includes the places of storm, lightning, and thunder (17:2-3), the cornerstone of the earth (18:2), and the mountain at which God will descend (25:3), just to name a few. Although the narration of the tour “sometimes obfuscates the spatial relationship between the locales,”⁸ several scholars have tried to sketch a map of Enoch’s journeys in the Book of the Watchers.⁹ In her own study of Enoch’s cosmic terrain, Kelley Coblentz Bautch has demonstrated that the geography in *1 Enoch*

⁶ See John J. Collins, “The Jewish Apocalypses,” *Semeia*, no. 14 (1979): 21–59, for a discussion of this sub-category of the Jewish apocalypses, and its distinctive features in relationship to other types of apocalypses.

⁷ See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 50–56.

⁸ Kelley Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19: “No One Has Seen What I Have Seen”* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 4.

⁹ For examples see Pierre Grelot, “La géographie mythique d’Hénoch et ses sources orientales,” *RB* 65 (1958): 33–69; Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press Press, 1976), 18; Jonathan Stock-Hesketh, “Circles and Mirrors: Understanding *1 Enoch* 21-32,” *JSP* 21 (2000): 27–58; Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19*, 184–90.

17-19 is not haphazard or unintentional “but rather bears witness to cognitive mapping.”¹⁰

Scholars have interpreted the rhetorical function of the geographic tours by drawing upon different ancient parallels. Martha Himmelfarb has argued that the “demonstrative explanations” are the most striking feature of the tours, which reflect the “pesher style exegesis” of other ancient Jewish literature.¹¹ While Himmelfarb aptly focuses on the geographic tour as rhetoric that is distinctive for the genre, the “demonstrative explanations” are merely a common linguistic tool for directing the reader’s attention, and not the only distinguishing feature of the “tour.”¹² Carol Newsom has compared the heavenly journey of *1*

¹⁰ Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19*, 7, 160–190, 278–79. Bautch compares the landscape of *1 Enoch* 17-19 to the places mentioned in the Hebrew Bible as well as the places of punishment in the Gilgamesh Epic and the Odyssey, and concludes that chapters 17-19 “emerge out of a complex Mediterranean environment, influenced by Near Eastern, Persian, Judean and Hellenistic traditions.”

¹¹ Himmelfarb, 56-60, argues that the tour apocalypses borrow this “pesher style exegesis” from Zech 1-8 and the Qumran pesharim, which break up a vision into component sections and then interpret the sections through a series of questions and answers.

¹² Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 45–56, emphasizes that the demonstrative adjectives (ὁὐτος in the Greek and the third person singular personal pronoun ܐܘܢܐ in the Aramaic) in the Book of the Watchers are the distinctive feature of “tours of hell.” While these phrases are indicative of the rhetoric of a tour, and they can be used to draw the reader’s attention to something specific, they can also be used in a more

En. 17-19 to the customs of Near Eastern diplomacy, which were tours that involved “showing off one’s wealth and strength to visiting courtiers.”¹³ Newsom’s argument is helpful to our understanding of the rhetorical function of the “tours” because it connects the otherworldly journey with a “real life” journey that would be familiar, especially to early audiences of *1 Enoch*. For later readers of the text, however, other tours may have come to mind, such as the tours of Hades from Greek myth. With this in mind, other scholars have nuanced Dieterich’s proposal that the “tours of hell” borrowed extensively from the *nekylia*.¹⁴ The majority of these arguments for dependence on the *nekylia*, however,

general way as a transition or to introduce a topic. Just as verbs of perception can indicate that the rhetoric of *ekphrasis* is “in play” but must be accompanied by other features of the rhetorical device, these demonstrative adjectives are merely one feature of the rhetoric of the tour, and by no means are they the most distinctive one.

¹³ Carol A. Newsom, “The Development of *1 Enoch* 6-19: Cosmology and Judgment,” *CBQ* 42 (1980): 324.

¹⁴ See, for example, Thomas F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology; with Special Reference to the Apocalypses and Pseudepigraphs*. (London: SPCK, 1961), 8–26; Harold W. Attridge, “Greek and Latin Apocalypses,” *Semeia*, no. 14 (1979): 166–67; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 136, n.94, 137–38, n.100; Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19*, 29–30; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 54–55.

focus on the literary parallels between the Greek depictions of Hades and the apocalyptic tours.¹⁵

While there are literary parallels between the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades and the apocalyptic “tours of hell,” they are not as striking as the common form of the “tour.”¹⁶ Each of these scholarly attempts to identify the point of origin of the “tour” shares the common goal of identifying a “tour,” either actual or literary, which would be familiar to audiences. Implicit in these endeavors is the idea that the rhetorical style of the “tour” employs visual language and appeals to the reader’s imagination, asking them to call upon the “tours” that are already a part of their “visual vocabulary.” Since many of these texts were read and circulated over hundreds of years, the “visual vocabulary” of the audiences would change over time, changing which literary parallels “worked” for a given audience. While the readership and interpretations of the text may have changed over time, the centrality of visual rhetoric (*ekphrasis* in the Greek context) remains constant. Thus, when we observe overlap between Greek and Latin “hell literature” and

¹⁵ As discussed above, there is little evidence for an “Orphic-Pythagorean” tradition of the *nekylia* as a deviation from the normative Greek views of the afterlife. Rather, as Radcliffe G. Edmonds, “Redefining Ancient Orphism,” Forthcoming 2012, 162–93, argues, the concept of a “lively afterlife” was the norm, and not the exception.

¹⁶ For example Bautch, 287, concludes that “the author of *1 Enoch* 17-19 was not only knowledgeable of mythic traditions from classical Greece, but was scarcely reticent in employing Greek *topoi*.”

the Jewish tours of hell, their shared rhetoric is a logical starting place for understanding the relationship between the two bodies of literature. Since we are looking at the rhetoric of “hell” in a variety of historical contexts, our discussion will ultimately move away from questions of authorship or the author’s cultural context and toward the texts themselves and the types of language they use. Nevertheless, a clear understanding of the diverse historical contexts in which this rhetoric was operative will enliven our understanding of the both the broad appeal of the rhetoric of “hell,” and the distinctive ways in which it was employed.

Therefore, before we make a case for shared rhetoric we will discuss the date and provenance of the most relevant apocalypses. The Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1-36) was likely written in the 3rd century B.C.E.¹⁷ This section of *1 Enoch* is preserved in Greek, and Ethiopic, and

¹⁷ George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 7, suggests that the earliest traditions in *1 En.* 1-36 may pre-date the Hellenistic period (as early as the fourth century B.C.E.), while the entire Book of the Watchers was completed by the middle of the third century B.C.E. As R.H. Charles, “1Enoch,” in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books* (ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press Press, 1913), 2: 170–71, notes, *1 En.* 83-110 seem to be familiar with *1 En.* 6-36, so those chapters must have been written prior to 161 B.C.E. Likewise, the Book of the Watchers does not make reference to the Antiochene persecution, and is written in Aramaic, suggesting a date before the

fragments of the Aramaic are available in the DSS.¹⁸ The opening scenes of the Book of the Watchers depict God's judgment of all of creation, setting the remainder of the work in the context of "cosmic judgment" (*1 En.* 1-5).¹⁹ In the story of the fall of the angels (*1 En.* 6-16), Enoch is elevated to heaven so that he may witness the scene of Divine judgment (*1 En.* 14-16). Apart from his "ascent" to heaven, the remainder of Enoch's journey is "horizontal," as various angels take him on a tour to places of judgment, reward, and punishment (*1 En.* 17-36). For the study of the netherworld, Enoch's otherworldly journey (*1 Enoch* 17-36), marks an important shift, both conceptually and rhetorically. Conceptually, Enoch's cosmic tour represents a transition between diverse notions of the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible and the

Maccabean revolt. Once the Aramaic fragments of the text (4QEn) were discovered at Qumran and dated to the first half of the second century B.C.E. based upon paleographic data, a third century date seemed plausible, since, as Michael E. Stone notes, the original text may be even earlier than these fragments. See Michael E. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 484.

¹⁸ See Michael A. Knibb and Edward Ullendorff, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 2:37-46, who argues that while Ethiopic translators may have had access to an Aramaic version, the Ethiopic manuscripts are largely based upon the Greek text. Thus, on the whole, the Greek MS is closer to the original Aramaic.

¹⁹ John J. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," 37.

stronger focus on judgment, punishment, and differentiated fates within Second Temple Judaism. In terms of the rhetoric of “hell,” Enoch’s journey signifies the first time in (extant) Judeo-Christian literature in which the language of a “tour” is used to present the details of other-worldly spaces.

Second Enoch is a later text (30-70 C.E.),²⁰ and is thought to have been written by an Alexandrian Jew, influenced by the Hellenized Judaism of his day.²¹ There are two recensions of *2 Enoch*, one long

²⁰ R. H. Charles and Nevill Forbes, “2 Enoch,” in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books* (ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 2:429, base this date upon the fact that the author is familiar with *1 Enoch*, but the frequent references to sacrifice indicate that the temple is still standing. Andrei Orlov provides a comprehensive study of the traditions in *2 Enoch* (especially the Noachic priestly polemics), which allows him to conclude that the apocalypse was written at an early date, sometime before 70 C.E. See Andrei A. Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 330–33. For a good summary of the references to Temple or centralized worship within *2 Enoch*, see Andrei A. Orlov, *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 9–10.

²¹ Collins, “The Jewish Apocalypses,” 40, notes that Charles’s view of the provenance of *2 Enoch* “has been generally accepted.” Orlov, *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 11, also supports Charles’s hypothesis that *2 Enoch* was written by a Hellenized Jew in Alexandria, noting that “the text appears to attest to some themes that were distinctive of the Alexandrian environment.” Namely, *2 Enoch* contains

(indicated by [J]) and one short (indicated by [A]), both preserved in Slavonic.²² The longer of the two is redactional, while the shorter one is “clearly Jewish and has no Christian elements.”²³ The text describes Enoch’s ascent through the ten heavens, and along the way Enoch engages in dialogue about the sights with the guides. On the whole, *2 Enoch* is focused on education, concluding with Enoch’s return to earth for thirty days to instruct his children in the form of lengthy exhortations that describe what he saw on his journey and provide ethical instruction (*2 En.* 36-66). While *2 Enoch* 8-10 depicts vivid scenes of post-mortem reward and punishment, this text is often omitted from discussions of “hell” because these scenes take place in the “third heaven,” rather than in the underworld. By situating this tour in the heavens instead of the underworld, *2 Enoch* is an example of a Jewish text that utilizes the rhetoric of Greek and Latin literature, but distinguishes the Jewish abode of the dead from the standard imagery of Hades.²⁴ For the study of the rhetoric of “hell” *2 Enoch* marks a dramatic shift towards the more

Adamic traditions that were popular in Alexandria, such as the “tradition about Adam’s role as the governor of the earth,” a tradition that parallels Philo, *Opif.* 88; 148.

²² Translations of *2 Enoch* are cited from F. I. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H Charlesworth; 2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 2:103–67.

²³ John J. Collins, “The Jewish Apocalypses,” 40.

²⁴ Nevertheless, the imagery of an underworld does appear in the longer version of *2 Enoch* 40:12 [J], which refers to “the very lowest hell.”

explicitly pedagogical rhetoric of Hades that we observed in the Greek and Latin texts. Depicting the punishment of specific sins alongside the reward for specific virtues, *2 En.* 8-10 parallels the rhetoric of hell and heaven that we will see in Matthew and early Christian apocalypses.²⁵

The *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* is roughly contemporaneous with *2 Enoch*, dated between 100 B.C.E. and 70 C.E.²⁶ The text is extant in Coptic fragments, which are thought to be translations of the Greek original.²⁷ The citation from Clement and the preservation of the texts in Coptic suggest that the text was written in Egypt. The Sahidic fragment and the quotation from Clement both contain travelogue scenes in which the pseudonymous seer is guided by a spirit or an angel to heaven

²⁵ For other parallels to Matthew, see the reference to the tradition of the Two Ways in *2 En.* 30:15, and the mention of the “guardians of the keys of hell” in *2 En.* 42:1 [A].

²⁶ O.S. Wintermute, “Apocalypse of Zephaniah,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H Charlesworth; 2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1983), 1: 500–501. See also, Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 13–16, 151–53, who argues that the text is likely a relatively early Jewish work.

²⁷ The text is preserved in two fragmentary manuscripts: a two-page Sahidic manuscript from the fifth century C.E., and an eighteen page Akhmimic manuscript from the fourth century C.E.. There is also a short quotation (in Greek) from Clement *Strom.* 5.11.77, which is not found in either passage. The Coptic texts and a German translation are available in G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899), 34–65. The English translations cited are from Wintermute, “Apocalypse of Zephaniah,” 508–15.

(Clement) or Hades (Sahidic fragment), and describes the sights of each locale. The Akhmimic text begins with similar descriptions of the seer's journeys including his trip to the city of life (2), the dwelling place of the angels who record human deeds on a manuscript (3), and Hades (6).

The text concludes with four trumpet scenes, in which the seer encounters the righteous patriarchs (9),²⁸ the souls in torment in Hades (10), and the pious who are interceding for those in torment (11).²⁹ Even though the text is fragmentary, the sections which are extant indicate that the rhetoric of travel was the vehicle for the depictions of eternal reward and punishment. The narration of this journey in the first person lends an air of authority, presenting itself as an eye-witness account.

What is more, the text's preservation in Coptic inside a Christian monastery (the White monastery of Shenuda) provides further evidence for the popularity of "tours of hell" within Egyptian Christianity.³⁰

²⁸ See *Apoc. Pet.* 16; *Apoc. Paul* 47-51; and *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 27, in which the patriarchs are encountered as part of the seer's tour.

²⁹ The intercession for the damned would become a major theme in Christian apocalypses. For examples, see *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 1:6, 21, 5:9, 14; *Latin Vision of Ezra* 8a, 11, 18, 22, 33, 42, 47, 55, 57c, 61; *3 Baruch* 16.7-8; *Apoc. Pet.* 3; *Apoc. Paul* 33, 40, 42, 43; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 25-28.

³⁰ Wintermute, "Apocalypse of Zephaniah," 501, notes that despite the text's preservation in a Christian monastery, there are no signs that the text was modified, or that the extant fragments reflect any distinctively Christian concerns.

Although the Isaiah Fragments³¹ and the Elijah Fragment³² are attested in medieval manuscripts that bear some marks of Christian redaction, Himmelfarb has argued convincingly that these fragments reflect an earlier Jewish apocalypse (early second century C.E.) that is no longer attested.³³ These texts are distinct from the other Jewish apocalypses we have discussed because of their inclusion of “hanging punishments.” In each of these fragments, Isaiah or Elijah see hanging punishments, in which the sinner is strung up by the sinful limb. As such, these texts provide an important conceptual link between the otherworldly tours of the Jewish apocalypses and those of the Christian apocalypses. What is more, these fragments provide another example of the rhetoric of vivid description as it is applied to Judeo-Christian places of punishment.

³¹ The Isaiah Fragments are available in Hebrew with a facing English translation in Michael E. Stone and John Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah, Parts 1 and 2* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1979), 20–23. Other editions of the Hebrew text of the Isaiah Fragments are available in L. Ginzberg, *Ginze Schechter: Genizah Studies in Memory of Dr. Solomon Schechter*. In Vol. I: Midrash and Haggadah. (Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 7; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1928) 196-98, 204-5; “A Description of Judgment in the Grave,” in Jellinek, A., ed. *Bet ha-Midrash*. (Reprint ed. Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1967; 1853-78) 5:50-51.

³² Two different versions of the Elijah Fragment are available in Latin with a facing English translation in Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah*, 14–19.

³³ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 131–39.

Besides the texts discussed above, there are several other ancient Jewish texts that discuss the fate of the dead or otherworldly journeys.³⁴ While we may make mention of these other texts along the way, we have chosen to focus our discussion on those ancient Jewish apocalypses that are most germane to the discussion of the rhetorical function of hell in early Christian literature.

III. The Rhetorical Function of “Tours”: Parallel to *Periēgēsis* of Greek and Latin Literature?

Quintilian says that when a rhetor uses the *ekphrasis* of places, his “speech is like a journey out from the harbor.”³⁵ In the *Progymnasmata* the adjective *periēgēmatikos* is used to describe the rhetoric of *ekphrasis*, comparing the speaker to a tour guide who directs his listener around the place being described, parallel to the way that Pausanias leads the reader around Greece in his *Periegesis*.³⁶ Through

³⁴ See for example, The Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 37-71), The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (1 En. 72-82), 4 Ezra, Sibylline Oracles, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, Apocalypse of Abraham, Testament of Abraham, Testament of Levi, Ascension of Isaiah, Gedulat Moshe.

³⁵ *Inst.* 10.7.23.

³⁶ In Theon and Aphthonius’s *Progymnasmata* the definition of *ekphrasis* begins “Ekphrasis is a descriptive speech (*periēgēmatikos*) which vividly (*enargōs*) brings the subject shown before the eyes.” Hamon and Baudoin cite Pausanias’s tour of Greece in his *Periegesis* as an example of this rhetorical device, although this example is not

the *ekphrasis* of places, the author of a text is not only able to present detailed descriptions of the sites, but is also able to classify and interpret them, “adding order and meaning to the undifferentiated mass of sights which is presented to the visitor.”³⁷ As we saw in chapter 3, *periēgēsis* often has an explicitly didactic function, as in the Tablet of Cebes.³⁸

While we demonstrated that Hades functioned pedagogically in the Greek and Latin literature, only some of those texts utilize *periēgēsis* as a part of their *ekphrasis*. Certainly, in all of the texts discussed above in chapter 3, the focus is on describing the sites of Hades, providing *ekphrasis* of a place. And in many cases there are topographic descriptions and directional markers so that the reader feels as if they are on a “tour.”³⁹ In the Greek and Latin texts, however, the *periēgēsis* of

cited in any of the rhetorical sources. Philippe Hamon and Patricia Baudoin, “Rhetorical Status of the Descriptive,” *Yale French Studies*, no. 61 (1981): 3.

³⁷ Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 54.

³⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the rhetoric of *periēgēsis* in the Tablet of Cebes and other Greek and Latin literature see Chapter 3, p. 83 above.

³⁹ Many of the tours include a journey on the River Styx, using the familiar geography of Hades to depict the main character’s travel. For examples, see Virgil *Aen.* 6.308 and Plutarch *On the Sign of Socrates* 591A-F. Lucian *Dial. mort.* 5.1, Hermes tells Menippus to “look over there to your right,” directing Menippus’s attention, and positioning Menippus relative to the “beauties of old.”

Hades does not always include a tour guide.⁴⁰ In those texts which do not contain a tour guide, the role of the guide is usually filled by the narrator or another character in the journey, interpreting the sights for the audience.⁴¹ Thus, the use of *periēgēsis* in the Jewish and Christian apocalypses is somewhat distinctive, in that the apocalyptic seer is always directed around the sites by a guide.

a. Spatial Differentiation: Directional Cues and Geographic Descriptions

There are three main indicators in the Jewish apocalypses that the rhetoric of *periēgēsis* is being used to “lead the reader around” to the places of the dead: the tour guide, directional language, and vivid topographical descriptions. The tour guides in the Book of the Watchers are angels, who provide explanations of the sights in response to Enoch’s

⁴⁰ For instance, Odysseus and Plato’s Er do not have guides on their journeys, while Aeneas’s journey is guided by the Sibyl. See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 48–50.

Although Himmelfarb is correct in asserting that only some of the texts feature a dialogue between guide and tourist, our emphasis on the rhetoric of *periēgēsis* demonstrates that a descriptive tour can be conducted with or without that feature.

⁴¹ See for example the journeys of Odysseus and Er in Homer, *Od.* 11 and Plato, *Resp.* 10.614–619. For instance, Odysseus’s Mother emphasizes the importance of his journey to Hades in *Od.* 11.223–244. In Er’s journey the souls of the dead commission him to convey what he has heard and seen, and the narrator interprets the pedagogical purpose of the journey.

questions.⁴² In *2 Enoch*, the angelic guides (two huge and radiant men) not only provide explanations of each site, but also determine Enoch's course, taking him from one heaven, and placing him in the next.⁴³ Likewise, the seer in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* is guided by "the angel of the Lord," who determines the seer's course, and answers his questions about each site.⁴⁴ The guide (the Holy Spirit) in the *Isaiah Fragments* functions similarly, answering Isaiah's requests that God "explain the vision."⁴⁵ In the *Elijah Fragments*, the "angel of the Lord" shows Elijah the places of punishment, but the guide does not have much of a speaking role, and thus Elijah's descriptions provide the interpretations for the audience.⁴⁶

⁴² See, for example, *1 En.* 21:1-6, in which Uriel explains why the disobedient stars are being punished in the "chaotic place." As Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 298, notes, "Although the format of vision/question/angelic interpretation is doubtless presumed in the compressed account of 18:6-19:2, the full format here is typical of chaps. 21-32 as a whole."

⁴³ See, for example, *2 En.* 8:1 [A]: "And the men took me from there. They brought me up to the third heaven. And they placed me in the midst of Paradise."

⁴⁴ See, for example, *Apoc. Zeph.* 3.1-4.

⁴⁵ In Fragment 1c, Isaiah repeats the refrain "O Revealer of Mysteries, explain to me the vision." (גלא רז גלא רזים פרוש לי החזון)

⁴⁶ In Fragment 1a, line 415 Elijah comments on the hanging punishments he describes, "Deservedly then are they burned according to the punishment which they are sentenced." (*merito ergo poenis sententiae uruntur*)

In addition to the use of a tour guide, some of the journeys of the Jewish apocalypses also feature directional language that gives the reader the sensation of traveling and differentiates each of the otherworldly spaces. In *1 Enoch* the directional language is prolific and specific enough to allow scholars to draw a map of Enoch's journey, including cardinal directions that relate the position of each space to the last.⁴⁷ Similarly, Enoch's journey through the different heavens in *2 Enoch* is described with directional markers for ascent and descent (up, down, north, south).⁴⁸ Parallel to the numbered heavens in *2 Enoch*, the Isaiah Fragments contain a description of the "five law courts established in Gehenna" so that the numbered courts enable the reader to track Isaiah's journey through each one in consecutive order.⁴⁹ The Akhmimic text of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and the Elijah Fragments do not use directional language, but instead the seer describes his journey primarily in terms of the topography of the sites that he visits.

⁴⁷ Cardinal directions are also used in the Sahidic fragment (lines 1-2) of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* to describe the torment of the "soul which was found in its lawlessness": "they took it to the East and they brought it to the West." For further discussion of the geography of *1 Enoch*, see Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19*.

⁴⁸ This language is similar to Clement's citation of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (*Stromata* 5.11.77) in which the seer is "brought up" to the "fifth heaven."

⁴⁹ See Fragment 1c, paragraph one (חמישה בתי דינין קבועים בנהיגום).

These topographic descriptions were first featured in *1 Enoch*, in which they served as a means of differentiating spatially between the different stops on Enoch's cosmic tour. Enoch travels from the places of punishment for the stars and the rebel angels (*1 En.* 21), "to the West," to a "great and high mountain of hard rock" (*1 En.* 22). On this great mountain of *1 En.* 22, the abodes of the dead are conceptualized as caves. This chapter outlines four different caves or pits, each containing a different group of souls.⁵⁰ The first cave is for the righteous souls, the second for the unrighteous who received their punishment in the course of life, the third pit is for those who were killed unjustly,⁵¹ and the fourth is for the unrighteous (perhaps those who have not yet received punishment). Like Sheol, these caves are deep and smooth, meant to contain those who dwell there, the unrighteous and righteous alike. Unlike some interpretations of Sheol, the pits do not simply represent a space for all of the dead, but serve to distinguish between the righteous

⁵⁰ The concept of hollow places may originate in Isa 26.20; cf. *1Clem.* 50.3. Later conceptions of this image only have two classes of dead [not four] (Ps.-Philo 32.13; 2 *Bar* 21.33; 30.1; 4 *Ezra* 4.35, 41; 7.32, 80, 85, 95, 101, 121; cf. Ps.-Philo 15.5 "chambers of darkness" for the wicked; Ps.-Philo 21.9 "the secret dwelling places of souls."). Richard Bauckham, "Hades, Hell," *ABD* 3:15.

⁵¹ Though verse 12 is a little obscure in its referents, the parallelism with verse 7 makes clear that these spirits are those who have died unjustly/violently akin to the death of Abel. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 308.

and unrighteous along with sub-categories of each.⁵² Thus, the caves of *1 En 22* are not merely containment fields for those awaiting the final resurrection,⁵³ but spaces in which the spirits are separated in such a way that associates the righteous with merit and the unrighteous with torment (*1 En 22.9-11*).⁵⁴

⁵² As Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 307, notes, the author of *1 Enoch* was likely dependent upon Greek ideas, particularly those preserved in Plato. If Nickelsburg is correct, the concept of the separation of the various kinds of sinners represents Hellenistic influence upon the concept of the abode of the dead. However, as evidenced above, Isa 14 and Ezek 31-32 prefigure this distinction among the dead to some extent, relegating the “uncircumcised” and those “slain by the sword” to more remote regions of Sheol. See Chapter 2, p. 45 above.

⁵³ Similarly, the Targums and the Midrash refer to another general punishment in the afterlife called the “second death.” On the one hand, some Targums describe the second death as a general resurrection, at which all humans will be judged and rewarded or punished accordingly (*Tg. Jon. Isa 22:14; Tg. Jon. Isa 65:5b-6, 15; Tg. Jon. Jer 51:39, 57*). In other Targums, the second death merely represents exclusion from the resurrection (*Tg. Onq. Deut 33:6; Tg. Neof. Deut 33:6; Tg. Jon. Jer 51:39, 57; Tg. Ps 49:11* (see variant reading). Alberdina Houtman and Magdalena Wilhelmina Misset-van de Weg, “The Fate of the Wicked: Second Death in Early Jewish and Christian Texts,” in *Empsychoi Logoi -- Religious Innovations in Antiquity* (ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong, and Magda Misset-van de Weg; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 413–21.

⁵⁴ While Bauckham has argued that these spaces are merely “detention,” Nickelsburg correctly argues that the separation itself is a kind of punishment. See Bauckham, “Hades, Hell,” 14; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 306. In support of Nickelsburg’s conclusion,

Although the souls do not actually receive punishment or reward in this passage, the way in which they are “sorted” begins (in an anticipatory way) the reward of the righteous and the punishment of the unrighteous.⁵⁵ Enoch asks the Seer why these “hollow spaces” are separated from one another, and the Seer answers him, saying:

And this has been separated for the spirits of the righteous, where the bright fountain of water is. And this has been created for the [spirits of the] sinners, when they die and are buried in the earth and judgment has not been executed on them in their life. Here⁵⁶ their spirits are separated for this great torment, until the great day of judgment, of scourges and tortures of the cursed forever, that there might be a recompense for their spirits.⁵⁷ There he will bind them forever (*1En* 22:9-11).

The Seer’s explanation indicates that those who are not punished on earth will receive punishment in the future, offering a solution to the

the water present in the caves of the righteous implies that their thirst is quenched while the unrighteous are thirsty (cf. the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16:19-31).

⁵⁵ Similarly, the Dead Sea Scrolls contain some passages in which the wicked are judged without mention of fire or specific sins. See 4Q286 7 ii 4-5; 4Q280 1.3; 4Q418 69 ii; 1QH 11:19; 1QH 11:32. See Collins, “Otherworld,” 103-104.

⁵⁶ The locale of the future punishment referenced here is unclear. It could refer to the Valley of Hinnom in *1 En* 27:1-3, where the cursed are tormented. Or, it could refer to the “abyss” of the chapter that immediately precedes this one (*1 En* 21:7-10).

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 308.

⁵⁷ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 300-301, follows the Ethiopic which reads “for their spirits” (*lanafsomu*), while the Greek reads “for their sins” (τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν), following the parallel constructions in vv.9b, 10a, 12, 13.

problem of theodicy for both Enoch and the readers of the text.⁵⁸ In this way, the spatial differentiation in Enoch's tour to the "mountain of the dead" does add "meaning" to the sights Enoch sees (similar to the rhetoric of *periēgēsis*).

The later Jewish apocalypses utilize geographic description in varying degrees of detail. *2 En* 8-10 details spaces (in the third heaven) in which rewards and punishments are correlated with specific behaviors

⁵⁸ Parallel to the distinctions made among the souls in *1 En* 22, Josephus's description of the various groups in Second Temple Judaism reflects a turn toward a dualistic conception of the afterlife. Josephus offers a "distinctively Greek" account of the Essene beliefs about life after death: "For the *virtuous souls* there is reserved an abode beyond the ocean, a place which is not oppressed by rain or snow or heat, but is refreshed by the ever gentle breath of the west wind coming in from ocean; while they relegate *base souls* to a murky and tempestuous dungeon, big with never-ending punishments" (*J.W.* 2.155). As John J. Collins has noted, this passage is colored by Josephus with distinctively "Greek" ideas about the afterlife. Furthermore, Collins demonstrates that this view of the Essenes coheres only in part with the views of the Otherworld we find in the Dead Sea Scrolls. John J. Collins, "Otherworld," 115-16. Josephus also attributes a dualistic view to the Pharisees, who maintain that "the soul of the good alone passes into another body, while the souls of the wicked suffer eternal punishment" (*J.W.* 2.163, *Ant.* 18.14, 27-33). In each of these summaries, Josephus describes a dualistic view of the afterlife in which the "wicked" are "punished" without specification regarding the nature of their wickedness or their punishment. Minois, *Histoire des Enfers*, 43; Hallote, *Death, Burial, and Afterlife*, 129; Bremmer, *Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*, 8-9.

during earthly existence.⁵⁹ The passage as a whole has a parallel structure, first detailing the delights of paradise, then the characteristics of the “righteous” who will be found there. Next, Enoch sees the torments of the “northern heaven” and learns that this place is prepared for “those who practice godless uncleanness on the earth.”⁶⁰ The terrifying topography that surrounds this group of “wicked” individuals is described in graphic detail:

And they showed me there a very frightful place; every kind of torture and torment is in that place, and darkness and gloom. And there is no light there, but a black fire blazes up perpetually, and a river of fire is coming out over the whole place, with cold ice; and places of detention and cruel angels and carriers of torture implements, tormenting without pity (*2En* 10:1b-3 [A]).

These atrocious bodily punishments are not inflicted on a generic group of “wicked” individuals, but on people who have committed specific kinds of sins, enumerated in the text.⁶¹ These bodily punishments are

⁵⁹ The mention of specific sins without a reference to specific punishments makes *2 En*. 8-10 an excellent example of the transition that was occurring in apocalyptic literature between the generalized punishment of the wicked in *1 En* 27, and the measure for measure punishments of *Apoc. Zeph.* and the Elijah and Isaiah fragments. On this line of development, see Himmelfarb’s argument that the tours of hell belong to a genre of literature for which the Book of the Watchers is the earliest representative. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 41–67.

⁶⁰ Or [J] has “those who do not glorify God, who practice on the earth the sin which is against nature...” *2 En* 10:4.

⁶¹ Likewise, the righteous and their rewards are described with similar detail. Similar to *1 En* 26-27, *2 En* 8-9 describes paradise as a place of lush vegetation. The souls

exacted upon those who steal souls and possessions from others, and “bring about the death of the hungry by starvation” (*2 En* 10:5).⁶² By matching a specific space with a specific group of sinners, *2 Enoch* adds another level of detail to the spatial differentiation that was depicted through *1 Enoch*’s geography.

In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the geography of the seer’s tour is described in relationship to places that may already be familiar to the audience. The seer sees all of the souls of men above his own city (*Apoc. Zeph.* 2), he sees the place of righteousness on Mount Seir (*Apoc. Zeph.* 3), the bronze gates of the heavenly city (*Apoc. Zeph.* 5), and the sea of flame “whose waves burn sulfur and bitumen” in Hades (*Apoc. Zeph.* 6). To a much lesser extent, the Elijah and Isaiah Fragments provide geographic description, each one situating the hanging punishments

who dwell there share the characteristics of Matthew 5’s “blessed,” enduring tribulation and turning their attention to those who are afflicted (*2 En* 9). These souls provide a needed contrast for the vice ridden spirits in the “northern heaven.”

⁶² The vices listed here go beyond simple corollaries to the virtues listed in chapter 9, including black arts and idol worship. Sodomy is also included in P, which also adds a reference to Sodomy in chapter 34. Andersen, “*2 Enoch*,” 119, notes that the “more specific Jewish duties—circumcision, sabbath-keeping, food taboos, sex taboos (as distinct from fornication and deviant practices)—are not listed. There is nothing here that any god-fearer, Jew or Christian would not affirm.” See parallel vice list in Romans 1:32.

within Gehenna.⁶³ In the depiction of Hades in *Apoc. Zeph.* 10 and the depictions of Gehenna in the Elijah and Isaiah Fragments the punishments are specific to the particular sin that is being punished.

Despite the different ways in which the Jewish apocalypses configure their “tours” of the abodes of the dead, each of these texts utilizes features that are similar to those used in the rhetoric of *periēgēsis* to differentiate spaces. The directional cues or vivid topographic descriptions and depictions of punishment and reward direct the attention of the reader to specific features of the places of the abodes of the dead, and either the tour guide or the seer provides some interpretation of the significance of those features.

b. Order and Meaning: Implicit *Paideia* in the Jewish Apocalypses

As other scholars have observed, these geographic descriptions are not an arbitrary frame for the apocalyptic author’s story.⁶⁴ Instead, we have suggested that these geographic descriptions function similarly to

⁶³ The Elijah Fragment 1a, line 400-402 is the passage which provides the most detailed description (of all the Fragments) of Gehenna’s terrain: “The angel of the Lord showed me a deep valley which is called Gehenna, burning with sulphur and pitch, and in that place are many souls of sinners and they are tormented with various tortures.” (*Ostendit, inquit, mihi angelus domini conaullem altam quae uocatur gehenna aredensque sculphore et bitumine. Et in illo loco sunt multae animae peccatorum et taliter ibi cruciantur diuersis tormentis.*)

⁶⁴ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 45–67; Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19*, 7.

periēgēsis, bringing “order and meaning to the mass of undifferentiated sights.”⁶⁵ As we saw above, the *ekphrasis* of a place often has a didactic function, utilizing the tour of a space in order to reinforce particular cultural or ethical values.⁶⁶ While the Greek examples of ekphrastic tours touted historical Athens as a cultural model to be followed (Plato *Critias* 110D-112D), or emphasized the importance of being attuned to the difference between virtue and vice (*Tabula of Cebes* 24-25), *1 Enoch’s* journey highlights the consequences of opposition to the Lord (*1 En.* 21:6, 27:2). When Enoch is startled by the punishments of the disobedient stars, or marvels at the vivid sight of the “cursed valley,” the audience is also moved by the images as they are brought “before their eyes.”

In Chapter 3 we applied the different criteria of *ekphrasis* to the Greek and Latin descriptions of Hades, looking for the language of perception, vivid description (*enargeia*), and explicit communication of the didactic function of the *ekphrasis*. We also contrasted texts in which the journey to the netherworld was merely the context for educating the audience with texts in which the punishments themselves were educational. Now we will apply these same criteria to the Jewish

⁶⁵ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 54.

⁶⁶ See, for example, the Platonic depictions of Athens and Atlantis. Plato *Critias* 110D-112D; 114E-120D. Adela Yarbro Collins, “The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” 450.

apocalypses in order to determine the nature of their relationship to the Greek and Latin rhetorical techniques that were used to depict Hades.

The main points of contact between the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades and the Jewish apocalypses are with regard to their style. As in the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades, the language of perception abounds in the Jewish apocalypses, which in the Greek and Latin texts indicated that *ekphrasis* might be “in play.”⁶⁷ Not only do these verbs make the reader feel as if they are with the tourist encountering the sights and sounds of Hades, but they are also often coupled with the emotional responses of the main characters of the text.⁶⁸ Similarly, Enoch’s journeys focus on Enoch’s perception of the sights. In *1 Enoch*, Enoch travels to a site, he “sees” and describes the site, and then he responds to what he sees, exclaiming or questioning his angelic tour guide about the site.⁶⁹ This pattern of travel, perception, and emotional

⁶⁷ In the context of apocalyptic literature, verbs of sight and sound are common generic features, logical ways of communicating the vision that the apocalyptic author wishes to “reveal.” Meeks, “Apocalyptic Discourse,” 462, discusses the paraenetic function of “seeing” in apocalyptic literature. On the generic features of “apocalypse” see John J. Collins, “Apocalypse: the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–217.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 3, pp.102-106, and appendix C for the summary of this data.

⁶⁹ For examples of this pattern within the Book of the Watchers see *1 En.* 21:1-6, 7-10; 23:1-4. For examples of the language of perception in other Jewish apocalypses that

response is similar to the *ekphrasis* we observed in the *Od.* 11.55 and *Aen.* 6.688-89, in which the tourist “weeps” at the sight of a loved one in Hades. Just as in the *ekphrasis* of Hades, the emotional responses of Enoch stir the emotions of the audience, providing cues for how the imagery of the places of the dead ought to be interpreted. In the Greek and Latin examples, and in later Jewish and Christian apocalypses, however, the tourist is usually saddened by the sights and sounds of the places of the dead.⁷⁰ In *1 Enoch*, although Enoch sometimes responds with questions (*1 En.* 21:4), or fear (*1 En.* 21:8), his primary response to the places of the dead that he perceives on his journey is not sadness, but blessing and praise for the Lord (*1 En.* 22:14; 27:5). Thus, while the “weeping” that is modeled by other tourists “moves the audience” to interpret hell negatively, as a place to be avoided (and thus an ethical object lesson), Enoch’s response of worship interprets the places of punishment as symbols of Divine justice.

Enargeia, or vivid language, is another feature of *ekphrasis* that is common to the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades as well as

describe the places of the dead see *Apoc. Zeph.* 2:2-3; 3:5; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1, 5, 8, 11; 7:1, 9; 8:3; 10:3-4, 6, 8, 12; 11:1, 3; 12:2, 6; Isaiah fragment 1c lines 1-3.

⁷⁰ See for example, both versions of *2 En.* 41:1, in which Enoch weeps at the sight of punishment; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:4-7, in which the seer cries out in distress and beseeches the Lord to save him; *Apoc. Zeph.* 11 in which the righteous attempt to intercede for those in torment; and the weeping of the righteous at the sight of the damned in *Apoc. Paul* 10; 14; 33; 36; 38; 39; 40; 42; 43; 48.

presentation of the places of the dead in the Jewish apocalypses. With regard to *enargeia*, Nicolaus states in his rhetorical handbook that the “vividness” of a particular image is measured by the context in which it occurs. He explains that *ekphrasis* is characterized by the “amount of perceptible detail”.... “the exact quantity remaining to be determined by subjective judgment or by convention.”⁷¹

The descriptions of fiery torment and the hanging punishments are the most distinctive examples of “vividness” in the Jewish apocalyptic depictions of the places of the dead. The postbiblical Jewish literature began to associate the concept of “fiery torment” with the otherworldly punishments of the “wicked.” Within the Hebrew Bible there are several places according to which the “wicked” are burned with unquenchable fire.⁷² In their original context, these images “had a purely material and earthly sense,” depicting the bodies of the “wicked” rotting, being devoured by worms, or burning in the valley of Hinnom.⁷³ Outside of the Hebrew Bible these fiery images were more prolific and began to be associated with the postmortem judgment of the “wicked.”⁷⁴ These

⁷¹ Nicolaus *Progymnasmata* 67-71.

⁷² Isa 33:14; 66:15-16, 24; cf. Isa 50:11; Mal 4:1.

⁷³ The fire is both material and symbolic of the divine wrath that destroys the wicked. (Here, Minois, *Histoire des Enfers*, 40, quotes Psalm 89:46). Fire as an instrument of purification is mentioned in 271 passages in the Bible.

⁷⁴ For passages that associate judgment and fire, see *1 En.* 10:13; 48:8-10; 100:7-9; 108:4-7; *Jdt* 16:17; *2 Bar* 85:13; *CD* 2:5-7; *1QS* 2:7-8. Other texts describe a lake of

images were also associated with the Valley of Hinnom as a place of eschatological judgment of wicked Jews by fire.⁷⁵

Similarly, the images of torment in the Jewish apocalypses are typically accompanied by fire, depicting the physical punishment of the wicked as an extraordinarily painful ordeal. One unique instance is *1 En. 27*, which describes the Valley of Hinnom, or Gehenna,⁷⁶ as a “cursed valley” in which those “who utter with their mouth an improper word against the Lord” are gathered (*1 En. 27:2*). Although there is no explicit mention of “fire” in the judgment of the “cursed,” scholars have demonstrated that the association between the Valley of Hinnom and fire was “already well established.”⁷⁷ In *2 En. 10:2* the place of torment

fire or a fiery abyss: *1 En. 18:9-16, 90:24-27; 103:7-8; 2 En. 40:12; 2 Bar. 59:5-12; 1QH 3*. See Collins, “Otherworld,” 103; Watson, “Gehenna,” 927.

⁷⁵ *1 En. 26-27; 54:1-6; 56:1-4; 90:24-27*. See Watson, “Gehenna,” 927.

⁷⁶ The place of punishment after death did not receive the appellation “Gehenna” until the first century C.E. Cf. Matt 5:22; 10:28; Mark 9:43-48; Luke 12:4-5; *4 Ezra 7:36; 2 Bar. 59:10; 2 En. 40:12; 42:1; Sib. Or. 1:103; 2:292; 4:186*. Collins, “Otherworld,” 99; Outi Lehtipuu, *The Afterlife Imagery in Luke’s Story of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (NovTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 271-5.

⁷⁷ Collins, “Otherworld,” 99. Gehenna was associated early on with the burning of children as sacrifices to Molech, which was condemned in *2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 7:31-32; 19:2, 6; 32:35*. As Himmelfarb argues, “The fiery associations of Gehinnom precede its development into hell.” See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 108. This equation between Gehenna and fiery torment is apparent in the much later Elijah fragments, in which the angel shows Elijah “a deep valley, which is called Gehenna, burning with sulphur

includes “black fire,” that “blazes up perpetually.” Additionally, the entirety of Hades is depicted as an ocean of fire in *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:2: “I discovered that it was entirely a sea of flame like a slime which casts forth much flame and whose waves burn sulfur and bitumen.”⁷⁸ And in *Apoc. Zeph.* 10:6-7 Zephaniah sees those who charged interest on a loan “covered with mats of fire.” The components of the imagery are familiar and yet the way those components are configured creates distinctive images of fire, which enable the reader to imagine the unimaginable torment of the places of the dead. In this regard, these vivid depictions of fiery torment are similar to the *ekphrasis* of Hades that we saw in Plutarch whose descriptions of different colored bruises made the readers feel as if they were eye witnesses to Dike’s brutal and specific punishments (Plutarch, *Sera* 565C).

Likewise, vivid imagery is utilized in the punishments described in *Apoc. Zeph.* 10, or the measure for measure punishments depicted in the Isaiah fragment. In *Apoc. Zeph.* 10 the second trumpet sounding marks the opening of the heaven to reveal the tortures of Hades. Here, sound is used to alert Zephaniah to the specific punishments that are assigned to the different groups of sinners, turning his focus from his own personal triumph (*Apoc. Zeph.* 9) toward the graphic punishments of those who

and pitch, and in that place are many souls of sinners, and there they are tormented with various tortures” (*Apoc. El.* Fragment 1a, lines 400-405).

⁷⁸ See also Elijah fragment 1a, in which Gehenna is “burning with sulphur and pitch.”

were not as fortunate. For instance, the seer witnesses those who had accepted bribes, now in shackles and sinking into the burning waves of Hades that were described in chapter 6 (*Apoc. Zeph.* 10:3-6 cf. 6:2-3).

In the Elijah fragments the “wicked” are punished with even greater specificity than in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. The Elijah fragments contain catalogues of sinners who are punished in hell with torments that “fit their crime,” or “measure for measure punishments.”⁷⁹ Elijah fragment 1a begins in Gehenna with the surroundings of sulfur and pitch, describes general hanging punishments, and then turns to measure for measure punishments.⁸⁰ For instance, those who “have stumbled through their glances” have their eyes burned (Fragment 1a, line 411). The other fragments follow this pattern, but differ with regard to the punishments catalogued.⁸¹ These visual images of torment bring

⁷⁹ For a discussion of the nature of “measure for measure punishments” and a catalogue of their usage in the tours of hell, see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 82.

⁸⁰ The measure for measure punishments are meted out to adulterers, pederasts, blasphemers, those who have looked craving on guilty acts, those who hate God’s righteousness, and women who lasciviously yielded their bodies to men (presumably to men who are not their husbands, although the text does not specify).

⁸¹ Fragment 1bi includes a new punishment: men who were forced to eat sand because they ate things that they stole in the world. This punishment is a “confirmation” of Psalm 3:8 “I have broken the teeth of the wicked.” Elijah Fragment 1bii introduces two other unique punishments: men who were made to eat their own flesh (though no

the consequences of ethical misdeeds “before the eyes” of the reader in order to provide moral instruction. The measure for measure punishments of these Jewish apocalypses use vivid language in order to evoke the misery of the punishments themselves, just as in the graphic punishments witnessed by Odysseus (Homer, *Od.* 11.568ff.). The use of *enargeia* captures the imagination of the audience, and makes them feel as if they too are spectators, seeing firsthand the agony of the men who coveted (Isaiah fragment 1c paragraph 1) or Tantalus (*Od.* 11.582-92).⁸²

The final feature of the *ekphrasis* of Hades which bears some similarity to the Jewish apocalypses is the text’s explicit mention of the pedagogical purpose of the journey. In *1 En.* 14, the purpose of Enoch’s journey is described in rather general terms:

In this vision I saw in my dream what I now speak with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth, which the Great One has given to the sons of men to speak with them and to understand with the heart. As he destined and created men to understand the words of knowledge, so he created and destined me to reprimand the watchers, the sons of heaven (*1En.* 14:2-3).

Here Enoch indicates that he is divinely commanded and qualified to convey his vision to the “sons of men.” What is more, “the Great One”

reason is given) and those eaten by worms fulfill the scripture “Their worm shall not die” (Isa 66:24).

⁸² Note the parallel imagery of eternally receding waters in both Tantalus’s punishment and that of the men who coveted. In the Isaiah fragment 1c, paragraph 1, the men who coveted are carrying buckets of water on their shoulders, emptying them into a well that never fills for all of eternity.

has given Enoch this commission so that he can speak with humans and bring about “understanding with the heart.” While the visions of the abode of the dead that are found in *1En.* 22 and 27 are a part of this specially preserved vision that was intended to bring about “understanding with the heart,” there is no clear statement about the content of this “understanding,” or that the abodes of the dead play an especially important role in this “reprimand.”

Second Enoch 36-66 is far more specific about the didactic function of Enoch’s tour, and in particular the pedagogical value of the scenes of punishment. Enoch is directed to return to earth for thirty days in order to instruct his children about what he has seen and heard. Enoch begins this instruction with discussion of the places of punishment (*2 En.* 40:12-41),⁸³ and then continues with a series of exhortations to his children that range from specific ethical instruction to more general wisdom teachings (*2 En.* 42-66).⁸⁴ With respect to the presentation of Enoch’s teaching, this passage functions similarly to the end of Aristophanes’s *Frogs*, in which Pluto commissions Aeschylus to return to

⁸³ Enoch concludes his description by stating that “it is better not to be born” (*2 En.* 41:2), a phrase that is repeated throughout the Christian tours of hell. See Chapter 7 p. 288, n.71 below.

⁸⁴ Compare *Apoc. Zeph.* 8, in which a summary of the preceding episode is phrased as an address to “my sons,” which was perhaps a “homiletical aside” that suggests that an organized religious community may have been the intended audience of the text. See Wintermute, “Apocalypse of Zephaniah,” 514, n.8a.

Athens from Hades in order to “educate the thoughtless people” (*Frogs* 1417-1503).⁸⁵ However, while Pluto’s journey to Hades is used to provide lessons on how to save the Athenian polis, Enoch’s journey in *2 Enoch* is focused on ethical instruction.

In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the punishments of Hades not only emphasize the importance of education in one’s mortal life, but one of the punishments described suggests that some individuals can learn from their punishments in Hades and repent. The seer in *Apoc. Zeph.* 10. 9-12 sees unperfected catechumens, who are walking around in Hades blind, because they “heard the word of God, but they were not perfected in the work which they heard.” The depiction of this punishment not only implies that there are negative consequences for poor or incomplete education in one’s earthly life,⁸⁶ but also suggests that this blindness is intended to be “pedagogical” as well, allowing these souls to be “perfected” through their suffering in the afterlife, and repent on the day of judgment.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ For more detailed discussion of the depiction Hades in this passage, see Chapter 3, pp. 114-115 above.

⁸⁶ Compare this concept with the depiction of the “educated” and “uneducated” souls in Plato’s *Phaed.* 107D-108C, in which the educated easily follow their guide to eternity, and the uneducated are lost and tormented.

⁸⁷ Compare this concept with the idea that a soul of “poor quality” could be educated through the punishments of Hades in Plato’s *Resp.* 10.615E.

Despite their similar descriptive rhetorical style, there are several differences between the Greek and Latin descriptions of Hades and the descriptions of the abodes of the dead in the Jewish apocalypses. We have already observed several of these differences in our discussion above. The geography is distinctive in some of the Jewish apocalypses, in which punishment occurs on a mountain (*1 En.* 22) or the third heaven (*2 En.* 10), rather than in the underworld of Greek and Latin literature. Rather than responding with tears or sadness (as in Greek and Latin journeys to Hades), Enoch actually blesses the Lord and “praises him magnificently” in response to the sight of the place of the cursed (*1 En.* 27:5). Finally, if there is a didactic purpose to the journey of the Book of the Watchers, it is veiled or open to interpretation, relative to the explicit statement of the pedagogical function of the tours in the Greek and Latin texts, and later Jewish and Christian apocalypses.⁸⁸

As we saw in the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades, the way in which the places of punishment function pedagogically can vary from text to text. For example, at the end of Virgil’s vision of Hades (*Aen.* 6.740-55) the *ekphrasis* of Hades is used to convey a cultural or political

⁸⁸ For specific points of comparison see Chapter 3, pp. 112-115 above, and Chapter 7, pp. 308-316 below.

lesson, serving as *paideia* in a broad sense.⁸⁹ In a vision of the future that contains a “review of Roman heroes,” Virgil uses Aeneas’s underworld journey to convey the virtues of Roman citizenship, including patriotism and selfless service to the state. Similarly, the emphasis on worship and Divine justice in *1 Enoch* can be understood as a part of instruction more broadly, although the punishments themselves are not pedagogical. Parallel to the way in which the abode of the dead could function as a tool for moral formation in the Hebrew Bible, the journeys in *1 Enoch* continue in the tradition of the “Two Ways,” making a sharp contrast between specific categories of the “wicked” and the “righteous.” In contrast, in *2 Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the Elijah and Isaiah fragments the punishments themselves are pedagogical. In each of these texts, specific sins are punished in graphic detail, providing readers with a list of specific behaviors to avoid. In these Jewish apocalypses the pedagogical rhetoric of the places of punishment is more specific, akin to that of Plutarch’s *On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance*, in which different kinds of punishment are described, and a specific vice is connected to each vivid depiction of punishment (567B-D).⁹⁰

⁸⁹ For other examples of Greek and Latin texts in which Hades functioned pedagogically but the spectacle of punishment was not the source of *paideia* see Chapter 3, p.115 above.

⁹⁰ See especially the “souls of those whose wickedness was due to insatiable and overreaching avarice,” who are dipped first into a lake of molten gold, then into a lake

IV. Conclusion

The “tours” of the Enochic literature paved the way for later apocalypses which would take readers on detailed journeys to hell. The genre of the “tour” allowed the narrator to “differentiate” between spaces through directional cues and spatial descriptions. In this manner, the Jewish apocalypses share the rhetorical format of many other descriptive tours in antiquity, utilizing *periēgēsis*. While many of the geographic details and images of the abode of the dead differ from the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades, the use of the tour format in the Jewish apocalypses serves as a crucial transition in the Jewish rhetoric of “hell.” While the earliest of these tours can only be said to provide education implicitly in the loosest sense (*1 Enoch*), the later tours provide very specific ethical and cultural instructions (*2 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, *Elijah and Isaiah Fragments*).

of freezing cold lead, then into a lake of iron, and finally into the lake of gold again.

With each change in temperature and substance the souls underwent horrible agony.

Plutarch, *Sera* 567C-D.

Chapter 5

A Choice Between Two Ways: The Rhetorical Function of Eternal

Punishment in the New Testament

“And if your eye causes you to stumble, tear it out; it is better for you to enter the kingdom of God with one eye than to have two eyes and to be thrown into hell, where their worm never dies, and the fire is never quenched.” (Mark 9:47-48)

I. Introduction

By the first century C.E. the concept of “hell” was already being used to provide ethical education for ancient audiences. In the New Testament the images and rhetorical strategies of ancient Judaism, Greece, and Rome were employed in a way that established early Christianity as a novel social group with its own ethical and cultural norms. As early Christians began to develop their own *paideia*,¹ the “hell” of Greek and

¹ As discussed above in Chapter 3, early Christians developed their own method of cultural and ethical education which borrowed from the methods of the Greek philosophical schools and the emphasis on scripture that was found in the Jewish synagogue. In this regard, early Christian *paideia* was developed by supplanting the content of Greek and Latin school texts but retaining their methods and emphasis on cultural and ethical education. For the remainder of this chapter, when I refer to *paideia* I am invoking the concept of early Christian adaptation and appropriation of the Greco-Roman model of cultural and ethical education. For a discussion of early Christian *paideia* within the history of early Christianity, see Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard

Latin literature was adapted to suit the needs of a new audience. The New Testament authors drew from the “visual vocabulary” of the Hebrew Bible and Jewish apocalypses in order to bring the concept of eternal punishment “before the eyes” of the ancient reader. This amalgam of ancient Jewish imagery and Greek and Roman pedagogical methods allowed early Christians to set cultural and ethical norms with rhetorical force. The New Testament authors combined the terminology and imagery of ancient Jewish conceptions of the abode of the dead with the descriptive rhetoric and explicit *paideia* of the Greek and Roman formulations of the underworld. Within the New Testament this pedagogical use of the language of eternal punishment is clearest in the Gospel of Matthew. Before we turn to Matthew in the next chapter, this

University Press, 1961); Peter Robert Lamont Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 121–26; Frances M. Young, “Toward a Christian Paideia,” in *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* (ed. Lewis Ayres and Andrew Louth; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 485–500. For descriptions of Christianity’s place within the history of ancient education, see M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 119–29; Henri Irénée Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 314–29; Robert A Kaster, *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 70–95; Mark Joyal, *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 231–67.

chapter will demonstrate that the practice of using “hell” as *paideia* was beginning to germinate in Matthew’s sources (Mark and Q), and in texts roughly contemporaneous to Matthew (Luke, James, 2 Peter, Revelation).

II. *Ekphrasis* or *Enargeia*?: Analyzing the Rhetoric of Description in the NT

Before we discuss the relevant NT texts, we must first consider how to evaluate qualitatively the rhetoric of description that is found in the NT references to eternal punishment. As we saw in chapter 3 above, the *ekphrasis* of physical bodies was common in the Greek and Latin “hell” literature, as a means of reinforcing an ethical message.² The criteria in the *Progymnasmata* and in Quintilian for identifying a text or passage as an example of *ekphrasis* are functional, not formal.³ A description of Hades could be said to use the rhetoric of *ekphrasis* based

² See the description of Charon in Virgil, *Aen.* 6.298-301; the moldy dead of Lucian’s *Men.* 15; or the puffy bodies of the rich in Lucian’s *Dial. mort.* 343.

³ Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 51–52, states that unlike other *Progymnasmata*, which are defined in formal terms, *ekphrasis* was defined “primarily in terms of its effect on the listener.” Theon claims that the audience should “almost see” and Nicolaus says that the difference between *diegesis* and *ekphrasis* is that *ekphrasis* attempts to make the listeners into spectators. Aelius Theon *Progymnasmata* 7.119, Nicolaus *Progymnasmata* 11.68. George Alexander Kennedy, ed., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 46–47, 166.

upon its emotional effect on the listeners,⁴ and the “amount of perceptible detail,” or “vividness” (*enargeia*) that the description contained, relative to its context.⁵ So, for example, a passage could be considered simple narrative (*diegesis*) if it merely relayed a fact: “Odysseus went to Hades.” But if the audience is given more detail regarding what Odysseus did in Hades in such a way that enables the audience to imagine the scene, then the passage is considered to involve *ekphrasis*.⁶

⁴ Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.32, states that if *enargeia* is executed correctly, the “emotions will ensue just as if we were present at the event itself.” See for example the discussion of *ekphrasis* in the Iliad in Laura Slatkin’s essay. Slatkin argues that the focalization of a fallen warrior incites the other characters (even the gods!) to feel emotions of pity, grief and vengeance. Through the character’s visions, the reader is also overcome with the same emotions. Laura M. Slatkin, “Notes on Tragic Visualizing in the Iliad,” in *Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature: Essays in Honour of Froma Zeitlin* (ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 19, 23. For a fuller discussion of the emotional impact of *ekphrasis*, see Chapter 3, pp. 87-92.

⁵ According to Nicolaus, *ekphrasis* is characterized by the “amount of perceptible detail”.... “the exact quantity remaining to be determined by subjective judgment or by convention.” Nicolaus *Progymnasmata* 67-71.

⁶ Compare this example with that of Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 68, II.9-10, who differentiates between the *diegesis* and *ekphrasis* of “the Athenians and the Peloponnesians went to war.” In addition to this distinction between narrative and

This functional definition of *ekphrasis* was applied with facility to the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades, which offered extended depictions of a place. As we turn to the NT, we find much shorter passages, and sometimes only a single phrase that refers to eternal punishment.⁷ As Aristotle demonstrates in his discussion of what it means to bring something “before the eyes,” descriptive rhetoric can also be used in shorter passages, such as the depiction of the stone that beleaguered Sisyphus: “Again the ruthless stone rolled down to the plain” (Homer, *Od.* 11.598).⁸ This image, although it is merely a short phrase, brings the punishment of Sisyphus “before the eyes” of the audience through the vivid metaphor of the “ruthless stone.”

description in the *Progymnasmata*, Quintilian distinguishes between *enargeia* and the simple statement of facts, which “does not touch the emotions.”

⁷ The nature of the material that refers to eternal punishment leads Dimitris J. Kyrtatas, “The Origins of Christian Hell,” *Numen* 56 (2009): 282–97, to go so far as to argue that there is no real concept of “hell” in the NT. This argument oversimplifies the evidence and fails to account for the growing popularity of the concept of eternal punishment, which would allow the NT authors to invoke the concept with a single word like “Gehenna.”

⁸ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.11.3-4. Aristotle argues that the Homeric examples of metaphor bring things “before the eyes” of the audience because they “express actuality” and speak of “inanimate things as if they were animate.” For other examples of *ekphrasis* that consist of only one or two lines see the description of Thersites in *Iliad* 2.246-255 and 281-286 and the description of Eurybates in *Od.* 19.279-284.

With regard to the functional definition of *ekphrasis* that is outlined in the *Progymnasmata*, Quintilian, and Aristotle, the NT depictions of eternal punishment could easily be categorized as *ekphrasis*. By the first century C.E. the terms Hades, Gehenna, and Tartarus were evocative for some audiences, and a brief phrase invoking this language, or other associated terminology, would certainly bring eternal punishment “before the eyes” of those hearers. Yet as Ruth Webb has cautioned, the rhetorical manuals are not works of literary criticism, but texts that instruct readers in “a particular way of understanding and using language.”⁹ What is more, we hardly do service to the diverse body of material before us if we simply categorize every reference to hell in antiquity as *ekphrasis*.¹⁰ Instead, we will focus on the qualitative differences in the way that each instance of the rhetoric of description is used relative to its context. In this way, we will adhere closely to the classical definitions of *ekphrasis*, which were primarily focused upon the impact on the listener. In order to be as specific as possible, we will discuss the “vivid description” or *enargeia* of eternal punishment in passages that evoke the imagery of eternal punishment more generally

⁹ Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 165.

¹⁰ See Chapter 3, p. 23, n. 72 for a discussion of the generic differences in the body of “hell literature” in antiquity, and the need to avoid reading longer passages as “development” of the idea.

and reserve *ekphrasis* for texts in which we are certain that a specific scene or picture was evoked in the minds of the audience.

III. The Pedagogical Function of Eternal Punishment in Matthew's Sources

a. Mark 9:42-50

Although Matthew's treatment of "hell" is the most developed and extensive in the New Testament, the concept of eternal punishment is not absent from his sources. In fact, the references to Gehenna in Mark 9 indicate that eternal punishment was beginning to function as *paideia* in Mark (or in Mark's sources).¹¹

1. Mark's own sources

In Mark 9:33-50 Mark's unique redaction of his sources betrays his interest in bringing together different materials in order to enhance

¹¹ On the dating of Mark's gospel see Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2007), 11-14; Joel Marcus, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Yale Anchor Bible; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 37-39. Collins argues that Mark was written prior to 70 C.E. because the rhetoric of the argument in chapter 13 seems to presuppose that the "desolating sacrilege" and the destruction of the temple are future events from the point of view of the author. Marcus is less sure, arguing that Mark could have been written either soon before or after the temple's destruction (somewhere between 67-75 C.E.), allowing for "eschatological excitement to remain intense." In any case, Mark was written near the time of the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, well before the Gospel of Matthew.

their rhetorical force. Scholars agree that Mark 9:33-50 was composed from shorter catechetical units that are linked by “mnemonic catchwords” such as “in the name” (vv. 37, 38, 39, 41) or “fire” (vv. 43, 48, 49).¹² Likewise, there is evidence that Mark drew from an expressly catechetical source on sexual norms.¹³ As Harry Fledderman has

¹² Other catchwords include “to cause to sin” (vv.42, 43, 45, 47), and “salt” (vv. 49, 50). For discussion of catchword composition in Mark 9, see Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1952), 408–09; Harry Fleddermann, “The Discipleship Discourse (Mark 9:33-50),” *CBQ* 43 (1981): 57; Ian H. Henderson, “Salted with Fire’ (Mark 9.42-50): Style, Oracles and (Socio)Rhetorical Gospel Criticism,” *JSNT* 80 (2000): 49; Jan Lambrecht, “Scandal and Salt: Is Mark Dependent on Q in 9,42-50?,” in *Forschungen zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2002), 230; Marcus, *Mark*, 694. Other scholars have cautioned that the presence of these catchwords does “not necessarily imply that the collection as such is pre-Markan.” Collins, *Mark*, 443. Cf. Perry V. Kea, “Salting the Salt: Q 14-35 and Mark 9:49-50,” *Forum* 6, no. 3-4 (1990): 242.

¹³ Will Deming has argued that the parallel content in Mark 9:42-10:12, Matt 5:27-32 and *b. Nid.* 13b suggests that a common source or sources is behind these three passages. Deming hypothesizes that these common traditions date to the middle of the first century C.E. and establish the normativity of heterosexual marriage by equating sexual sins with adultery. Will Deming, “Mark 9:42-10:12, Matthew 5:27-32, and *B. Nid.* 13b: A First Century Discussion of Male Sexuality,” *NTS* 36 (1990): 130–41. Marcus, *Mark*, 696-97, has argued against Deming on the grounds that reading the offenses in Mk 9:42-50 as sexual sins severs the logical connection between this pericope and the rest of Mk 9, and that the sexual interpretations of “hand, foot, and eye” are all context dependent. As Collins, *Mark*, 449-50, has noted, the strength of

argued, the use of catchwords to group this material does not mean that Mark merely imported them from his source.¹⁴ Instead, this passage betrays “extensive Marcan redaction and composition.”¹⁵ By drawing together several different sources with catechetical orientations Mark has created a literary unit that provides specific instructions for communal living and discipleship within the Jesus movement.¹⁶ In this regard Mark’s redaction of his sources actually increases their rhetorical force, layering different images of humility and service in order to paint a vivid picture of a community in which the selflessness of the Passion narrative has become normative.

Deming’s argument is that it is supported by the history of interpretation of Mk 9. So while we cannot reconstruct the traditions that Deming hypothesizes, or even be sure that all of Mark’s audience would have understood these admonitions as warnings against sexual sins, we can assume that at least some of Mark’s readers may have understood that Mark 9:42-50 was referring to sexual sins.

¹⁴ Fleddermann, “Discipleship Discourse,” 58, 73–75.

¹⁵ Fledderman, “Discipleship Discourse,” 58.

¹⁶ So argues Fleddermann, “Discipleship Discourse,” 74: “After the first passion-resurrection prediction Mark shows that the way of the cross, the way of the Son of Man, is the way of the community (8:34). Here, after the second passion-resurrection prediction he shows that this way involves lowliness, service, and living at peace.” For a discussion of the literary unity of Mk 9:33-50 and the history of the tradition, see Collins, *Mark*, 443–44.

For example, Mark 9:42 pairs this imagery of punishment with the depiction of eternal reward in 9:41 and the eternal torment of 9:43-48.¹⁷ By juxtaposing the ideas of eternal reward and punishment, Mark confronts his reader with an ethical choice: service for the sake of the Jesus movement, which results in eternal reward, or a life that strays from the communal ethic of humility, which results in eternal torment.¹⁸ In this example of Marcan redaction the historian is able to see Mark's rhetorical goals, aiming to educate his audience regarding the eternal

¹⁷ Verses 41 and 42 parallel one another in structure and syntax. Both verses begin with an indefinite relative clause (ὅς ἄν + aorist subjunctive). Both verses also describe a particular response to the Christian community (help or causing to stumble), followed by a consequence for that behavior. Thus, in succession these two verses depict a stark contrast between those who will receive eternal reward and those who will be punished. Lambrecht, "Scandal and Salt," 226.

¹⁸ While Deming and others have tried to speculate regarding the specific sins that are caused by the foot, the hand, and the eye in Mk 9:42-50, the passage itself leaves room for interpretation. However, the Marcan context does make clear that each of these sins was an affront to the community and threatened to disturb the ethic of "peace." Joel Marcus, *Mark*, 694-95, has argued that 9:41-42 presents "two ways" in which outsiders respond to members of the Jesus movement. In this interpretation the ancient motif of the Two Ways (see Chapter 2 pp. 48-50) the "way of life" is to help members of the community while the "way of death" is characterized by failure to do so, or hindrance of community members.

benefits of following “the way,” and detailing the overall ethic of humility that should characterize the community.¹⁹

2. The Rhetorical Shape of Mark 9:42-50

Within its Marcan context Mk 9:42-50 contains some of the rhetorical features of early Christian *paideia*. The pedagogical rhetoric of this pericope is evidenced through 1) its position in the gospel, 2) its use of Isa 66 (9:48) and 3) the *enargeia* of bodily dismemberment and eternal punishment.

This passage is part of a larger literary unit that focuses on Jesus’ teachings and the disciples’ misunderstanding of those teachings. This section contains a three-part pattern: (1) passion predictions (8:31; 9:31; 10:32-34) followed by (2) the misapprehension of the disciples (8:32-33; 9:32; 10:35-41) and then (3) teaching about discipleship (8:34-37; 9:33-37; 10:42-45). The section is also framed by two healing stories which emphasize the “blindness” of the disciples.²⁰ Immediately preceding our passage Jesus calls the disciples together for instruction (καὶ καθίσας ἐφώνησεν τοὺς δώδεκα καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς) in order to correct them and introduce

¹⁹ Additionally, Mark’s decision to include the gnomic material from Q 14, 34-35 (Mk 9:49-50) in this passage also speaks to the educational orientation of this section of his gospel.

²⁰ Collins, *Mark*, 397, notes the narrative unity of Mk 8:27-10:45.

the saying about leadership through service (Mk 9:35).²¹ Additionally, John addresses Jesus as “teacher” in Mk 9:38.²² The form of the passage which follows this address (Mk 9:38-50) has been identified as an elaborated *chreia*, a rhetorical form that was intended to convey a thesis to an audience via the speech of a famous person.²³ Thus, both the content and structure of Mk 9 indicate that vv. 42-50 are part of a larger

²¹ Bultmann argues that this saying once circulated independently and vv. 33-34 are a secondary introduction created by Mark for the context of this section of the gospel, see Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 142-44, 147-49. Collins, *Mark*, 448, argues that regardless of the tradition’s original context, the present context addresses the saying to the Twelve, and thus “suggests that it concerns the style of leadership in the early church.”

²² Collins, *Mark*, 448, describes the relevance of the title “teacher” in Mark: “Here, as often in Mark, the address ‘teacher’ is used in connection with the mighty deeds of Jesus, although the use of the term does not always reflect unambiguous faith in or full understanding of his power. In any case, the association reflects the evangelist’s perspective that the teaching interprets the mighty deeds and those deeds legitimate the teaching (4:38; 5:35; 9:17).”

²³ For detailed definitions of the *chreia*, see Theon, *Progymnasmata* 96-106; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 23-25; ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 6-8; Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 18-24; John of Sardis, *Commentary on the Progymnasmata* 34-37. For an explanation of the ways in which Mark 9:38-50 fits this rhetorical form, see Burton L Mack and Vernon K. Robbins, *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels* (Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge, 1989), 57-63; Henderson, “Salted with Fire,” 44-65; Collins, *Mark*, 448.

passage that was intended to educate Mark's audience by connecting this material with Jesus' teaching on humility and servant leadership.

Mark's use of Isa 66 (9:48)²⁴ buttresses the pedagogical orientation of the passage, providing imagery from the Hebrew Bible to impress upon his readers the seriousness of Jesus' teaching. As discussed above in chapter 2, the rotting and burning corpses in Isa 66:24 provided a visual reminder of the consequences for infidelity.²⁵ By employing the imagery of the "worm that does not die" and "the fire that is never quenched," Mark equates the person who fails to "pluck out" his transgressing eye

²⁴ Later copyists were so impressed with the reference to Isa 66 that the phrase ὅπου ὁ σκόληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται was added as vv. 44 and 46. Some of our most important early witnesses (ⲛ B C L W Δ Ψ 0274 f¹ 28.565. 892. 2427 pc k sy^s co) do not have these verses. In these early witnesses the reference to Isa 66 in v. 48 has a climactic effect, increasing the impact of the fourth and final parallel clause.

²⁵ The imagery of Gehenna as a place of punishment for the wicked was commonplace by the first century C.E. See 2 Esd 7:36; cf. 2 Bar. 59:10; 85:13; Sib. Or. 1:103; 4:186. See also Joachim Jeremias, "γέεννα" TDNT 1 (1964): 657-58. For some members of Mark's audience (Jews and Christians) this set of images would be very familiar and evoke negative emotions. Collins, *Mark*, 451, n.94, and Henderson, "Salted with fire' (Mark 9.42-50)," 62-63, argue that the use of the term Gehenna represents the Marcan Jesus "code switching" into non-Greek to underline the "performative power" of Jesus' speech. For Greek members of the audience, then, this imagery was also evocative, but was most likely recognizable through the reference to "unquenchable fire." In this way the Marcan author is appealing to the disparate "visual vocabularies" of his mixed audience.

with those who turn their backs against YHWH. In Mark 9 the visual images of corpses are used to warn the reader that transgressions are not worth the high price that is paid in Gehenna.

Likewise, the vivid imagery of bodily dismemberment and eternal punishment in Mark 9:42-50 has a “powerful effect on the emotions.”²⁶ In Mark, the “vivid description” (*enargeia*) is not focused upon hell’s inhabitants (as in the Greek and Latin literature), but upon the bodily consequences that accompany the two ethical options that face the reader. The didactic function of the *enargeia* is made explicit in Mark: “it is better for you to enter into life deformed, than to enter into Gehenna, the unquenchable fire,²⁷ with two hands” (9:43).²⁸ Mark prescribes shocking acts of self-mutilation as “preferred” responses to further ethical transgression, and thus communicates the gravity of ethical

²⁶ See Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.32, on the persuasive power of *enargeia*.

²⁷ Some of the witnesses (⳨¹ L Δ Ψ 0274. 700. 892 *pc* *sy^p*) do not have εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον.

²⁸ The idea of changing your behavior (protecting your soul from the passions/irrationality) in this life to avoid eternal torment was also extremely common in Greek literature, as we saw in Chapter 3. See Plutarch, *Sera* 567B, 565B; Lucian, *Men.* 20-21; esp. Plato’s concern for the care of the soul (*Phaed.* 107D-108C) and in the myth of Er in *Resp.* 10.619A.

infractions within the community.²⁹ Even though the language of “cutting off” or “plucking out” could be read hyperbolically, the language itself is able to achieve its rhetorical aim because of its strong visual effect. Through these startling images the reader is persuaded to place the ethical norms of the Jesus movement above the well being of his or her own physical body.

Although the admonitions to “cut off” or “pluck out” (ἀποκόπτω/ἐκβάλλω) the offending (σκανδαλίζω) body parts in Mark 9:43-50 do not strike the modern reader as a demonstration of “humility,” the ancient reader would have understood the images of self-mutilated bodies as a supreme example of self-sacrifice and loss of personal honor. While the imagery of “cutting off” a hand, or a foot, or “plucking out” an eye may have very specific ancient parallels that were suggestive for some members of Mark’s audience,³⁰ the concept of personal

²⁹As Collins, *Mark*, 452; and Henderson, “Salted with Fire,” 63-64, note, the imagery of cutting off one’s hand has a certain shock value, strongly encouraging the reader to avoid the behaviors that are being condemned.

³⁰ Cutting off specific limbs is discussed as a punishment in Philo and Josephus. See Philo’s interpretation of Deut 25:11-12 in *Spec.* 3:31 § 175; see also Josephus, *Vita* 35 § 177; *Vita* 34 § 169-73; *J.W.* 2.21.10 § 642-45. Additionally, Collins, *Mark*, 449-51, and Deming, “Mark 9,” 130-41, have argued that the parallel in *b. Nid.* 13*b* indicates that the sins isolated in Mark 9:42-50 are sexual in nature. In contrast, Joel Marcus has argued that the specific “sins” indicated are not likely to be sexual, but rather refer more generally to the instrument for committing sins (hands), the means of transport

dismemberment would have broader cultural resonance as a shocking image of disability.³¹ As such, the *enargeia* of bodily dismemberment in Mk 9 compares two types of bodily shame: 1) physical deformity or disability and 2) eternal torment as the result of ethical failure. By stating that “it is better” to be physically disabled than to risk eternal bodily torment,³² Mark plays upon his audience’s negative emotional

to commit sin (feet), and the means by which temptation enters the body (eyes).

Marcus, *Mark*, 697(see discussion above, n.4). For our own purposes the most important key to interpreting the sins isolated here is that they are likely recognized as transgressions of the Christian community’s ethical outlook, by virtue of the context of this passage in Mark (following a discussion of discipleship and preceding a discussion on divorce).

³¹ In antiquity (and still today) sickness or disability not only impeded a person physically but also socially. For discussions of the ways in which disability and shame are linked in antiquity and in the New Testament in particular, see Hector Avalos, *Illness and Health Care in the Ancient Near East: The Role of the Temple in Greece, Mesopotamia, and Israel* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995); John J. Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); Candida R. Moss, “The Man with the Flow of Power: Porous Bodies in Mark 5:25-34,” *JBL* 129 (2010): 507–19; Meghan Henning, “In Sickness and in Health: Ancient ‘Rituals of Truth’ in the Greco-Roman World and 1 Peter,” in Candida R. Moss and Jeremy Schipper, eds., *Disability Studies and Biblical Literature* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011): 185-203.

³² While Mark’s text indicates that a person enters into Gehenna in bodily form, other ancient texts disagree on whether a person retains his or her bodily form in the afterlife. In the *Odyssey* people recognize Odysseus after drinking the blood of his sacrifice, but

response towards disability in order to enhance their negative feelings towards the torment of Gehenna.³³ Thus, the author of Mark utilizes the rhetorical technique of *enargeia*, persuading the audience by evoking their emotions through imagery that was already a part of their “visual vocabulary.”³⁴ In this manner Mark utilizes the *enargeia* of bodily dismemberment in order to communicate that bodily torment in Gehenna is even worse than the social ostracism of being disabled. As we shall see later, Matthew’s use of this material (5:29-30; 18:9) heightens the rhetorical force of Mark 9, emphasizing the contrast between dismemberment and bodily wholeness.³⁵ Unlike Matt 5:29-30, however, Mark 9:42-50 represents an isolated use of eternal punishment as a vehicle for early Christian *paideia* within Mark’s gospel.

Odysseus seems to be able to recognize them without assistance (indicating that they retain their bodily shape in Hades). But in other texts the dead in Hades are equals and their bodily forms are reduced to bare bones; see Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 5.1-2.

³³ The “shame” of Sheol was already a concept that would be familiar to some members of Mark’s audience. See the descriptions of those who are relegated to a more remote place in Sheol because they are uncircumcised or die by the sword (Ps 88:5-6; Isa 14:16-19; Ezek 26; 31-32). In these passages banishment to the more remote parts of Sheol is a punishment for pride and arrogance.

³⁴ For a discussion of the emotional impact of *ekphrasis* and the importance of resonating with the audience’s own “visual vocabulary” see Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.3.67-9, 71 and the discussion of Webb’s analysis p. 90-92 above.

³⁵ In order to compare the rhetoric of description in Mark with other NT texts, see Appendix D.

b. Q 10,15 and 12, 4-5

In addition to the Marcan material, the concept of “hell” was also present in Q. Since there are some obvious barriers to discussing the rhetorical orientation of a hypothetical source, our analysis will focus instead upon the manner in which Q is interpreted in Matthew and Luke. In Q 10, 13-15 Jesus pronounces “woes” against Chorazin and Bethsaida and predicts Capernaum’s descent to Hades.³⁶ A cursory examination of the source-critical evidence demonstrates that there are only a few differences between Matt 11:20-24 and its parallel in Luke 10:12-15.³⁷ Primarily, Matthew has created an introduction (11:20) which utilizes the language of vv.21-24,³⁸ and differs from Luke with regard to a few verbal

³⁶ See James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffman, and John S. Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 182–87.

³⁷ Luz cites Matt 11.20-24 as a “classic example of tradition-oriented redaction,” only adding to Q the introductory material (v.20), the expansion of the judgment of Capernaum (v.23b), and the phrase ἡμέρα κρίσεως (vv. 22, 24). See Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8-20: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 151.

³⁸ Bultmann categorizes Matt 11:20 as a “seam” that was composed by the author in order to link the material in vv. 21-24 to the preceding narrative. Likewise, Luz notes that Matthew composed v.20 using language from the following sayings. Joseph A. Comber observes that the vocabulary of Matt 11.20 betrays “Matthew’s editorial hand,” making important connections with the expectation of hostile reception in cities in the Missionary Discourse of chapter 10 and the calls to repentance in Matt 3:2 and 4:17. See Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 333; Joseph A. Comber, “The

forms and phrases.³⁹ However, further analysis reveals that Matt 11:20-24 utilizes Q material in a unique way, which reorients the sayings towards the concerns of Matthew's own audience.⁴⁰ This Q material likely belonged in the context of the missionary discourse (Luke 10:13-15) and was moved by Matthew, who then crafted a narrative transition

Composition and Literary Characteristics of Matt 11.20-24," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 498-99; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 151.

³⁹ For instance, Matt 11:21 has the active verb ἐγένοντο while Luke 10:13 has the passive form ἐγενήθησαν. In Matt 11:21 Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲱ), and Codex Ephraemi (C) report another verb that is found in the Lucan parallel, καθήμενοι, so that Luke 10:13 reads "sitting in sackcloth and ashes." Matt 11:22 has the formula "truly I say to you" whereas Luke 10:14 just has "truly"; Matt 11:22 has "on the day of Judgment" (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως) whereas Luke 10:14 has "at the judgment" (ἐν τῇ κρίσει).

⁴⁰ Bultmann thinks that this passage is a "community formulation" for two major reasons: 1) Jesus' words treat the "deeds of power" and the failure of the mission in Capernaum as past events, and 2) Jesus would not have been able to imagine Capernaum's exaltation to heaven as a result of his activity. See Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 112. Davies and Allison take issue with both parts of Bultmann's thesis. See W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew: Matthew 8-18* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 236-37. Luz argues for the authenticity of the saying more forcefully, pointing to its similarity to other genuine sayings in Luke 11:31-32 and 13:28-29. See Luz, *Matthew 8-20: A Commentary*, 152; also Robinson, Hoffman, and Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q*, 182-87.

(11:20) for its new placement in the Gospel.⁴¹ Matthew also expanded the speech against Capernaum (originally only 11:23a) in order to create strict parallelism with the woes against Chorazin and Bethsaida. By relocating the material that is present in abbreviated form at the beginning of Luke's Woes (Luke 10:12) and creating this strict parallelism, Matthew heightens the importance of the two woes against Chorazin and Bethsaida.⁴² While Matthew's redaction accentuates the rhetorical force of this description, the *enargeia* of the unrepentant cities on the day of judgment is already present in the original Q logion.

In Q 12, 2-9 (Matt 10:26-33/Luke 12:2-9) Gehenna is utilized as a demonstration of God's sovereignty over and against human capacities for violence.⁴³ The logion begins by exhorting the audience "not to fear"⁴⁴

⁴¹ Cf. Luz, *Matthew 8-20: A Commentary*, 151, contra Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 234, 236-37. Davies and Allison conclude that Q followed Matthew's order, with the woes occurring after the mission discourse. In Luke this material (10:13-15) interrupts the logical connection between 10:12 and 10:16, which "implies that Luke 10:13-15 did not originally belong to Q's mission discourse." However, the tripartite structure of Matt 11-12 adduced by Davies and Allison actually provides stronger evidence for Luz's hypothesis, namely, that Matthew was reordering the Q material to create a new literary structure and emphasis.

⁴² Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 237; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 152.

⁴³ Robinson, Hoffman, and Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q*, 290-307.

⁴⁴ Matt 10:28 uses the present middle imperative φοβεῖσθε, whereas Luke 12:4-5 has the aorist passive subjunctive φοβηθῆτε. While Luke's formulation still conveys the same sense and the prohibition through the aorist subjunctive, Matthew's use of the

those who are seeking to do them bodily harm.⁴⁵ Matthew places the saying in his Missionary Discourse as part of his “tradition of martyrdom paraenesis.”⁴⁶ In Matthew, then, the Q material retains the paraenetic orientation of the source, exhorting the audience to proclaim the gospel boldly no matter the consequences.⁴⁷

present imperative indicates continuing action: “do not go on fearing,” or “stop being afraid.”

⁴⁵ Commentators agree that Matthew is most likely following Q here (with a few stylistic emendations), while Luke 12:2-9 is heavily redacted. Thus, the emphasis on hypocrisy in Luke is likely a later addition, and not part of the Q saying. See I. Howard Marshall, “Fear Him Who Can Destroy Both Soul and Body in Hell: Mt 10:28; Luke 12:4f.,” *ExpTim* 81 (1970): 277; Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 206; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 98.

⁴⁶ Luz, *Matthew 8-20: a Commentary*, 101, argues that this passage, when read in light of Matt 5:11-12; 10:17-22; 22:6; 23:34-36, depicts a community that was persecuted and facing the possibility of martyrdom. Likewise, Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 205, argue that this passage has a parallel in 2 Macc 6:26 and 4 Macc 13:14, indicating a situation of possible martyrdom. And yet, there is little evidence that actual “martyrdom” was on the horizon for this community. There are no firm indicators of formal persecution in this period, but the texts that Luz isolates do point to a preoccupation with the bodily risks of discipleship. These references may refer to persecution and threats of physical violence more generally.

⁴⁷ As Luz, *Matthew 8-20: a Commentary*, 99 notes, Matthew’s exhortation also follows the wisdom gnome of Matt 10:26-27, reading as a continuation of Jesus’ teaching on the proclamation of the gospel.

In Luke the Q material is introduced by a warning to avoid the hypocrisy of the Pharisees (12:1), casting the exhortation of Matt 10:27 as a promise that all hypocrites will be brought into the light (Luke 12:3).⁴⁸ In Luke 12:4-5, the Q material is used to encourage the audience, promising that hypocrites do not have the same power as the sovereign God who is able to cast people into Gehenna.⁴⁹ What is more, Luke's redaction of Q 12, 4-5 effaces the body/soul dichotomy that is preserved in Matthew.⁵⁰ Since Matt 10:26-31 appears to be following Q,

⁴⁸ Q 12, 3 is preserved in a more primitive form in Luke than in Matthew (see the use of future passive verbs), but Luke has added "behind closed doors" and the context of "hypocrisy." Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1981), 956; Charles H Talbert, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 140.

⁴⁹ Johnson argues that "the point of the saying is that fear of absolute power relativizes other fears." See Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (Sacra Pagina; Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1991), 195; also, Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 957, who argues that "Loss of the life to 'the body' may cause fear; but it is nothing compared with that which one should have for him who has authority to hurl one into Gehenna, i.e. God himself."

⁵⁰ Compare Matt 10:28 and Luke 12:4-5. Where Matthew exhorts readers to "fear him who can destroy both soul and body in Gehenna," Luke encourages readers to "fear him who, after he has killed, has authority to cast into Gehenna." For possible explanations of this discrepancy see Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 194; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 101.

Johnson suggests that "Luke's periphrasis may reflect a Hellenistic discomfort with the

but has a very different rhetorical orientation from that of Luke 12:2-9, we can conclude that the original Q logion may have contained the germ of what Luz has termed “martyrdom paraenesis,” but that this theme was amplified by Matthean arrangement.

IV. The Pedagogical Function of Eternal Punishment among Matthew’s Contemporaries⁵¹

There are also sections of Luke, James, 2 Peter, and Revelation in which “hell” appears in an instructional context.⁵² These passages

idea of killing what was widely considered immortal.” Luz notes that the distinction between the body humans can kill and the soul they cannot kill reflects the influence of “Greek dichotomous anthropology on wide circles of Judaism.” Thus, Matthew retains the dualistic anthropology and Luke changes it because it does not go far enough to convey the immortality of the soul. Alternatively Chaim Milikowsky has suggested that the passage is changed by Luke “so that it no longer refers to a corporeal, eschatological hell but to a post-mortem, incorporeal hell of souls.” See Chaim Milikowsky, “Which Gehenna: Retribution and Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and in Early Jewish Texts,” *NTS* 34 (1988): 242. While Milikowsky’s comparison of hell in Matthew and Luke is provocative, he attempts to construct consistent theologies of the afterlife from a few isolated sayings.

⁵¹ Strictly speaking, Luke is perhaps the only one of these documents that was written near the precise time of Matthew’s composition. However, for our purposes these documents will be considered together as having been written within a very early stage of the development of early Christian *paideia*.

⁵² In order to compare the use of *enargeia* in the NT texts discussed here, see Appendix D. There are other passages in the NT that mention hell but do not share the

demonstrate that this was becoming an increasingly common rhetorical strategy for early Christians. In each of these texts the concept of eternal punishment is central to the ethical education of the readers, but does not carry the place of prominence that this theme has in Matthew.

a. Luke

Luke contains the three pieces of Q material which are found in Matt 10:28; 11:23; 25:31-46; Luke 10:15; 12:5; 13:22-30, as well as one uniquely Lukan formulation in Luke 16:19-31.⁵³ Each of these passages is found in Luke's special section (Luke 9:51-18:14) in places where

pedagogical rhetoric that is found in the texts under discussion here. In Acts 2 and 1 Pet 3:18-22 the underworld is juxtaposed with the resurrected Jesus, as an opportunity for theological reflection on Jesus' victory over the grave. Likewise, Paul refers to the eternal judgment of "sinners" or the "wicked," but does so in general terms (See 1 Thess 1:10; 5:3; 1 Cor 15:5; Rom 2:5-11). Paul's references to God's wrath upon the "wicked" share the rhetorical orientation of the "two ways" motif within the Hebrew Bible, emphasizing the choice one has between "wickedness" and life "in Christ." For a fuller discussion of afterlife imagery in Paul's letters, see Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Otherworld and the New Age in the Letters of Paul," in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (ed. Tobias Nicklas et al.; Boston: Brill, 2010), 189–207.

⁵³ See Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 53–57, on the dating of Luke's gospel. Fitzmyer places Luke's gospel between the fall of the Jerusalem temple and the collection and circulation of Paul's letters (80-85 C.E.).

Jesus is teaching.⁵⁴ In particular, the Lazarus narrative in Luke 16:19-31 uses a dramatic depiction of heaven and hell⁵⁵ for pedagogical ends.

The parable of the rich man and Lazarus has a rich history of interpretation, dominated by two major lines of inquiry. There are those who follow the work of Gressmann, arguing that the Egyptian story of Setme and Si-Osiris is the source for Luke's story of the "reversal of fortunes" in the afterlife.⁵⁶ In response to Gressmann and his followers, a second group of scholars has offered other examples of the "reversal of

⁵⁴ For a brief discussion of the role of paraenesis in the Lukan travel narrative, see David H. Gill, "Observations on the Lukan Travel Narrative and Some Related Passages," *HTR* 63 (1970): 200, n.3.

⁵⁵ Although some have tried to make a sharp distinction between the terms "Hades" and "Gehenna" in the NT, the fact that they never occur in the same context makes it difficult to tell whether any of the authors distinguished between the two, or if they had become interchangeable by the NT period. If anything, there is evidence that Luke uses the term Hades to indicate a final abode of the dead, and not an interim abode (as is commonly argued by those who wish to see a sharp distinction between Hades and Gehenna in the New Testament). See Outi Lehtipuu, *The Afterlife Imagery in Luke's Story of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (NovTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 297.

⁵⁶ See Hugo Gressmann, *Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus: Eine literargeschichtliche Studie* (Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918). For an excellent summary of the scholarship which followed Gressmann's hypothesis, see Ronald F. Hock, "Lazarus and Micylus: Greco-Roman Backgrounds to Luke 16:19-31," *JBL* 106 (1987): 449-51.

fortunes” trope in Greek and Latin literature,⁵⁷ demonstrating that the Egyptian parallel may not be the only story in the mind of Luke 16’s author (or his reader’s).

For instance, Outi Lehtipuu argues that the afterlife imagery of Luke 16:19-31 functions to “strengthen the moral exhortation,” similar to the way that descriptions of Hades function in Plato’s *Republic*, as well as in the writings of Cicero, Ps.-Plato, and Plutarch.⁵⁸ Similarly, François Bovon⁵⁹ has argued that although the story speaks of the “dead,” it carries a set of ethical instructions for the “living.”⁶⁰ In this manner Bovon sees Luke 16:19-31 as primarily didactic, encouraging Luke’s

⁵⁷ See Richard Bauckham, “The Rich Man and Lazarus: The Parable and the Parallels,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 97–118; François Bovon, *L’Evangile Selon Saint Luc III, 15:1-19:27* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991), 104–105; Michael J. Gilmour, “Hints of Homer in Luke 16:19-31,” *Did* 10 (1999): 23–33; Hock, “Lazarus and Micylus”; Frank Witt Hughes, “The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31) and Graeco-Roman Rhetoric,” in *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 29–41.

⁵⁸ Lehtipuu, *Afterlife Imagery*, 170.

⁵⁹ I am grateful to François Bovon for directing me to his argument regarding the pedagogical function of hell in Luke 16, and for taking the time to discuss with me the broader development of this idea in early Christianity.

⁶⁰ “Parlant des morts, le récit s’adresse aux vivants: à la différence du riche qui ne s’en sort pas, parce qu’il est vraiment trop tard pour lui, les vivants, à l’écoute de cette histoire, ont encore le temps, celui de se convertir.” Bovon, *L’Evangile Selon Saint Luc III, 15:1-19:27*, 103.

readers to choose “sharing and equity” in this life in order to avoid the fate of the rich man in the hereafter.⁶¹

Lehtipuu and Bovon’s arguments for the paraenetic function of Luke 16:19-31 are bolstered when we compare the rhetorical orientation of Luke’s afterlife account with those found in the Greek and Latin authors.⁶² Although several scholars have utilized Greco-Roman rhetoric in their interpretation of Luke 16, none of them has looked to the ancient rhetoric of description in order to illuminate the passage,⁶³ ignoring a key

⁶¹ “De façon didactique, le texte envisage les destinées de ces deux seuls hommes et les oppose sans nuance: à toi τὰ ἀγαθὰ, «les biens» dans ta vie terrestre, à lui (ὁμοίως, «pareillement» symétriquement, dans sa vie terrestre à lui) τὰ κακὰ «Les maux.» *Hic et nunc*, la situation s'est inversée; νῦν, «maintenant» et ὧδε, «ici», il a fallu inverser le sort de chacun. Pourquoi? pour rétablir l'équité et pour inciter le lecteur à choisir un sort qui ne ressemble ni à celui du rich dans l'au-delà, ni à celui du pauvre, ici-bas. La stratégie du texte conduit le lecteur à accomplir le choix éthique à prendre cette décision en faveur du partage et de l'équité.” Bovon, *L'Évangile Selon Saint Luc III*, 111.

⁶² Lehtipuu’s own work provides a superb comparison of the distinct literary features of the various accounts of the afterlife in antiquity. Lehtipuu, *Afterlife Imagery*, 55–87.

⁶³ Gilmour, “Hints of Homer in Luke 16,” 27-29, argues more generally that Homer influenced the genre of underworld literature, which in turn influenced Luke. While the essence of Gilmour’s argument is correct, the parallels he draws between *Od.* 11 and Luke 16 are misguided. For example, Gilmour reads a “chasm of separation” in *Od.* 11, whereas the separation in *Odyssey* is material (you can’t touch the dead because they are ghost like) and not spatial (as it is in Luke). Likewise, Hock, “Lazarus

rhetorical feature of the Greek and Latin depictions of the afterlife.⁶⁴

There are three places in which this parable makes use of *enargeia* in order to bring the plights of Lazarus and the rich man “before the eyes” of the audience: 1) the description of Lazarus’s earthly suffering, 2) the depiction of the rich man’s eternal torment, and 3) the rich man’s desperate request that Lazarus deliver the news of his torment to his brothers.

First, Luke describes Lazarus’s suffering. Lazarus is “poor,” “covered with sores,” “longing to eat scraps from the rich man’s table” and the “dogs were coming to lick his sores” (16:20-21). Lazarus’s condition is made even more pitiful by way of comparison to the enviable position of the rich man. The rich man’s luxury is part of the *enargeia* of Lazarus’s suffering, contrasting fine clothes and daily banqueting

and Micyllus,” 456-63, gives a nod to the rhetoric behind Greek and Latin depictions of hell with his discussion of σύγκρισις and ἠθοποιία in the *Progymnasmata*. However, Hock’s analysis quickly turns toward philosophical affinities between Lucian and Luke, abandoning his discussion of the rhetorical orientation of both texts. Hughes, “The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus,” 36-38, critiques Hock, arguing that the texts from Lucian that Hock cites are part of the rhetorical tradition of declamations, which had as their subject the conflicts between Rich Man and Poor Man. Hughes goes on to argue that Luke, having been trained in rhetoric, could have easily crafted one of these declamations in the genre of Rich vs. Poor without a source.

⁶⁴ See fuller discussion of the rhetoric of description in Chapter 3 above.

(16:19)⁶⁵ with Lazarus's physical discomfort, hunger and humiliation. Luke's juxtaposition of the conditions of riches and poverty in vv. 19-21 could also be classified as an example of *koinos topos*, relying upon culturally recognized images of sin and righteousness in order to elicit an emotional response from the readers.⁶⁶

Next, Luke depicts the suffering that the rich man undergoes after death. The rich man is in "Hades," "being tormented," is "in agony in the flames," and "looks up" to see Lazarus dwelling peacefully with Abraham (16:23-24).⁶⁷ Just as the audience of Plato's *Republic* saw the differentiated fates of the righteous and the unjust through Er's

⁶⁵ Johnson argues that the verb used to describe the rich man's feasting indicates the kind of "opulence and overdone sumptuousness found in Amos 6:4-7 or "the Dinner at Trimalchio's" in Petronius' *Satyricon*; cf. also Juvenal, *Satires* 11:120-160 and Lucian *Dream* 7-15." See Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 252.

⁶⁶ Compare these images of riches and poverty with those found in Lucian, *Men.* 14-15, 20, *Dial. mort.* 1.3. On *koinos topos* as a rhetorical device, see Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.31-2 and Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 76-77. See also the exercises on *koinos topos* that are found in Theon *Progymnasmata* 109.3-11; ps.-Hermogenes *Progymnasmata* 6.12-13; Aphthonius *Progymnasmata* 7.32-25; Nicholas *Progymnasmata* 7.35-47. For a fuller discussion, see pp. 94-96 above.

⁶⁷ Scholars have noted that this contrast between the torment of the rich man in Hades and the comfort of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom is the realization of the Beatitudes and Woes of Luke 6:20, 24. See Bovon, *L'Evangile Selon Saint Luc III, 15:1-19:27*, 111; Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 255-6.

perception of the underworld (*Resp.* 10.614C-D), the audience of Luke 16 is able to “see” the disparate conditions of the rich man and Lazarus through the eyes of the rich man.⁶⁸ As the rich man calls out to Abraham, he describes his own torment using sensory language that would allow Luke’s audience to feel as if they were present in Hades themselves: “Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue; for I am in agony in these flames” (Luke 16:24).⁶⁹

Finally, the rich man’s request that Lazarus warn his brothers brings the rich man’s torment and desperation “before the eyes” of Luke’s readers, requiring them to imagine the future suffering of the rich man’s brothers. The rich man’s dialogue with Abraham is focused on his belief that “if someone goes to them from the dead, they will repent” (Luke 16:30).⁷⁰ By invoking the image of the resurrection from the dead, the rich man indicates the severity of his suffering and the urgency he feels

⁶⁸ For further discussion on the language of perception in *ekphrasis* see pp. 102-107 above.

⁶⁹ Apart from the descriptive elements of the passage, the rich man’s words also indicate that he recognized Lazarus (and was thus aware of his neglect), and that he was still arrogantly treating Lazarus as a servant in the afterlife, asking that he do his bidding. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 256; Robert C Tannehill, *Luke* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 253.

⁷⁰ The groveling of the rich man in Luke 16 reminds one of the emotional response of Thespesius in Plutarch, *Sera* 566F.

regarding his brothers' repentance. Parallel to Er's commission to "give ear and observe everything" in the underworld (*Resp.* 10.614C), the rich man's plea makes the pedagogical function of Luke 16 explicit: Luke's readers are meant to learn from these images of torment and tranquility. But Abraham's response drives home the ethical message of the pericope: care for the poor is not a new message, and those who ignored the message in the first place (i.e. in Moses and the prophets)⁷¹ are just as likely to ignore the teachings of the resurrected Jesus.⁷²

Each of these examples of *enargeia* relies upon the culturally recognizable images of poverty and wealth as righteous and sinful. What is more, they elicit an emotional response from the audience in order to

⁷¹ Lehtipuu, *Afterlife Imagery*, 165, has argued that "the prophets" refers specifically to Isaiah 58:7.

⁷² Bovon, *L'Evangile Selon Saint Luc III, 15:1-19:27*, 113, reads the last two verses of this pericope as kerygmatic material inserted by Luke as a commentary on the audience's need to accept the early Christian *paideia* of the resurrection by means of conversion and faith. Likewise, Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 256, argues, "The reader cannot miss the reference in 16:31 to the resurrection of Jesus, whom the leaders will reject yet another time when they refuse to hear the words of the apostles in the narrative of Acts." In contrast, Bauckham, "The Rich Man and Lazarus: The Parable and the Parallels," 118, has concluded that Abraham's refusal of the rich man's request directs "attention away from an apocalyptic revelation of the afterlife back to the inexcusable injustice of the coexistence of rich and poor." While this may be true for Abraham's implied audience, for the readers of Luke 16:19-31, the images of Lazarus and the rich man suffering are still powerfully present.

demonstrate the importance of ethical education via “Moses and the prophets.” Thus, Luke utilized the rhetorical principles of *enargeia* in order to bring the “great chasm” between Lazarus and the rich man “before the eyes” of the readers. By making the readers feel like eyewitnesses to this afterlife scene Luke graphically depicts the “two ways” that are before the audience: wickedness verses adherence to the *paideia* that is found in Moses and the prophets, fiery torment verses eternal life in Abraham’s bosom.⁷³ Unlike Matthew, however, Luke does not make eternal punishment a central theme of his gospel. Instead, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus is one eschatological image among many in Luke’s gospel that are used in service of paraenetic aims.⁷⁴

b. James

In James 3:6 the imagery of Gehenna as a fiery place of punishment is employed to warn the audience about the potential harm that can be done with one’s “tongue.”⁷⁵ Unlike the more extensive

⁷³ For a discussion of the image of “Father Abraham” that is presented in Luke 16:22 (and not that of Abraham reclining at the table), see Martin O’Kane, “The Bosom of Abraham’ (Luke 16:22): Father Abraham in the Visual Imagination,” *BibInt* 15 (2007): 485–518.

⁷⁴ Lehtipuu, *Afterlife Imagery*, 237-41, has argued convincingly that “eschatological teaching and its coherence is not of primary interest to Luke or the key for understanding his writing but it serves other, more practical aims” (237).

⁷⁵ On the dating of James, see Martin Dibelius, *James: Commentary on the Epistle of James* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 45–46, who argues that James was

descriptions that are found in Mark, Q, and Luke, James relies upon only a few words to convey his message.⁷⁶ Here, the fire of Gehenna is simply one image among many that is used by the author of James to impart his ethical instructions regarding the importance of righteous speech.⁷⁷ With each of these images Jas 3 emphasizes the relationship between one's tongue, or speech, and his entire body. Duane Watson notes that the comparative illustrations used in Jas 3:1-12 are traditional Greek images for discussing the importance of careful speech.⁷⁸ While Dibelius saw this traditional imagery as evidence that James utilized an outside source containing "school material,"⁷⁹ other

likely written between 80-130 C.E.. In contrast, Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Letter of James: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 118–23, argues that James was written much earlier, and was from a Palestinian Jewish Christian source.

⁷⁶ For examples of *ekphrasis* which consist of only one or two lines of epic verse, see the description of Thersites in *Iliad* 2.246-255 and 281-286 and the description of Eurybates in *Od.* 19.279-284.

⁷⁷ In addition to hell fire, James also compares the tongue to the bit of a horse's bridle, the rudder of a ship, and a fire.

⁷⁸ Duane F. Watson, "The Rhetoric of James 3:1-12 and a Classical Pattern of Argumentation," *NovT* 35 (1993): 58. Watson notes, "The traditional nature of these illustrations is in evidence in the large number of rare words and *hapax legomena* in this section."

⁷⁹ Dibelius, *James*, 128–30, argues that James is not writing to address the teachers in the church, or even a particular instance of unrighteous speech. Rather, Jas 3 is

scholars have inferred that this material is the result of the author's own rhetorical training or basic *paideia*.⁸⁰ In either case, Jas 3:1-12 is an example of an early Christian author employing the educational techniques of the Greco-Roman world while drawing upon imagery from Greek and Latin texts as well as Jewish apocalyptic literature and the Hebrew Bible.

The image of Gehenna is used in particular to depict the tongue as an "evil" member, with vast destructive power to "stain the whole body" (Jas 3:6).⁸¹ In the context of the argument, Gehenna is the pinnacle of the negative images amassed here.⁸² Occurring within the portion of

written with the universal human condition in mind, offering general paraenesis to show the danger of the tongue to his whole audience as issues of improper speech are bound to arise (since this is a universal problem).

⁸⁰ Johnson, *James*, 253–66; Watson, "The Rhetoric of James 3," 64.

⁸¹ Dibelius, *James*, 198; Johnson, *James*, 253–66. Dibelius sees the reference to Gehenna as a word play, contending that "it cannot be seriously considered that this hell-fire is the fire of punishment." Johnson emphasizes that the imagery used to characterize the destructive power of the tongue deviates from the standard treatment of taciturn speech among the Hellenistic moralists (i.e. control of speech as a virtue in Plutarch, *On Garrulousness* 4 [Mor.503E-540C] or the tongue as venomous in Lucian, *The Runaways* 19). In James the emphasis is far more religious since human behavioral norms are set by the speech and action of God (264).

⁸² Watson, "The Rhetoric of James 3," 59-60, is an example of "amplification by accumulation," with each successive image more negative than the last. For optimal

James's argument that was designed to "intensify emotion" (*amplificatio/exclamatio*), the reference to Gehenna in Jas 3:6 is part of the larger *enargeia* of the tongue in Jas 3, intended to evoke an emotional response from the audience.⁸³ Thus, the *enargeia* of the "tongue set on fire by Gehenna" serves to persuade the audience through a series of familiar and increasingly negative images.⁸⁴ As Luke Timothy Johnson has argued, James's "hell" imagery is not merely invoked as an example of destructive fire, but as means of juxtaposing the "two ways" that are before James' audience: righteousness and wickedness, the way of God and the way of the devil.⁸⁵

rhetorical effect the author concludes the list with the climactic depiction of the "origin of the tongue's fire in hell itself."

⁸³ Watson, "The Rhetoric of James 3," 58–59, explains that *amplificatio* is "a sort of weightier affirmation designed to win credence in the course of speaking by arousing emotion." See Cicero, *Part. or.* 15.53.

⁸⁴ Dibelius, *James*, 191-92; Duane F. Watson, "The Rhetoric of James 3," 59, both suggest that Jas 3:5-6 relies upon the imagery of a) "a brush fire commonly feared in the dry conditions of Palestine" or b) "the idea of a spark igniting a forest fire." For these depictions of rampant fire, see Homer, *Il.* 2.455-558; Pindar, *Pyth.* 3.36-37; Ps 83:14; Isa 9:18; 10:15-19; Philo, *Decal.* 173.

⁸⁵ Johnson, *James*, 265, "When James says that the tongue is 'inflamed by Gehenna' (3:6), he does more than evoke the symbolic world of Judaism. He points to the cosmic dualism underlying the 'two ways' of disposing human freedom. The rule of God in the world is opposed by the work of the devil. This theme is developed more fully in the call to conversion that will immediately follow this discourse on speech

James 3:6 indicates to the audience that “the tongue is a fire...and is itself set on fire by Gehenna,” providing an image of one’s speech as a potential instrument of vast destruction, able to spread and devour anything in its path. The *enargeia* of the tongue in Jas 3:6 depends upon the common understanding of fire and its potential for destruction, as well as the association of Gehenna with wickedness and fire.⁸⁶ As Richard Bauckham has noted, James invokes the apocalyptic imagery of Gehenna to augment his wisdom instructions regarding ethical speech.⁸⁷

(3:13-4:10).” In this regard, the reference to Gehenna in James is reminiscent of the Hebrew Bible concept of the “two ways.” See pp. 48-50 above.

⁸⁶ For Hebrew Bible texts that refer to the destructive power of fire see Gen 19:24; Exod 9:23-24; 22:6; Deut 5:23; 32:22 (here associated with Sheol); Judg 9:15-20; Job 31:12 (here associated with Abaddon); Ps 11:6; 18:8; 21:9; 97:3; Prov 30:16 (here associated with Sheol); Lam 4:11. Gehenna was associated early on with the burning of children as sacrifices to Molech, which was condemned in 2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 7:31-32; 19:2, 6; 32:35. As Himmelfarb argues, “The fiery associations of Gehinnom precede its development into hell.” Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 108.

⁸⁷ Richard Bauckham, “The Tongue Set on Fire by Hell (James 3:6),” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 123, 125–26, argues that Jas 3:6 is actually a reference to the punishment of the tongue *in* hell. Bauckham’s parallels for the burning of the tongue in hell, however, are all hanging punishments that do not involve fire. Additionally, the use of the preposition ὑπό with the genitive τῆς γέεννης (literally “by Gehenna”) is a peculiar way to communicate the concept of a punishment happening “in” Gehenna.

By placing this description of the tongue “before the eyes” of the audience, the author of James moves the audience to fear the destructive power of unrighteous speech. While the educational rhetoric of Jas 3:6 relies upon an understanding of the punishment that occurs in Gehenna, these punishments are not the primary source of *paideia*. Within James this is an isolated reference to the fire of Gehenna, and one apocalyptic image among several that the author employs to educate his audience.⁸⁸

c. 2 Peter

Parallel to James’s use of Gehenna, the reference to Tartarus in 2 Pet 2:4 is one image among many that is used paraenetically in the epistle. While Jas 3:6 addresses behavioral norms, 2 Pet 2:4 is part of a denunciation of the author’s opponents.⁸⁹ Several scholars have already examined the rhetoric of 2 Peter, analyzing the formal structure of the letter and developing hypotheses regarding the identity of the author’s

⁸⁸ The author also employs the imagery of demons (2:19), the devil (4:7), and the condemnation of the rich at the eschaton (5:1-6).

⁸⁹ On the dating of 2 Peter see Richard Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1983), 157–58. Bauckham dates 2 Pet to 80-90 C.E., primarily due to his understanding of the opponents’ objection in 3:4. However, as Raymond Brown has noted, the author’s knowledge of a Pauline corpus suggests a later date, perhaps closer to 130 C.E. Raymond Edward Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 767.

opponents (ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, 2 Pet 2:1).⁹⁰ Most of these arguments regarding the rhetorical structure of 2 Peter focus on the logic of the author's argument.

In contrast, Lauri Thurén argues that the use of rhetoric in 2 Peter is not concerned with logical arguments, but with the “modification of values at the emotional level.”⁹¹ In Thurén's assessment of the rhetoric of 2 Peter the author of the letter emphasizes “his own *ethos*, the reliability of the message of Peter, and the apostolic interpretation of the Old Testament.”⁹² Through the epistle's solemn style,⁹³ the author of 2 Peter

⁹⁰ For thorough investigations into the rhetorical structure of 2 Pet, see Duane F. Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter* (Decatur, Ga.: Scholars, 1988); Jerome H. Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1993). Both Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 113-18, and Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style*, 85-86, classify 2 Peter as an example of deliberative rhetoric. However, Watson also notes that some sections of the letter deviate from this style, including 2 Pet 1:16-2:10a, which he classifies as judicial rhetoric.

⁹¹ Lauri Thurén, “Style Never Goes out of Fashion: 2 Peter Re-evaluated,” in *Rhetoric, Scripture and Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1996), 345.

⁹² Lauri Thurén, “Style,” 343-44, contra Duane F. Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter* (Decatur, Ga: Scholars, 1988), 82-87. While Thurén agrees with Watson that the opponents' misinterpretation of the delay of the *parousia* is the “logical” aim of 2Peter, he argues that this issue is not the “whole picture.” Instead, 2Peter's claim to *ethos* via apostolic authority and solemn style

is primarily attempting to establish *ethos* by setting up a stark contrast between the apostolic faith (of which he is a representative) and the licentiousness of his opponents.⁹⁴

This kind of persuasive argument is accomplished through an appeal to the emotions of the audience. Second Peter appeals to emotion by employing common images that appeal to a broad audience. When compared with Jude, one is able to see that the author of 2 Peter chose imagery that appealed to a broader cultural milieu.⁹⁵ A prime example of

reveals that the central aim of the letter is to move the readers emotionally to modify their allegiance.

⁹³ Thurén, “Style Never Goes out of Fashion,” 345, notes that the emphasis on noble style was a common rhetorical device in ancient literature as a means of gaining *ethos*.

⁹⁴ Thurén, “Style,” 345. demonstrates that “the opponents are portrayed with dark colours and simultaneously much more specifically than in Jude.” For instance, compare the language of Jude 12 and 2 Pet 2:1.

⁹⁵ Bradley Billings argues that in 2 Pet 2 “...two streams of tradition are drawn together and two thought worlds combined. The effect of this is to maximize the reach and appeal of the exhortation to both Jews and Christians steeped in the Old Testament and the related literature, and to Greeks and Romans schooled in pagan mythology.” See Bradley S. Billings, “The Angels Who Sinned...He Cast into Tartarus’ (2 Peter 2:4): Its Ancient Meaning and Present Relevance,” *ExpTim* 119 (2008): 535. While Billings’s hard and fast cultural categories do not reflect current thinking about the cultural realities of Hellenization, he and other scholars are correct in pointing to the cultural diversity of the imagery itself as evidence of the author’s rhetorical strategy. On the heuristic value of such categories see Candida R. Moss, “The

this is in 2 Pet 2:4 in which the Nephelim are cast into Tartarus, not Gehenna. This retelling of Gen 6 appeals to Jewish readers who are familiar with the LXX as well as Greek readers who know the myth of the Titans who are cast into Tartarus.⁹⁶ Richard Bauckham has argued that this imagery indicates that the author relied upon a paraenetic source in addition to the epistle of Jude.⁹⁷

Transfiguration: An Exercise in Markan Accommodation,” *BibInt* 12 (2004): 69–89. See also Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 132, who points to other Greek myths (the Greek Deucalion, the demise of Phaeton, and the Stoic “conflagration” and “regeneration” of the world) which may be alluded to in the text of 2 Peter.

⁹⁶ This Greek myth was preserved in Homer and Hesiod, and was thus likely a part of Greek and Roman *paideia*. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 715–30; Homer, *Il.* 8.11–19, cf. *Od.* 11. There is also some evidence that Hellenistic Jews and Christians were aware of the similarities between the story of the fall of the Watcher angels and these Greek myths. Both Josephus and the *Sibylline Oracles* compare the Watchers to Titans: Josephus, *Ant.* 1.73; *Sib. Or.* 2.231. The place of punishment for the Watchers is named Tartarus in the Greek recension of *1 En.* 20.2. Billings, “The Angels Who Sinned,” 535; Steven J. Kraftchick, *Jude, 2 Peter* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 2002), 126; Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 132, 202.

⁹⁷ Scholars concur that 2 Pet 2:1–3:3 is likely to be literarily dependent upon Jude 4–16. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 141–143; Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style*, 189; Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 120–122; Kraftchick, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 79–81. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 246–47, argues that the ordering and more “complete” list of God’s deliverance of the righteous suggests that the author of 2 Peter utilized a paraenetic tradition to correct and supplement the catalogue found in Jude 5–7.

Whether or not a paraenetic source lies behind the imagery of 2 Pet 2, the author's arrangement of his material reflects a conscious effort to persuade his readers through an appeal to the "visual vocabulary" of his diverse audience. The antitypes of the "wicked" are illustrated with examples from the Hebrew Bible, bringing the consequences of disobedience "before the eyes" of the readers through *koinos topos*.⁹⁸ The sinful angels are cast into Tartarus in "deepest darkness", and the "ungodly" who dwelled in Sodom and Gomorrah are turned to ashes (2 Pet 2:4, 6). These antitypes are contrasted with commonly recognized examples of the "righteous." Noah is a "herald of righteousness" and Lot is the "righteous man greatly distressed by the licentiousness of the lawless" (2 Pet 2:5, 7-8). After introducing the antitypes of the "wicked," the author of 2Peter elaborates on the vices of the "wicked," just as young rhetors learned to depict the *koinos topos* of a "murderer" by listing his vices:⁹⁹ they are "like irrational animals (2:12)," they "slander

⁹⁸ Kraftchick, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 129, summarizes: "The contrast is stark: disobedience to the will of God is a sign of disregard for his benevolence, while righteousness is the mark of those who rely on God for their ultimate rescue and delivery." Similarly, Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 196, argues, "Much of the power and clarity of the rhetoric derives from the repetition of key dualistic terms in the sentence."

⁹⁹ See Theon's example of the *koinos topos* of a murderer in *Progymnasmata* 109.3-11. As we discussed in Chapter 3, the paraenetic value of this rhetorical device lies in its ability to evoke emotions of anger, fear, and hatred from the audience and thus align their ethical judgment with that of the speaker.

what they do not understand (2:12),” “revel in the daytime (2:13),” their eyes are “full of adultery (2:14),” they entice unsteady souls (2:14),” and even once they have escaped their wickedness through the knowledge of Jesus, they backslide into an even worse state of debauchery than before (2:20). The dualistic rhetoric of this passage moves the text’s hearers to choose obedience to authority and reject the way of the wicked “false teachers.” The relegation of the Watchers to Tartarus in 2 Pet 2:4 is the author’s opening example, utilizing the punishment of the Nephalim in “hell” as a means for persuading his audience to transfer their negative emotions towards the Nephalim/Titans to his opponents, the “false teachers” (ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι).

d. Revelation

Just as Luke, James, and 2 Peter each have specific ethical or behavioral outcome to achieve through their rhetorical use of “hell,” Revelation uses the imagery of Hades, the lake of fire, and second death in order to encourage Christians to separate themselves from Roman culture.¹⁰⁰ In Rev 1:17-20 the reader is introduced to “one like the Son of

¹⁰⁰ The external evidence for Revelation’s composition is found in Irenaeus, who dates the book to 95-96 C.E. The internal evidence supports this dating, using imagery that places Revelation decisively after the destruction of the temple. For instance, the Apocalypse calls Rome “Babylon” and envisions a new Jerusalem without a temple. This evidence places the Apocalypse at the end of Domitian’s reign (81-96 C.E.), a time in which there was no official persecution of the church. See Adela Yarbro Collins,

Man” who has the “keys to death and Hades.”¹⁰¹ In this passage the Apocalypse refers to Hades in the same phrase as “death,” which for some readers might simply evoke the Hebrew Bible concept of Sheol as the place for all of the dead.¹⁰² Thus this reference to Hades is used at the outset of the Apocalypse as a means of characterizing the Son of Man as a being with power over life and death.¹⁰³ Likewise, in Rev 6:1-17 Death and Hades are mentioned as characters in the narrative of the Apocalypse as a means of reinforcing the idea that there are grave consequences for worshipping the beast.¹⁰⁴ In this passage the fourth seal is opened, Death and Hades emerge personified, and they are given

Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 76-77.

¹⁰¹ The image of possessing the keys to Death and Hades has its closest parallel in the Orphic images of Hecate as κλειδοῦχος. See Orph. *frag.* 316; *Orphic Hymns* 1.7. David Edward Aune, *Revelation 1-5* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1997), 104-5.

¹⁰² David Edward Aune, *Revelation 6-16* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1997), 401, argues that death always precedes Hades in the four references to this pair in Revelation (1:18; 6:8; 20:13, 14), indicating that “death” reins over “Hades.” Aune also argues that in Rev 1:18 τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾗδου are objective genitives, and thus use hendiadys to refer to a place.

¹⁰³ As Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 105, has noted, the image of keybearer is one that connotes power over some kind of cosmic force (life, death, the weather etc.).

¹⁰⁴ In this way, the combination of Death and Hades in Rev 1 and 6 mirrors the Hebrew Bible passages in which the abode of the dead is drawn into discussions about death. See Chapter 2, pp.37-42.

the authority to kill a quarter of the earth “with sword, famine, pestilence and by the wild animals of the earth” (Rev 6:7-8).¹⁰⁵

While the cultural or ethical “lesson” is not transparent in the immediate context of either Rev 1:17-20 or Rev 6:1-17, the Apocalypse of John as a whole relies upon *ekphrasis* in order to elicit an emotional response from the audience.¹⁰⁶ Within the Apocalypse as a whole the *ekphrastic* depictions of the eschaton encourage the reader to see the rejection of the Roman political order as Christian virtue.¹⁰⁷ Thus, one could read these references to Hades as a part of Revelation’s use of vivid imagery to shape the cultural outlook of early Christian readers.

Later in the Apocalypse the use of eschatological judgment as part of the ethical pedagogy of the text is made more explicit. Revelation

¹⁰⁵ As Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 401–402, notes, the imagery of Hades personified occurs in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 28:15, 18; Hos 13:14; Hab 2:5; Ps 18:5-6; 49:14; 116:3), Jewish apocalyptic (3Bar. 4:6; *Sib.Or.* 3:393, 480) and in Greek mythology (Homer, *Il.* 15.188; Hesiod, *Theog.* 455).

¹⁰⁶ For other examples of *ekphrasis* in John’s Apocalypse, see Adela Yarbro Collins, “The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” in *1900th Anniversary of Saint John’s Apocalypse: Proceedings of the International and Interdisciplinary Symposium* (Athens: Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian in Patmos, 1999), 449–64.

¹⁰⁷ This use of *ekphrasis* in order to transform the audience’s cultural outlook is similar to the Greek and Roman texts which attempt to establish patriotism as a virtue via the *ekphrasis* of Hades. See Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1427-1430 and Virgil, *Aen.* 6.740-755.

20:11-15 brings the imagery of Hades, the lake of fire and second death “before the eyes” of the ancient reader in order to depict eschatological punishment. As with other examples of *ekphrasis* in the Apocalypse, the author has chosen images which resonate with the “visual vocabulary” of a broad audience. Death and Hades are thrown into the “lake of fire,” which is identified as the “second death” (Rev 20:14-15). In this way the author of Revelation amplifies the common imagery of death and Hades with two other depictions of punishment.

The “lake of fire” is mentioned six times in Rev 19-21 but has no exact parallels to Jewish eschatology.¹⁰⁸ The imagery of a “lake of fire” is a common feature of Greek myth as well as Syrian geography. The “lake of fire” which is a gateway to the underworld holds a prominent place in Greek mythology.¹⁰⁹ The Acherusian Lake, or the Gulf of “Avernus” (or

¹⁰⁸ Revelation 19:20 (beast, false prophet), Revelation 20:10 (dragon), 20:14a (Death and Hades), 20:14b (the lake is the second death), 20:15b (those whose name is not written in the book of life), 21:8 (sinners). Jan Lambrecht, “Final Judgments and Ultimate Blessings: The Climactic Visions of Revelation 20,11-21,8,” *Bib* 81 (2000): 367–8. For the places where fire itself is connected with eschatological punishment, see 1 *En.* 10:6; *Sib. Or.* 2:195-205; Mark 9:43.

¹⁰⁹ Aune has suggested that Greek mythology picked up on this concept though the transport of Egyptian religion to Asia Minor. David E. Aune, *Revelation 17-22* (WBC; Nashville: Word, 1998), 1091–93. For a thorough discussion of the motif in Greek literature, see Daniel A. Bertrand, “L’Étang de feu et de soufre,” *RHPR* 79 (1999): 97.

“without birds”) is so named after the legend which states that poisonous vapors rising from the *lake* kill birds mid-flight.¹¹⁰ As Daniel Bertrand has noted, *lake* is “a technical term to designate the underworld, or hell, in antique culture, whether or not the explicit title accompanies the image.”¹¹¹ Virgil describes Aeneas’s trip to Acheron, a place of flames, dead birds, and the portal to the “nether king” in the groves of Avernus.¹¹² Aeneas finds that “just before the entrance, even within the very jaws of Hell,” personified Death dwells, as well as other personified “Diseases” including Famine, Distress, Sleep, and War to name a few.¹¹³ Virgil’s description of personified evils dwelling in the “lake of fire” is parallel to Rev 20:14, in which Death and Hades are thrown into the “lake.” Thus the image of Death dwelling in the “lake” without being destroyed was already alive in the Greek mythic tradition. Similarly, there are places in Syria which share the properties of the Lake of Avernus, suggesting that the image of the “lake of fire” may have been evocative for a broad audience (and not merely those familiar with Greek

Cf. Homer, *Od.* 11; Strabo, 1.2.18 , 5.4.5-6; Virgil, *Aen.* 6.83-330; Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 6.740-839; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 123-175.

¹¹⁰ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 6.740-839, Strabo, 5.4.5-6, Virgil, *Aen.* 6.83-330.

¹¹¹Daniel A. Bertrand, *La Vie Grecque d’Adam et Ève* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1987). (translation mine) See Aristophanes *Ran.* 123-175 and *3 Bar.* 10 in which the term “lake” is used without the proper title to signal the Acherusian lake.

¹¹² Virgil, *Aen.* 6.83-330.

¹¹³ Virgil, *Aen.* 6.268.

myth).¹¹⁴ Strabo describes the Dead Sea (which he calls Lake Sorbonis) as smoky and full of asphalt which bubbles up in the middle due to the fire underneath.¹¹⁵ Strabo goes on to mention that the region of Syria is also known to be “fiery” because of the area which is rumored to have been the great metropolis “Sodom,” destroyed by “earthquakes” and “eruptions of fire and of hot waters containing asphalt and sulfur.”¹¹⁶ Thus, the phenomenon of fire, smoke, and sulfur arising from a body of water was familiar to both Greek and Jewish audiences. As a result the “lake of fire” in Revelation suggests the idea of space which is “set apart” from the normal terrain using a combination of familiar myth and geography.

Likewise, the concept of a “second death” has its roots in more than one ancient context. The idea of a “second death” originated in Egyptian reflections upon death, and referred to a person literally dying twice.¹¹⁷ The concept of two deaths or a *second death* is also found in

¹¹⁴ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 6:740-839; Josephus, *J.W.* 4.484; Strabo, 16.42-44.

¹¹⁵ Strabo, 16.42-44. This pair of images is not unlike the smoke which arises from the fallen Babylon (Rev 19:2) or the lake of fire (Rev 19:20; 20:10, 14, 15).

¹¹⁶ Strabo, 16.42-44. Josephus’s description of the Dead Sea and “Sodom” shares many of the details of Strabo’s account, connecting the two as places where “divine fire” had struck. Josephus’s account shares more in common with Strabo than with the descriptions found in Philo. See Josephus, *J.W.* 4.484.

¹¹⁷ David E. Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1092.

rabbinic literature and Greek literature.¹¹⁸ The Targums and the Midrashim refer to a general punishment in the afterlife called the “second death.” On the one hand, some Targums describe the second death as a general resurrection, at which all humans will be judged and rewarded or punished accordingly (*Tg. Jon. Isa 22:14; Tg. Jon. Isa 65:5b-6, 15; Tg. Jon. Jer 51:39, 57*). In other Targums, the second death merely represents exclusion from the resurrection (*Tg. Onq. Deut 33:6; Tg. Neof. Deut 33:6; Tg. Jon. Jer 51:39, 57; Tg. Ps 49:11* (see variant reading)).¹¹⁹ In *Midrash Tannaim* the “second death” is depicted as a punishment for non-Israelite polytheists who “say that there is a second god” (*Midr. Tan Deut 32:39*). In addition to these rabbinic images of “second death,” Epictetus refers to two types of death as the consequence for ignoring the truth. Epictetus describes two kinds of petrification

¹¹⁸ For examples, see *Tg. Onq. Deut 33.6, Tg. Jon. Isa 22.14, 65.6, 15, Tg. Jon. Jer 51.39, 57, Philo, Praem. 70, Josephus, Ant. 18.13-14, and Epictetus, Diatr. 1.5.3-10. Robert H. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John: With Introd., Notes, and Indices, Also the Greek Text and English Translation (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), 194-99; Josephine Massyngberde Ford, Revelation (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), 393-94. Philo and Josephus both discuss the *second death* as the “more durable,” or lasting death of the soul.*

¹¹⁹ Alberdina Houtman and Magdalena Wilhelmina Misset-van de Weg, “The Fate of the Wicked: Second Death in Early Jewish and Christian Texts,” in *Empsychoi Logoi -- Religious Innovations in Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 413–21.

(ἀπολίθωσις), one of the intellect and the other of the sense of shame.¹²⁰ He argues that while people take great pains to avoid the death of the body, they are indifferent to the death of the soul, dubbing it “strength of character.”¹²¹ Here Epictetus is using the *second death* as a metaphor for those who avoid acknowledging the truth and have no shame in their ignorance.¹²² Thus, the imagery of “second death” could evoke two different concepts of exclusion, depending upon the “visual vocabulary” of a particular reader of Revelation. For those familiar with rabbinic literature, “second death” confers the idea of exclusion at the resurrection. Meanwhile, those readers who were familiar with Stoic

¹²⁰ Epictetus 1.5.3 Here Epictetus is making an argument “Against the Academics,” criticizing those who would wish to “suspend judgment” and assert nothing. He makes a more protracted argument of a similar nature against the Epicureans and Academics at 2.20.1ff.

¹²¹ Epictetus, 1.5.4-5.

¹²² Epictetus, 1.5.4-5, see summary of Epictetus’ argument and other parallels in Greek literature in Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1091–93. Although there are no direct verbal parallels, the imagery of Epictetus’ argument functions similarly to the depictions of the afterlife in Rev 19-22. The author of Revelation stresses the dire consequences of ignoring the “revealed truth”: those who assimilate to Greco-Roman culture without “shame” will endure the *second death*. See, for instance, the “victors” of Rev 15:2-3 and 20:4-6 who recognize the truth about God and reject the beast, saving them from the *second death*. Both Epictetus and Revelation view *second death* as the result of ignorance to the truth.

philosophy would imagine the “second death” as the consequence of ignorance.

While “lake of fire” and “second death” are images that appeal to a culturally diverse audience, these images are employed in Rev 20:12-15 in the context of a specific eschatological judgment. The text states explicitly that those who are released from Hades and thrown into the lake of fire are those individuals who have been judged “according to their works” (κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν, 20:12) and whose names were “not found written in the book of life” (οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς, 20:15). Thus, the eschatological judgment that is so vividly depicted here is reserved for those who were judged on the basis of “what they had done” (τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν, 20:13), not according to their belief or unbelief.¹²³ The ethical import of this judgment is clear. One’s behavior, and one’s behavior alone, is enough to elicit eternal condemnation and punishment. What the author of the Apocalypse does not clarify are the specific deeds that warrant this eternal punishment.¹²⁴ Later apocalyptic authors will fill in this “gap,” specifying the unethical behaviors that are a breach of incipient early

¹²³ For a discussion of the emphasis on deeds vs. belief in Revelation, see Adela Yarbro Collins, “Is Hershel Doomed to the Lake of Fire?,” *BAR* 37 (2011): 26.

¹²⁴ However, Rev 21:8 does elaborate on the vices of those who are relegated to the lake of fire, namely those who break the Ten Commandments.

Christian cultural norms.¹²⁵ At an earlier stage in the development of early Christian *paideia*, Revelation utilized several of the culturally available images of spatial separation and eternal exclusion (“lake of fire” and “second death”) in order to supplement the visual impact of “death” and “Hades.” The resulting vision of eschatological judgment emphasized the importance of a person’s “deeds,” laying groundwork for later authors who would paint a more detailed picture of ethical standards through the early Christian *ekphrasis* of hell.

V. Conclusion

Already in the New Testament the concept of “hell” as a pedagogical tool was beginning to germinate. In Matthew’s sources the imagery of bodily dismemberment and fiery torment were used to drive home the importance of ethical behavior. In the texts that are roughly contemporaneous to Matthew the imagery of eternal punishment was also invoked to communicate an ethical message to the audience. However, among both Matthew’s sources and his contemporaries these images were just one rhetorical device among many that were used to shape early Christian ethical and cultural norms. Although we are able to see the rhetoric of vivid description (*enargeia*) at work in these New Testament depictions of eternal punishment, it is in Matthew and the

¹²⁵ For instance, in *Apoc. Pet.* 9 those who “slew the martyrs by their lying” have their lips cut off and fire enters their mouths and entrails.

post-New Testament Apocalypses that this rhetoric is employed more consistently as component of early Christian *paideia*.

Chapter 6

The Pedagogical Role of Eschatological Judgment, Eternal Punishment, and the Afterlife in Matthew

“The Son of Man will send his angels, and they will collect out of his kingdom all causes of sin and all evildoers, and they will throw them into the furnace of fire, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Let anyone with ears listen!”

(Matt 13:41-43)

I. Introduction

Repeatedly assailing the reader with the image of “outer darkness” where there is “weeping and gnashing of teeth,” Matthew’s gospel utilizes the rhetoric of eternal punishment in a way that is distinct from other NT texts. Matthew’s *enargeia* of spaces of eternal punishment is characterized by specific imagery that is repeated throughout the gospel, creating a detailed tableau of eschatological judgment and eternal punishment for the readers. In this chapter we will compare Matthew’s use of “hell” to the ways in which this concept functioned rhetorically within ancient Jewish, Greek, and Latin texts. First, we will explore the unique way in which Matthew develops the theme of ethical and cultural education, focusing on community formation. Within the gospel’s overall focus on developing early Christian *paideia* Matthew employs scenes of eschatological judgment and punishment as pedagogical tools. These

repeated depictions of judgment and punishment vividly display (via descriptive rhetoric) the consequences for following (or not following) the ethical norms espoused by Jesus. In this manner, we will demonstrate that Matthew used the language of eternal punishment as part of an incipient program of ethical and cultural education, or early Christian *paideia*.

II. Education in Matthew: An Exercise in Community Formation

As we have already seen, the rhetorical use of “hell” to educate an ancient Christian audience was already becoming prevalent by the time of Matthew’s writing. Matthew, however, inherits and expands this rhetorical device in a way that would capture the Christian imagination for centuries to come. While other New Testament texts use the *enargeia* of “hell” in particular places or to bring home a particular ethical message, Matthew’s references to eternal punishment are integral to the pedagogical program of the entire gospel.

a. Matthew’s Audience

The composition of Matthew’s audience is a matter of scholarly dispute, with hypotheses ranging from a sectarian Jewish community that is still tied to the synagogue,¹ to a Jewish-Christian community at

¹ This hypothesis receives the least support of the three. Andrew J. Overman, *Matthew’s Gospel and Formative Judaism: a Study of the Social World of the Matthean Community* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1989); Anthony J. Saldarini, *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

odds with the synagogue,² to a mixed community of Jewish and Gentile Christians.³ Due to Matthew's use of material that would be familiar to both Jews and Gentiles,⁴ the latter hypothesis is the most compelling. Regardless of their assessment of the Matthean community's ethnic composition, most of these scholars agree that Matthew was written in

² Wayne A. Meeks, "Breaking Away: Three New Testament Pictures of Christianity's Separation from the Jewish Communities," in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity* (ed. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 93–116; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1-7* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).

³ Eduard Schweizer, "Matthew's Church," in *The Interpretation of Matthew* (ed. Graham Stanton; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 159; Paul Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). Schweizer focuses on the liminality of Matthew's audience, placing the community "somewhere between Jewish Christianity and the Pauline Church, somewhere between Jerusalem and Asia Minor or Greece."

⁴ In Matt 19:9, Pilate/Pilate's wife, a Gentile woman has a dream that reveals Jesus' innocence; Matt 15-16, "blind guides" is a Hellenistic motif employed by Matthew. In Matt 6:2 Jesus warns against sounding the trumpet before almsgiving—a familiar metaphor in Greek, but not something connected to Jewish practice, thus another example of Matthew's author relying upon Hellenistic motifs to convey his point. See also 12:28, in which Jesus is called into question by the Pharisees and responds with two illustrations that would be familiar to Gentile and Hellenized or Greek-speaking Jewish readers.

the period between 70-100 C.E., at the peak of the social tumult following Jerusalem's destruction.⁵ Internal evidence points to Matthew's community as an incipient community in the process of identity formation, which forces them to define themselves in relationship to other social groups (Jews and Gentiles, as well as other early Christian groups).⁶ Thus Matthew's audience would have understood Jesus' conflicts with Pharisaic Judaism⁷ in terms of their own identity struggles.

⁵ On the dating of Matthew, see W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew: Matthew 1-7* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 127-38. See Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 83-84, for a description of the relationship between Matthew and the precarious social climate following the destruction of Jerusalem. Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 90-92, also notes that although a locale of Antioch has been suggested for the composition of Matthew, there is insufficient evidence to support this hypothesis.

⁶ For example in Matt 5:17-48 and 10:17-18 the author seems to be speaking to a mixed community in the process of formation. As Allison argues, this is an example of Matthew's juxtaposition of "new and old." Dale C. Allison, *The Sermon on the Mount: Inspiring the Moral Imagination* (New York: Crossroad, 1999), 8-9. Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel*, 129-31, argues that Matthew's audience is required to display a radical attitude toward "outsiders" who consisted of both Jews and Gentiles. As evidence for the exclusion of Matthew's audience from the synagogue Foster cites Matt 4:23; 9:35; 10:17; 12:9; 13:54; 23:34. David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 157, is forced to admit that renewed Gentile violence after the war is also always on the horizon, so that Matthew's audience likely lived in fear of the escalation of conflict on multiple fronts-even within his argument that persecution was primarily from Jewish sources.

Wayne Meeks nuances the thesis proposed by W.D. Davies, who argues that the conflict between Jesus and Pharisaic Judaism in Matthew reflects “active competition” between the emerging rabbinic school at Yavneh and the incipient Christianity of the Jesus movement.⁸ Meeks demonstrates that although the Judaism from which Matthew’s community has separated looks Yavnean, the connections to that community have long been dissolved: “If the Matthean Christians once held such an optimistic view of their mission to the organized Jews in their town, they have long since become disillusioned.”⁹

If Meeks’s assessment is accurate, then the depictions of judgment and eternal punishment in Matthew are not primarily addressed to “the Jews” as a warning to “repent” for fear of eschatological judgment. Instead, these images have a broader pedagogical purpose. In this vein Sean Freyne has argued that the rhetoric of *vituperation* in Matthew is not primarily addressed to “the Jews” but to Matthew’s audience, for

⁷ W.D. Davies has argued that Matthew is a “Christian response to Jamnia,” the gathering of Pharisaic rabbis after the destruction of Jerusalem. W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 315.

⁸ W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 315; Meeks, “Breaking Away,” 112.

⁹Meeks, “Breaking Away,” 112–13.

educative purposes.¹⁰ He demonstrates that this rhetoric has a pedagogical function in Matthew, based upon the Gospel's overall emphasis on teaching, and the "founding myth of Jesus as the eschatological teacher."¹¹ Within Matthew's heavy emphasis on Jesus' teaching, the *vituperatio* serves to warn opponents within the text,¹² as well as one's own community.¹³ Although Matthew's *vituperatio* discredits the Jewish opponents within the text, this rhetoric is focused not on the opponents, but on community building, making "particular and exclusive claims for one's own community," and "using the opponents' failures and inadequacies as a means of warning one's own community."¹⁴ Matthew's multivalent vituperative rhetoric is ultimately intended to build community in a situation where the audience is "on the

¹⁰ Sean Freyne, "Vilifying the Other and Defining the Self: Matthew's and John's Anti-Jewish Polemic in Focus," in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity* (ed. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 118–23. For literature on the role of this style of rhetoric in Paul, see Peter Lampe, "Can Words Be Violent or Do They Only Sound that Way? Verbal Warfare from Afar as a Complement to a Placid Personal Presence," in *Paul and Rhetoric* (ed. P. Sampley and P. Lampe; London: Continuum, 2007), 223–240.

¹¹ Freyne, "Vilifying the Other," 119–23.

¹² Freyne, "Vilifying the Other," 132–37.

¹³ Freyne, "Vilifying the Other," 137–40.

¹⁴ Freyne, "Vilifying the Other," 132.

way-to defining itself as a third option over against both Judaism and the pagan world.”¹⁵

b. Matthew’s Interest in *Paideia* and the Formation of *Ekklesia*

Writing to a community that is working to articulate its novel identity, Matthew’s gospel displays a particular interest in establishing ethical and cultural guidelines (as a kind of early Christian *paideia*). The structure and content of the gospel reveal Matthew’s keen interest in teaching his readers. The work of B.W. Bacon demonstrated that the gospel of Matthew was arranged around five major discourses in Matthew (5-7; 10; 13; 18; 24-25), which corresponded with the five books of the Pentateuch.¹⁶ This hypothesis highlighted the way that Matthew presents Jesus as a “new Moses” and bearer of Torah. What is more, Bacon’s hypothesis helped to make sense out of the emphasis that patristic authors placed upon the words of Jesus in Matthew, reading these five discourses as “the essential law of Christianity.”¹⁷ As later

¹⁵ Kari Syreeni, “Separation and Identity: Aspects of the Symbolic World of Matthew 6.1-18,” *NTS* 40 (1994): 539.

¹⁶ Benjamin Wisner Bacon, *Studies in Matthew* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930), 80–90, 165–249.

¹⁷ Édouard Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus* (ed. Arthur J. Bellinzoni; trans. Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht; Leuven: Peeters, 1990), 1:119.

scholars have noted, the major weakness of Bacon's hypothesis is that it diminishes the importance of the narrative in Matthew's gospel.¹⁸

In fact, the narrative sections of Matthew reinforce the teaching that occurs in the discourses. For example, Jesus is one of the blessed meek of Matt 5:5 in his procession into Jerusalem (Matt 21:5). The narrative of Matthew also depicts Jesus as the embodiment of mercy for those who seek his help (via healing or exorcism) throughout the gospel (for examples see Matt 9:27; 15:22; 17:15; 20:30-31 cf. 5:7).¹⁹ In the end of Matthew's gospel (26-28) Jesus is depicted as the bodily fulfillment of his words in the Sermon on the Mount. In Gethsemane Jesus mourns, embodying the second beatitude (Matt 26:36-38 cf. 5:4). Also, his prayer in the garden is reformulated by Matthew in the style of the Lord's Prayer (Matt 26:42 cf. 6:10). Where Mark 14:39 has "he prayed saying the same word" (προσηύξατο τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπών), Matthew 26:42 begins the prayer with the phrase "my Father" (πάτερ μου) and ends with the submission to God's will, "your will be done" (γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου). Later, when Peter brandishes his sword, Jesus rebukes him, following his earlier discourse on non-retaliation in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 26:52 cf. 5:38-42).

¹⁸ See Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 59-62; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 175; Carl R. Holladay, *A Critical Introduction to the New Testament: Interpreting the Message and Meaning of Jesus Christ* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 137-38; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 35-36.

¹⁹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 467.

At Jesus' trial, false witnesses (ψευδομαρτύρες) are brought forward, recalling the blessing of the falsely persecuted righteous in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 26:59-61 cf. 5:10-12). Finally, Matthew's narratives about Judas and Pilate depict Jesus as the fulfillment of all righteousness (Matt 27:4, 19 cf. 5:6). Thus, Matthew's narrative is carefully crafted in a way that depicts Jesus as a highly effective teacher who is a living exemplar of his sayings.²⁰

Not only does Matthew's alternation between discourses and narrative betray an emphasis on teaching, but the content of the gospel also bears similarities to other pedagogical literature in the ancient world. In *The School of St. Matthew*, Krister Stendahl emphasizes the role of Matthew as a teacher and his audience as his "school."²¹ Stendahl demonstrates that Matthew's mode of Biblical interpretation was similar to that of Dead Sea Scrolls, and that the format of the Hebrew Bible quotes in Matthew is evidence of a "school" that composed Matthew as a "handbook."²² Other scholars have followed Stendahl's lead,

²⁰ On Matthew's development of ecclesiology, see John P Meier, *The Vision of Matthew: Christ, Church, and Morality in the First Gospel* (New York: Paulist, 1979), 216.

²¹ Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew, and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 20–38.

²² Stendahl, *School*, 183–202. For other studies on the role of Matthew's author as "teacher," see Ernst von Dobschütz, "Matthäus als Rabbi und Katechet," *ZNW* 27 (1928): 338–48; Wilhelm Pesch, *Matthäus der Seelsorger: Das neue Verständnis der*

investigating the role of Jesus as teacher in Matthew's gospel in order to understand the pedagogy of the gospel as a whole.²³ For example, John Yueh-Han Yieh has compared Epictetus, the Teacher of Righteousness, and Matthew's Jesus.²⁴ In response to their opponents (Epicureans and the Wicked Priest respectively), Epictetus and the Teacher of Righteousness are both teachers who "have performed polemic, apologetic, didactic and pastoral functions to inform and transform their followers."²⁵ Yieh demonstrates that Matthew depicts Jesus as the "one teacher" with supreme authority by placing him in each of these four roles (polemic, apologetic, didactic, and pastoral) of the ancient teacher. While Matthew's Jesus is not exactly like Epictetus or the Teacher of

Evangelien dargestellt am Beispiel von Matthäus 18 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1966); Paul S. Minear, *Matthew, the Teacher's Gospel* (New York: Pilgrim, 1982).

²³ Jesus is compared to Wisdom personified as well as ancient moral teachers. For authors who investigate Jesus' role as teacher in this regard, see Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, 108; Meier, *The Vision of Matthew*, 45–51; Rainer Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer: Eine Untersuchung zum Ursprung der Evangelien-Überlieferung* (WUNT 2,7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981); Wayne A Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 136–43; Celia Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom, Jesus, and the Sages: Metaphor and Social Context in Matthew's Gospel* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996).

²⁴ John Yueh-Han Yieh, *One Teacher: Jesus' Teaching Role in Matthew's Gospel Report* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004).

²⁵ Yieh, *One Teacher*, 330.

Righteousness,²⁶ each of these teachers establishes his authority in the face of opposition and by doing so offers his followers a novel social identity.²⁷ In particular, the Matthean Jesus “gives clear guidance on new patterns of behavior and authorizes new institutions, hoping to mold his believers into a faithful community of disciples.”²⁸

As Yieh has demonstrated, Matthew’s gospel portrays Jesus as “teacher” in an effort to establish a novel community, complete with behavioral norms and institutions. Thus, the emphasis on *paideia* in Matthew is integrally linked to the author’s rhetorical aims for bolstering a fledgling *ekklesia*, a “congregation,” or “assembly” (and later, “church”).²⁹ Matthew is the only one of the gospels to use the term

²⁶ For a complete list of the differences between these three teachers, see Yieh, *One Teacher*, 329–30. Yieh, *One Teacher*, 330–31, notes that the manner in which each of these teachers is “pastoral,” for example, varies widely. The Teacher of Righteousness develops a tightly regulated community, Epictetus provides more individualized attention to his pupils, and Matthew’s Jesus emphasizes virtues like reconciliation that will enable his followers to maintain peace and unity after he is gone.

²⁷ Yieh, *One Teacher*, 260–74.

²⁸ Yieh, *One Teacher*, 333.

²⁹ As Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 629, argue, the term ἐκκλησία could have reminded audiences of the congregation of God from the LXX (translating the Hebrew לְקָהָל). W.F. Albright and C.S. Mann, *Matthew* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), 196, discuss not only the resonance with the LXX concept of congregation, but also the Hellenistic concept of an “assembly of freeborn citizens.”

ekklesia (ἐκκλησία; Matt 16:18; 18:17).³⁰ Matthew 16:18 follows Peter's confession that Jesus is the Messiah, identifying Peter as a foundational member of the community and characterizing the *ekklesia* as a worthy opponent to the forces of Hades.³¹ This first reference to *ekklesia* occurs within the section of Matthew's gospel (13:54-17:27), which outlines the consequences for the rejection of Jesus that occurred in the preceding narrative section (11:2-12:50). Thus, the foundation of the *ekklesia* in

³⁰ Several commentators have argued that while Matt 16:18 refers to the universal church, Matt 18:17 is addressed to a particular *ekklesia*. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 629; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8-20: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 362.

³¹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 633, correctly interpret the "gates of Hades" as a reference to the underworld local of the "ungodly dead," explaining that the Hebrew Bible expression did not reflect the predominant conception of Hades and Sheol in the first century C.E. Compare, for instance, Virgil's depiction of Tartarus' screeching gate in *Aen.* 6.550-560. In contrast, Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 364, argues that the "gates of Hades" should be read in conjunction with the concept of Sheol as the "realm of the dead" in the Hebrew Bible. In a sense, Davies and Allison and Luz are all correct because Matthew's gospel stands at a transitional position in the ancient development of the concept of the underworld. Luz is incorrect, however, in assuming that Matthew simply appropriates the LXX idea of Hades as a neutral term for death or the realm of the dead. Simply by associating Hades with the day of judgment (Matt 11:22-23) Matthew's author moves his understanding of Hades beyond the neutral term for "grave" into the realm of apocalyptic eschatology, akin to the soul receptacles one finds in *1 Enoch* 22.

Matt 16:18 represents the establishment of a novel social group as the consequence of social rejection.³² The hypothesis that Matthew sees the *ekklesia* as a burgeoning social group, in need of boundaries and social norms, is reinforced by the use of this term in chapter 18. In the midst of the “community discourse” Matt 18:17 instructs the incipient community to expel a fellow *ekklesia* member who sins and refuses to admit his fault.³³ While this teaching seems harsh, it is easier to

³² See Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 642, who argue that the narrative in Matt 13:53-17:27 “is the consequence of the rejection of the Messiah: the people of God are founded anew.” Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 362, summarizes the narrative flow of Matthew similarly: “After the evangelist has related in several stages how Jesus and his disciples ‘withdrew’ from Israel, he now announces where the disciples’ separation from the people becomes clear—the construction “of his church.” See also Wolfgang Wiefel, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998), 300–301, who describes this “new congregation” as it is related to the Hebrew Bible’s “congregation of God”: “Es ist weniger der Gedanke der Sammlung einer Restgemeinde, eines heiligen Restes, der die Kontinuität Israels und seines Bundes bezeichnet, gemeint als die Neugründung des Gottesvolks. Es stellt sich dar in einer empirischen gemeinschaft, in der Petrus eine einmalige, gründende Funktion hat. Singulär bleibt diese Aussage innerhalb der Jesusverkündigung, als sich hier die Botschaft vom kommend-gegenwärtigen Reich Gottes verdichtet zur Proklamation einer eschatologischen Heilsgemeinde, deren konkrete Gestalt durch die Gründung auf die Person des Petrus kenntlich wird.”

³³ Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 452-7, argues for the severity of the injunction in Matt 18:15-17, requiring expulsion from the church in its original *Sitz im Leben*, and in situations that

understand if we imagine Matthew's audience to be a new community of Jesus followers, at a very early phase of institutionalization.³⁴ In both Matt 16 and 18 the term *ekklesia* refers to the "assembly" or "church," not as an institution that has already been developed, but as a novel organization of Jesus followers at an early phase of identity formation.

Although Matthew's use of the term *ekklesia* does not represent a fully developed ecclesiology, it does betray an early concern for the institutionalization of the Jesus movement as the "new people of God."³⁵

match Matthew's church (namely, small congregations). Luz contends that in the modern church which includes entire nations such, expulsion is impractical.

³⁴ Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 462, notes the tension between the recommendation for excommunication in Matt 18:15-17 and the "ethos of unending searching for sinners and of forgiving" expressed in Matt 18:12-14 and 18:21-22. Luz resolves this tension source critically, arguing that while Matt 18:15-17 originated in the early church at the beginning of institutionalization, vv.12-14 and 21-22 go back to Jesus and are thus not concerned with institutionalization. I am grateful to Adela Collins for pointing out that this apparent contradiction does not require a source critical explanation. This tension may also be resolved by distinguishing between repeated forgiving of those who repent with the expulsion of those who refuse to repent.

³⁵Davies and Allison and Jonathan T. Pennington note that the ἐκκλησία in Matt 16:18 fills the role of the "congregation of God's people" in the Hebrew Bible. Pennington traces this theme of Jesus' disciples as the "new people of God" throughout Matthew's gospel, reading the gospel as a "foundation document" for this community. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 629; Jonathan T. Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 89-90.

As Édouard Massaux has noted, these ecclesiastical themes were likely responsible for Matthew's popularity in early Christianity.³⁶ Matthew, then, was perceived as the gospel that taught early Christians how to be a "church," providing *paideia* in the form of ethical guidelines, ritual instruction, social identity, and cultural norms.³⁷

Despite the emphasis on institution that was noted by Matthew's later readers, for Matthew's earliest readers the ecclesiastical orientation of the gospel was intimately related to its eschatology. Günther Bornkamm observes that Matthew's gospel contains the "most meagre beginnings of a real ecclesiology": the use of the term *ekklesia*, the discourse on relations among members of the church (Matt 18), and the descriptions of Jesus' congregation as "the kingdom of the Son of Man"

³⁶ Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*. Helmut Koester argued in *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin: Akademie, 1957) contra Massaux, that reliance upon the gospels themselves cannot be demonstrated and that similarities are the result of shared oral traditions (particularly with respect to Clement of Rome, Barnabas and Ignatius of Antioch). Despite objections, Massaux's basic thesis has not been abandoned. Scholars have simply nuanced his categories of dependence, substituting the words "probable" or "possible" where Massaux used "sure." See, for example, Luz's preference for Massaux over Koester. Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 58-9.

³⁷Holladay, *A Critical Introduction to the New Testament*, 128-130, attributes Matthew's popularity in the patristic period to Matthew's "didactic quality." Holladay focuses on Matthew's "ability to tell an ancient story that reaches across time and enables readers to experience Jesus...as their living Teacher."

(Matt 13:41) or the “free sons of God” (Matt 17:26). Nevertheless this “meagre” ecclesiology is the hermeneutical key that Bornkamm uses to unlock Matthew’s eschatology. Bornkamm argues that in each of Matthew’s discourses the concept of the “last things” is configured in order to outline the boundaries of the Matthean community.³⁸ In this regard, the teachings of Jesus in Matthew refer to eschatological judgment and punishment in order to construct and reinforce Matthew’s incipient idea of “church.” Thus, in Matthew, the five discourses, the emphasis on Jesus’ role as teacher, and the use of eschatological imagery are all pedagogical tools that serve the author’s interest in the formation of an *ekklesia*. This emphasis on *ekklesia* was a means of stabilizing Matthew’s nascent community as it attempted to define itself as a “third option” in relationship to Judaism and the pagan world. With regard to structure (the discourses), content (Jesus’ depiction as a teacher), and rhetorical aims (fostering *ekklesia*), Matthew’s gospel is oriented toward providing a foundational cultural and ethical education for early Christians.

III. The Role of Apocalyptic Eschatology within Matthew’s “Curriculum”

Within this broader view of Matthew’s pedagogical schema, the gospel’s emphasis on apocalyptic eschatology can be understood as a means of reinforcing communal boundaries and behavioral norms.

³⁸ Günther Bornkamm, “End-Expectation and Church in Matthew,” in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 15–24.

Scholars have defined apocalyptic eschatology as the “religious perspective”³⁹ that can be observed most coherently in the genre “apocalypse.”⁴⁰ While Matthew does not fit within the genre of “apocalypse,” the gospel does display apocalyptic motifs and an emphasis on eschatological judgment.⁴¹ Of particular importance for our study of

³⁹ For this distinction between apocalyptic eschatology, and apocalypticism, see Paul D. Hanson, *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 8. In contrast, Christopher Rowland has expressed concerns about the use of the term “apocalyptic eschatology,” critiquing the emphasis on the temporal aspect of the genre of apocalypse. See Rowland’s alternative definition in Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 70.

⁴⁰ The characteristics of apocalypse as a genre are defined in *Semeia* 14 as “a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.” John J. Collins, “Apocalypse: the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979): 9. Similarly, John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984).

⁴¹ Donald Hagner argues that Matthew should be called “the apocalyptic Gospel.” Donald A. Hagner, “Apocalyptic Motifs in the Gospel of Matthew: Continuity and Discontinuity,” *HBT* 7 (1985): 60. For other detailed studies on apocalypticism and apocalyptic eschatology in Matthew, see Bornkamm, “End-Expectation and Church in Matthew”; Joost Smit Sibinga, “Structure of the Apocalyptic Discourse, Matthew 24 and 25,” *ST* 29 (1975): 71–79; Léopold Sabourin, “Traits Apocalyptiques dans

“hell” is Matthew’s preoccupation with eternal judgment and “temporal, cosmic and human dualism.”⁴²

Throughout Matthew eschatological judgment and eternal punishment are on the horizon, promising that the “wicked” will be isolated and sentenced to “unquenchable fire” (πυρὶ ἀσβέστον Matt 3:12) and

l'Évangile de Matthieu,” *Science et Esprit* 33 (1981): 357–372; Hagner, “Apocalyptic Motifs in the Gospel of Matthew”; Stephenson H. Brooks, “Apocalyptic Paraenesis in Matthew 6:19-34,” in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament* (ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), 95–112; O. Lamar Cope, “‘To the Close of the Age’: the Role of Apocalyptic Thought in the Gospel of Matthew,” in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament* (ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), 113–24; Paul Trudinger, “The ‘Our Father’ in Matthew as Apocalyptic Eschatology,” *DRev* 107 (1989): 49–54; Christopher Rowland, “Apocalyptic, The Poor, and the Gospel of Matthew,” *JTS* 45 (1994): 504–18; David C. Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Kenneth L. Waters, “Matthew 27:52-53 as Apocalyptic Apostrophe: Temporal-Spatial Collapse in the Gospel of Matthew,” *JBL* 122 (2003): 489–515.

⁴²Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew*, 35–53, highlights the importance of these “dualisms” for understanding Matthew’s apocalyptic eschatology. For a review and critique of Sim on this matter, see James A. Kelhoffer, “Review of David Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew*,” *CurTM* 25 (1998): 524. While Sim overstates the emphasis on earthly and cosmic dualism in Matthew to the exclusion of all other themes, the elements of Matthew’s apocalyptic perspective that he highlights are particularly apropos for our study.

the like.⁴³ In addition to the prolific references to the eschatological judgment of the “wicked” and the “righteous,” Matthew also heightens the opposition between the Jesus movement and “evil forces.”⁴⁴ Matthew contains more references to Beelzebub and Gehenna than any other work in the New Testament.⁴⁵ What is more, the narrative vilifies every character who acts in opposition to the Jesus movement. The Judas material in Matt 26-27 is a prime example of Matthew’s unique emphasis

⁴³ As Daniel Margeurat notes, 60 of Matthew’s 148 pericopae are concerned with the theme of judgment. Daniel Marguerat, *Le Jugement dans l’Evangile de Matthieu* (Genève: Editions Labor et Fides, 1981), 13. For texts which refer to eschatological judgment or punishment, see Matt 3:7-12; 7:15-20; 12:36-37; 15:13-14; 16:24-28; 19:28-30; 21:18-19; 23-25. Other texts refer to eschatological judgment in conjunction with “hell terminology.” See Matt 5:22; 5:29; 5:30; 10:28; 11:23; Matt 16:18; 18:19; 23:15; 23:33. Still another group of texts describes eschatological judgment by referring to “weeping and gnashing of teeth. See Matt 8:12; 13:42; 13:50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the dualistic opposition between heaven and earth in Matthew and the imminence of “the kingdom of heaven,” see Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, 93–95.

⁴⁵ Robert Branden argues that Satanic conflict is the driving element of Matthew’s plot, reading this dualism as the central theme behind the entire gospel. While apocalyptic eschatology is certainly an important piece of Matthew’s worldview, Branden’s thesis overlooks Matthew’s critical engagement with questions of ethics, community formation, and cultural boundaries. See Robert Charles Branden, *Satanic Conflict and the Plot of Matthew* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006).

of this theme, juxtaposing Jesus' submission to God's will in Gethsemane with Judas's selfish activities. This "us vs. them" mentality (human dualism) is similar to that which is developed by other works aimed at identity formation, such as 1 Peter (e.g. 1 Pet 2:12).

In this manner, eschatology is a crucial component of the pedagogical rhetoric of Matthew, not only providing explicit teaching for early Christians but also framing their daily struggle to identify with the Jesus movement in terms of a "cosmic battle." Several scholars have argued similarly, identifying the rhetorical function of eschatology within Matthew as a part of the gospel's paraenesis. As noted above, Bornkamm demonstrates that Matthew's eschatology is in service of the gospel's ecclesiology, inspiring followers to attain to "higher righteousness,"⁴⁶ because they will all be judged by adherence to the example set by Jesus.⁴⁷ Georg Strecker also argues for the paraenetic function of Matthew's eschatology, noting that Matthew did not systematize the judgment accounts from his sources.⁴⁸ According to Strecker, Matthew was not interested in the judgment accounts as detailed accounts of future events, but as a means of emphasizing the

⁴⁶ Bornkamm, "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew," 24.

⁴⁷ Bornkamm, "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew," 38–49.

⁴⁸ Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 236–7.

“present ethical demands” of the Matthean community.⁴⁹ Daniel Marguerat augments the work of Bornkamm and Strecker, demonstrating that scenes of eschatological judgment conclude each of Matthew’s major discourses.⁵⁰ In this regard, Matthew’s composition demonstrates that fidelity to Jesus’ teaching is the criterion for judgment, encouraging readers to take their fate into their own hands by following Jesus’ teachings.⁵¹ As David Sim notes, these scholars have not gone far enough, overlooking the purpose behind Matthew’s decision to use eschatology as his pedagogical tool.⁵² Sim concludes that Matthew chose eschatological imagery in order to educate his audience because of the trials of establishing a new community in the face of social estrangement.⁵³ In this framework, Matthew’s eschatological rhetoric functions on two levels: 1) the audience experiences catharsis or vindication, knowing that their enemies will be punished, and 2)

⁴⁹ Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 242.

⁵⁰ Marguerat, *Le Jugement dans l’Evangile de Matthieu*, 32–7.

⁵¹ Marguerat, *Le Jugement dans L’Evangile de Matthieu*, 37–41.

⁵² Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew*, 5, criticizes Bornkamm for not elaborating on the reason for Matthew’s paraenetic use of eschatology: “It might be true that the theme of judgment serves the evangelist’s paraenesis, but why did he choose this particular vehicle of expression and not another?”

⁵³ Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew*, 245.

behavioral norms are reinforced, encouraging the readers to avoid a similar fate.⁵⁴

While Sim and others have accurately assessed the pedagogical function of Matthew's eschatological rhetoric, none of these scholars has looked to the rhetoric of "hell" in Greek and Latin texts in order to explain *how* these images function pedagogically. Broadly speaking, scholars have assumed that Matthew adopted these images from apocalyptic Judaism, ignoring the influence of Hellenism upon the Judaism of this period.⁵⁵ Our investigation will depart from these previous attempts to understand the paraenetic function of Matthew's eschatology by acknowledging the influence of Hellenistic culture and rhetoric upon the world of Matthew and his audience. Thus, the following investigation will examine the ways in which Matthew employs not only the language of apocalyptic eschatology but also the rhetoric of description (*ekphrasis, enargeia*)⁵⁶ that was used in Greek and Latin depictions of Hades (as part of *paideia*).

⁵⁴ Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew*, 246–7.

⁵⁵ For example, see Branden, *Satanic Conflict and the Plot of Matthew*, 151, who argues that Satan acts entirely in accord with apocalyptic Judaism in Matthew, invoking "apocalyptic Judaism" without qualifying either a) the diversity of apocalyptic Judaism or b) the extent to which apocalyptic Judaism was influenced by other traditions or streams of thought (i.e. Wisdom, Hellenistic rhetoric, etc.).

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the way in which we are applying the rhetorical terminology to the NT texts, see Chapter 5, pp. 162-65.

III. The Pedagogical Function of Eternal Punishment in Matthew

a. Matthew's Use of Terminology

Matthew's use of diverse eschatological terminology points to his intention to use this imagery pedagogically.⁵⁷ Matthew is not preoccupied with presenting a consistent picture of the ways in which the wicked will be punished. Instead, Matthew uses terms like Gehenna, Hades, and outer darkness in tandem, creating a vision of eternal punishment that employs the disparate "visual vocabularies" of a broad audience. Matthew uses the term Gehenna seven times, characterizing it as a fiery place of punishment in which the unethical person is destined to reside.⁵⁸ Likewise, Matthew refers to Hades as the undesirable abode to which Capernaum is relegated (11:23) and the bastion of evil forces that shall not prevail against Peter (16:18). Matthew also describes eternal punishment, referring to places where there will be "weeping and gnashing of teeth."⁵⁹ This locale is called the "outer darkness" (τὸ σκότος τὸ

⁵⁷ Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 236–37.

⁵⁸ See Matthew 5:22, 29, 30; 10:28; 18:9; 23:15; 23:33. Matthew also refers to eschatological unquenchable fire in 3:10,12; 7:19; 13:40,42, 50; 18:8; 25:41; cf. "eternal punishment" (κόλασις αἰώνιος) in 25:46.

⁵⁹ See Matthew 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30. To compare these passages see Appendix G. A passage about weeping and gnashing of teeth in *Sib. Or.* 8.231 parallels the persistent use of this phrase in Matthew (only once in Luke 13:28, compared with six times in Matt), but only indicates contact with the synoptic sayings source.

Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before*

ἐξώτερον; Matt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30), the “furnace of fire” (τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός; Matt 13:42, 50),⁶⁰ or it is described as the place set aside for the “hypocrites” (μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν; Matt 24:51).⁶¹

Although Matthew is using diverse terms, we should not infer a consistent eschatological schema or a highly specific range of meaning for each term. The scholarly attempts to “pin down” a Matthean understanding of a particular term like “Gehenna” result in the

Saint Irenaeus, 2:63–64. Luz notes that Matthew’s use of κλαυθμός is an “expression of horrible pain”; cf. Matt 13:42, 50; 24:51; *1 En.* 108:3, 5 and *2 En.* 40:12. He also argues that there is “no need to think of hell’s coldness” or the rage of the condemned here (cf. Luke 13:25–28, *4 Ezra* 7:83), but that the “cold of hell” is an idea that stems from the history of interpretation of Matt 24:19. Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 11, nn. 28 and 29.

⁶⁰ On the imagery of the “furnace of fire,” see Daniel 3:6–26 (this phrase is used six times!); *1 En.* 10:6; *1 En.* 98:3. For a comparison of the images of eschatological fire in Matthew see Appendix F.

⁶¹ “Hypocrites” are of particular interest to Matthew (mentioned 13 times in Matthew, compared with one use of the word in Mark and three in Luke), usually referring to outsiders or opponents. See Matt 6:2, 5, 16; 7:5; 15:7; 22:18; 23:13, [14], 15, 23, 25, 27, 29; 24:51. In Matthew 6–7 this term retains its connotation of “playactors,” while elsewhere it has simply come to refer to those outside the Jesus movement. For a discussion of the two distinct ways in which this term is used in Matthew, see Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, Including the Sermon on the Plain (Matthew 5:3–7:27 and Luke 6:20–49)* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 356–7.

application of foreign anthropological categories to the text.⁶² Such endeavors also typically ignore the possibility that there was some fluidity between these terms in the first century CE.⁶³ Luz, for example, argues that Hades is invoked in Matt 11:23 as the equivalent to Sheol (שְׁאוֹל), the neutral abode of the dead that is referenced throughout the LXX.⁶⁴ While Luz's argument tries to make sense of Matthew's use of diverse terminology from a linguistic standpoint, it fails to account for

⁶² See for example, Milikowsky, "Which Gehenna," 242, whose redaction critical analysis of Gehenna in Matthew and Luke concludes that Matthew's use of the term indicates a "corporeal Gehenna" while Luke's describes a "post-mortem, incorporeal hell of souls." In order to arrive at these conclusions Milikowsky reads the anthropological categories of corporeal vs. incorporeal existence into ancient texts that are not primarily concerned with this body-soul distinction.

⁶³ While scholars have typically tried to distinguish between "Hades" and "Gehenna" in the NT, there is no evidence that the NT authors or readers would have appreciated this distinction. Duane F. Watson, "Gehenna," *ABD* 2:927, has argued that "Hades" is the interim abode of the dead prior to judgment while "Gehenna" is a place of final punishment (Luke 12:5 as a possible exception). This hypothesis is problematic because 1) the two terms are not juxtaposed directly in any of the NT texts, and 2) the only instance in which Hades is used to indicate a temporary dwelling place (the book of Revelation) does not contain a reference to Gehenna. For good summaries of the use of these terms in the first century, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 268–69, 632–34; Outi Lehtipuu, *The Afterlife Imagery in Luke's Story of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (NovTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 271–5.

⁶⁴ Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 153.

the tenor of eschatological judgment in Matt 11:20-24.⁶⁵ Thus, in the context of Matthew, Hades and Gehenna both refer to eschatological punishment or the place of damnation.⁶⁶ Matthew uses these images together because he is writing at time when they are becoming interchangeable, on the cusp of the development of what we know as the Christian conception of “hell.”

For his early Christian audience, Matthew’s “play” with these diverse terms evokes the range of available imagery for “hell” as a pedagogical tool. Matthew’s use of Jewish apocalyptic terminology (Gehenna, furnace of fire, etc.) evokes the implicit pedagogical orientation

⁶⁵ Matthew’s use of Septuagintal language signals the pronouncement of a warning or threat, and the use of the term “day of judgment” and the reference to Capernaum’s ascent or descent bring a heavier eschatological force to the rhetoric of Jesus’ woes. The “day of judgment” (ἡμέρα κρίσεως) is Septuagintal language that is unique to Matthew among the New Testament gospels (although the phrase τῆ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ occurs in John 6:39-54; 7:37; 11:24; 12:48). The LXX use of this term often refers to eschatological judgment. See, for example, Esth 10:11; Prov 6:34; Jdt 16:7; *Pss. Sol.* 15:12. The phrase “day of judgment” is also present in the Pseudepigrapha (*1 En.* 22:4,13; 97:3; 100:4; *4 Ezra* 7:38-39, 102-105, 113; 12:34). The use of this term in Matthew coheres with the eschatological judgment that is on the horizon throughout the First Gospel. For instance, in Matt 5:22 and Matt 23:33 judgment (κρίσις) is juxtaposed with Gehenna (γέεννα).

⁶⁶ As Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 269, argue, “by the first century ‘Hades’ seems to have merged, at least in some minds, with ‘Gehenna,’ the place of damnation and punishment for the wicked.”

of the Jewish abode of the dead and the ethical prompting of the traditions that offer the reader a choice between “two ways.”⁶⁷ What is more, the graphic depiction of these places of eternal punishment brings to mind the notion of Hades as a vehicle for ethical education that is found in Greek and Latin texts. In this regard, Matthew’s use of these images together creates a vision of “hell” that is emotionally moving and thus ethically motivational for a broad audience. Through his rhetorical use of this terminology Matthew gave birth to the early Christian concept of hell as a tool for ethical and cultural education.

b. Evidence of *Ekphrasis*: The Presence of *Enargeia* or “Vividness”

While Matthew’s depictions of eschatological judgment and eternal torment had different language and themes from those of the Greek and Latin authors, his rhetorical strategy was not unlike the pedagogical use of Hades that was found in Plato or Lucian. We will examine the rhetorical similarities between Matthew’s paraenetic use of eternal punishment and the *ekphrasis* of Hades that we witnessed in the Greek and Latin authors. As noted above, the primary characteristic of

⁶⁷ See Barbara R. Rossing, *The Choice between Two Cities: Whore, Bride, and Empire in the Apocalypse* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999), for a discussion of the way in which the “two-women” theme from Prov 1-9 is applied in the book of Revelation with a similar rhetorical effect.

ekphrasis is the “vividness” (*enargeia*) of the description.⁶⁸ One of the methods for ensuring that an image is “vivid” enough to have an emotional impact on the audience is to rely upon images that would be familiar to that audience.⁶⁹

As we have already discussed, the images of eschatological punishment that Matthew employs would be familiar to his audience from the Hebrew Bible,⁷⁰ Jewish apocalypses,⁷¹ and Greek and Latin literature.⁷² For example, Matt 10:28-31 juxtaposes the image of Gehenna’s fiery torment with images of God’s power over creation. In particular, Matt 10:29-31 refers to God’s care of the sparrows,⁷³ and

⁶⁸ The following discussion will present examples in which Matthew uses *enargeia* to depict eschatological punishment. For comparison of all the relevant texts, see Appendix E.

⁶⁹ See Chp. 3, p. 90 above.

⁷⁰ For instance, in Matt 11:23 Capernaum’s descent to Hades is reminiscent of the banishment of cities (i.e. Tyre, Babylon) to the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 14:15-20; Ezek 26:19-21; 28: 8-10; 31-32).

⁷¹ The association between judgment and fire would be familiar from texts like 1 *En.* 10:13; 48:8-10; 100:7-9; 108:4-7; 2 *Bar.* 85:13.

⁷² The reference to the “gates of Hades” in Matt 16:8 evokes the familiar image of the underworld that is locked by gates. This concept is present as early as the Epic of Gilgamesh and is found in Homer, *Od.* 14.182 and Diogenes Laertius 8.34-35.

⁷³ For an image of God’s providence for the insignificant sparrow, see Ps 84:3. The sparrow was the cheapest poultry and was commonly sold. The Roman *as* (ἀσσανίου)

God's numbering of "the hairs of your head" (αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς; Matt 10:30),⁷⁴ two seemingly insignificant parts of creation which are nevertheless under Divine providence. More generally, the imagery of Matt 10:28-31 recalls the Book of Job, in which Job is comforted in his time of tribulation by images of God's power over creation.⁷⁵ For Matthew's readers these images of God's sovereignty indicate that they are to take comfort in God's ability to "destroy body and soul in hell," just as they take comfort in God's sovereignty over the created order. As noted above,⁷⁶ Matt 10:28-31 contains Q material that was part of a tradition of "martyrdom paraenesis," a tradition that is accentuated through Matthean arrangement.⁷⁷ By combining these apocalyptic and

was a small copper coin, worth 1/16th of a denarius (a day's wage). Thus, the sense of Matt 10:29 is to exaggerate the relative worthlessness of the sparrow.

⁷⁴ In the Hebrew Bible, one's "hairs" were an image used to signal God's care. See 1 Sam 14:45; 2 Sam 14:11; 1 Kgs 1:52. See also *T. Job* 23.7-8.

⁷⁵ See, for example, Elihu's list of God's "wondrous works" in Job 37: "God thunders wondrously with his voice; he does great things that we cannot comprehend. For to the snow he says, 'Fall on the earth'; and the shower of rain, his heavy shower of rain, serves as a sign on everyone's hand, so that all whom he has made may know it." (Job 37:5-7) See also the rhetorical questions of the Lord in Job 38-41: "Who provides for the raven its prey, when its young ones cry to God, and wander about for lack of food?" (Job 38:41)

⁷⁶ See p. 178 above.

⁷⁷ Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 101. See Chapter 5, p. 178, n. 46 above, for a discussion regarding the lack of evidence for any official persecution in this period. The

wisdom images Matthew offers his readers several different ways of accessing the concept of perseverance in the face of physical violence.

Likewise, in Matt 16:18 the reader is confronted with the concept of the “gates of Hades,” an image that would have been familiar to a diverse group of readers. For those familiar with the Septuagint, the “gates of Hades” (πύλαι ᾗδου) indicates death or mortal danger.⁷⁸ In other Greek literature the “gates of Hades” referred to the idea that the underworld was locked by gates.⁷⁹ For Matthew’s readers then, the “gates of Hades” is not simply an image of death, but a descriptor that signals a complex of developing ideas about “hell” as a perilous place that is at odds with the early Christian community.⁸⁰ In the face of the hypothetical onslaught of the “gates of Hades” the church prevails, and

references Luz cites as evidence of “martyrdom” likely refer to the physical risks of discipleship more generally.

⁷⁸ See Isa 38:10; Wis 16:13; *Pss. Sol.* 16:2; 3 Macc. 5.51. For more detailed discussion of the concept of “gates” or “bars” of Sheol see chapter 2, p.41, n.53 above.

⁷⁹ See Homer *Od.* 14.182 and Diogenes Laertius 8:34-35.

⁸⁰ While Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 363, argues that “the philological evidence strongly limits the palette of possible interpretations,” (namely to those which consider Hades to be the Greek equivalent to Sheol), I contend that Matthew’s audience would not have confined their understanding of the concept “gates of Hades” to the range of meanings available in the LXX. Instead, as Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 633, argue, the concepts of Hades and Sheol changed over time. While some readers may have inferred a LXX meaning, the concept of Hades was already developing into a place for the ungodly dead by the first century.

Matthew's readers are able to understand this unequivocally (Jew and Gentile) as a vivid depiction of the church's power and endurance.⁸¹

Through the use of diverse imagery, Matthew's depictions of eschatological punishment had maximal rhetorical impact, establishing the *ekklesia* as ineffaceable "to the end of the age (28:20)."

Matthew also combines multiple images in a single scene. In several places he coordinates a vision of eternal punishment with a reference to heaven.⁸² In these passages the image of heaven establishes

⁸¹ For a reading of this passage in the context of "binding and loosing" in Matthew, see Joel Marcus, "The Gates of Hades and the Keys of the Kingdom (Matt 16:18-19)," *CBQ* 50 (1988): 443-55.

⁸² Matt 7:15-23 juxtaposes those who will be "cut down and thrown in the fire" and those who do the will of the Father and are welcomed into the "kingdom of heaven." Matt 8:10-12 and 22:1-14 contrast the "kingdom of heaven" with "outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth." Matt 11:23 contrasts Hades with heaven. In the parabolic discourse, Matthew contrasts the "kingdom of heaven" and the "kingdom of the Father" with the "furnace of fire where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Matt 13:24-53). In Matt 16:18-19 the "gates of Hades" do not assail the church because it is built upon Peter, who holds "the keys of the kingdom of heaven." And finally in Matt 25 the "kingdom of heaven" is contrasted with "outer darkness where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (v.30) as well as "the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels" (v.41). In Matt 25:46 the coming of the kingdom discourse concludes with a statement about the eternal punishment of those who did not meet the needs of "the least of these": "And these will go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life."

a contrast between eternal reward and eternal punishment.⁸³ By juxtaposing heaven and eternal punishment Matthew confronts the reader with “two ways” similar to the paths to wickedness and righteousness in the Hebrew Bible.⁸⁴ Unlike the imagery of the “two ways” in the Hebrew Bible, the language of punishment and reward in Matthew is not only focused upon one’s choices and consequences in the present but also on one’s eschatological fate. Through this combination of imagery Matthew’s readers would begin to construct a dichotomous understanding of the afterlife in which a person could either receive rewards or punishments for all eternity based upon his choices in this life.⁸⁵

⁸³ As Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 389–392, note, in Matthew, “kingdom of heaven” is “a stylistic variation of ‘kingdom of God.’” Thus “kingdom of heaven” in Matthew connotes the arrival of God’s eschatological rule and the accompanying positive transformation of the world into “an idyllic, paradisiacal state in which God’s will would be fully realized.”

⁸⁴ See chapter 2, pp. 48-52.

⁸⁵ See for example, Gregory the Great’s reflection on Matt 13:48, which culminates in a dichotomous depiction of eschatological judgment: “Then all the elect will be received into eternal dwellings, and the condemned will be led away into external darkness, since they have lost the light of the kingdom within them...Some fish, when they have been caught cannot be changed. Others of us who were caught while we are wicked can become changed for the better. Let us bear this in mind as we are in the process of being caught, lest we be thrown aside on shore.” *Forty Gospel Homilies* 11.4.

In Matt 18:6-9 several images augment one another for rhetorical effect. Here, Matthew uses different images in order to communicate the severity of the punishment that awaits those who become “stumbling blocks” to others, leading them astray intellectually and morally (σκανδαλίζω).⁸⁶ In addition to the comparison between self inflicted disability and eternal torment (Matt 18:8-9 cf. Mk 9:42-50), Matthew also includes a unique description that combines two disparate forms of suffering: the millstone hung around the neck and the millstone cast into the sea. The concept of having a millstone around one’s neck may be familiar to Jewish audiences as a reference to personal suffering.⁸⁷ What is distinctive about Matthew’s depiction of suffering via millstone is that he couples this image with that of a millstone being flung into the sea,

⁸⁶ Matt 18:6-9 is held together by parallel constructions. Verses 6, 8, and 9 all consist of a σκανδαλίζω saying followed by a *Tobspruch* or “better than” saying. For discussion of the *Tobspruch* sayings, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 525.

⁸⁷ For example, see *b. Qidd.* 29b, which refers to a man’s wife as “a millstone around his neck” that distracts from the study of Torah. *B. Sanh.* 93b, talks about being weighed down with sin “like millstones.” These texts are considerably later than Matthew (sixth-seventh century C.E.), however, the quotations from R. Yohanan could be dated to a period just after the composition of Matthew (second-third century C.E). These sources suggest that the concept of being weighted down by a millstone might have been a familiar expression in Galilee. Later sources also describe being tied to a millstone as the basest fate. See *j. Qidd.* 1:7 and *Midr. Sekhel Tov Exod* 11:5.

conveying a dark, remote and inescapable grave.⁸⁸ These gruesome images are followed by two woes against stumbling blocks (18:7) and a condensed version of the Markan comparison between bodily mutilation and fiery eternal punishment (18:8-9).⁸⁹ By combining these two images of suffering and placing them in parallelism with the images of self-inflicted disability and eternal torment, Matthew indicates the severity of the offense (σκανδαλίζω) to a diverse audience that is familiar with different images. Similar to the way in which Virgil brought together the disparate images of necromancy, initiation, and underworld journey (*Aeneid* 6.140-267),⁹⁰ Matthew's cacophony of imagery can be explained as an attempt to appeal to the differing "visual vocabularies" of his audience. In this regard, Matthew's combination of imagery ensures that every member of his audience would be able to picture the scene of punishment in vivid detail (*enargeia*).

In addition to familiar depictions of eternal punishment, Matthew also chose images that were vivid by virtue of the "amount of perceptible

⁸⁸ In some cases drowning was used as a barbaric form of punishment, fitting for tyrants and the like by virtue of its gruesomeness: Polybius 2.60.8; Plutarch, *Mor.* 3.257D; Suetonius, *Aug.* 67; Diodorus Siculus 14.112, 16.35; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.450. See also the punishment of Babylon in Jer 51:63-4; Rev 18:21.

⁸⁹ See the discussion of the Markan parallel above pp. 165-180.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 3, p. 109 above.

detail” they contained, relative to their given context.⁹¹ For instance, in Matthew 5:22 the punishments are listed in ascending order (the law court, the Sanhedrin, Gehenna), such that Gehenna makes the general concept of v.22a more “concrete and vivid.”⁹² And again in 5:29-30 Matthew amplifies the rhetoric of his source (Mk 9:42-50) by emphasizing the contrast between eternal punishment and self inflicted disability. With the phrase “throw it away from you” (βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ)⁹³ Matt 5:29-30 accentuates the separation between the individual and his self-amputated body part. Rather than referring to the end result of the self-mutilation as Mark does (“maimed”; κολών; Mk 9:43), Matthew further describes the loss of limb as a kind of death (“one of your body parts perishes”; ἀπόληται ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου; Matt 5:29). And where Mk 9:43-47 focuses on the mechanics of bodily mutilation, contrasting the disabled body with one that has “two hands” or “two feet,” Matt 5:29-30 heightens the emphasis on the disabled body by contrasting it with the “whole

⁹¹ According to Nicolaus *Progymnasmata* 67-71, *ekphrasis* is recognized by “the amount of perceptible detail...the exact quantity to be determined by subjective judgment or by convention.”

⁹² Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 514. While Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 253, sees the reference to Gehenna in 5:22 as a concrete illustration of the more general, Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 514–16, argue that 5:22b is redactional. If Davies and Allison are correct, this is another example of Matthew’s editorial tendency to use eternal punishment for rhetorical aims.

⁹³ Whereas Mark 9:43-47 instructs to “cut it off” but not to cast the limb or eye aside.

body” (ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου).⁹⁴ What is more, the phrase “whole body” in conjunction with “cast into hell” also highlights the idea that eternal punishment applied to one’s entirety as a person. For readers familiar with the LXX this may have evoked the scene in Num 16 in which those who opposed the leadership of Moses were swallowed alive by Sheol, possessions and all. In this manner Matthew has increased the rhetorical force of the images in Mark 9 by making the contrast between eternal punishment of the “whole body” and self imposed disability more dramatic.⁹⁵

Throughout Matthew the *enargeia* of eternal punishment confronts the reader with jarring images such as “eternal fire” (τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον; Matt 18:8; 25:41),⁹⁶ “weeping and gnashing of teeth” (ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων; Matt 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30), “outer darkness” (τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον; Matt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30) or “furnace of fire” (τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός; Matt 13:42, 50). These detailed depictions of torment place the readers amidst dire conditions in order to shape their emotional response to the teachings of Jesus as they are presented in Matthew.

⁹⁴ Whereas Mark 9:43-47 has “two hands” etc.

⁹⁵ See also the arguments of Henderson, “Salted with Fire,” 51, that the narrative contexts of Matt 5:27-30 and Matt 18:6-9 both make the rhetorical function of Mk 9:43-47 “more evidently coherent.”

⁹⁶ For other places in which “eternal fire” signifies a punishment see 4 Macc 9:9; 12:12; Jude 1:7.

The *enargeia* of “weeping and gnashing of teeth,” for example, rings forth like a refrain in Matthew, repeatedly assailing the audience with a scene that is audibly painful—both physically and emotionally.⁹⁷ The combination of “weeping and gnashing of teeth” (ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων) brings to mind physical pain that results from eternal torment⁹⁸ as well as emotional pain that results from the anger and remorse that the condemned might feel.⁹⁹ The repetition of this imagery throughout Matthew creates an emotionally moving picture of eschatological judgment. Taken together, the references to “weeping and gnashing of teeth” evoke a specific scene in the minds of the readers, and thus use *ekphrasis* to turn the readers into spectators. These instances of *ekphrasis* are qualitatively different from the briefer mentions of eternal

⁹⁷ See Appendix G. This imagery is also found in Luke 13:28a, but Matthew’s extensive use of the phrase amplifies its rhetorical effect. A passage about weeping and gnashing of teeth in *Sib. Or.* 8.231 parallels the persistent use of this phrase in Matthew, but only indicates contact with the synoptic/sayings source. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, 2:63–64. Since there are no earlier instances of this phrase in the Greek corpus, we must conclude that it appears for the first time in Q.

⁹⁸ For places in which “weeping” is associated with the physical pain of eternal punishment, see *1 En.* 108:3, 5; *2 En.* 40:12.

⁹⁹ See Luke 13:25–28; *4 Ezra* 7:83; *Midr. Qoh.* 1.15 for references to the emotional pain of the condemned. The image of “gnashing teeth” is used in various contexts in the LXX to envisage an emotional outcry: Job 16:9; Ps 34:16; 36:12; 111:10; Lam 2:16.

punishment in Matthew because the language used elaborates upon the details of the place in a way that would stir the audience's emotions.

For instance, in Matt 13 the “furnace of fire” and “the weeping and gnashing of teeth” that await the unrighteous at the eschaton are mentioned twice (vv.42, 50) in order to provide a vivid and emotionally jarring depiction of “the end of the age.” In this regard, the *ekphrasis* of eternal punishment in Jesus' parabolic discourse motivates the reader to ensure that he is counted among the righteous who will “shine like the sun” (v.43).¹⁰⁰ Similarly, the description of the unfaithful slave's punishment not only involves “weeping and gnashing of teeth,” but the dismemberment of the slave: “he will cut him in two and assign him his portion with the hypocrites...” (καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν θήσεται; Matt 24:51).¹⁰¹ Matthew's appeal to the senses through the *ekphrasis* of “weeping and gnashing of teeth” is similar to the descriptions of the underworld in Lucian's *Menippus*. As Menippus enters the place of punishment he hears the sounds of scourges and the wailing of those individuals who are being roasted, namely the “rich” who

¹⁰⁰ See Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 70, for a discussion of Matt 13 as paraenesis: “The text is parenetic. The disciples in the house are to take care that they do not belong to the ‘ones who give offense’ (σκάνδαλα) and the doers of lawlessness who are inside and outside the church.”

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of the role of the “hypocrite” (ὑποκριτής) in Matthew as an “outsider” more generally see Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 580–1.

are tortured twice as much as the “poor.”¹⁰² For both Matthew and Lucian, the *ekphrasis* of eternal torment is employed in order to appeal to the audience’s senses as well as their emotions, moving them to behave ethically in this life.

c. Explicit Communication of the Didactic Function of the *Ekphrasis*

Many of these descriptions of eschatological punishment illustrate that Matthew’s use of *enargeia* had paraenetic value for his ancient audiences. In fact, two thirds of these references to eschatological punishment occur within one of Matthew’s five discourses.¹⁰³ In these passages, the Matthean Jesus teaches the implied audience within the text and simultaneously provides teaching for the ancient audience of Matthew’s gospel. In the Sermon on the Mount the audience is exhorted to live peaceably with one another (Matt 5:22), cut off offending body parts (Matt 5:29-30), and “bear good fruit” (Matt 7:15-20) in order to avoid Gehenna (τὴν γέενναν; Matt 5:22, 29, 30)¹⁰⁴ or “the fire” (εἰς πῦρ; Matt

¹⁰² Lucian, *Men.* 14-15.

¹⁰³ Of the instances of eschatological punishment surveyed here (Matt 3:10, 12; 5:22; 29, 30; 7:19; 8:12; 10:28; 11:23; 13:40, 42, 50; 15:13-14; 16:18; 18:8, 9; 22:13; 23:15, 33; 24:51; 25:30, 41), the majority of them occur within the discourse material in Matthew (fifteen out of twenty-two citations).

¹⁰⁴ The references to eternal punishment in chapter 5 are part of Jesus’ “antitheses,” or revision of Exod 20:13-14. While some have argued that Jesus is simply interpreting the law for a Jewish audience (i.e. Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 214.), others have demonstrated that Matthew’s Jesus is making a more radical

7:19).¹⁰⁵ Within the Sermon on the Mount these vivid images serve to delineate the “Two Ways” that are before the disciples, the one that leads to “eternal destruction” and the one that leads to “eternal life.”¹⁰⁶ As Betz argues, the instructional tradition of the “Two Ways”¹⁰⁷ is one of the key

pronouncement for a diverse audience (i.e. Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 521; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 534–38.). Given Matthew’s emphasis on eschatology and *ekklesia*, as well as the diverse audience we have hypothesized, the antitheses should be viewed as instructional material that are intended to generate novel ethical and cultural norms for the coming age. As Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 521, note, the provocative nature of Jesus’ reading of the Pentateuch would have been a “pedagogical plus,” making it difficult for the audience to forget.

¹⁰⁵ Here Jesus quotes John the Baptist’s teaching from Matt 3:10 (without οὖν).

Eschatological images of trees or plants are employed elsewhere in Matthew: Matt 3:10; 12:33; 13:40; 15:13–14; 24:32. Matt 7:19 would later be applied to specific arguments for those who should be viewed as “outsiders” to the Christian community (so-called “heretics”) Jude 12; Herm. *Sim.* 4.4; Justin *Apol.* 1.16.12–13.

¹⁰⁶ Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 81–82, 521–24. For further discussion of the Sermon on the Mount as paraenesis, see James G. Williams, “Paraenesis, Excess, and Ethics: Matthew’s Rhetoric in the Sermon on the Mount,” *Semeia* 50 (1990): 163–87; Jonathan A. Draper, “The Genesis and Narrative Thrust of the Paraenesis in the Sermon on the Mount,” *JSNT* 75 (1999): 25–48. For a brief summary of some early Christian readings of the Sermon on the Mount as paraenesis, see Robert M. Grant, “Sermon on the Mount in Early Christianity,” *Semeia* 12 (1978): 215–31.

¹⁰⁷ This tradition is not only familiar through Jewish literature (see Chapter 2, pp. 48–53) but is also found in the *ekphrasis* of these two paths in the tablet of Cebes (see Chapter 3, pp. 92–94).

motifs that distinguishes Matthew's Sermon on the Mount from Luke's Sermon on the Plain (see esp. Matt 7:13-14):

In the concluding parable of the two builders (7:24-27), we learn that one is to identify "the troublesome road" with the sayings of Jesus as they are contained in the SM. In other words, one is to regard the SM in its entirety as "the way" to eternal life, whereas the way to destruction consists of the doctrines and practices explicitly or implicitly rejected by the SM.¹⁰⁸

If the Sermon on the Mount is to be viewed as a teaching on the "Two Ways," then the vivid descriptions of eternal punishment within the Sermon are integral to the Sermon's paraenetic rhetoric. For Matthew's readers then, the *enargeia* of fiery torment in the Sermon on the Mount combines the pedagogical rhetorical techniques of *enargeia* with the familiar imagery of the "Two Ways" that could be found in the Hebrew Bible or the "Two Gates" that are in the tablet of Cebes.¹⁰⁹

The teaching of the "Two Ways" that is vividly brought "before the eyes" in the Sermon on the Mount provides the eschatological framework for the remainder of the Matthean discourses. Jesus teaches his disciples and Matthew's readers that they should not fear earthly opposition, but "him who can destroy both soul and body in Gehenna"

¹⁰⁸ Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 82.

¹⁰⁹ Among numerous other places in the Ancient Near East and Greek religion that refer to this tradition, see esp. Deut 11:28-30; 30:15-16; Josh 24:15; Jer 21:8-14; Ps 1:6; 118:29-30; 138:24; Prov 4:11-12; 15:11-20; Sir 6:18-31; 21:10; *Sib. Or.* 8:399-401; *T.Abr.* 8-13; *T.Ash.* 1:3-5:4; *2 En.* 30:15; *4 Ezra* 7:3-15; Philo, *Ebr.* 150; *Agr.* 104; *Post.* 154; *Ceb. Tab.* 1.1-2.2.

(Matt 10:28).¹¹⁰ Through parables the Matthean Jesus further describes the fate of these “evil ones” (πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν), detailing the manner in which they will be separated from the righteous at the “end of the age” (ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος) and providing a vivid description of their fiery punishment (13:40, 42, 50). The material from Matt 5:29-30 is repeated in the discourse on Life in the Community as a means of reinforcing the communal norms of the Jesus movement (Matt 18:8). In each of these discourses the *enargeia* of “hell” functions pedagogically to exhort Matthew’s readers to behave ethically and to encourage them in the face of those who do not adhere to the norms of the Jesus movement.

Finally, Jesus’ teaching on the Coming Kingdom concludes with a scene of eschatological judgment and eternal punishment in which the Son of Man commands the unrighteous “goats” to “depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels” (Matt 25:41). In this final discourse Matthew brings a specific picture of the coming kingdom “before the eyes” of his readers, so that readers would feel like they were “eye witnesses” to the Day of Judgment. The casting out of the worthless slave (“weeping and gnashing of teeth” Matt 25:30), the imagery of the sheep and the goats, the perplexed groups of righteous and unrighteous people (“Lord when was it...?” Matt 25:32-33), and the

¹¹⁰ For a discussion of Matthew’s redaction of this passage in order to place it in its paraenetic context in the Mission and Discipleship discourse, see pp.177-78 above.

“eternal fire” (Matt 25:41), are all part of the *ekphrasis* of eternal punishment. As “spectators” to this scene of harsh judgment, Matthew’s audience is moved to adhere to the ethical norms expressed through the words of Jesus, to care “for the least of these.”

In addition to those passages that occur in Matthew’s special teaching sections, two references to eschatological punishment in the narrative of Matthew are part of John the Baptist’s instruction. Matthew introduces John the Baptist in a way that is similar to the introduction of Jesus (cf. Matt 3:1 with 3:13), paralleling the teachings of Jesus and John (cf. 3:2 with 4:17; 3:7 with 12:34 and 23:33; 3:10 with 7:19).¹¹¹ In Matt 3:10-12 John the Baptist teaches that the “tree that does not bear good fruit” or the “chaff” will be burned at the eschaton. These agricultural images of eschatological punishment are repeated later in Matthew as a part of Jesus’ teaching (Matt 7:19; 12:33; 13:40). Thus, for Matthew’s readers John the Baptist’s teaching introduces these concepts of eschatological punishment, reinforcing the pedagogical function of these images through repetition.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 288–290; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 137–39.

¹¹² As Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 139, notes, the preaching in Matthew begins and ends with the “judgment of the Son of Man,” which is based on human deeds (Matt 3:10-12; 7:21-23; 25:31-46). The catchword “fire” is also a central component to the first and last proclamations (3:10; 25:41). Luz summarizes: “The coming annihilating judgment is a key to Matthew’s theology. Whoever is critical here is critical of the center of Matthean theology.”

d. The Description of Punishment as *Paideia*: Rhetoric of Ethical and Cultural Education

In addition to using the concept of eternal punishment in these important teaching moments in his gospel, Matthew also utilizes the spectacle of eternal punishment as *paideia*. As we saw in the Greek and Latin texts, some texts simply used Hades as the locale or occasion for teaching, while other texts used the punishments themselves to educate the audience about how to behave ethically in this life. In this manner, the spectacle of punishment functioned more generally as *paideia*, providing education in the sense that the punishments themselves vividly illustrated ethical and cultural norms. Matthew's use of eternal punishment also qualifies as *paideia* in this broader sense, as a program of ethical and cultural formation that would help to shape the burgeoning Jesus movement.

In some passages of Matthew's gospel, eternal punishment is invoked to reinforce ethical lessons. For the earliest readers of Matthew, these ethical lessons would provide clear social norms and expectations for an incipient social group.¹¹³ For example, Matt 5:22 uses the

¹¹³ As Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 238–9, notes, the practical dimension of Jesus' teaching in Matt 5:22 was not in the purview of the historical Jesus but emerged for Matthew's audience (via the antitheses) as the kingdom of God began to be realized on earth. For other places in Matthew in which eternal punishment is mentioned in conjunction with ethical teaching see Matt 5:22, 29, 30; 15:13-14; 18:8, 9.

“Gehenna of fire” (τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός) as a dramatic deterrent to anger, insult, and name-calling. In this passage Jesus expounds upon the Pentateuch’s prohibition of murder (οὐ φονεύσεις; Exod 20:13), equating anger and hateful speech with murder. The effect of this contrast between Jesus’ teaching and the Pentateuch is that his radical ethical demands would “not easily be forgotten (a pedagogical plus).”¹¹⁴ Despite its “attention grabbing” rhetoric, the content of Jesus’ teaching in Matt 5:22 is not novel or radical.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, the escalating examples of punishment in v. 22 (judgment, Sanhedrin, Gehenna) shift from earthly judgment and punishment to “Divine-eschatological” judgment and punishment, utilizing “Gehenna of fire” as a “concrete example” of the dire consequences for transgressing the ethical demands of God’s kingdom.¹¹⁶ In this regard, Matt 5:22 uses the *enargeia* of eternal punishment to make a familiar ethical lesson more dramatic, and thus more emotionally moving.

Parallel to Jesus’ radical ethical demands in the Sermon on the Mount, there are several texts in Matthew that make clear that it is one’s

¹¹⁴ Davies and Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, 521.

¹¹⁵ As Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 237, argues, “Jesus’ demand is nothing new in the framework of contemporary Jewish paraenesis.” For examples of this ethical demand in Jewish literature, see 1QS 6:25-27; 7:2-5, 8-9; *b. Qidd.* 28a; Sir 34:21-22; 2 *En.* 44:3.

¹¹⁶ Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 235–36.

deeds that determine his or her eternal fate.¹¹⁷ In fact, the culminating message of the “Coming of the Kingdom” discourse (Matt 24-25) is that those who did not care for the hungry, the stranger, the sick, or the imprisoned would go away into “eternal punishment” (κόλασιν αἰώνιον), whereas those who did would enter into “eternal life” (ζωὴν αἰώνιον). This vivid schema of eternal punishment and eternal reward is similar to Plato’s own graphic schema of the torments that befall the “uneducated” and the “more beautiful abodes” of those who lead philosophical lives.¹¹⁸ For Plato, however, these differentiated fates do not exhort the audience to perform “righteous deeds,” but to educate and nurture the soul.¹¹⁹ Matthew’s ethical orientation that is so strongly focused on one’s behaviors is akin to Lucian’s clear articulation of the “moral” in Menippus’s tour of the underworld, providing a specific set of guidelines

¹¹⁷ For other passages that equate one’s behavior or “deeds” with his or her eternal fate, see Matt 3:10-12; 5:22, 29, 30; 7:13-14, 19; 12:36-37; 16:24-28; 22:13; 25:30, 41. While the wedding garment of Matt 22 has been interpreted since the reformation as “faith” since the reformation, the original context in Matthew demands that we understand the garment as “works.” See Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21-28: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 57–59. For early Christians, the understanding of the garment as the “holiness of the flesh” or “good deeds” was dominant. See Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.36.6; Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 17.16; John Chrysostom, *Comm. Matt.* 69.2-3; Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 20.

¹¹⁸ Plato, *Phaed.* 113D-114C.

¹¹⁹ Plato, *Phaed.* 107D-108C.

for ethical behavior.¹²⁰ Parallel to the pedagogical function of Hades in Plato's *Phaedo* or Lucian's *Menippus*, Matthew's emphasis on behavior as the criterion for eternal punishment and reward was foundational for early Christian *paideia*. For later Christians, Matthean ethical norms would become the "essential law of Christianity" and provide a codified set of rules and expectations that defined the community.¹²¹

In addition to these ethically oriented references to eternal punishment, Matthew also uses the concept of eternal torment to reinforce specific cultural boundaries.¹²² In these passages Matthew invokes eternal punishment as part of "pedagogical warnings" that use Israel or Jewish groups (Pharisees, Sadducees, etc.) as negative examples for the church.¹²³ For instance the *enargeia* of the eternal punishment of

¹²⁰ Lucian, *Men.* 21.

¹²¹ The Sermon on the Mount and in particular the fifth chapter of Matthew appears more frequently in Ante-Nicene writers than any other chapter/chapters in the entire Bible. Warren S. Kissinger, *The Sermon on the Mount: A History of Interpretation and Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press, 1975), 6.

¹²² For places in Greek and Latin literature where the *ekphrasis* of Hades is used to reinforce cultural values, see Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1427-1430 and Virgil, *Aen.* 6.740-755. In these texts, however, the punishments of Hades are not the primary source of *paideia*.

¹²³ See, for example, Matt 8:12; 11:23; 22:13; 23:15, 33. As Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 59, argues, the wedding banquet parable of Matt 22, the polemic of chapter 23 and the apocalyptic discourse of chapters 24-25 all "show a similar combination of judgment on Israel and warning to the church."

the “heirs of the kingdom” in Matt 8:12 depicts the eschatological reality buttressing Jesus’ reversal of the traditional power structures.¹²⁴ In this same chapter of Matthew Jesus heals a leper, a Gentile and a woman with a fever, helping those without status and power in an effort to demonstrate the new cultural norms of “God’s future.”¹²⁵ In the context of Matt 8 then, the relegation of some of the “heirs of the kingdom” to “outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth” does not serve to condemn “the Jews.” Instead, this depiction of eternal punishment is a pedagogical warning that announces an eschatological reversal of traditional cultural norms for Matthew’s audience. In this regard, the cultural component of Matthew’s *paideia* is similar to the reversal of fates found in Lucian’s *Menippus*. Just as Lucian imagines

¹²⁴ See Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 31, for a discussion of Matthew’s condemnation of the heirs of the kingdom as a “prophetic threat” and rather than a “certainty.”

¹²⁵ See Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 58. For an in-depth discussion of the cultural significance of women in Matt 8-9, see Elaine M. Wainwright, *Towards a Feminist Critical Reading of the Gospel According to Matthew* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 177–215; Elaine M. Wainwright, *Women Healing/Healing Women: The Genderization of Healing in Early Christianity* (London: Equinox, 2006), 143–53.

the poor tormenting the rich,¹²⁶ Matthew imagines an eschatological vindication for “the least of these” in society (Matt 25:45-46).

Likewise, in Matt 11:23 Jesus relegates Capernaum to Hades as a pedagogical warning.¹²⁷ Here, the obstinate cities (11:20-24) are punished and are contrasted with the “infants” to whom the Son of Man is revealed (11:25-27) and those who “learn” from Jesus and find rest for their souls (11:28-30).¹²⁸ The pericope itself emphasizes that Gentile cities (even notorious ones) may be more receptive to the message of Jesus than the people of Israel.¹²⁹ Immediately followed by Jesus’ invitation to “learn from me” (11:28-30), the woes of Matt 11:20-24 can hardly signal the failure of Jesus’ mission altogether. Instead, the harsh pronouncement of judgment is situated in a way that gives it parnetic

¹²⁶ See the rich who serve as donkeys, bearing the burdens of the poor (Lucian, *Men.* 20) or the kings and satraps who sell salt fish and get abused as if they were slaves (Lucian, *Men.* 17).

¹²⁷ For a discussion of pedagogical function of this material in Q and the manner in which Matthew reorients that Q material in Matt 11:20-24 to amplify this rhetoric, see pp.175-76 above.

¹²⁸ Most scholars have divided Matt 11:20-30 into two separate passages (11:20-24 and 11:25-30). For examples see Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 265–97; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 151–76. Despite the discrete content of each pericope, Matthew 11:20-30 is a narrative unit with an explicit pedagogical function.

¹²⁹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 267.

force.¹³⁰ Matthew's use of Septuagintal language signals the pronouncement of a warning or threat,¹³¹ and the use of the term "day of judgment" (ἡμέρα κρίσεως) and the reference to Capernaum's ascent or descent bring a heavier eschatological force to the rhetoric of Jesus' woes.¹³² Thus, for both the author of Matthew and his audience,

¹³⁰ Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 259, argues that the immediate context of Matt 11:20-30 brings about a "paranetic transformation" of the prophetic exclamation against Chorazin and Bethsaida. Placed in close proximity to the material about the disbelief of John the Baptist's disciples, and followed by the passage that says that "this" is hidden from the "wise and intelligent," the sayings of Matt 11:20-24 have the effect of warding off opponents. Matthew, however, was not oriented solely toward "opponents" but toward the persuasion of an incipient Christian community, using the harsh Q material for rhetorical force.

¹³¹ The eschatological woe is the counterpart to the makarism/eschatological blessing. For examples of eschatological woes in the HB, see Amos 5:18; 6:1, 4; Mic 2:1; Hab 2:6,9, 12, 15; Zeph 2:5; 3:1. Matthew's comparison between the Galilean and Gentile cities reverses the LXX oracles against foreign nations. See the oracles against Tyre and Sidon in Isa 23; Ezek 26-28; Joel 4:4; Zech 9:2-4. See David E. Garland, *The Intention of Matthew 23* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 64-72, for an analysis of the different types of woes used in Matthew. Garland concludes that Matt 11:21 and Matt 23 utilize the same formula which implies "strong condemnation" (rather than "sorrowful pity"; cf. Matt 18:7; 24:19; 26:24). Since Garland also argues that the woes of Matt 23 are pedagogical in nature, his hypothesis suggests that Matt 11:21 is also pedagogically oriented.

¹³² For discussion of the phrase "day of judgment" (ἡμέρα κρίσεως), see pp. 217 and 230 above. On the rhetorical effect of juxtaposing "heaven" and "Hades," see p. 235 above.

Capernaum's descent to Hades represents Jesus' harsh eschatological judgment.¹³³ Within the narrative this judgment is understood as a pronouncement of eschatological doom for the city itself, while it has a more general rhetorical effect on Matthew's readers, serving as a pedagogical warning.¹³⁴ For a mixed audience that is on its way to defining itself socially and culturally, the descent of Capernaum to Hades¹³⁵ in Matt 11:23 would have resonated with Matthew's audience's own frustrations regarding their failed mission to Israel. The fate of these cities in Hades serves as a pedagogical warning for Matthew's

¹³³ Davies and Allison, *Matthew 8-18*, 269, 633, argue that in Matt 11:23 heaven and Hades are "merely" figures of speech that do not require the audience to perceive heaven and Hades as real places. The metaphorical power of these phrases is lost, however, if the readers do not understand Hades as a place of eschatological destruction.

¹³⁴ See Joseph A. Comber, "The Composition and Literary Characteristics of Matt 11.20-24," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 499. In Matthew 11:23, the rhetorical power of ascent and descent supplements the notion of eschatological judgment through "an extraordinarily forceful allusion" to Isa 14:13-15 and Ezek 26:20.

¹³⁵ While the external and internal text critical evidence point to different readings of this text (*καταβήση* and *καταβιβασθήση* respectively), the import of the phrase remains the same. Here the editors of NA²⁷ have opted for *καταβήση*, following "the earliest representative of both the Alexandrian and the Western types of text" (B, D, W, and a few others). Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; Freiburg: German Bible Society, 1994), 25.

audience, which instructs community members to extend the reach of their mission beyond Israel.

Similarly, the Matthean Jesus contrasts the “light burden” (τὸ φορτίον μου ἑλαφρόν) of his own teaching (11:28-30) with that of the Pharisees in Matt 23:1-12, arguing that they do not “practice what they teach” and referring to their “heavy burdens” (φορτία βαρέα). As a result of the incompatibility of their teaching and their deeds their convert is a “son of Gehenna” (υἱὸς γεέννης; Matt 23:15)¹³⁶ and they themselves are “sentenced to Gehenna” (τῆς κρίσεως τῆς γεέννης; Matt 23:33).¹³⁷ While there is a history of interpreting Matt 23 as anti-Jewish polemic,¹³⁸ Matthew’s mixed audience suggests that it was not heard this way in its historical context.¹³⁹ We have suggested that Matthew is written to an

¹³⁶ Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 117, argues that since there is no evidence of scribal or Pharisaic missionary activity “over sea and land,” this verse would have been understood by readers as “rhetorical exaggeration.” The rhetorical use of “sons of Gehenna” achieves a dramatic contrast (cf. “sons of the kingdom”; 8:12; 13:38) between the goals of the scribes and the Pharisees, and what they actually accomplish.

¹³⁷ This conclusion of the “woes” uses the idea of Gehenna to complete the cycle of eternal punishment, condemning the scribes and Pharisees to the place of punishment to which they lead their converts (23:15).

¹³⁸ For a summary of the history of interpretation of the “woes” of Matt 23:13-33, see Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 133-37.

¹³⁹ For evidence of Matthew’s unique rhetorical approach, see also the anti-Gentile (Matt 5:46-47; 6:7-8, 32; 18:17; 20:25) and pro-Jewish (concern for preservation of the law in Matt 5) components of the gospel.

incipient Christian group that was not yet entirely distinct from Judaism, but was also excluded from the growing Pharisaic movement. In this context, Matt 23's harsh indictment of the scribes and Pharisees would have been read as bombastic rhetoric, intended to legitimate the authority of Matthew's own community over and against the synagogue.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the vivid description of the Pharisees as "sons of Gehenna" (23:15) and "sentenced to Gehenna" (23:33) invokes the complex of imagery associated with Gehenna and eternal punishment elsewhere in Matthew in order to reinforce the cultural boundary between the Jesus movement and Pharisaic Judaism. While the use of hyperbole and caricature of the scribes and Pharisees in Matt 23 has been used violently throughout the history of interpretation, we do not ameliorate the damage by denying the rhetorical effect of Matthew's vision of the scribes and Pharisees in Gehenna. In their original context, the references to eternal punishment in Matt 23 served as part of a pedagogical warning for the Matthean community to cultivate and preserve their distinct cultural identity.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Luke Timothy Johnson, "The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic," *JBL* 108 (1989) 419-41, argues that Matt 23 is polemic between two different ancient "schools" of Judaism. See also Freyne, "Vilifying the Other," 118-23. For literature on the role of this style of rhetoric in Paul see, Lampe, "Can Words Be Violent or Do They Only Sound that Way?"

¹⁴¹ Some commentators have argued that the "woes" of Matthew 23 cannot be understood as paraenesis. See, for example, W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A*

V. Conclusion

In Matthew the concept of eschatological punishment took center stage as a central component of the gospel's educational program. The paraenetic value of these eschatological images was realized in Matthew through the use of descriptive rhetoric. Matthew's gospel appealed to the "visual vocabularies" of a broad audience because it utilized diverse terminology and familiar images from the Hebrew Bible, Jewish apocalypses, and Greek and Latin literature. Through vivid descriptions (*enargeia*) of eternal punishment Matthew's gospel brought the weeping and gnashing of teeth "before the eyes" of his audience. Placed within

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew: Matthew 19-28 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 309; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 138. All of these authors, however, define "paraenesis" or "pedagogy" in terms of ethical or moral teaching. Here I have defined pedagogy more broadly, according to the Greek and Roman understandings of *paideia* as ethical and cultural training and formation. While I disagree with Davies and Allison, *Matthew 19-28*, 309, when they conclude that "The woes did not serve Matthew's community as paraenesis," I concur with their next statements wholeheartedly: "Their [the woes] import was not moral but rather social. Not only did the castigation of opponents contribute to the task of self-definition, it no doubt also encouraged members who were yet sympathetic to the Jewish synagogue." See also, David E. Garland, *The Intention of Matthew 23* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 215, who argues that Matt 23 has a two-pronged pedagogical function. First, Matt 23 aimed to explain the rejection of Jesus by the Jews and second, Matt 23 served as a warning for the church to avoid the "way" of the scribe and Pharisee in order to escape the same judgment that befell the leaders of Israel.

explicitly pedagogical contexts in Matthew, the *enargeia* of eschatological punishment delineated ethical and cultural boundaries for early Christians. Thus, in Matthew the vivid depictions of “hell” functioned in much the same way that it did for the Greek readers of the *Odyssey*, as a tool for broad ethical and cultural education or *paideia*. As we shall see in the next chapter, later authors would expand upon this motif, drawing from both the *enargeia* and *ekphrasis* found in Matthew and the *periēgēsis* (“tour”) of the Jewish apocalypses.

Chapter 7

The Pedagogical Function of Hell in the Early Christian Apocalypses and the Early Church

"Even as God rules the world with the fear of Hell and the promise of his kingdom, so too must we rule our children" ~John Chrysostom, *Inan. glor. 67.*

I. Introduction

As early Christians continued to develop their own program of *paideia*, the *ekphrasis* of hell played a prominent role. In particular, early Christian Apocalypses expanded upon Matthew's portrayal of hell as a pedagogical tool by combining the rhetorical techniques of *periēgēsis* and *ekphrasis*. The Christian tours of hell¹ positioned themselves at the nexus of Jewish and Hellenistic culture by drawing from the *periēgēsis* of the Jewish Apocalypses. Within these tours the reader is presented with the detailed *ekphrasis* of specific punishments, expanding upon the practice of using images of hell in constructing a Christian *paideia* that we saw in the New Testament. Whereas Matthew's *enargeia* of hell might

¹ The *Apocalypse of Peter* does not constitute an "other-worldly journey" in the generic sense as identified by Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Early Christian Apocalypses," *Semeia* 14: 72. Since the rhetorical function of the narrative of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is similar to those apocalypses that do contain other-worldly journeys, we are treating them together here.

have been limited to one or two lines or verses (compare to the description of Thersites in *Iliad* 2.217 and 219 or the description of Eurybates in *Od.* 19.246), the descriptions of hell that are presented in early Christian apocalypses are much longer examples of *ekphrasis* (more akin to the *Tablet of Cebes* or Athonius's model *ekphrasis* of the Athenian *acropolis* in *Progymnasmata* 47-49).

Not only do the early Christian apocalypses utilize the rhetorical methods that originated in Greek and Latin antiquity, but they also make specific allusions to the New Testament. The rhetorical and textual heritage that is reflected in the early Christian apocalypses indicates that early Christians were consciously interpreting and expanding upon the process of ethical and cultural education that we observed in Matthew. The texts that result from these interpretive endeavors take the reader upon a horrific journey that appeals to the senses, is visually stimulating and emotionally moving. For early Christian audiences, this emotionally moving imagery would function similarly to the *ekphrasis* of Hades in Greek and Latin literature. For Christians then, as for Greeks, Romans, and Hellenized Jews, the rhetorical function of hell was primarily pedagogical. The journey through hell, and its vivid depictions of sinners and their punishments would provide Christians with a methodology for communicating ethical and cultural norms. The torments of the damned that were brought "before the eyes" of hell's "tourists" inculcated specific sets of behavioral norms and social standards, which created

and reinforced the cultural boundaries and identity markers for developing communities of early Christians.

II. Dating and Reception of Tours of Hell

Among the early Christian apocalypses there are several texts that focus on hell and its inhabitants. The *Apocalypse of Peter*, *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*, the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Mary*² each combines the hanging punishments of the Jewish tours of hell with fiery punishments or landscapes.³ The *Apocalypse of Peter* is the oldest of these texts, and was likely written sometime in the second century.⁴ This apocalypse is preserved in both

² There are four extant texts titled *Apocalypse of Mary*. Two of these texts are based upon the *Apocalypse of Paul*, one in Ethiopic and one in Greek. The other two (the *Obsequies Apocalypse* and the *Six Books Apocalypse*) may have been sources for the *Apocalypse of Paul*. See Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 19–24, 170; Richard Bauckham, “The Four Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Boston: Brill, 1998), 332–33. In this chapter, we will treat the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*, which enables us to see the way that later Christians were interpreting the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

³ Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 171, has noted that these early Christian Apocalypses drew from the hanging punishments that are described in the tours of hell in the *Isaiah fragment* and the *Elijah fragment*.

⁴ Some scholars have argued that the “liar” or “anti-Christ” of *Apoc. Pet.* 2.10 is Bar Kokhba, dating the entire work to sometime during the Judean revolt from 132-35

Ethiopic and Greek, and scholars agree that the Ethiopic text is closer to the original Greek manuscript of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (now lost).⁵

Although the original is not extant, both the Ethiopic and Greek textual traditions provide clues about the geographic provenance of the

C.E., and suggesting a Palestinian Jewish Christian provenance. For instance, see Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Early Christian Apocalypses," 72; Dennis D Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 408–13; Richard Bauckham, "The Apocalypse of Peter: A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba," in *The Fate of the Dead*, 160–258. Other scholars have called into question this specific identification with Bar Kokhba, arguing that the description in *Apoc. Pet.* 2 is more generally a function of the genre of apocalyptic literature. For example, see Eibert Tigchelaar, "Is the Liar Bar Kokhba? Considering the Date and Provenance of the Greek (Ethiopic) *Apocalypse of Peter*," in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 63-77; Peter Van Minnen, "The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*," in *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 29.

⁵ As Richard Bauckham, "The Two Fig Tree Parables in the Apocalypse of Peter," *JBL* 104 (1985): 270, notes, the Ethiopic MS is unreliable in some ways, but is still the best text available to scholars. See for instance the translation problems demonstrated by Julian Victor Hills, "Parables, Pretenders, and Prophecies: Translation and Interpretation in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 2," *RB* 98 (1991): 560–73. For discussion of the Greek textual tradition, see Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse: Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 81–85; Van Minnen, "The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*," 15-39.

Apocalypse of Peter.⁶ The text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* was originally written in Greek, and then translated to a host of other languages. Currently, the most accurate witness to the original is one of the Latin manuscripts (L¹).⁷ The original text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* was likely written around 400 C.E., since it was cited by Augustine in 416 C.E. (*Tract. Ev. Jo.* 98.8).⁸ The *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* is extremely difficult

⁶ See Jan N. Bremmer, “Christian Hell: from the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the *Apocalypse of Paul*,” *Numen* 56 (2009): 299–300; Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*; Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*. The Ethiopic MS as well as the Greek version from Alexandria suggest strong African influence, and internal evidence points to potential Palestinian influence as well. Bremmer posits either a Jewish Christian author with an Egyptian source and knowledge of Greek culture, or a similarly educated author in Egypt with a Palestinian source. On the Islamic influence on the textual tradition at a later date, see S. R. Burge, “‘ZR’L, the Angel of Death and the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter,” *JSP* 19 (2010): 217–24.

⁷ *Apocalypse of Paul* was translated into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, Arabic, Church Slavonic, and Ethiopic. In the Medieval period many other translations were produced, resulting in many revised forms of the ancient versions. See Anthony Hilhorst, “The *Apocalypse of Paul*: Previous History and Afterlife,” in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Jan N Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 3–4.

⁸ For a summary of the argument supporting the date of 400 C.E., see Bauckham, “The Four Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary,” 336; Pierluigi Piovanelli, “The Miraculous Discovery of the Hidden Manuscript, or the Paratextual Function of the Prologue to the *Apocalypse of Paul*,” in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 23–49; Jan N. Bremmer,

to date, with the earliest external attestation in 850 C.E.⁹ The *Ethiopic Apoc. Baruch* is also a later text, and is written sometime after 550 C.E., and follows the *Apoc. of Paul*, but not as closely as the *Apoc. Mary*.¹⁰ The *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* (arguably the most influential of the Apocalypses of Mary) was written sometime between the early fifth and eleventh centuries, and relies upon the *Apocalypse of Paul*.¹¹

“Christian Hell,” 303–307; Bremmer, “Tours of Hell: Greek, Roman, Jewish and Early Christian,” in *Topographie des Jenseits: Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (ed. Walter Ameling; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011), 13–34.

⁹ See M. R. James, “Introduction,” in *The Fourth Book of Ezra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), lxxxvii, who contends that the mention of *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* in the Nicephorus Homologeta canon is a reference to the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*. In addition to the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* there is also a *Vision of Ezra* that is preserved in Latin (translated from the original Greek). These two apocalypses and the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* are all part of a shared tradition of Ezra material. See Michael E. Stone, “The Metamorphosis of Ezra: Jewish Apocalypse and Medieval Vision,” *JTS* 33 (1982): 4–11. In Michael E. Stone, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 307, Stone is unable to be more precise about the date than “sometime during the first millennium C.E.”

¹⁰ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 21.

¹¹ The *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* is most commonly titled “The Apocalypse of the All-holy Mother of God Concerning the Punishments” in the manuscripts. Regarding the dating of the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*, see Bauckham, “The Four Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary,” 335–6; Jane Ralls Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha* (Cambridge: Cambridge

Of these early Christian apocalypses, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, *Apocalypse of Paul*, and the *Greek Apoc. Mary* had the most easily traceable impact on the early Christian community. The *Apocalypse of Peter* is mentioned throughout the patristic period, beginning with Clement of Alexandria.¹² The presence of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in several of the Scripture lists indicates that this was a text that played some role in early Christian worship or catechesis.¹³ In particular, the

University Press, 2007), 16–18. Baun argues for a later date between 9th -11th centuries based upon the development of the cult of Mary as intercessor around this time.

¹² Clement of Alexandria *Ecl.* 41, 48, 49. Regarding the external attestation of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, see Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 87–99.

¹³ The *Apocalypse of Peter* is cited in the list that Eusebius reconstructed and attributed to Clement of Alexandria (*Hist. eccl.* 6.14.1-7), in the Muratorian fragment, and in the list found in the Claromantanus (D) manuscript. The date of the Muratorian fragment has been contested by scholars. Some scholars have argued for an early date, in the middle of the second century, viewing the fragment as an early precursor to the concept of a canon. For representatives of this view see Everett Ferguson, “Canon Muratori: Date and Provenance,” *Studia Patristica* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1982); Joseph Verheyden, “The Canon Muratori: A Matter of Dispute,” in *The Biblical Canons* (ed. J. M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 487–556. Others have worked to overturn the second century dating of the fragment, arguing that the document could not have originated before the fourth century, and properly fits within the earliest discussions about the canon that were happening in that era. For examples, see Albert C. Sundberg, “Canon Muratori: A Fourth-Century

Muratorian fragment details specific early Christian practices with respect to *Apocalypse of Peter*: “We receive only the apocalypses of John and Peter, though some of us are not willing that the latter be read in church.”¹⁴ From this citation of *Apocalypse of Peter*, we not only learn that some early Christians were reading this text in church, but that it evoked a negative response from some hearers, who were eager to limit the practice of reading it in church.¹⁵

List,” *HTR* 66 (1973): 1–41; Geoffrey M. Hahneman, *The Muratorian Fragment and the Development of the Canon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Regardless of the dating of the fragment, we are working under the assumption that “canon” is a fourth-century phenomenon, and that the *Apocalypse of Peter* was composed and circulated at a time when texts were deemed “appropriate” based upon the context and use. What is more, Bovon has demonstrated that texts were not merely divided into two categories, but there were other books, which although they may not be read in church could still be “useful for the soul.” See François Bovon, “Besides the Canonical and the Apocryphal Books, the Presence of a Third Category: The Books Useful for the Soul,” *HTR* 105 (2012): 125–37.

¹⁴ Muratorian Fragment 71-72 in “The Muratorian Canon,” in *Lost Scriptures: Books That Did Not Make It into the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 331–33. As Attila Jakab, “The Reception of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ancient Christianity,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 175, notes “We do not know if they rejected the text because of its content, its authenticity, or for some other reason.”

¹⁵ See also Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 7.19.9 (mid fifth century C.E.) which details the practice of some Palestinian churches that still read the *Apocalypse of Peter* every year

Likewise, the *Apocalypse of Paul* met with reticence by Augustine, who thought that it contained “things which must not and cannot be put into human language.”¹⁶ Augustine’s vehement rejection of some of the contents of the *Apocalypse of Paul* indicates that he saw the text as some kind of threat to his audience, and he was not alone in this opinion.¹⁷ Along with these objections to the reading of *Apocalypse of Paul*, there is also a textual tradition that attests to the widespread popularity of this work, with a large number of manuscripts in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, and Slavic.¹⁸ The popularity of the *Apocalypse of Paul* persisted well beyond the Middle Ages, inspiring the depictions of hell that are found in Dante and Chaucer, and so also the dominant depiction of hell that persists today in the Western world.¹⁹ The *Greek*

on Good Friday. Those Christians read the text while fasting in memory of the Passion, but the *Apocalypse of Peter* was beginning to lose popularity and was held in suspicion by some.

¹⁶ Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 98.8.

¹⁷ See Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 7.15, which calls into question the authenticity of the preface, wondering if it was the invention of “heretics.” (ἔλεγε δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπίστασθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς συμβᾶν θαυμάζειν τε, εἰ μὴ τάδε πρὸς αἰρετικῶν ἀναπέπλασται.)

¹⁸ See also Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* 7.9.10 for evidence of “praise” among “most monks” for the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

¹⁹ Dante, *Inferno* 2.32, and Chaucer had indirect contact with the *Apocalypse of Paul*, through *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*. Anthony Hilhorst, “The *Apocalypse of Paul*: Previous History and Afterlife,” 19; Theodore Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli; The History of the*

Apocalypse of Mary, although composed later, supplanted the *Apocalypse of Paul* in the East, probably due to the popularity of Mary among Eastern Christians.²⁰ As Jane Baun has recently observed, the popularity of the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* continued into medieval Byzantium as a means of promoting social cohesion.²¹

What was it about these texts that caused early Christians to be cautious about reading them in church, but also relatively eager to preserve and circulate them? The most obvious suggestion is that these apocalypses were treated with respect because of their association with figures like Peter, Paul, and Mary. The opening salvo of *Apocalypse of Paul* is a great example of this, describing the discovery of the text beneath the foundations of a house in Tarsus “which had once belonged

Apocalypse in Latin, Together with Nine Texts (4; London: Christophers, 1935), 93, n.11.

²⁰ See Bauckham, “The Four Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary,” 335, for a summary of the prolific manuscript traditions of the *Apocalypse of Mary* in Byzantine and Slavic worlds.

²¹ Jane Ralls Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 375, argues against the grain of medieval historiography, which has largely ignored the influence of apocryphal literature.

to St. Paul.”²² The man who was living in Paul’s old house dug up the foundations and found a marble box: “in it was the revelation of St. Paul and the shoes in which he used to walk when he was teaching the word of God.”²³ This story places the text among Paul’s hidden possessions and marks it as a means of accessing special revelation from the dead apostle. Nevertheless, as we saw above, some ancient authors were skeptical.²⁴ The diverse reception of the tours of hell is more complex than a mere appeal to apostolic authority.

The soteriology of these otherworldly journeys brings us closer to understanding their mixed reception in the early Church. In addition to a graphic depiction of hell’s punishments, these apocalypses also contain a repeated motif, in which the “seer” intercedes for the damned.²⁵ This intercession for the damned is an affront to Augustine’s theological convictions about salvation, as we shall see below. Through his detailed rejection of the concept of clemency for the damned, Augustine provides

²² *Apoc. Paul 1*. As Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 304, notes, the strategy of “authentication by discovery of an old manuscript” was a common technique in antiquity. See also, Bremmer, “Tours of Hell,” 13-34.

²³ *Apoc. Paul 2*.

²⁴ See n.17 above.

²⁵ *Apoc. Zeph. 2*; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra 1:6, 21, 5:9, 14*; *Latin Vision of Ezra 8a, 11, 18, 22, 33, 42, 47, 55, 57c, 61*; *3 Bar. 16:7-8, Apoc. Pet. 3*; *Apoc. Paul 33, 40, 42, 43*; *Gk. Apoc. Mary 25-28*.

us with a clear picture of his various opponents,²⁶ including those who believed that the damned would implore the saints to pray for them, and God “will grant them to the prayers and intercessions of his saints.”²⁷ The wording Augustine uses here suggests that his interlocutors are familiar with this concept of saintly intercession and divine mercy from the *Apoc. Pet.* 14.1: “I will give to my called and elect ones whomsoever they request from me, out of the punishment.” Thus, in Augustine’s *Civ.* 21.18 we are able to witness two different attitudes toward *Apocalypse of Peter* in conflict. As we shall see below, the crux of this conflict was the interpretation of the images of the damned, and not a rejection of the vivid descriptions of punishment themselves.²⁸ So for some early

²⁶ Richard Bauckham, “Augustine, the ‘Compassionate’ Christians, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Boston: Brill, 1998), 150–51, enumerates seven different groups of “compassionate Christians” described in Augustine *Civ.* 21.17–27, who hold various “incorrect” views of God’s mercy towards the damned (Origen is included in the first group who contend that all will be saved, following purgatorial punishments.).

²⁷ Augustine *Civ.* 21.18: *Donabit enim eos, inquit, misericors Deus praecibus et intercessionibus sanctorum suorum.*

²⁸ In this regard, the conflict between Augustine and the “compassionate Christians” who embrace *Apocalypse of Peter* is similar to Dionysius of Alexandria’s rejection of the book of Revelation in his writings against the Millenarians in Egypt. Primarily, Dionysius took issue with literal interpretations of Revelation, which interpreted the coming kingdom of Christ as “an earthly one.” Thus, Dionysius’ rejection of the book of

Christians the soteriology expressed in each apocalypse determined their attitude toward the work as a whole. For others, who did embrace the ideology of a given apocalypse, the depictions of hell's torments would be a welcome expression of early Christian *paideia*. One of the ways that the apocalyptic author would distinguish his particular interpretation of the imagery of damnation was through his reading of the New Testament.

III. Interpreting and Expanding the New Testament Picture of "Hell" in Early Christian Apocalypses

Our previous discussion of the incipient notion of "hell" in the New Testament emphasized the eschatology and pedagogical orientation of the Gospel of Matthew. Not surprisingly then, the apocalyptic authors build upon Matthew's distinctive eschatological outlook, developing and interpreting the language and rhetoric of eternal punishment. Our discussion is not exhaustive, but rather focuses on four specific apocalypses that are representative of the diversity and development of New Testament interpretation across a broad range of dates and contexts.²⁹

Revelation was based upon his ideological conflict with those who were interpreting it. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.25.4.

²⁹ For discussion of the unique context and orientation of each text, see Jan N.

Bremmer, "Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell: Observations on the

i. Interpreting Matthew in the *Apocalypse of Peter*

The *Apocalypse of Peter* is a retelling of Jesus' teaching about the *parousia* and the "resurrection of the dead,"³⁰ with Peter as the narrator. While Peter's speaking role in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is limited (to the narrative frame and his lament over the fate of the damned), the identification of Peter as a reliable authority is reminiscent of Peter's unique role in Matthew. In *Apoc. Pet.* 4, hell opens up its "bars of steel" to give up its contents. While this image recalls the release of the dead in Rev 20:13, the mention of "bars of steel" also reminds the reader of "the gates of Hades" in Matt 16:18. In this passage, the Matthean Jesus identifies Peter as the foundation of the *ekklesia*, against which "the gates of Hades will not prevail." By once again juxtaposing the character of Peter and the image of hell's gates, the *Apocalypse of Peter* grounds its vision of hell in the roots of the Petrine tradition in Matthew. In the *Apocalypse*, however, the church's victory over the gates of Hades is

Apocalypse of Peter," in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (ed. Tobias Nicklas et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 321.

³⁰ See *Apocalypse of Peter* Prologue, in which the text identifies itself as "The Second Coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead which he told to Peter, those who die on account of their sin for they did not keep the commandment of their creator." Trans. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 163. Unless otherwise noted, English translations are from C. Detlef G. Müller, "Apocalypse of Peter," in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke; trans. R. Wilson; Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 625–38.

depicted with greater specificity than in Matthew, since “the elect and righteous” escape hell and enter into the eternal kingdom, rejoicing with Jesus (*Apoc. Pet.* 14).

In addition to recalling Peter’s special status and expanding upon the victory of the church over Hades in Matthew, the *Apocalypse of Peter* also relies upon Matt 24-25 and Matt 17 for its narrative frame. In this regard, the *Apocalypse of Peter* picks up and develops the Matthean emphasis on eschatology, and concretizes the dichotomous understanding of the afterlife that is sketched in Matthew.³¹ Jesus’ teaching on the *parousia* (Matt 24) and the final judgment (Matt 25) are the starting point for the *Apocalypse of Peter*, grounding the vision of hell in the Matthean concepts of eternal judgment and punishment.³² For

³¹ On the dichotomy of heaven and hell in Matthew see Chapter 6 above, p. 235.

³² The parallels between the two narratives are as follows: the frame of Jesus’ teaching, and the setting on the Mount of Olives (*Apoc. Pet.* 1; Matt 24:3); warnings against false-messiahs (*Apoc. Pet.* 1; 2; Matt 24:4-5); comparison between *parousia* and lightning which flashes from East to West (*Apoc. Pet.* 1; Matt 24:27); deterioration of the heavens (*Apoc. Pet.* 5; Matt 24:29); Son of Man “coming on clouds of heaven with power and glory” (*Apoc. Pet.* 1; Matt 24:30); resurrection of bones (*Apoc. Pet.* 4 cf. Ezek. 37; Matt 28:52-53); mourning of nations (*Apoc. Pet.* 6; Matt 24:30); enthronement of the Son of Man (*Apoc. Pet.* 6; Matt 16:27; 26:64); emphasis on salvation of the elect (*Apoc. Pet.* 6;13;14; Matt 24:31); emphasis on deeds as the basis for determining one’s eternal fate (*Apoc. Pet.* 1; 2; 3; 6; 13; Matt 3:10-12; 5:22, 29, 30; 7:13-14, 19; 12:36-37; 16:24-28; 22:13; 25:30, 41).

instance, *Apoc. Pet.* 1-6 recalls the Matthean notion that a person's "deeds" determine his or her eternal fate.³³ For both Matthew and the *Apocalypse of Peter* the "elect" (*Apoc. Pet.* 6;13;14; Matt 24:31) are set apart and spared eternal torment because they have "done good" (*Apoc. Pet.* 6) or exhibited "righteousness" by caring for the "least of these" (Matt 25:45-46). Likewise, the damned are judged and punished "each man according to his deed" (*Apoc. Pet.* 1; 6; Matt 16:27).³⁴

In order to set the scene for the *parousia*, the *Apocalypse of Peter* and Matthew both mention a "false messiah," who will deceive and lead people astray (*Apoc. Pet.* 2; Matt 24:5, 24).³⁵ In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, however, the people recognize the "wickedness of his deeds" and reject him, and are "slain by his hand." Although this passage invokes the term *martyrs* (μάρτυς), the emphasis is not on the death of the martyrs but their lives: "And therefore shall they that are slain by his hand be martyrs and shall be reckoned among the good and righteous martyrs

³³ This theme was also prevalent in Revelation. See the discussion of Rev 20:12-15 in Chapter 5 above, pp. 205-6.

³⁴ Matthew 16 is not the only early Christian text to indicate that persons will be judged according to their deeds. Paul also notes that Jews and Gentiles alike will be judged according to their deeds (Rom 2:9-10), the author of James argues that a person is justified by his works, and not by faith alone (Jas 2:24), and 1 Pet 1:17 refers to the Father as "the one who judges all people impartially according to their deeds."

³⁵ See the discussion of the scholarship on the false messiah in the *Apocalypse of Peter* in n.4 above.

who have pleased God in their life” (*Apoc. Pet.* 2). In this passage the wicked deeds of the false messiah are contrasted with the righteous lives of the “martyrs,” using the scene of the false messiah as a means of establishing the central conflict between wicked and righteous behavior at the outset of the *Apocalypse of Peter*³⁶ Thus, the “martyrs” of the *Apocalypse of Peter* are to be understood as “witnesses” to the path of righteousness, and not as individuals who were revered for the circumstances of their earthly suffering or death.³⁷ By contrasting the deeds of the “false messiah” with these “martyrs,” the *Apoc. Pet.* 2 sets the scene for the judgment and punishment of “the souls of all” in the *Apoc. Pet.* 3, drawing upon a central theme of the Matthean Jesus’ “apocalyptic-eschatological sermons” (see esp. Matt 7:15-23; 24:11, 24).³⁸

³⁶ The theme of the “blessed martyrs” and their adversaries recalls Matt 5:10-12, and is present in *Apoc. Pet.* 2, 9; 16.

³⁷ For an excellent discussion of the range of meaning of the term *martys* in early Christianity, see Candida R. Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom: Diverse Practices, Theologies and Traditions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 2–6.

³⁸ János Bolyki, “False Prophets in the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 53–54. See Bauckham, “Two Fig Tree Parables,” 271–73, for a demonstration that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is dependent on “the specifically Matthean redaction of the synoptic Apocalypse.”

In addition to expanding the details of the Matthean schema of the *parousia* and eternal judgment at its outset, the *Apocalypse of Peter* closes with a retelling of the transfiguration.³⁹ In this version, Peter and the disciples not only encounter Moses and Elijah in a beautiful heavenly setting (adorned with flowers and crowns of nard), but they also tour a fragrant garden, the dwelling places of “the other righteous fathers” and “those who will be persecuted for my righteousness’ sake” (*Apoc. Pet.* 16; Matt 5:10). The reference to the beatific persecuted reminds the reader of the testimony of their righteousness in *Apoc. Pet.* 2, and confirms that those who testify through their righteous deeds will be rewarded in heaven. This vision of heaven brings the torments of the damned into relief, and embellishes the contrast between heaven and hell that was so important in the Gospel of Matthew. The narrative frame of the *Apocalypse of Peter* heightens the dualistic opposition between hell/heaven, wicked/righteous, outcast/elect that one finds in Matthew,

³⁹ Although *Apoc. Pet.* 16 recalls some of the narrative details of the transfiguration story in Matthew, it does not include the transformation of Jesus. In this way the *Apocalypse of Peter* reads the gospel story in a way that helps to establish its vision of paradise and its inhabitants (rather than making a pronouncement about the character of Jesus). On the Greek background of the *Apocalypse of Peter*’s description of paradise, see Tamás Adamik, “The Description of Paradise in the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 81–86.

expanding upon Matthean eschatology in a way that is consistent with its central focus on human behavior or “deeds.”

The *Apocalypse of Peter* also recalls the distinctively Matthean description of eternal punishment as banishment to “outer darkness, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.” In *Apoc. Pet.* 3 weeping is a major motif, embellishing upon Matthew’s appeal to the senses in this pithy refrain.⁴⁰ This passage depicts the “sinners” weeping “in great distress and sorrow” as they are separated from the righteous on the Day of Judgment, and in turn all of the onlookers (the righteous, the angels and Peter) weeping at the pathetic sight of their lamentations.⁴¹ *Apoc. Pet.* 5 recounts the cosmic and geological disasters that will befall sinners on the Day of Judgment, culminating in a “stream

⁴⁰ The theme of weeping is also present in the longer version of *2 Enoch*, perhaps indicating that a Christian author who was familiar with Matthew edited that version of the text. See, for example, *2 En.* 40-41. Although in *2 En.* 41:1, both versions have Enoch weeping at the sight of punishment, in *2 En.* 40:12 it is only the longer version [J] that describes hell as “open and weeping” See also the longer version of *2 En.* 38:3 [J], in which Enoch warns his sons with “weeping and great lamentation” while the shorter version [A] simply states that Enoch instructs his sons.

⁴¹ See Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 155–56, who reads the apostolic weeping as an internal conflict in the text between the neighbor love of Matt 5:44-48 and the retribution of Matt 25:41-46.

of unquenchable fire” whose seething waves elicit “much gnashing of teeth among the children of men.”⁴² Immediately following this “gnashing of teeth,” the nations weep at the sight of the Son of Man enthroned (cf. Matt 24:30), and each nation is commanded to go into the river of fire, “while the deeds of each individual one of them stand before them, recompense shall be given to each according to his work” (*Apoc. Pet.* 6; cf. Matt 16:27). The text then describes the punishment of the wicked, again recalling Matthean imagery:

But the evil creatures, the sinners, and the *hypocrites* will stand in the depths of *darkness* that passes not away, and their punishment is the *fire*, and angels bring forward their sins and prepare for them a place wherein they shall be punished forever each according to his offence.⁴³

Through the textual audience of righteous onlookers, *Apoc. Pet.* 3 models the desired emotional response, interpreting Matthew’s depiction of “outer darkness” as a call to empathy and sadness. This expansion of “weeping” to include the righteous audience does not undermine the

⁴² See also the gnashing of teeth in the river of fire in *Sib. Or.* 2:191-205. This chapter of the *Sibylline Oracles* is extant as a Christian text, and thus, the “gnashing of teeth” is likely a reference to the Gospel of Matthew. See Ursula Treu, “Christian Sibyllines,” in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke; trans. R. Wilson; Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 652–85.

⁴³ *Apoc. Pet.* 6, Emphasis mine. In Matthew 24:51, the unfaithful slave is sentenced to be cast out with the “hypocrites” where there is “weeping and gnashing of teeth.”

punishments,⁴⁴ but extends an invitation to the reader to respond emotionally to the rhetoric of eternal torment.⁴⁵ In this regard Peter's tears are not intended to focus the reader on clemency for the damned, but on the opportunity for the reader to repent. Simultaneously, the weeping, gnashing of teeth, unquenchable fire, outer darkness, and hypocrites of *Apoc. Pet.* 5-6 expand upon Matthew's depiction of eschatological punishment, enlarging the emotional response that could be elicited from these images by making the connection between "deeds" and "eternal punishment" even more explicit. In combination these images of "weeping and gnashing of teeth" would signal to the readers of the *Apocalypse of Peter* that the depiction of hell that is to follow (*Apoc. Pet.* 7-12) is an "inside look" at the places of punishment mentioned in Matthew.

Our discussion has demonstrated that the *Apocalypse of Peter* consciously builds upon the themes of judgment and eternal punishment that were articulated in Matthew. In the course of this discussion we have avoided comparing word-for-word parallels because we are not

⁴⁴ Later authors, however, would read the tears of Peter as a call to compassion for the damned. See Augustine, *Civ.* 21.17-27 and Lanzillotta, "Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the *Apocalypse of Peter*."

⁴⁵ As we shall see below, this attempt to move the audience emotionally is part of the rhetoric of *ekphrasis*. Just as Aeneas and Odysseus could not visit the place of the dead without being "moved" by it, so also Peter "weeps" at the sight of hell.

arguing for exclusive literary dependence.⁴⁶ Instead, we have focused on shared themes, demonstrating that Matthew's eschatology and portrayal of eternal punishment have infiltrated the thought world of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The comparisons we have made here are suggestive of a shared trend in Matthew and the *Apocalypse of Peter* toward a more specific vision of the *parousia*, final judgment and places of punishment. While the author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is not working the Matthean material exclusively,⁴⁷ his vision of eternal punishment is building upon the "outer darkness," the *parousia* of Matt 24, and the day of judgment, in Matt 25 (separation of sheep and goats). As we shall see below, the

⁴⁶There are some barriers to arguments for literary dependence. The author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* could have been citing Mark or Luke in some places, or even the same oral tradition that Matthew used. What is more, the Ethiopic textual tradition does not allow us to adequately predict the Greek for comparison. Nevertheless, while the *Apoc. Pet.* 1-2 does include parallels to Mark 13 and Luke 21, Matthew is the only gospel that combines this scene of the *parousia* with eternal judgment (Matt 25) and the outer darkness motif (Matt 25:30). For a discussion of the reception of Matthew in the early Church, see Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin: Akademie, 1957); Édouard Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus* (ed. Arthur J. Bellinzoni; trans. Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht; 3 vols.; Leuven: Peeters, 1990).

⁴⁷ To be sure, there are citations of other sources besides Matthew in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. For example, the image of the worm that never sleeps in *Apoc. Pet.* 9 recalls Mark 9:48. Cf. Isa 66:24.

Apocalypse of Peter interprets Matthew's "outer darkness" in a way that makes the pedagogical function of Matthew's eschatology more explicit.

ii. Reading Matthew and Paul together in the *Apocalypse of Paul*

While the *Apoc. Peter* mainly embellishes or expands Matthew's eschatology, the *Apoc. of Paul* interprets Matthew extensively, but also layers Matthean and Pauline themes.⁴⁸ As we observed in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* brings to life Matthew's dichotomous view of the afterlife. Not only does the *Apocalypse of Paul* amplify the Matthean picture of heaven and hell, but it also emphasizes the importance of "deeds" in determining one's fate and identifies the place of punishment with Matthew's "outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth." In addition, this interpretation of Matthew's eschatology is framed with distinctively Pauline motifs, generating a picture of the afterlife that harmonizes the outlook of the Gospel of Matthew with Paul's letters.

⁴⁸ Unless otherwise noted, the English translations of the *Apocalypse of Paul* are from Hugo Duensing and Aurelio de Santos Otero, "Apocalypse of Paul," in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke; trans. R. Wilson; Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 1991). The Latin is available in Theodore Silverstein and A. Hilhorst, eds., *Apocalypse of Paul: A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions* (Genève: P. Cramer, 1997).

If Matthew introduces the dichotomous view of the afterlife into early Christian thought, then the *Apocalypse of Paul* provides one of the most detailed visions of that dualistic afterlife. In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, heaven is depicted as the dwelling place for those who live out Matthew's beatitudes. As Paul is shown a lush paradise, the angel (who is acting as his guide) tells him that this heaven is but a shadow of the one that is prepared for "those who hunger and thirst for righteousness" (*Apoc. Paul* 22; Matt 5:6).⁴⁹ Likewise, many of the people punished in the apocalypse's vision of hell are those who did not follow the guidelines of the Sermon on the Mount (*Apoc. Paul* 31; cf. Matt 6:1-18; *Apoc. Paul* 39; cf. Matt 5:27-28; *Apoc. Paul* 40; cf. Matt 6:1-4; *Apoc. Paul* 44; cf. Matt 5:10-12).⁵⁰ In this way, the guidelines of the Sermon on the Mount appear to be part of the ethical rubric that is reinforced through the *Apocalypse of Paul's* visions of heaven and hell.

As in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* focuses on a person's deeds as the basis for his or her eternal fate, expanding upon

⁴⁹ See other places in the heavenly vision (*Apoc. Paul* 19-30) that refer to Matthew: *Apoc. Paul* 21 (cf. Matt 5:5); *Apoc. Paul* 26 (cf. Matt 2:16).

⁵⁰ Those who did not follow the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount are also punished in the *Apoc. Pet.* 9; cf. Matt 5:10; *Apoc. Pet.* 9; cf. Matt 5:11; *Apoc. Pet.* 9; cf. Matt 5:3; 6:24; *Apoc. Pet.* 12; cf. Matt 6:1-4.

the Matthean framework of eschatological punishment.⁵¹ In *Apoc. Paul* 16 several Matthean themes are brought together as God addresses a soul who committed “evil deeds” and failed to repent:

And the voice of God came forth to it and said: Where is your fruit which you have brought forth corresponding to the good things you received? Did I set even the difference of one day between you and the righteous? Did I not make the sun to rise over you just as over the righteous? And again a voice came saying: God’s judgment is righteous and there is no respect of persons with him. For whoever has shown mercy, to him will mercy be shown, and whoever has not been merciful, God will not have mercy on him. Let him therefore be handed over to the angel Tartaruchus, who is appointed over punishments, and let him send him into outer darkness where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth, and let him remain there until the great day of judgment.

In this depiction of souls leaving their bodies, the teachings of John the Baptist and Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount are recapitulated in the voice of God. The unrepentant soul is identified by its lack of “good fruit,” recalling John the Baptist’s teaching that the “tree that does not bear good fruit” will be burned at the eschaton (Matt 3:10-12).⁵² God also

⁵¹ As Adela Yarbro Collins, “The Otherworld and the New Age in the Letters of Paul,” in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (ed. Tobias Nicklas et al.; Boston: Brill, 2010), 206–7, notes, Paul never once mentions a place of punishment by name. She also points to Rom 2, however, as a place in which Paul does contrast “eternal life” for the righteous with “wrath and anger” for the wicked, although he does so in “very general terms.” See also Dimitris J. Kyrtatas, “The Origins of Christian Hell,” *Numen* 56 (2009): 286.

⁵² See also other passages that emphasize “deeds” as the basis for one’s eternal fate in *Apoc. Paul* 7; 9; 10; 14; 16; 17; 18; and throughout the visions of heaven and hell in chapters 19-44.

defends this standard of justice using language from the Sermon on the Mount, reminding the audience that God provides an equal playing field for all (“makes the sun rise on the evil and on the good”; Matt 5:45) and repays mercy with mercy (“Blessed are the merciful for they will receive mercy”; Matt 5:7).⁵³ This passage demonstrates the way that *Apocalypse of Paul* interprets Matthew’s language of eschatological judgment and punishment, weaving together the different images to present a unified tableau of the afterlife in which punishment according to one’s “fruit” is defended by God as a matter of justice.⁵⁴

The final lines of this passage recall yet another image of judgment and punishment from Matthew: “the outer darkness, where there is

⁵³ See also the iteration of this beatitude with respect to the souls of the righteous in *Apoc. Paul* 14: “As this soul has not grieved me, so I shall not grieve it; as it has had compassion, so I shall have compassion on it.”

⁵⁴ On the roots of the concept of *lex talionis* as a principle of justice, see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 75–78. See also David A. Fiensy, “Lex Talionis in the Apocalypse of Peter,” *HTR* 76 (1983): 255–58; Callie Callon, “Sorcery, Wheels, and Mirror Punishment in the Apocalypse of Peter,” *JECS* 18 (2010): 29–49. Fiensy compares Greek and Jewish sources and connects the scholarly discussion of *lex talionis* to its roots in the work of Cumont and Käsemann. We note, however, that his sharp distinction between the Greek and Jewish uses of the concept is unhelpful because even Jewish apocalypticism was influenced by Hellenism.

weeping and gnashing of teeth (*Apoc. Paul* 16; 42).⁵⁵ The theme of “weeping” is even more prominent in the *Apocalypse of Paul* than in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Not only do the celestial beings and the righteous (angels, Paul himself, Moses) weep over the souls of the wicked (*Apoc. Paul* 10; 14; 33; 36; 38; 39; 40; 42; 43; 48),⁵⁶ but they also gnash their teeth at a wicked soul as it leaves its body (*Apoc. Paul* 14),⁵⁷ and weep over the plight of the righteous on earth (*Apoc. Paul* 9). Likewise, the wicked themselves weep over their torment in hell, expanding upon the concept of outer darkness that is introduced in chapter 16 (*Apoc. Paul* 17; 32; 36; 43).

In the *Apocalypse of Paul* this motif of weeping is not restricted to supernatural spaces, but is connected to the weeping of humans on earth. For instance, in *Apoc. Paul* 9, the angels report to God that those who renounce the world on account of God’s name “weep every hour that they dwell on earth, and they are hungry and thirst for the sake of thy name,” and the angels weep and mourn with them (cf. Matt 5:6). In this

⁵⁵ Later, the wicked also gnash their teeth in *Apoc. Paul* 42, where “the worm never rests....and there was gnashing of teeth,” where those who denied the bodily resurrection are tormented by constant cold and snow.

⁵⁶ Several times Paul’s weeping is called into question by the angel, asking him “Why do you weep? Are you more compassionate than God?” (*Apoc. Paul* 33, 40)

⁵⁷ The image of “teeth” is also connected with the wrath of the angels who are charged with watching the souls of the wicked in *Apoc. Paul* 11.

particular passage the negative consequences associated with discipleship are the cause of the weeping on earth, and the angels weep, indicating that they are in solidarity with those who suffer because they follow God's teachings. In this way, the act of "weeping" is not used simply to signify the pain and torment of the wicked, but is a trope that connects earthly pain and mourning with the weeping that occurs in supernatural spaces. Just as the onlookers in *Apoc. Pet. 3* modeled an emotional response to the punishments of hell for the readers of the text, the expansion of this motif in *Apocalypse of Paul* makes a connection between the supernatural "weeping and gnashing of teeth" and the emotional responses of the earthly reader. While those who weep in hell do so out of regret or pain, the emotional response that this weeping elicits from the reader is one of fear and concern for his or her own fate.

While the central sections of the *Apocalypse of Paul* explicitly interpret and expand upon Matthean concepts of eschatological judgment and punishment, these images are used in tandem with Pauline themes.⁵⁸ Obviously the presence of Paul himself in the narrative, and his journey to the "third heaven" (*Apoc. Paul 21*; cf. 2 Cor 12:2-4) would have reminded the audience of the ideas introduced in the

⁵⁸ Wayne A. Meeks, "Apocalyptic Discourse and Strategies of Goodness," *JR* 80 (2000): 473, argues that Paul is the New Testament author who uses paraenesis based on apocalyptic thought to the greatest rhetorical effect.

Pauline letters,⁵⁹ but the *Apocalypse of Paul* makes the connection to Pauline theology even more explicit. For instance, the *Apocalypse of Paul* opens with imagery from Romans (*Apoc. Paul* 3-7; cf. Rom 2:17-4:25; 8:19-23), and concludes with the saints praising Paul (*Apoc. Paul* 45-51) and elevating him as the foundation of the church (*Apoc. Paul* 51 [longer ending from Coptic textual tradition]).

The presence of imagery from Romans in *Apoc. Paul* 3-7 reveals a conscious effort to wed the imagery of the apocalypse with the language of the Pauline corpus. The opening lines of *Apoc. Paul* 3 recall Romans 2:17-4:25,⁶⁰ Paul's discussion of Abraham and Abraham's children "boasting" in their outward or inward identity markers:

How long will you transgress and add sin to sin and tempt the Lord who made you, saying that you are Abraham's children but doing the works of the devil? Walking in confidence towards God [L¹, Christus], boasting only because of your name, but poor because of the substance of sin?

In this passage, the *Apocalypse of Paul* uses Pauline language, and demonstrates the importance of faith and works of the law in tandem,

⁵⁹ Hans-Josef Klauck, "With Paul through Heaven and Hell: Two Apocryphal Apocalypses," *BR* 52 (2007): 57-72, argues that the *Apocalypse of Paul* is an "amplification" of 2 Cor 12:1-5, contra Jim Harrison, "In Quest of the Third Heaven: Paul & His Apocalyptic Imitators," *Vigiliae Christianae* 58 (2004): 54, who contends that Paul would have rejected the apocalypses of late antiquity.

⁶⁰ There are other places apart from Romans in which Paul addresses "boasting" in God/Christ, but the thematic similarities are greatest between Romans and *Apoc. Paul* 3-7. See 1 Cor 1:31; 2 Cor 10:17; Gal 6:14; Phil 3:3.

interpreting the message of Romans as a condemnation of those who “boast in the name” of God/Christ, but commit the “works of the devil.”

This condemnation of “boasting” is followed by scenes in which different components of the created order (sun, moon and stars, sea, waters, earth) “protest” or “cry out” to God, balking at the sins of men and eagerly awaiting God’s judgment of humanity (*Apoc. Paul* 4-6). In particular, the earth “cries out” against specific vices, presenting a vice list that is similar to that of Rom 1:20, but also includes the theme of intra-family adultery parallel to that of 1 Cor 5:1.⁶¹ In Romans 8, the creation is “eagerly waiting” for the “revelation of the sons of God” (τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ 8:19) and is “groaning” along with humanity for “the redemption of our body” (τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν 8:22-23).⁶² In the *Apocalypse of Paul* creation’s outcry does not testify to humanity and its redemption as the crown of creation, but instead

⁶¹ See *Apoc. Paul* 6: “...and every evil which they commit so that the father rises up against the son and the son against the father, and stranger against stranger, each to defile his neighbor’s wife. The father mounts up on the bed of his son and the son likewise mounts up on the couch of his father; and those who offer sacrifice to thy name have defiled thy holy place with all these evil deeds.” Here, as in 1 Cor 5:1, the concern seems to be purity, decrying the way that human impurity has defiled the earth and the Corinthian community respectively.

⁶² While Rom 8 and *Apoc. Paul* 3-7 envision the outcry of the whole of creation, there are other passages in which “rocks cry out” against bad behavior (i.e., Hab 2:11; Luke 19:40).

interprets Rom 8:19 as an objective genitive “revelation for the sons of God,” focusing not on the “redemption” of human bodies, but on the judgment of human deeds.⁶³ Thus, *Apoc. Paul 3-7* reads Romans by emphasizing the vice/virtue contrast and creation eschatology, making Paul’s message apply more broadly as a condemnation of vice rooted in the natural order.⁶⁴

In addition to interpreting Romans, the *Apocalypse of Paul* also plays with several other Pauline concepts. Souls are reminded to take a good look at their bodies as they leave them because “in the day of the

⁶³ See Meeks, “Apocalyptic Discourse and Strategies of Goodness,” 474, who argues that in Romans “God’s eschatological revision of human judgments also constitutes one of the leitmotifs of the entire Letter.”

⁶⁴ In this way the *Apocalypse of Paul* reads against Paul as he has been reconstructed by the “New Perspective” school of thought via E. P Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), and more recently by James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox, 1990). One of the ideas proposed by James Dunn is that the “works of the law” served as boundary markers, setting the ancient Jew apart from their pagan contemporaries. For Dunn, then, Paul’s claim that justification did not come through “works of the law” is interpreted as a rejection of the idea that “works” excluded pagans from conversion to Christianity, and not a rejection of “works of the law” as a means of earning God’s favor. Rather than discussing the symbols of Judaism as barriers to Gentile conversion, the *Apocalypse of Paul* reinterprets the Pauline language as a means of delineating behavioral norms.

resurrection” they “must return to that same body” (*Apoc. Paul* 14; 15).⁶⁵ Likewise, those who deny the bodily resurrection are punished in hell (*Apoc. Paul* 42), recalling Paul’s own emphasis on the resurrection of the dead (Rom 1:4; 6:5; 1Cor 15:12-22; Phil 3:10-11).⁶⁶ In addition to his emphasis on the resurrection, Paul’s ceaseless prayer (1Thess 1:2; 5:17; *Apoc. Paul* 43) is contrasted with the ceaseless torment of the damned (*Apoc. Paul* 38; 39 [5x]; 40). The *Apocalypse of Paul* also works extensively with creation themes, relating the sins of the wicked to the sin of Adam just as Paul does in Rom 5:14.⁶⁷ Unlike Paul, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, does not pair these references to Genesis with a discussion of justification by grace (Rom 5:15), or the destruction of

⁶⁵ According to *Apoc. Paul* 14-15 both the righteous and the wicked will be raised in order to receive reward or punishment.

⁶⁶ The *Apocalypse of Paul* is the only tour of hell in which those who deny the bodily resurrection are punished. Unlike Paul, however, the *Apocalypse of Paul* does not make a sharp distinction between the earthly body and the resurrected “spiritual body.” The themes of creation and bodily resurrection are also discussed in conjunction with one another in the second-fourth century Church Fathers. See Frances Young, “Naked or Clothed? Eschatology and the Doctrine of Creation,” in *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul: Papers Read at the 2007 Summer Meeting and the 2008 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (ed. Peter D. Clarke and Tony Claydon; Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2009), 1–19.

⁶⁷ See also 1 Cor 15:21-22, in which Paul relates the death of Adam to the death of all humanity.

death (1Cor 15:26). Instead, the *Apocalypse of Paul* alludes to Genesis primarily as a way to mark the characters of the apocalypse as “righteous” or “wicked.”⁶⁸ For instance, in the *Apoc. Paul* 16 an angel brings a soul before God and describes God as “Lord God who made it [the soul] after his own image and likeness.”⁶⁹ In this passage, the *Apocalypse of Paul* refers to Gen 1:27 as a means of characterizing God as “good” in a context where God is acting in the capacity of “judge.” In this regard, the *Apocalypse of Paul* recalls the rhetoric of Paul, using the familiar stories from the Genesis narrative as a way to orient the audience.

Through these allusions to Pauline language and themes, the *Apocalypse of Paul* reads the eschatological framework of Matthew through a Pauline lens. Those familiar with Paul’s letters would be drawn into the apocalypse by these familiar motifs. These same readers may also be heartened by Paul’s appeals to God’s mercy (*Apoc. Paul* 33; 40), God’s hope for human repentance (*Apoc. Paul* 4-6; 16), and the day of respite that is granted to the wicked at Paul’s request (*Apoc. Paul* 43-44). At the heart of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, however, lies a vision of

⁶⁸ See *Apoc. Paul* 16; 23; 39; 45; 49; 50; 51, for places in which the *Apocalypse of Paul* alludes to or cites Genesis.

⁶⁹ See also the mention of God’s creative activity in *Apoc. Pet.* 3: “Thou wouldest not have more compassion than he for his image, for he has created them and has brought them forth when they were not.”

eternal reward and punishment that is more akin to the eschatological outlook of Matthew. The sharp dichotomy of heaven and hell, the view of human “deeds” as tantamount, and the repetition of Matthew’s unique imagery of judgment and punishment (weeping, gnashing of teeth, and outer darkness), all betray a Matthean understanding of eschatological judgment and punishment.⁷⁰ Thus, the *Apocalypse of Paul* fuses the eschatological framework of Matthew, and the person and writings of Paul, so that the vision of the afterlife that emerges is focused on human behaviors but holds out hope for the repentance of the wicked. In this way the text also holds out hope for the repentance of its readers, offering them the opportunity that is not afforded for the damned.

iii. Reinventing the Beatitudes in the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*

In the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*, the visions of hell and heaven are more compressed than those in the *Apocalypse of Peter* or the *Apocalypse of Paul*, and they are framed by Ezra’s extensive dialogue with God. In this dialogue, Ezra pleads with God for “the nation of the Christians” (τὸ γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 2.7, trans. mine), asking repeatedly that God have mercy on the “souls of sinners.”⁷¹ God

⁷⁰ Although Paul describes a judgment leading to rewards and punishments after death in Rom 1-2, the vivid eschatological imagery throughout *Apocalypse of Paul* has more in common with the Matthean “outer darkness.”

⁷¹ See *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 1.11; 2.7. Chapter and line numbers correspond to the Greek edition of the text in Otto Wahl, ed., *Apocalypsis Esdrae; Apocalypsis Sedrach; Visio*

counters Ezra's pleas in different ways, but each time appeals to different parts of the biblical narrative in order to remind Ezra of the history of human sin.⁷² As this dialogue continues, it reminds the readers of Job's dialogue with God, or Ezra's dialogue with God in *4 Ezra*, particularly when God appeals to sovereignty, asking Ezra to "number the stars and the sand of the sea" or to "number the flowers of the earth" (*Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 2.32 cf. Job 31:4; 38:37; *4 Ezra* 4). Ezra responds with an

Beati Esdrae (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 25–34. Unless otherwise noted, translations quoted are from Alexander Walker, "Revelation of Esdras," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; 1896; repr., Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1994), 8:571–74. Since the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* and the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* are both significantly shorter than the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*, our discussion of these later apocalypses will be briefer than the preceding analysis and will focus on features that are unique to each apocalypse or on the ways in which they interpret elements of the tradition.

⁷² For instance, see *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 2.10-32 for a retelling of the Genesis narrative, and the crucifixion, both as examples of human sin and failure to repent. Recalling the creation narrative and the story of Sodom and Gomorrah Ezra comments that God punishes humans justly, and God responds, saying "your sins transcend my clemency." With reference to the crucifixion, God tells Ezra, "How can I have mercy upon them? Vinegar and Gall did they give me to drink, and not even then did they repent." *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 1.6; 5.1-15 also repeat the idea that "it is good for a man [humans in general] not to be born" (cf. Matt 26:24). See *2 En.* 41: 2; *Apoc. Pet.* 3; *Apoc. Paul* 40, 42; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 11.

admission of his humanity and his persistence, “Lord, I cannot number them. I wear human flesh; but I shall not cease to plead with thee.”⁷³ Ezra is then shown the torments of hell, and the tree of life, recalling some of the sins and punishments that were enumerated in *Apocalypse of Paul*, and adding some novel ones.⁷⁴ The final scenes of the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* return to the dialogue between Ezra and God, in which Ezra refuses to die because he would have to stop pleading with God. After a brief dialogue about the nature of death and the separation of body and soul, God eventually capitulates (provisionally extending mercy to humans who “transcribe this book, and have it, and remember my [Ezra] name, and honour my memory”), and Ezra finally dies.

Framed with this dramatic dialogue between Ezra and God, the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* is primarily focused upon Ezra’s (ultimately successful) pleas for mercy, and the teachings about death that emerge in the course of this dialogue. Most of the citations of the New

⁷³ *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 4.4 This is the third repetition of Ezra’s “ceaseless” pleading (ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ παύσομαι δικαζόμενός σε) in the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*, recalling the way in which Paul’s commitment to praying for others (1Thess 1:2; 5:17 (ἀδιαλείπτως); *Apoc. Paul* 43) is contrasted with the ceaseless (*indeficienter, perpetuam*) torment of the damned (*Apoc. Paul* 38; 39 [5x] *quod indeficienter persoluunt propriam poenam* ; 40 *quod ipsi perpetuam exoluitis poenam*) in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

⁷⁴ See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 160–63, for a detailed enumeration of the sins that are punished in both the *Apocalypse of Paul* and *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* and those which are unique to *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*.

Testament that occur in the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* are in service of this major motif. As in the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*, Matthew is cited more than any other text.⁷⁵ The concepts of “outer darkness” and “weeping” are also present, either reading Matthew or, more likely, following the prominence of these themes in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁷⁶ In two places the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* introduces Matthean material that is not cited in either the *Apocalypse of Peter* or the *Apocalypse of Paul*. First, the antichrist is described in

⁷⁵ A cursory survey of the citations noted in the English translations of each text demonstrates the predominance of references to Matthew, although our study has noted a number of additional parallels.

⁷⁶ See *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 4.8-12 for another instance in which *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* shares the emphasis on Matthew that we saw in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Here, the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* also mentions the crimes of Herod in Matthew’s infancy narrative (cf. Matt 2:16) but instead of envisioning the infants in heaven (cf. *Apoc. Paul* 26), Herod is depicted in hell on a “fiery throne.” See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 19–29, 169–73, for discussion of the relationships between the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Himmelfarb concludes that “the *Apocalypse of Ezra* is the only one of the Christian texts not demonstrably as early or earlier than the *Apocalypse of Paul* that does not seem particularly indebted to it.” Despite Himmelfarb’s confidence in a hypothetical “ur-Ezra apocalypse,” we suggest that there is enough in common between *Apocalypse of Paul* and *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* that such a document need not be hypothesized. In contrast, she concludes that the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* belongs to the same “textual family,” exhibiting literary dependence upon the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

language that recalls the judgment of Capernaum in Matt 11:23: “He has been exalted to heaven; he shall go down to Hades” (ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψώθη ἕως ᾧδου καταβήσκει; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 4.32).⁷⁷ In this passage, Matthew’s pronouncement of judgment is re-interpreted by the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* as a sign of the antichrist’s shiftiness: “at one time he shall become a child; at another an old man...” (*Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 4.33).

In the scene of judgment which follows this depiction of the antichrist, Matthew’s beatitudes are re-imagined, as Ezra hears the cries of those in torment and responds “Blessed are they that weep for their sins” (μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτίας; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5.11). This blessing reminds the apocalypse’s readers of the comfort that is offered to those who mourn in Matt 5:4 (μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται). By focusing on those who “weep for their sins” and the respite that is offered by Ezra’s presence, the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* reinvents the beatific ethic of Matthew so that it is in concert with Ezra’s successful pleas for God’s mercy on the damned as well as the ubiquitous “weeping” in hell.⁷⁸ In this regard the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* interprets Matthew in a way that coheres with the text’s overarching emphasis on Ezra’s pleas for those who are in torment.

iv. “Biblical Theology” in the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*

⁷⁷ The author may also have been familiar with Isa 14.

⁷⁸ See also the rewriting of the beatitudes in *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 5-6.

Like the other apocalypses we have studied, the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* contains a vivid depiction of hell that is preceded and followed by conversations between the “all-holy Mother of God” and the archangel Michael (1-2), the Lord (28-29), and her Son (29-30). Although the text does not include a trip to heaven, a Venice manuscript excerpted by Tischendorf includes an episode at the end chronicling Mary’s visit to paradise.⁷⁹ At least one redactor of the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* was comparing this apocalypse to the others we have studied that included visions of heaven. Such a comparison reveals that the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* contains only a few allusions to scripture, all of which recapitulate the Biblical material in earlier tours of hell. For example, the text opens with Mary praying on the Mt. of Olives, recalling the opening scene of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁸⁰ In contrast to the *Apocalypse*

⁷⁹ As M. R James, *Apocrypha Anecdota: A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893), 110, notes, this ending is clearly an appendix and not part of the original text.

⁸⁰ For other instances in which the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* cites biblical passages in a similar way to previously discussed texts, see *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 11; cf. Matt 26:24 (it is better not to have been born); *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 26; cf. Matt 5:7 (God returns mercy for mercy); *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 29; cf. *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 2.25; Matt 27:34 (gave Jesus vinegar mixed with gall). Unless otherwise noted, the English translations of *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* that are cited are from Andrew Rutherford, “The Apocalypse of the Virgin,” in *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (ed. Alexander

of Peter, the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*, Matthew is not an important source for the author of the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*.⁸¹ In this way, the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* does not rely upon Matthew directly, but merely echoes the themes of earlier apocalypses that happen to draw upon Matthean eschatology. The themes of “weeping” and “darkness” are still prominent, but the way that they are presented need not have Matthew’s “outer darkness” in view at all. Instead, the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* likely draws on the trope of weeping in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, describing the weeping of the wicked as a “great lamentation” (ὄδυρμὸς μέγας; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 3; 4) and a “great cry” (βοή μεγάλη; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 4).⁸²

Rather than explicitly drawing on the Gospel of Matthew, the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* depicts the law of Moses, the epistles of Paul, and the Gospel of John as normative texts. Moses, John, and Paul all cry out for the Lord to “have mercy” on those to whom they gave the law, the gospel,

Roberts and James Donaldson; 1896; repr., Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1994), 10: 167–74. The Greek text is cited from James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 115–26.

⁸¹ The only place in which the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* faintly echoes Matthew is in chapter 23 where Mary pronounces “woe” on the non-Christian (Jewish) sinners. This allusion is not strong, and elsewhere the text explicitly cites John as the most important gospel author (*Gk. Apoc. Mary* 27).

⁸² See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 171, for a chart depicting the genetic relationships between the tours of hell.

and the epistles respectively (*Greek Apocalypse of Mary* 27), placing them in solidarity with Mary and her own cries for clemency for the damned. In response to the cries of these patriarchs, God tells the righteous that they will be judged “according to the law which Moses gave, and according to the Gospel which John gave, and according to the epistles which Paul carried” (*Greek Apocalypse of Mary* 27). In this passage the reader learns that John’s Gospel and Paul’s writings are the New Testament texts that set the ethical rubric. From a contemporary perspective this looks like an early attempt at Biblical theology, although the ancient predilection for one text over another is less systematic than the term Biblical theology would imply.⁸³

Within the text of the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*, the ideological perspective that is developed is nominally recognizable as “Johannine” or “Pauline.” Mary’s negative attitudes toward “the unbelieving Jews” recalls John’s attitude toward “the Jews” as outsiders (*Gk. Apoc. Mary* 23; 26). What is more, Mary’s name functions similarly in the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* to the way that the name of Jesus functions in the Gospel of John: “all holy Mother of God, if anyone names and calls upon

⁸³ Isolation of Paul’s letters and the Gospel of John as exemplary reminds the modern historian of Luther’s “canon within a canon” or the results of Bultmann’s “Sachkritik.” Martin Luther, “Prefaces to the New Testament,” in *Luther’s Works* (ed. H. J. Grimm; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955), 35: 357–400; Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007).

thy name, I will not forsake him, either in heaven or on earth” (*Gk. Apoc. Mary* 26; cf. John 3:18; 14:14; 15:16; 16:23-26). Likewise, *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 26 depicts Mary in Jesus’ atoning role, asking to “go forth and be chastised myself for the Christians” (ἄς ἐξέλθω καὶ ἄς κολάζωμαι ἐγὼ μὲ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς Χριστιανούς). Here, Mary asks to stand as a proxy in place of the damned, mirroring the Pauline concept of “the one who died for all” (2 Cor 5:14).⁸⁴ In each of these attempts to reflect theologically on John or Paul the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* is not focused on notions of hell or eschatology, but on the concept of mercy for the damned that also figured highly in the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*.⁸⁵ While in the *Greek*

⁸⁴ For discussion of the concepts of vicarious expiatory suffering and *imitatio Christi* in early Christian history, see Sam K. Williams, *Jesus’ Death as Saving Event: The Background and Origin of a Concept* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975); Frances M. Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom* (Cambridge: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979); Candida R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁸⁵ Like Mary, Ezra also offers himself up to suffer judgment in place of the damned. See *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 1.10-11, “Judge me rather than the souls of the sinners; for it is better that one soul should be punished, and that the whole world should not come to destruction.” As noted above, the theme of pious interceding for the damned is recapitulated in a distinctive way in numerous texts. See Jude 22-23; *Sib. Or.* 2:314-38; *Apoc. Zeph.* 2; *Apoc. Pet.* 3; *Apoc. Paul* 33,40,42,43.

Apocalypse of Ezra Ezra's pleas finally win mercy for sinners,⁸⁶ in the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* the figure of Mary as Holy Mother earns clemency for those tormented in hell, through prayers, weeping and instructions to her Son.⁸⁷

IV. The Pedagogical Function of Hell in the Early Christian Apocalypses

The preceding discussion has highlighted the ways in which post-New Testament apocalypses interpret and expand upon the New Testament picture of hell. For the earliest of these texts Matthew's eschatology was the starting point for depictions of the afterlife. The following pages will demonstrate that the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades provided rhetorical models for these ancient authors, who would use the rhetoric of visual description, or *ekphrasis*, in order to "fill in the gaps" in Matthew's picture of the afterlife.⁸⁸

a. Evidence of *Ekphrasis: Periēgēsis*

⁸⁶ Ezra wins "mercy" for those who read and believe "this book," who will have their wickedness forgotten at the day of judgment and receive a "blessing from heaven."

⁸⁷ In the *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 29, the Lord Jesus, the "beloved son" grants the damned a day of rest on Pentecost "because of the prayer of my mother Mary."

⁸⁸ See Patrick Gray, "Abortion, Infanticide, and the Social Rhetoric of the Apocalypse of Peter," *J ECS* 9 (2001): 313, who argues that examination of the *Apocalypse of Peter's* rhetoric "reveals dynamic interplay between this text and the Greco-Roman milieu of which it is a part."

In our analysis of Greek and Latin literature and the Jewish apocalypses we discussed *periēgēsis* as a way of describing the *ekphrasis* of a place in which the speech is structured like a tour, leading the audience around the place that is being described.⁸⁹ *Periēgēsis* is a unique way of understanding *ekphrasis* because it not only makes an image come to life before an audience, but it also enables the author to direct the audience's attention. In Greek and Latin rhetoric the vivid description of a tour, or the use of *periēgēsis*, is a way of "adding order and meaning to the undifferentiated mass of sights which is presented to the visitor."⁹⁰ As such, the *ekphrasis* of a place often has an explicitly didactic function, as evidenced in the Platonic depictions of Athens and Atlantis.⁹¹ Likewise, the trip down the path to "true *paideia* and

⁸⁹ For description and examples of this device see Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.7.23 and Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 47-49, as well as the fuller discussion of the rhetorical device itself in Chapter 3, p.84.

⁹⁰ Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 54; "Ekphrasis in some cases, therefore does not only make 'visible' the appearance of a subject, but makes something about its nature intelligible, an idea which is encompassed by the verb *dēloō* which can mean to explain, to reveal to the intellect, as well as to show."

⁹¹ Plato, *Critias* 110D-112D; 114E-120D. Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis," in *1900th Anniversary of Saint John's Apocalypse: Proceedings of the International and Interdisciplinary Symposium* (Athens: Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian in Patmos, 1999), 450.

happiness” in the *Tablet of Cebes* is an example of *periēgēsis* that carried explicit ethical content.⁹² In the final scene of the dwelling place of those who “live wretchedly” the *ekphrasis* of the wicked uses negative imagery to exhort the reader to avoid ignorance and follow the path to true *paideia*.⁹³ The early Christian apocalypses that we have highlighted have a similar rhetorical orientation, taking the reader on a tour of the horrors of hell that reveals the consequences of disbelief and the ethical and cultural requirements of early Christian *paideia*.

In the early Christian tours of hell the audience is led around the dwelling places of the damned by means of a tour guide, topographical descriptions, and directional language.⁹⁴ In the *Apocalypse of Peter* Jesus describes for Peter the landscape of eternal punishment that awaits “evil-doers” on the “last day” (*Apoc. Pet.* 3) and Peter responds to this vision. In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* and

⁹² Collins, “Apocalyptic Ekphrasis,” 460. For text, translation and notes see John T Fitzgerald and L. Michael White, *The Tabula of Cebes* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983).

⁹³ Fitzgerald and White, *Tabula of Cebes* 30-32.

⁹⁴ In many ways these elements are similar to the evidence of *periēgēsis* that we saw in *1 Enoch*. See chapter 4, pp.137-46 above. Jan Bremmer, “Tours of Hell: Greek, Roman, Jewish and Early Christian,” 13-34, has argued that the presence of *1 Enoch* and the *Apoc. Peter* in the Akhmim fragment suggests that some ancient audiences saw a connection between the two works. For some audiences then, the rhetoric of the *Apocalypse of Peter* mirrored that of Enoch’s tour.

the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* the saint in question engages in a similar dialogue with an angelic tour guide. Along the way, the “tourist” takes note of the distinctive topography of each locale, including but not limited to rivers of fire, deep pits, a pit of fire, a pit that has the appearance of blood, a pillar of fire, the Acherusian field, and a place of ice and snow.⁹⁵

These tours are also marked with directional cues, providing the reader with the sense of order and differentiation that is characteristic of *periēgēsis*. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* prepositions are used as relative directional markers, connecting one place to the next.⁹⁶ Each of these apocalypses also gives more concrete references to biblical places in order to help the reader fit this tour into their existing spatial schema.⁹⁷ The *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* and the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* employ more specific directional language, numbering the steps that Ezra takes between the “levels” of Tartarus (*Gk.*

⁹⁵ See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 113–15, for a detailed comparison of the geography and environmental punishments in each apocalypse.

⁹⁶ For example, the “river of boiling fire” is “beyond” the “great river of water” that encircles the earth and serves as the foundation of the heavens (*Apoc. Paul* 31). Likewise, those who persecute the righteous are punished “near” those who chew their tongues because they slandered and doubted the righteousness of Jesus (*Apoc. Pet.* 9).

⁹⁷ See references to the Mt. of Olives (*Apoc. Pet.* 1; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 1); the Mount of Transfiguration (*Apoc. Pet.* 15); Paul’s “third heaven” (*Apoc. Paul* 19); the Gehenna of fire (*Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 1.9); and the lake of fire (*Gk. Apoc. Mary* 24).

Apoc. Ezra 4.7-19), and using cardinal directions more frequently to orient the “tourist” (*Gk Apoc. Mary* 5, 11, 22, 26).⁹⁸ Although each of these authors may employ the rhetorical device of *periēgēsis* with different directional markers or by highlighting different topographical features, the rhetorical effect is similar. The reader is transported to the distinctive parts of “hell” in a way that allows him or her to differentiate spatially between the sights, sounds, and smells of each set of punishments. Parallel to the journey toward “true *paideia*” in the *Tablet of Cebes*, each of these apocalypses uses the distinct sites along the path to perdition in order to bring the way of virtue into relief.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ The *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* uses cardinal directions more frequently than the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* which make only one or two mentions of heading “North” (*Apoc. Paul* 41) or a city “in the West” (*Apoc. Pet.* 14). In this regard, *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* is using a tour format that is similar to that of *1 Enoch*, although previous scholarship has not identified *1 Enoch* as one of *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*’s sources. *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* is also unique in that the archangel merely asks Mary which direction she would like to go, and she makes all of the decisions about which sites to see. The reader of the apocalypse is an eyewitness on Mary’s “self-guided” tour.

⁹⁹ In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, and the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* the heavenly realm is given some treatment, while the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* does not discuss heaven. Perhaps this is because the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* was written at a time when the rhetoric of heaven and hell was so familiar that the path to heaven could be implicitly assumed.

b. Evidence of *Ekphrasis*: Language of Perception

The *paideia* of these journeys to hell is not only conveyed through the spatial and analytical elements of *periēgēsis*, but by “bringing what is portrayed clearly before the sight.”¹⁰⁰ In this regard, the reader is not only hearing about the narrator’s trip to hell, but he becomes a spectator. As the ancient rhetorical handbooks explain, *ekphrasis* is defined primarily by the effect it has on audiences, turning hearers into eye witnesses.¹⁰¹ Because of this emphasis on bringing images “before the eyes,” verbs of sight or focalization are sometimes used to mark *ekphrasis*.¹⁰² In the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades these verbs placed the reader into direct contact with the sights and sounds of the

¹⁰⁰ Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata* 7.118, defines *ekphrasis* using this language.

¹⁰¹ Theon claims that the audience should “almost see” and Nicolaus says that the difference between *diēgēsis* and *ekphrasis* is that *ekphrasis* attempts to make the listeners into spectators. Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata* 7.119, Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 11.68. George Alexander Kennedy, ed., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 46–47, 166. On the definition of *ekphrasis* according to function rather than form, see Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 51–52.

¹⁰² Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 148.

underworld, as well as the emotional responses that those perceptions evoked from the main characters of the texts.¹⁰³

Verbs of sensory perception function similarly in the early Christian journeys to hell. In the context of apocalyptic literature, verbs of sight and sound are common generic features, logical ways of communicating the vision that the apocalyptic author wishes to “reveal.”¹⁰⁴ In the apocalypses that describe hell these verbs are not merely a means of introducing a visionary sequence. Instead, the act of perception is coupled with the emotional responses of the characters in the text and functions to “move the audience.” Peter describes the emotional responses to the perception of the final judgment and eternal punishment of “evil-doers”: “We saw how the sinners wept in great distress and sorrow, until all who saw it with their eyes wept, whether righteous, or angels or [Jesus] himself also” (*Apoc. Pet.* 3).¹⁰⁵ Peter’s mournful and merciful response is similar to the response of Odysseus in Homer’s *Odyssey*, who weeps with compassion at the first sight of his unburied friend Elpenor (11.55). Likewise, Aeneas’s late father Anchises

¹⁰³ See Chapter 3, pp.103-07, and Appendix C for the summary of this data.

¹⁰⁴ Meeks, “Apocalyptic Discourse,” 462, discusses the paraenetic function of “seeing” in apocalyptic literature. On the generic features of “apocalypse,” see John J. Collins, “Apocalypse: the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–19.

¹⁰⁵ As discussed above, the response of “weeping” is not unique to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, but occurs in all of the apocalypses under discussion.

has an emotional response to Aeneas's visit to the underworld and is overcome with tears the moment that he sees him. For the apocalyptic authors, as for Homer and Virgil, the *ekphrasis* of the afterlife is directly connected to the emotions of sadness and grief.

These emotional cues within the text stir the emotions of the readers, and aim to prevent them from living in ignorance of the ethical standards of their community. Despite the difficult emotions that the images of torment evoke, the main characters in the apocalypses ask to see them. In the *Apoc. Paul* 13, Paul says to the angel "I wish to see the souls of the righteous and of sinners as they leave the world."¹⁰⁶ For the audience Paul's curiosity about the places of the dead is a reminder that the act of seeing hell is worthwhile and has a larger purpose.¹⁰⁷ In the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* the responses of the

¹⁰⁶ See similar inquiries in *Apoc. Pet.* 1 ("make known unto us what are the signs of thy Parousia and the end of the world"); *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 4.5 ("I wish Lord to see also the under parts of Tartarus"); *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 1 ("let the archangel Gabriel descend that he may tell me concerning the chastisements and concerning things in heaven and on earth and under the earth.").

¹⁰⁷ See Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 45–67, which treats the topic of "demonstrative explanations in the tours of hell," concluding that much of the dialogue between tourist and tour guide is patterned after the Book of the Watchers. While Himmelfarb deftly traces the theme through the relevant ancient literature, she attributes this feature of the text to "pesher-style exegesis," rather than Greco-Roman rhetoric as I have here.

damned to their punishments suggest that the purpose of *seeing* the imagery is to incite a reaction from the audience. As they are being tormented, the wicked bemoan their disbelief:

We have indeed heard, but did not believe that we would come to this place of eternal judgment (*Apoc. Pet. 7*).

Now we know the judgment of God, which he declared to us beforehand, and we did not believe (*Apoc. Pet. 13*).

We did hear that there was a judgment before we came forth from the world, but tribulations and a worldly-minded life did not allow us to repent (*Apoc. Paul 43*).¹⁰⁸

The pleas of ignorance in the midst of punishment demonstrate for the audience that knowledge of the afterlife was not enough to spare these sinners from torment. For the audience members who have themselves become “spectators,” the punishments of the ignorant indicate that perception alone is not enough unless it is accompanied by belief and repentance (marked by changed behavior).

c. Evidence of *Ekphrasis: Enargeia* or “Vividness”

Although the language of perception is suggestive, the primary way in which *ekphrasis* elicits emotion from an audience is through *enargeia* or “vividness.” As Nicolaus states in his rhetorical handbook, the

¹⁰⁸ In the *Apoc. Paul 43*, the angel Michael responds to the pleas of ignorance with contempt and grief over the way that these sinners have “squandered time,” inviting the wicked to “weep” along with him, the angels, and Paul. In this scene the emotional response of Michael conveys that the sinners’ ignorance is contemptible, revealing that *seeing* is worthless unless it leads to belief, repentance, and changed behavior.

“vividness” of a particular image is measured by the context in which it occurs. He explains that *ekphrasis* is characterized by the “amount of perceptible detail... the exact quantity remaining to be determined by subjective judgment or by convention.”¹⁰⁹ In the context of apocalyptic literature then, the “amount of perceptible detail” would be high, relative to the level of description in an example of *ekphrasis* from the New Testament gospels or epistles.

Even within the expectations of the apocalyptic genre, the depictions of hell that are contained in the post-New Testament apocalypses deliver imagery that mirrors the rhetorical orientation of Greek and Latin depictions of Hades.¹¹⁰ For instance, the different categories of sinners in *Apoc. Pet.* 11-12 wear different colored garments, recalling the different colored bruises left by various vices in Plutarch’s *Moralia*.¹¹¹ The young women who lost their virginity before marriage are clothed in “dark raiments” (*Apoc. Pet.* 11) and the men and women who

¹⁰⁹ Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 67-71.

¹¹⁰ Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 315–16; István Czachesz, “Torture in Hell and Reality,” in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 143, both note that some of the punishments of hell parallel the tortures of the martyrs. Although the direction of influence cannot be determined, the shared imagery between the Acts of the Martyrs and the punishments of hell is suggestive. From a rhetorical standpoint, this could be an attempt to appeal to the “visual vocabulary” of early Christians.

¹¹¹ Plutarch, *Sera* 565C. See fuller discussion of this passage in Chapter 3, pp.121-22.

give alms and falsely congratulate themselves on their righteousness are clothed in “white raiments” (*Apoc. Pet.* 12). Just as Plutarch uses color to distinguish between those who are “green with envy” or “drab brown” because of meanness and greed, the apocalyptic author employs dark and white garments to differentiate between the unchaste and the falsely pious.

The vivid imagery that is used to describe the punishment of those who do not obey their parents and the unchaste in *Apoc. Pet.* 11 is also reminiscent of the *ekphrasis* of Hades in *Od.* 11. Those who disobey their elders are “punished with pain, with hanging up and with many wounds which flesh-eating birds inflict,” and the unchaste “shall be seriously punished and their flesh will be torn in pieces” (*Apoc. Pet.* 11).¹¹² The text makes clear that these fleshly punishments are meant to inflict anguish upon the wicked, explaining that “they shall be punished with these tortures, while they feel them.” The imagery of having one’s flesh “torn” or wounded by “flesh-eating birds” is similar to the punishment of Tityos (for raping Leto; *Od.* 11.576-581), whose body was torn apart by vultures. Apart from parallels between the specific imagery, the “fleshly” punishments of *Apoc. Pet.* 11 also function similarly to the punishments handed down by Minos in *Od.* 11.568-

¹¹² Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 301, details the parallels between *Apoc. Pet.* 11 and the content of Greek myth, including *Od.* 11. These parallels provide the starting point for our discussion of shared rhetorical orientation between Greeks and early Christians.

600.¹¹³ Odysseus watches in pity, as Tityos is torn apart by vultures, and the punishments of Tantalus and Sisyphus are described in vivid detail,¹¹⁴ but also more generally as “violent torment” (*Od.* 11. 581, 594). In both *Apoc. Pet.* 11 and *Od.* 11.568-600 the pain of punishment is “brought before the eyes” of the audience so that they are able to feel the anguish of eternal punishment.

In addition to selecting gut-wrenching imagery, the apocalypses also appeal to the readers’ emotions by being attentive to their diverse “visual vocabularies.”¹¹⁵ In Chapter 3, we contended that Virgil brought together the imagery of necromancy, initiation, and underworld journey in order to ensure that his *ekphrasis* appealed to the different “visual

¹¹³ Contra Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 41–45, whose argument focuses on the possible genetic relationship between the *katabasis* literature and Jewish and Christian tours of hell, contending that the Christian apocalypses owe more to the Jewish apocalypses than to *Od.* 11. Instead, I am arguing that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is drawing from both Jewish and Greek antecedents but shares the rhetorical orientation of the *Odyssey*.

¹¹⁴ The torment of Sisyphus is used by Aristotle as an example of *enargeia*, see Chapter 3, pp.107-8 above for fuller discussion of the rhetoric of description in this passage of the *Odyssey*.

¹¹⁵ See Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 125–6, for a discussion of the importance of appealing to an audience’s “visual vocabulary,” and the “rhetorical failure” that occurs when a rhetor does not choose imagery wisely.

vocabularies” of his broad audience.¹¹⁶ *Apoc. Pet.* 4 brings together very different images in order to describe the Day of Judgment. The imagery that is invoked includes the adamantine bars of hell (cf. Virgil *Aen.* 6.550-560),¹¹⁷ hell “giving up” the dead (cf. Rev 20:13),¹¹⁸ beasts and fowl who have devoured human flesh (cf. *Od.* 11.576-81),¹¹⁹ and the Son of Man’s prophecy over the dry bones (cf. Ezek 37:4-14).¹²⁰ In the context

¹¹⁶ See Virgil *Aen.* 6.140-267 and the discussion of this passage in Chapter 3, pp.109-110.

¹¹⁷ See Virgil’s depiction of Tartarus’ screeching gate that is protected by columns of solid adamantine. Compare also the “gates of Hades” in Matt 16 and the “prison of the underworld” in *Apoc. Paul* 18.

¹¹⁸ Richard Bauckham, “Resurrection as Giving Back the Dead,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 269–89.

¹¹⁹ See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 116–20, who suggests that the beasts in the Christian apocalypses are derived from Egyptian traditions about the land of the dead or the Acts of the Martyrs. She also notes that beasts are mentioned in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*, the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*, and the *Vision of Ezra*. According to Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 46-54, the beasts of the *Apocalypse of Peter* had more in common with the Greek tradition of devouring beasts. Cf. Pausanias 10.28.7; Cerberos the dog-guardian of hell in Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 417-425; and snakes and beasts of Aristophanes, *Ran.* 143; 278. See also Ezek 29:5; 32:4; and 39:4 in which Egypt and Gog-Magog are fated to die on open fields to be devoured by birds and beasts.

¹²⁰ I am grateful to Tobias Nicklas for his suggestion that the material in Ezek. 37 was ripe for use in later Jewish and Christian interpretations of the passage that try to envisage *ekphrasis* of bodily resurrection. See also Richard Bauckham, “A Quotation from 4Q Second Ezekiel in the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on*

of the *Apocalypse of Peter* these disparate depictions of afterlife come together to bring the resurrection of the dead “before the eyes” of a diverse audience,¹²¹ so that every member of the audience is able to picture the scene.

The “vividness” or *enargeia* of hell in the apocalypses is not limited to visual description, but also appeals to other senses.¹²² As we have already mentioned, the weeping and wailing of the damned place the reader in contact with the “sounds” of hell. The *Apocalypse of Peter* describes the “foul smell” of the milk that comes forth from the breasts of the women who are being punished for killing their children (8) and the

the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 259–68; Ingrid E. Lilly, *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions* (VTSup 150; Boston: Brill, 2012), especially 271–72. Bauckham compares this passage to *Sib. Or.* 2:221–224, and suggests that the source of the Ezekiel material in *Apoc. Pet.* 4 is from *4Q Second Ezekiel* and not the MT or LXX.

¹²¹ As discussed above, there is reason to qualify the claims that the *Apocalypse of Peter*’s audience can be narrowed to a group of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem at the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt. At the very least, we must take into account the socio-cultural diversity that could be found in a group of “Jewish Christians” by the beginning of the second century C.E., having separated from the synagogue many decades earlier.

¹²² Compare with the discussion of the “sights, sounds, and smells” of Hades in Lucian’s *Men.* 14–15 and *Dial. mort.* 14.1. See discussion of these texts in Chapter 3, pp. 110–12 above.

“beautiful” “fragrance of perfume” that wafts toward Peter and Jesus as they tour heaven’s paradise (16). Likewise, the imagery in the *Apocalypse of Paul* includes a range of foul smells, describing the “foul stench” of a wicked soul (16), “men and women clothed in rags full of tar and sulphurous fire” (40), and the “disagreeable and very evil smell which surpassed all the punishments” (41).¹²³ These vivid depictions of the aromas of the afterlife add a further dimension to the *ekphrasis* of eternal punishment and enliven the reader’s experience of the journey as a “spectator.”

d. The Spectacle of Punishment as *Paideia*: Explicit

Communication of the Didactic Function of *Ekphrasis*

Since *ekphrasis* is a rhetorical device that primarily serves a didactic function, the evidence of *ekphrasis* in the post-New Testament apocalypses suggests that hell functioned pedagogically in these texts. What is more, the texts themselves confirm that these depictions of hell were intended to educate the reader. In *Apoc. Pet.* 1, the frame of Jesus’ teaching on the Mount of Olives about the *parousia* establishes the entire apocalypse as a “lesson,” a teaching about the coming judgment and

¹²³ See also the “foul pus” in the Greek text of *Apoc. Pet.* 31, mentioned in Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 120. For discussion of the origin of the motif of “bad smells” in Plato and Aristophanes, see Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 301.

eternal punishment that the disciples hope will enable them to “perceive” and “instruct those who come after us.”¹²⁴ Similarly, the angel explicitly tells Paul to share what he has learned with others: “Follow me further and I shall show you what you ought to tell openly and report” (*Apoc. Paul* 21).¹²⁵ The narrative frame of the *Apocalypse of Paul* also confirms that the visions of heaven and hell are intended to educate the audience, beginning and ending with the discovery of the hidden text under Paul’s house. Just before the end of the *Apocalypse of Paul* the Lord speaks to Paul after his death, explaining the pedagogical function of this “hidden text”:

Paul, have I shown everything to you so that you should put it under the wall of a house? Rather send and reveal it for its sake so that men may read it and turn to the way of truth that they may

¹²⁴ The *Apocalypse of Peter* also ends with a heavenly scene in which Peter and the disciples are exhorted that “thine eyes must be opened and thine ears unstopped” (16). For discussion of the elements of a post-Easter triumphal ascension in *Apoc. Pet.* 17, see Ernst Kähler, *Studien zum Te Deum and zur Geschichte des 24 Psalms in der alten Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958), 53–55.

¹²⁵ See Kirsti Barrett Copeland, “Thinking with Oceans: Muthos, Revelation and the *Apocalypse of Paul*,” in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 81–86, for a brief discussion of the pedagogical function of hell in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

not come into these bitter torments (*Apoc. Paul* 51 [longer ending]).¹²⁶

For the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the “bitter torments” are intended to “turn” the reader toward the “way of truth.”¹²⁷

In addition to narrative framing that expressly indicates the paraenetic value of the texts, there are other passages that depict the characters in the apocalypse as those who “learn.” For instance, at the torment of those who disobey their parents and the maidens who lost

¹²⁶ Bertrand Bouvier and François Bovon, “Prière et apocalypse de Paul dans un fragment grec inédit conservé au Sinaï: introduction, texte, traduction et notes,” *Apocrypha* 15 (2004): 12–13, argue for the pedagogical function of the apocalypse: “Le propos du dernier paragraphe conserve, qui continue d’ajouter citation sur citation, n’est plus apocalyptique; il est éminemment parénétiq. L’auteur entend exhorter à l’écoute attentive des préceptes de l’Écriture; il confère à l’affirmation apocalyptique une forte connotation morale.” The paraenetic orientation of the text offers the reader an ethical choice: “La dimension existentielle et éthique s’impose dans la seconde moitié de l’oeuvre quand un troisième lieu, la terre, offre aux vivants le terrain d’une décision d’un choix déterminant entre la justice et le péché.”

¹²⁷ For another description of the efficacy of the apocalypse, see also the *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 7.9-12 in which God commands Ezra to “give to all who transcribe this book, and have it, and remember my name, and honour my memory, give them a blessing from heaven...and as many as have not believed in this book shall be burnt up like Sodom and Gomorrah.” In contrast, the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary* does not understand itself as the exhaustive guide to ethical behavior and eternal salvation, directing the readers instead to the law of Moses, the Gospel of John, and the epistles of Paul as the standards for judgment (*Gk. Apoc. Mary* 27).

their virginity prior to marriage, “the angel Ezrael brings children and maidens to show them those who are punished” (*Apoc. Pet.* 11). By bringing forth children and maidens to witness the punishment of other children and maidens, the angel establishes the painful punishments as a learning opportunity for the eye witnesses.¹²⁸ In turn, the readers, who have themselves been made eyewitnesses through *ekphrasis*, are invited to learn from the damned as negative ethical examples.

¹²⁸ Elsewhere in the *Apocalypse of Peter* the victims of the offence form the audience that watches the punishments. See, for instance, *Apoc. Pet.* 7 (murderers are punished in front of their victims) and *Apoc. Pet.* 8 (those who aborted babies are punished in front of the babies who shoot lightning from their eyes). Michael J. Gilmour, “Delighting in the Suffering of Others: Early Christian Schadenfreude and the Function of the Apocalypse of Peter,” *BBR* 16 (2006): 129–39, has suggested that this is intended to make the readers of the text feel “vindicated” because those who commit crimes against them will be punished. See also Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 127–57, who argues that there is tension between the delight of the audiences and Peter’s cries for mercy which try to limit suffering. While Schadenfreude, or the phenomenon of delighting in the suffering of others, could be occurring in the ancient context, Gilmour’s hypothesis and Lanzillotta’s comparative project both bring modern psychological concerns to bear on an ancient text. A more plausible hypothesis is that the audiences are present in the text in order to imply that sinners will have to face those they have wronged as part of their punishment, further shaming the damned. Compare this to the humiliation of the wealthy in Lucian, *Men.* 14; 20.

In the other apocalypses, the saint (Paul, Ezra, Mary) is the character who “learns” from the punishments and demonstrates the educational purpose of the tour. In the *Apocalypse of Paul* the questions that are asked establish a student-teacher relationship between Paul and the angel who is guiding him. Paul asks the angel questions about what he sees (i.e., *Apoc. Paul* 11; “Who are these sir?”) and the angel periodically “checks in” with Paul to make sure that he “understands” all that he is seeing (i.e., *Apoc. Paul* 19; 31; “Have you understood all this?”). As Paul’s fellow “tourists,” the readers of the text not only glean understanding from the content of this student-teacher dialogue, but they also identify with Paul and become students of hell themselves. Mary’s questions function similarly in the *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*, revealing detailed information about what is considered “sin.” When Mary sees the fiery torment of those who “on the morning of the Lord’s day sleep like the dead” she asks “If anyone cannot rise, what shall he do?” (*Gk. Apoc. Mary* 12).¹²⁹ The angel responds that the only opportunity for forgiveness in this situation is if a person’s house is sealed on all four sides. In this dialogue between Mary and the angel the reader learns from the fiery punishment that there are strict ethical requirements for Christians, strictly prohibiting “sleeping in” on “the Lord’s day”!

¹²⁹ This is a punishment that perhaps reflects Constantine’s laws regarding Sundays. See Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 4.18-20, and Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 317 n.57.

While righteous onlookers primarily play the role of “student” in the apocalypses there are two passages in which the damned are educated by their own punishments. In two different places in the *Apocalypse of Peter* the wicked express that whereas they did not believe it before, their punishments have led them to understand that “Righteous is the judgment of God” (*Apoc. Pet.* 7; 13; cf. Ps 19:9; Rev 16:7; 19:2). In the second passage, the wicked only extol the goodness of God’s punishment of their deeds after the angel Tatiros inflicts “even greater torment” upon them, and tells them that there is “no more time for repentance” (*Apoc. Pet.* 13). In the *Apoc. Paul* 41-44 Paul weeps at the sight of the most extreme punishments (7 times greater than the rest), which are reserved for those who reject the incarnation, the bodily resurrection, and the Eucharist. In this context, Paul’s weeping evokes an emotional response from the angels and those being punished, who weep and cry for mercy. Ultimately these emotional responses are efficacious, and lead God to offer the damned a day and night of respite. Parallel to the punishment of the “unjust souls” in Plato’s *Republic*,¹³⁰ these passages indicate that eternal torment is able to “purify” the

¹³⁰ See the “purification of souls” in Plato, *Resp.* 10.614C-615E, as well as in Plutarch, *Sera* 567B, 565B, and the detailed discussion of these passages in Chapter 3 pp.121-22. Kyrtatas, “The Origins of Christian Hell,” 291–96, argues that atonement through purification was the ultimate theological goal of the punishments in the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Sibylline Oracles*.

wicked. Compared to the myth of Er, however, in the apocalypses the education of the wicked is not as efficacious, earning them greater punishment (*Apoc. Pet.* 13) or a mere day's respite from their torment (*Apoc. Paul* 44).¹³¹ In the apocalypses, then, the repentance of the wicked is primarily an object lesson for the viewer, who learns to repent and commit themselves to the ethical standards of the community before death.¹³²

As in the depictions of Hades by Plato, Lucian, and Plutarch, the apocalypses use the *ekphrasis* of punishment as the site for *paideia*.¹³³ In the *ekphrasis* of Hades, the ethical and cultural content of each author's *paideia* varied, with each text presenting its own "morals" for the formation of an ideal citizen. Whereas Plato and Plutarch focused on the care of individual souls, Aristophanes and Virgil focused on the virtues required to make people "better citizens." In this way, the

¹³¹ Compare this to the cessation of the punishment once the souls have "cured" of their poor quality in Plato, *Resp.* 10.615 E.

¹³² The rhetoric of weeping, repentance, and partial clemency is "lost" on Augustine and later authors who interpreted this as a literal pardoning of sinners and a softening of hell's sting.

¹³³ See also István Czachesz, "The Grotesque Body in the *Apocalypse of Peter*," in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 108–26, who gives examples of *chreiai* from Theon's *Progymnasmata* and compares this rhetoric to the Greek depictions of the "spectacle of punishment" and the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

Apocalypse of Peter follows the model of Plato and Plutarch, primarily emphasizing the punishment of specific individual sins (i.e., fornication and murder).¹³⁴

While the *Apocalypse of Paul* contains many of the same individual vices, it also describes the punishments that are assigned to dishonest leaders of the community¹³⁵ and those who exclude themselves from the

¹³⁴ See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 121–22, who observes that in the *Apocalypse of Peter* the specific measure-for-measure hanging punishments are more dominant than the general environmental punishments and the reverse is true in *the Apoc. of Paul*. Gray, “Abortion, Infanticide, and the Social Rhetoric of the Apocalypse of Peter,” 336, identifies the rhetoric of *Apoc. Pet.* 8 as “conversionist-countercultural rhetoric.” The vices included in the *Apocalypse of Peter* are: blasphemy (7); plaited hair (fornication/adultery in Greek text); fornication (men) (7); murderers (7); abortionists/those who kill children (8); persecutors and betrayers of righteous ones (9), slanderers and doubters (9), those who testified falsely against the martyrs (9), those who trusted in riches/despised widows/woman with orphans (9) [all things in chp.9 are subsets of the first element], those who lent money and practiced usury (10), idol worshipers (10), those who cut their flesh (10), men who “defile themselves with one another in the fashion of women” (10), manufacturers of idols (10), those who do not honor father and mother (11), those who do not retain virginity before marriage (11), disobedient slaves (11), unrighteous almsgivers (12), sorcerers and sorceresses (12).

¹³⁵ The vices included in the *Apocalypse of Paul* are: forgetfulness and tale-bearing (16), murder, fornication, stealing (17–18), sins of hypocrisy: speech, fornication, conniving against neighbor (31), hypocritical presbyter, deacon, and lector: eating,

Christian community through their failure to accept core confessional values.¹³⁶ As Bremmer has noted, the social boundaries within the church drawn by the *Apocalypse of Paul* no longer separate pagans from the church (cf. *Apocalypse of Peter*), but instead delineate doctrinal boundaries.¹³⁷ Not only does the *Apocalypse of Paul* include punishments for sins against the community that are not punished elsewhere, but it does so in a way that recalls the communal ethic of Matt 25. In Matt 25 Jesus teaches that the Son of Man will indict those who do not take care of others, and he will send them away into eternal punishment, saying:

I was hungry and you gave me no food, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not welcome me,

drinking, fornicating, not keeping the commandments of God (34-36), Those who charged usury and those who reviled the word of God in church (37), magicians and adulterers (38), virgins who defile their virginity, those who harm the poor and widows and orphans, those who broke their fast before the appointed time, those who give themselves to adulterers, sodomy (39), heathens who give alms and don't know God, women who defiled what God had fashioned by giving birth to children in the womb [and men who lie with them], women who had no compassion on widows or poor or orphans (40), those who deny the incarnation and that the Eucharist is the body and blood of Christ (41), those who deny the bodily resurrection (42).

¹³⁶ See the punishments assigned to those who deny the incarnation and deny that the Eucharist is the body and blood of Christ (*Apoc. Paul* 41); and to those who deny the bodily resurrection (*Apoc. Paul* 42).

¹³⁷ Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 307-14.

naked and you did not give me clothing, sick and in prison and you did not visit me. (Mat 25:42-43)

Similarly, in *Apoc. Paul* 40, Paul witnesses the punishment of people who wore “our raiment” or “holy clothes” but failed to welcome the “other”: “they did not arrange a single Agape meal and had no compassion on the widows and orphans; they did not take in the stranger and the pilgrim, nor present a gift nor show mercy to their neighbor.” Here the *Apocalypse of Paul* makes Matthew’s condemnation of those who do not extend hospitality to “the least of these” even more specific, demonstrating that their wickedness is not only in their lack of concern for the other but also in the dishonesty of wearing clothing to identify themselves as “holy.”¹³⁸ The *paideia* contained in the *Apocalypse of Paul* emphasizes a communal ethic, encouraging its readers to don virtues that will build and maintain the social fabric of early Christian communities. In this regard, the pedagogical orientation of the *Apocalypse of Paul*’s depiction of hell is more akin to that of Virgil, whose review of Roman heroes elevates the virtues of patriotism, selfless service to the state and political achievement.¹³⁹ Thus, while each of the apocalypses conceives of hell as a component of Christian *paideia*, the specific expression of that *paideia* is shaped by the unique historical context of each text.

¹³⁸ See Bouvier and Bovon, “Prière et apocalypse de Paul dans un fragment grec inédit conservé au Sinaï,” 12, regarding the allusion to Matt 24-25 in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

¹³⁹ Virgil, *Aen.* 6.740-755.

V. The Pedagogical Function of Hell in the Early Church Fathers

Within the early Christian apocalypses the rhetorical orientation toward hell is relatively homogenous, with the differences between each text lying in their interpretation of the New Testament or the sins punished. Among the early church fathers, however, there is a range of attitudes toward the rhetoric of hell. Origen's suggestion that all souls would be reunited with God (*apokatastasis*) was famously deemed "heretical" and critiqued directly by those who saw theological value in damnation.¹⁴⁰ In the early third century Clement of Alexandria cited the *Apocalypse of Peter* as part of a presentation of moral teaching on attitudes toward "undesirable children," chastising parents for exposing their children.¹⁴¹ In the late fourth and early fifth centuries, Augustine reacted against the depiction of hell in the post-New Testament apocalypses because it was not stringent enough in its condemnation of the damned.¹⁴² In the sixth century, Gregory the Great preserves the pedagogical rhetoric of the apocalypses by describing the visions of monks on their deathbeds who see the hell that awaits them because of

¹⁴⁰ The church's official rejection of Origen's idea of *apokatastasis* occurred in 553 C.E. at The Second Council of Constantinople. As we shall see below, however, there was opposition to Origen's notion of the afterlife at a much earlier date (see discussion of Augustine below).

¹⁴¹ See Clement of Alexandria, *Ecl.* 41; 48; 49.

¹⁴² Augustine, *Civ.* 21.18.

the sins they committed in their individual lives.¹⁴³ In these visions the dying monks go to hell, but they use their stories to teach their brothers who usually change their lives in response.¹⁴⁴ Because of this broad range, our discussion will not attempt to be exhaustive, but will instead consider two illustrative examples. In this way we will provide a sense of the reception and spread of the concept of hell as *paideia* in two distinct geographic regions of the early Church (Antioch or Asia Minor, and Africa).

a. Chrysostom: Zeal in Appropriating Hell as the Heart of Christian *Paideia*

¹⁴³ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 4.40-49. The translation of *Dialogues* is available in Zimmerman Odo John, trans., *Fathers of the Church, a New Translation* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959), 39:244–60. Although some scholars have questioned the authenticity of this material, Francis Clark has argued that most of the material is Gregorian, but was compiled by a slightly later author who had access to Gregory’s notes and sermons. See Francis Clark, *The “Gregorian” Dialogues and the Origins of Benedictine Monasticism* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 7–59, 397–407.

¹⁴⁴ See for example, Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 4.40, in which Gregory describes a proud rich man, Chrysaorius, whose vision of hell was very clearly intended to instruct his acquaintances: “In this case, it was clear that Chrysaorius saw the vision not for his own benefit, but to warn us that God is extremely patient in waiting for us to do good.”

In his writings, John Chrysostom (347-407 C.E.)¹⁴⁵ was extremely enthusiastic about the pedagogical value of hell, exclaiming “If only it were possible to preach like this always and continually speak about Hell...I know what I say is painful, but I cannot tell you how great a benefit it contains.”¹⁴⁶ He describes Christian churches as places that are “truly frightening,” because there are “countless homilies on eternal punishments, on rivers of fire, on the venomous worm, on bonds that cannot be burst, or exterior darkness.”¹⁴⁷ In this description of various eternal punishments Chrysostom confirms that the *ekphrasis* of eternal punishment was used in church homilies, and that these homilies drew upon the imagery of eternal punishment in Matthew and the apocalypses.

For Chrysostom the rhetoric of hell was an important pedagogical tool beyond the church homily, contending that eternal punishment was an essential tool for educating children¹⁴⁸ and restraining adolescent

¹⁴⁵ I am grateful to Blake Leyerle for her insight into Chrysostom’s use of hell as a pedagogical tool, which has shaped this discussion.

¹⁴⁶ John Chrysostom, *Laz.* 2.3. In this passage, Chrysostom remarks that his audience is “listening in silence” and tells them that he is “much happier at your silence than at applause.” In this regard, Chrysostom is anticipating the emotional impact of the rhetoric of hell, assuming that his audience reflects silently on the stunning images.

¹⁴⁷ John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.4.1.

¹⁴⁸ John Chrysostom, *Inan. glor.* 52; 67. “Even as God rules the world with the fear of Hell and the promise of his kingdom, so too must we rule our children” (67).

sexual desire.¹⁴⁹ In spite of his zeal for hell's expediency as a central component of Christian *paideia*, Chrysostom admits that this rhetoric has to be employed with care. For instance, Chrysostom indicates that with certain populations a teacher must gradually "ease into" a discussion of hell, such as with very young children¹⁵⁰ or with a woman who is enamored with outward adornment.¹⁵¹ In these cases, other rhetorical techniques might be used to persuade or guide Christians toward ethical behavior, but teaching about hell is still the telos, or heart of *paideia*.

¹⁴⁹ John Chrysostom, *Inan. glor.* 76. In the matter of adolescent sexual desire, Chrysostom thinks the fires of Gehenna are the only adequate restraint.

¹⁵⁰ John Chrysostom, *Inan. glor.* 52. Chrysostom gives specific guidance about how parents should use hell to teach their children, indicating that parents should not tell their sons about hell before they are fifteen, but by eight or ten, they can hear about the flood, Sodom, and the descent into Egypt: "whatever stories are full of divine punishment" will "fortify his hearing."

¹⁵¹ John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 30.6. Here Chrysostom suggests that the woman who is enamored with adornment should be treated with care, first taking away only a few of her bobbles by means of persuasion, then telling her "that to you a countenance so decked up is not lovely," then telling her of the judgment of others, all the while "say nothing yet of hell, or of the kingdom." Then, when she has been "softened down" by these persuasive techniques, she can learn of "the other considerations" (hell and the kingdom).

In addition to establishing hell as a central rhetorical tool for Christian *paideia*, Chrysostom also articulates how this rhetoric works to ensure that “hell frightens usefully.”¹⁵² Chrysostom uses some of the same language that was used in the rhetorical handbooks to describe *ekphrasis*, entreating others to constantly “keep before one’s eyes God’s punishment, even those that have passed” as “a wonderful lesson and example of sound values.”¹⁵³ Elsewhere, he suggests that the emotional response (fear) to these images is God’s design, implying that the rhetorical function of hell is more important than the punitive dimension.¹⁵⁴ In his *Homiliae in Matthaem*, he continues his positive valuation of hell, explaining further how eternal punishment functions rhetorically to “pain” his listeners, and thus “to penetrate the

¹⁵²John Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 7

¹⁵³ John Chrysostom, *Comm. Job* 19. See also *Bapt.* 8, in which Chrysostom instructs hearers to “build a rampart about ourselves on every side and keep constantly before our minds that dread day...” In *Hom. Matt.* 43 he exhorts his listeners to engage with this visual rhetoric: “imagine then how great the mockery, how great the condemnation.”

¹⁵⁴ John Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 7. “My master, your promises are good as is your kingdom, which is expected, because it urges on; the Gehenna (γέεννα) with which you threaten is evil because it frightens. In other words, the kingdom incites towards the good, and hell frightens usefully. For God threatens with hell, not to throw into hell, but rather to deliver from hell. If he wanted to punish, he would not have threatened beforehand in order for us safely to escape the things he threatens...” Here Chrysostom implies that God’s aim is not punishment but deliverance.

understanding of them that hear me.”¹⁵⁵ In this text, Chrysostom argues that Jesus’ sayings regarding hell are “delightful discourse” because they not only prevent listeners from “falling into hell” but they also “brace up our souls and make us more reverent...”¹⁵⁶ According to this explanation, the *ekphrasis* of hell cultivates spiritual discipline.

b. Augustine: Distinguishing Christian *Paideia* from the Tools of the Empire

While Chrysostom made impassioned pleas for the importance of hell as a vehicle for Christian *paideia*, Augustine of Hippo (354-430 C.E.) was careful to qualify the utility of the rhetoric of hell. Although Augustine discusses hell in various writings, his most thorough treatment of the topic is in chapter 21 of *City of God*. Augustine opens this chapter by citing Matthew’s portrayals of eternal punishment (Augustine *Civ.* 21.1, 10; Matt 13:41-43; 25:41-46) and placing them in conversation with the afterlife depictions of Plato and Virgil (Augustine *Civ.* 21.1-16). Augustine’s rhetorical training enables him to carefully distinguish the Christian understanding of the afterlife from that of non-Christian Platonists. According to Augustine, the most salient differences between these two views are with respect to the presence of

¹⁵⁵ John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 43.

¹⁵⁶ John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 43. Jesus’ talk of hell also “...elevates the mind, and gives wings to the thoughts and casts out the desires that so mischievously beset us.”

souls or physical bodies in the afterlife. Appealing to the Matthean passages cited above, and the eternal fire and worm that does not die of Mark 9 (Civ. 21.9), Augustine argues that human bodies are transferred to hell for physical torments. For him, the New Testament depictions of “outer darkness” and Gehenna are to be interpreted as tactile bodily torments whose rhetorical power is grounded in the feelings of physical pain that those images evoke. Augustine further intensifies the rhetoric of these New Testament passages, arguing that people must be punished for all eternity because the concept of *lex talionis* is not severe enough punishment for certain offences.¹⁵⁷

In his attempt to establish the correct view of eternal punishment, Augustine also sets his own views apart from the “compassionate Christians.” Augustine is primarily concerned with concept of clemency, and worries that there can be no way out for those who lead an immoral life.¹⁵⁸ In Augustine’s reading of Matthew’s “outer darkness,” he directly

¹⁵⁷ For a further discussion of the need for punishments to properly “fit” the given offence, see Augustine’s comparison in *Civ.* 21.11 between the scourge of eternal punishment and the penal justice system, making a direct connection between the logic behind Cicero’s “eight kinds of penalty” under the law, and the justice of eternal punishment.

¹⁵⁸ See Bauckham, “Augustine, the ‘Compassionate’ Christians, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” 147–59, which identifies seven different groups of Christian “opponents” whom Augustine refutes in *Civ.* 21.17-27.

contrasts his own views with those of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, calling into question the idea that the righteous could make pleas for the damned.¹⁵⁹ In this regard he is fiercely loyal to Matthew, but represents a move away from the rhetoric of Plato and the post-New Testament apocalypses, intensifying the severity of the rhetoric in order to preserve the concept of the sovereign will of God. If a person does not turn from sin towards Christ, he is predestined for hell, and no amount of prayer can save him.¹⁶⁰ Several generations later, Gregory the Great follows Augustine, describing the explicit condemnation of followers of Origen who still doubt the finality of hell in the sixth century.¹⁶¹ Ironically, both Augustine and Gregory use their opponents' rhetorical tools in order to refute the content of other interpretations of the afterlife. While they refute the philosophy that is implicit in Plato or the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Augustine and Gregory both appeal to the pedagogical function of hell in their arguments¹⁶² because they perceive that the *ekphrasis* of hell is still

¹⁵⁹ See Richard Bauckham, "The Conflict of Justice and Mercy: Attitudes to the Damned in Apocalyptic Literature," in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (ed. Richard Bauckham; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 146–48, in which Bauckham establishes that Augustine is refuting the Christians who were influenced by the *Apocalypse of Peter* in *Civ.* 21.18.

¹⁶⁰ Augustine, *Civ.* 21.24.

¹⁶¹ Gregory the Great, *Moral.* 34.15.38

¹⁶² For example, Augustine actually intensifies the pedagogical rhetoric of hell by emphasizing predestination, arguing that hell cannot function persuasively if it is not

efficacious as a component of early Christian *paideia*. By the late fourth century early Christians were constructing their own culture by means of the rhetoric of the Empire, but they were carefully tailoring the content of *paideia* so that it was distinctively Christian.

VI. Conclusion

Our discussion of the pedagogical function of hell in the early Christian apocalypses and the church Fathers has focused on the rhetoric of these texts and their relationship to the New Testament rhetoric of hell, rather than their content, or their genetic relationships to other depictions of hell. As such, we have built on the work of other scholars who focused on the latter topics, beginning with an understanding of the genre, date, and provenance of the “tours of hell.” We have observed that the early Christian depiction of hell in the apocalypses borrows imagery from Jewish apocalypses (i.e., the hanging punishments) and the Hebrew Bible (i.e., Gehenna), and uses the popular “tour” form of *periēgēsis* that we have observed in the Jewish apocalypses and the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades. With the Jewish apocalypses and the New Testament depictions of the afterlife as

scary enough. That is, if there is a “way out” for Christians, or if a person can somehow negotiate a way out of hell after their death, then hell has lost its rhetorical power over the living. Likewise, Gregory envisions particular groups of Origenists in hell, using *ekphrasis* of eternal punishment to make his point.

a starting point, the early Christian apocalypses provide a clearer vision of Matthew's "outer darkness" that allows the reader to see why there is "weeping and gnashing of teeth" in this place.

In comparison with Matthew's "weeping and gnashing of teeth," the post New Testament apocalypses sharpen the *ekphrasis* eternal punishment. The rhetoric of *ekphrasis* is sharpened in the apocalypses through the form of the tour (*periēgēsis*), which enables the reader to see a fuller picture of hell. In this fuller picture of hell, the vices and their punishments are much more specific than in Matthew (or even the Greek and Latin descents), and vary based upon the historical context of a given apocalypse.¹⁶³ Through the rhetoric of *periēgēsis* and *ekphrasis* the early Christian reader is transformed into a "tourist" and a "spectator," witnessing the gruesome horrors of hell firsthand. This direct view of hell is intended to "move the reader" to repent and behave ethically in this life in accordance with the norms of his or her specific early Christian community.

By the time of the writing of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, this model for the construction of Christian *paideia* became a vehicle for detailed instruction that would aid in both personal formation and the development of the early Christian community. Our cursory discussion

¹⁶³ For a discussion of the different kinds of sins punished in each apocalypse see pp.314-15, nn.130-31 above.

of two patristic authors demonstrated that the reception of this rhetorical strategy was not simply a matter of acceptance or rejection. Chrysostom embraced and expounded upon the *ekphrasis* of hell as a useful rhetorical tool that was at the heart of Christian *paideia*. While Chrysostom primarily emphasized the usefulness of hell as a preventative tool, Augustine was interested in hell as punishment, a form of justice maintenance. Augustine approached the rhetoric of hell with caution, carefully making distinctions between the philosophical and theological errors that he saw in views of the afterlife of Greek and Latin authors and other early Christians. Augustine demonstrates for us that although the rhetoric of hell was accepted as a part of Christian *paideia*, early Christians were quick to adapt this rhetoric to their own ethical values and cultural norms. Augustine is an example of an early Christian author who is eager to distinguish between the “master’s tools” and the ideals of the Empire itself, appealing to the pedagogical efficacy of an inescapable hell while rejecting the ethical content of Platonic depictions of the afterlife.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: The Landscape of Hell and the Cultivation of Early Christianity

“For punishments and threats are for this end, that fearing the penalty we may abstain from sinning.” Clement of Alexandria *Paed.* 3.12

“Like the sword in the mouth of the conquering Christ in John’s vision, apocalyptic discourse is two-edged when it is wielded by the strategists of goodness. Apocalyptic rhetoric can speak forcefully for the transcendent dimension...Yet the language of apocalypse is freighted with destructive potential.” (Wayne A. Meeks, “Apocalyptic Discourse and Strategies of Goodness,” *JR* 80 (2000): 474–75.)

I. How did “Hell” Emerge as an Educational Tool for Early Christians?

A cursory reading of Clement of Alexandria would indicate that the pedagogical function of hell was axiomatic for early Christians, and that fear of punishment was the accepted method for motivating audiences.¹ As Wayne Meeks has argued, however, apocalyptic rhetoric is a double edged sword, able to be wielded for paraenesis, but also “freighted with destructive potential.”² In the case of the depictions of hell, some early Christians appear to have recognized that there was both power and danger in using apocalyptic rhetoric for paraenetic purposes.³ For

¹ I am grateful to Tobias Nicklas, who directed me to this discussion of the pedagogical value of the threat of punishment in Clement’s *Paedagogus*.

² Wayne A. Meeks, “Apocalyptic Discourse and Strategies of Goodness,” *JR* 80 (2000): 474–5.

³ See for example, Chapter 7, pp. 264-68, regarding Augustine’s reticence to import the rhetoric of the Apocalypse of Peter for doctrinal reasons.

instance, the reading practices surrounding the *Apocalypse of Peter* suggest that some communities thought that the text was useful in a specific liturgical setting,⁴ while others were not eager to read it in church at all.⁵ Our study of the rhetoric of hell in early Christianity has demonstrated that hell was often used for pedagogical purposes, but selectively and for different pedagogical ends in different contexts. In each text the familiar rhetoric and imagery of hell's horrors were carefully molded to suit the needs of a particular audience, selecting images that were part of that audience's "visual vocabulary" and highlighting a distinctive set of sins and righteous behaviors to address the specific ethical concerns of the community. If the use of hell for pedagogical ends required so much care, how, and why did early Christians continue to "cultivate" the landscape of hell?

In short, early Christians were developing their own *paideia*, and the rhetoric of the netherworld was already a popular pedagogical tool. A robust understanding of the underworld facilitated the communication of early Christian *paideia* because it tapped into the widespread cultural convention of using vivid visual imagery for persuasive purposes. The rhetorical model that was established by the Greek and Roman depictions of Hades had proven to be a useful means of establishing and

⁴ As we can infer from the Palestinian churches who read the *Apocalypse of Peter* every year on Good Friday, according to Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* 7.19.9.

⁵ As attested in the Muratorian fragment, see Chapter 7, pp. 263-64 above.

reinforcing cultural and ethical values. Through the *ekphrasis* of Hades the Greek and Latin texts used vivid imagery to evoke an emotional response from their audiences, motivating hearers to don specific civic virtues.⁶ Additionally, the other worldly journeys of the Jewish apocalypses provided a rubric for utilizing visual rhetoric in order to convey scenes of eschatological judgment and eternal punishment. If the Greek and Latin depictions of Hades provided fruitful models for reinforcing social and cultural norms, the tours of the Jewish apocalypses demonstrated that the places of punishment could be used as a visual monument of Divine justice.⁷ With both of these models before them, early Christian authors were able to depict hell *ekphrastically*, choosing images that were not only evocative visually, but also were able to “emotionally move” the audience through recourse to the familiar eschatological imagery of the Jewish apocalypses.

This combination of Greek rhetoric and apocalyptic eschatology is a seed that is planted in Matthew, and then germinates in the early Christian apocalypses. In Matthew, the visual descriptions of eternal punishment are rooted in imagery from the Hebrew Bible and *1 Enoch*, but also make reference to Hades and utilize *enargeia*, using vivid adjectives to characterize the “outer darkness,” or Gehenna, as

⁶ See, for example, *Aeneid* 6.740-55, Chapter 3, pp. 114-15.

⁷ See, for example, *1 Enoch* 27, Chapter 4 pp.148, 152.

particularly unpleasant places. Through this combination of imagery and rhetorical technique, Matthew represents one of the earliest understandings of a Christian hell, beginning to fuse different concepts of eternal punishment. While we are able to witness a connection between the tradition of the “Two Ways” and the various depictions of eternal punishment in the New Testament, Matthew is the first author to combine these images with explicit emphasis on both eschatology and catechesis.⁸

In the early Christian apocalypses the concept of hell matures into a versatile pedagogical tool that can be adapted to different circumstances. Like Matthew, the apocalypses depict hell as a place where there is “weeping and gnashing of teeth,” and even associate this place of punishment with some of the sins enumerated in the Sermon on the Mount. There are some major differences, however, in the way in which Matthew and the early Christian apocalypses apply the rhetoric of description to the concept of eternal punishment. The early Christian apocalypses provide a detailed *ekphrasis* of hell, and utilize the form of the tour (*periēgēsis*), working with not only the imagery but the rhetorical form of the Jewish apocalypses and Greek and Latin descents. The

⁸ See the discussion in Chapter 5 above regarding the way in which eternal punishment is conceived in the New Testament by drawing from different stores of imagery, but is not used with the same frequency or emphasis on paraenesis that we find in Matthew.

apocalypses also make explicit appeals to the emotions, expanding the “weeping motif” of Matthew’s vivid descriptions of the “outer darkness” and more closely mirroring the kinds of emotional responses that we saw in the Greek and Latin texts.

Through the early Christian apocalypses the concept of hell as *paideia* was grafted into different early Christian contexts, such that distinctive pictures of hell emerged, each with a unique topography of punishment. In this way, hell was a malleable vehicle for implementing a program of early Christian *paideia*, able to aid in reinforcing the values emphasized in the Sermon on the Mount,⁹ or to help a community address more specific leadership issues.¹⁰ The topography of hell’s torments could be tailored not only to the ethical concerns of a specific

⁹ See *Apoc. Pet.* 9; cf. Matt 5:10; *Apoc. Pet.* 9; cf. Matt 5:11; *Apoc. Pet.* 9; cf. Matt 5:3; 6:24; *Apoc. Pet.* 12; cf. Matt 6:1-4; *Apoc. Paul* 31; cf. Matt 6:1-18; *Apoc. Paul* 39; cf. Matt 5:27-28; *Apoc. Paul* 40; cf. Matt 6:1-4; *Apoc. Paul* 44; cf. Matt 5:10-12. For further discussion, see Chapter 7, p. 278.

¹⁰ See the hypocritical and immoral presbyter, deacon and lector of *Apoc. Paul* 34-36, and discussion of the emphasis on doctrinal boundaries in the *Apocalypse of Paul* in Chapter 7, pp. 314-16.

time or place, but also to the unique ideological or theological perspective of a given author.¹¹

Because of the broad appeal of this idea and the way that hell's torments could be shaped to suit different contexts, it does not make sense to draw a linear trajectory of development. Instead, the textual traditions from Africa and Asia Minor lead us to think about the way that the concept of using hell as a pedagogical tool expanded gradually over time, and flourished in specific places. In Africa, the available evidence is found in the Ethiopic manuscripts of *1 Enoch* (later translations of the Aramaic original) and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the Coptic fragments of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, and the text of *2 Enoch*, which is thought to have been composed in Alexandria. This group of texts suggests that very different iterations of the tour tradition were popular within Africa, and probably over a relatively long period of time. Clement's citation of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and Augustine's engagement with the specific idea of damnation found in the *Apocalypse of Peter* confirm our suspicions,¹² indicating that there was sustained interest in the apocalyptic depictions of hell among African Christians from the second to fourth centuries C.E. In Asia Minor the

¹¹ Compare the way in which each apocalypse reads the New Testament, or the distinct concerns of Augustine and John Chrysostom with regards to the way in which hell is conceived. Chapter 7, p. 316-323.

¹² Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 5.11.77; *Ecl.* 41, 48, 49 and Augustine *Civ.* 21.18.

traditions about hell seem to have a different trajectory, beginning with the composition of Matthew and early interpreters of Matthew, but not becoming a well developed pedagogical motif until the fourth century C.E., as demonstrated by the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the writings of John Chrysostom.

II. Hell, What is it Good For?: Damnation and the Cultivation of Culture

We have isolated descriptive tours of hell in a variety of contexts, beginning with the descriptions of Hades in Greek and Latin literature. Our study has demonstrated that the rhetoric of the tours of hell in the Jewish and Christian apocalypses mirrors the *ekphrasis* of Hades in the Greek and Latin texts, leading the readers around the places of punishment and making them feel as if they were really there. Of course, the prevalence of the rhetoric of the “descriptive tour” not only reflects the close relationship between Hellenism and the Jewish and Christian apocalypses, but also the parallel development of Judaism and Christianity in the first and second centuries C.E.¹³ During this era, Jewish and Christian authors were able to exploit the methods of

¹³ To compare the later development of the idea that the afterlife could be used as ethical motivation with Judaism, see ' *Abot* 6:4, in which a living a “life of privation” while studying the Torah leads to happiness in both this life and the next.

communication which were commonplace, namely the use of visual rhetoric.

The formal discussion of *ekphrasis* and *enargeia* demonstrates that the purpose of visual rhetoric was not primarily to describe sights and scenes, but to move the audience emotionally and motivate a particular behavioral response. In Greek and Latin texts visual rhetoric was employed as a means of implementing *paideia*, motivating audiences to adhere to the particular ethical and cultural norms of the empire.¹⁴ This vast program of culture creation and maintenance was influential for early Christians, who were looking for ways to preserve their own distinctive values. With regard to the adoption of the concept of *paideia* and the visual rhetoric used to depict Hades, early Christians demonstrated a modicum of pedagogical pragmatism, conveying their message through the tried and true rhetoric of the empire.

Nevertheless, we are careful not to go too far in congratulating early Christians on their “flexibility” in adapting to the dominant model of ethical and cultural education to convey their distinctive message. After all, Lucian (whose writings are roughly contemporaneous with Matthew) was already beginning to “play” with the genre through his satires, using descriptions of Hades to educate an audience without

¹⁴ For discussion of the specific ethical and cultural norms that were reinforced through Greek and Latin depictions of Hades see Chapter 3, pp.112-122.

reverence for the mythological content of the *nekylia*.¹⁵ Likewise, early Christians used the depictions of hell to condemn particular vices and behaviors in service of their own ethical and cultural norms, and not those of the empire.¹⁶

The disparate early Christian depictions of hell reinforce a particular set of ethical and cultural norms, which appear with relative frequency. Although the sins that are punished in each of the early Christian apocalypses vary based on the context, there is also some continuity with respect to the general kinds of sins that are of concern to early Christians broadly speaking. One theme that emerges repeatedly is the punishment of those who did not care for the “other,” reflecting the influence of *2 Enoch* and the gospel of Matthew upon the tradition.¹⁷ The influence of Matthew is also felt on the numerous occasions in which those who do not follow the guidelines of the Sermon on the Mount are

¹⁵ For discussion of Lucian’s “play” with this imagery, see Joel C. Relihan, *Ancient Menippean Satire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Katerina Oikonomopoulou, “Journeying the Underworld of Lucian’s *Cataplus*,” in *Education and Representations of the Beyond in Later Antiquity* (ed. A. Lefteratou, K. Stamatopoulos, and I. Tanaseanu-Döbler; Göttingen, Forthcoming).

¹⁶ Whereas Virgil uses his tour of Hades to promote the virtues of civic duty (*Aeneid* 6.740-55), the *Apocalypse of Paul* 34-36 uses its description of hell to condemn the vices of bad deacons and presbyters who shirk their responsibilities to God and the community.

¹⁷ See *Apoc. Pet.* 9; *Apoc. Paul* 40 cf. *Matt* 25:42-43; *2 En.* 9-10.

punished in the hell of the early Christian apocalypses.¹⁸ As in the Sermon on the Mount, the goal of these passages is to motivate readers to understand and follow the behavioral standards of the community.¹⁹ Ancillary to these educational goals are the punishments which reinforce the more specific ethical or doctrinal boundaries of the early Christian communities, such as the punishments for those who procured abortions (*Apoc. Pet.* 8) or those who deny the incarnation (*Apoc. Paul* 41). By focusing on specific sins, the early Christian apocalypses provided an ethical primer, detailing the ethical standards of the community in a way that would have maximum impact upon their hearers. The repeated emphasis upon the ethical guidelines of the Sermon on the Mount attests not only to the way in which the apocalypses focused upon the Matthean material, but also to the centrality of those guidelines within the emerging program of early Christian *paideia*.

We have argued that the early Christian apocalypses used the *ekphrasis* of terrifying topography, but they did so in order to inspire conformity to specific ethical and cultural norms. If hell did function primarily as pedagogy for early Christians, then the content of hell's *paideia* is arguably just as important as the discursive practices surrounding damnation. As we journey with early Christians through

¹⁸ See note 9 above.

¹⁹ On the educative role eternal punishment in Matthew, see Chapter 6, pp. 242-55.

the landscape of hell we are able to envision early Christian communities that were still in the process of identity formation (Matt 25), confronted with a “crisis” (*Apoc. Pet.* 9, 16),²⁰ filled with people who fell asleep during church and badly behaved leaders (*Apoc. Paul* 34-36), and concerned with which books were most important for spiritual formation (*Gk. Apoc. Mary* 27). In addition to the distinctive struggles of each community, we are also able to see that the terrain of torment itself was cultivated as an interpretation of Matthew’s early attempt at Christian paraenesis. The *paideia* that is imbedded in the early Christian tours of hell not only elaborates upon Matthew’s images of eschatological punishment but also draws upon the Sermon on the Mount as an ethical core that could bring cohesion to early Christian communities.

III. Dante’s Spell: Reflections on Our Hellish Inheritance

²⁰ The “crisis,” however, need not be an actual situation of persecution but a rhetorical device of the apocalyptic author. See Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984). For recent discussion of the possible context behind the frequent references to persecution in the *Apocalypse of Peter* see Jan N. Bremmer, “Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell: Observations on the *Apocalypse of Peter*,” in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (ed. Tobias Nicklas et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 305–322; Tobias Nicklas, “‘Insider’ und ‘Outsider’: Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung ‘jenseitiger Orte’ in der Offenbarung des Petrus,” in *Topographie des Jenseits: Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (ed. Walter Ameling; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2011), 35–48.

If early Christians cultivated the landscape of hell in service of culture formation, medieval and modern Christians were eager to transplant the concept of hell for the purposes of culture maintenance.²¹ Through the works of authors like Dante the apocalyptic rhetoric of hell and damnation has taken root in our contemporary world, but with an emphasis on the vivid images themselves rather than the original purpose of the rhetoric.²² In contemporary depictions of hell the early Christian emphasis on the virtues presented in the Sermon on the Mount is all but lost, focusing instead upon sins that are used to delineate communal boundaries.²³

²¹ For an insightful history of the idea of hell in the early modern period and the way in which this idea was integrally linked with the understandings of the body during the counter-Reformation, see Piero Camporesi, *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

²² For discussion of the other fantastic literature from the medieval period that utilizes this rhetoric and the thematic similarities between Dante's *Divine Comedy* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*, see Tamás Adamik, "The *Apocalypse of Paul* and Fantastic Literature," in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 144–57.

²³ In particular, I have in mind the "Hell Houses," a phenomenon that is unique to conservative Christianity in America, in which the imagery of hell is used to incite conversion to Christianity. In these depictions of hell the sins that are depicted usually include abortion, homosexuality, consumption of alcohol and recreational drugs, suicide, pre-marital sex, and other sins that are of primary concern to

The consistent element between the ancient and modern depictions of Christian hell is the vivid depiction of torment, the *ekphrasis* of eternal punishment. What is striking about these images in the contemporary context is that the fiery punishments are the same ones that were used in the ancient world, despite the fact that visual vocabularies have changed drastically in the last two thousand years. Like the world of ancient Christianity, our own world is dominated by the visual realm, ensuring that the rhetoric of visual description is a powerful tool for influencing audiences. Yet Christian hell contains the same old sinners, enduring the same old punishments, while cinematographers present audiences with an ever evolving array of gruesome special effects. What is more, hell itself is an antiquated image, posing problems for post-enlightenment Christians rather than persuading them to behave in specific ways. With regard to the selection of visual imagery, the concept of eternal punishment is used in our own world with less flexibility and pedagogical savvy than it was in the ancient world.

In addition to departing from the attentiveness of ancient authors to the “visual vocabularies” of their audiences, there is also a growing gap between the vivid depictions of Christian hell and the study of

evangelical Christians. See also the anecdote of the visitor to an art exhibit about the search for peace who insisted that Ghandi was doomed to hell, which prompted the controversial work of Robert Bell: *Love Wins: A Book About Heaven, Hell, and the Fate of Every Person Who Ever Lived* (New York: Harper One, 2011).

Christian ethics.²⁴ While ethicists are sensitive to the changing cultural contexts of Christianity, popular depictions of hell seem to have little awareness of the differences between the ancient world and our own. For example, the idea that there are only “two ways” is at odds with post-modern reflections that allow for more complex understandings of our moral universe.

Although the discussion of the contemporary rhetoric of hell deserves much more detailed treatment than we are able to provide here, our brief discussion of the legacy of hellish rhetoric has pointed to some of the major ways in which the early Christian rhetoric of hell has been imported bluntly into our world. Even if we are not able to strike the words “damn” and “hell” from our vocabulary, we would do well to mimic the pedagogical savvy of ancient authors, and give some thought to our message and our audience when we invoke the discourses of damnation.

²⁴ For example, see Jonathan L. Kvanvig, *The Problem of Hell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), who explores the philosophical and ethical issues with retributive notions of hell.

Bibliography

- Adamik, Tamás. "The *Apocalypse of Paul* and Fantastic Literature." Pages 144–157 in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Studies on early Christian apocrypha. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- . "The Description of Paradise in the *Apocalypse of Peter*." Pages 78–90 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- Adams, J.N. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Albani, Matthias. "The Downfall of Helel, the Son of Dawn: Aspects of Royal Ideology in Isa 14:12-13." Pages 62-86 in *The Fall of the Angels*. Edited by Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Struckenbruck. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Albinus, Lars. *House of Hades: Studies in Ancient Greek Eschatology*. Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 2000.
- Albright, W.F., and C.S. Mann. *Matthew*. Anchor Bible Commentary. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971.
- Albright, W.F. "Mesopotamian Elements in Canaanite Eschatology." *Oriental studies published in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary (1883-1923) of Paul Haupt as director of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.*. Edited by Cyrus Adler and Aaron Ember. Baltimore,: Johns Hopkins Press, 1926.
- . "Review of M. Pope's *El* in the Ugaritic Texts." *JBL* 75 (1956): 257.
- Alexander, T. Desmond. "Lot's hospitality: A Clue to His Righteousness." *JBL* 104 (1985): 289–91.
- Allison, Dale C. *The Sermon on the Mount: Inspiring the Moral Imagination*. New York: Crossroad, 1999.
- Andersen, F. I. "2 Enoch." *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H Charlesworth. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983.
- Attridge, Harold W. "Greek and Latin Apocalypses." *Semeia*, no. 14 (1979): 159–86.
- Aune, David E. *Revelation 1-5*. Dallas: Word, 1997.
- . *Revelation 6-16*. Dallas: Word, 1997.
- . *Revelation 17-22*. Vol. 52C. Nashville: Word, 1998.

- Avalos, Hector. *Illness and Health Care in the Ancient Near East: The Role of the Temple in Greece, Mesopotamia, and Israel*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.
- Axton, Paul. "Sense and Nonsense about Heaven & Hell." *Stone-Campbell Journal* 12 (2009): 145–46.
- Bacon, Benjamin Wisner. *Studies in Matthew*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930.
- Bailey, Randall C. "The Redemption of YHWH: A Literary Critical Function of the Songs of Hannah and David." *BibInterp* 3 (1995): 213–31.
- Bar, Shaul. *I Deal Death and Give Life*. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2010.
- Barth, Christoph. *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments*. 2. Aufl. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1987.
- Bartsch, Shadi, and Jaś Elsner. "Introduction: Eight Ways of Looking at an Ekphrasis." *Classical Philology* 102 (2007): i–vi.
- Bassler, Jouette M. "A Man for All Seasons: David in Rabbinic and New Testament Literature." *Int* 40 (1986): 156–69.
- Bauckham, Richard. "A Quotation from 4Q Second Ezekiel in the *Apocalypse of Peter*." Pages 259–68 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- . "Augustine, the 'Compassionate' Christians, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*." Pages 149–59 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- . "Descents to the Underworld." Pages 9–49 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- . "Early Jewish Visions of Hell." Pages 49–80 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Edited by Richard Bauckham. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- . "Hades, Hell." Pages 14–16 in vol.3 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- . "Hell in the Latin *Vision of Ezra*." Pages 323–42 in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions*. Edited by Tobias Nicklas et al. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism v. 143. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- . *Jude, 2 Peter*. Dallas: Word, 1983.

- . “Resurrection as Giving Back the Dead.” Pages 269–89 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
 - . “The Apocalypse of Peter: A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba.” Pages 160–258 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
 - . “The Conflict of Justice and Mercy: Attitudes to the Damned in Apocalyptic Literature.” Pages 132–48 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Edited by Richard Bauckham. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
 - . “The Four Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary.” Pages 332–62 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum. Boston: Brill, 1998.
 - . “The Rich Man and Lazarus: The Parable and the Parallels.” Pages 97–118 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
 - . “The Tongue Set on Fire by Hell (James 3:6).” Pages 119–31 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
 - . “The Two Fig Tree Parables in the *Apocalypse of Peter*.” *JBL* 104 (1985): 269–87.
 - . “Visiting the Places of the Dead in the Extra-Canonical Apocalypses.” Pages 81–96 in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Edited by Richard Bauckham. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Baun, Jane Ralls. *Tales from Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Bautch, Kelley Coblenz. *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19: “No One Has Seen What I Have Seen”*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Bell, Rob. *Love Wins: A Book About Heaven, Hell, and the Fate of Every Person Who Ever Lived*. New York: HarperOne, 2011.
- Bernstein, Alan E. *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Bertrand, Daniel A. “L’Étang de feu et de soufre.” *RHPR* 79 (1999): 91–99.
- . *La Vie grecque d’Adam et Ève*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1987.

- Betz, Hans Dieter. "The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest (Matt 11:28-30)." *JBL* 86 (1967): 10–24.
- . *The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, Including the Sermon on the Plain (Matthew 5:3-7:27 and Luke 6:20-49)*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995.
- Billings, Bradley S. "The Angels Who Sinned...He Cast into Tartarus' (2 Peter 2:4): Its Ancient Meaning and Present Relevance." *ExpTim* 119 (2008): 532–37.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Isaiah 56-66: a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. New York: Doubleday, 2003.
- . "Judah's Covenant with Death (Isaiah XXVIII 14-22)." *VT* 50 (2000): 472–83.
- Bolyki, János. "False Prophets in the *Apocalypse of Peter*." Pages 52–62 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- Bonner, Stanley F. *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Bornkamm, Günther. "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew." *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963.
- Bousset, Wilhelm. *Kyrios Christos: a History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*. New York: Abingdon, 1970.
- Bouvier, Bertrand, and François Bovon. "Prière et apocalypse de Paul dans un fragment grec inédit conservé au Sinaï: introduction, texte, traduction et notes." *Apocrypha* 15 (2004): 9–30.
- Bovon, François. "Besides the Canonical and the Apocryphal Books, the Presence of a Third Category: The Books Useful for the Soul." *HTR* 105 (2012): 125–37.
- . *L'Évangile Selon Saint Luc III, 15:1-19:27*. Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991.
- Branden, Robert Charles. *Satanic Conflict and the Plot of Matthew*. New York: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Brekelmans, C. "Wisdom influence in Deuteronomy." Pages 28–38 in *Sagesse de l'Ancien Testament*. Gembloux: J Duculot, 1979.
- Bremmer, Jan N. "Christian Hell: from the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the *Apocalypse of Paul*." *Numen* 56 (2009): 298–325.

- . “Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell: Observations on the *Apocalypse of Peter*.” Pages 305–22 in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions*. Edited by Tobias Nicklas et al. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
 - . “The Apocalypse of Peter: Greek or Jewish?” Pages 1-14 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
 - . *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife: The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
 - . “Tours of Hell: Greek, Roman, Jewish and Early Christian.” Pages 13-34 in *Topographie des Jenseits: Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike*. Edited by Walter Ameling. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011.
- Brichto, Herbert C. “Kin, Cult, Land and Afterlife – A Biblical Complex” *HUCA* 44 (1973): 1–54.
- Brooks, Stephenson H. “Apocalyptic Paraenesis in Matthew 6:19-34.” Pages 95–112 in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament*. Edited by Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards. Sheffield: JSOT, 1989.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.
- Brown, Raymond Edward. *An Introduction to the New Testament*. New York: Doubleday, 1997.
- Buchholz, Dennis D. *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.
- Buell, Denise Kimber. *Making Christians: Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. *History of the Synoptic Tradition*. Vol. 2. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- . *Theology of the New Testament*. 2 vols. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007. repr. of *Theology of the New Testament* 2 vols.; trans. Kendrick Grobel. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1951-55.
- Burge, S. R. “ZR’L, the Angel of Death and the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter.” *JSP* 19 (2010): 217–24.
- Burger, Ronna. *The Phaedo: A Platonic Labyrinth*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

- Burkes, Shannon. "Life' Redefined: Wisdom and Law in Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch." *CBQ* 63 (2001): 55–71.
- C. Detlef G. Müller. "Apocalypse of Peter." *New Testament Apocrypha*. Edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke, Translated by R. Wilson. Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 1991.
- Callon, Callie. "Sorcery, Wheels, and Mirror Punishment in the Apocalypse of Peter." *JECS* 18 (2010): 29–49.
- Cameron, Averil. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Camporesi, Piero. *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.
- Carr, David McLain. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Caulley, Thomas Scott. "They Promise them Freedom': Once Again, the Pseudodidaskaloi in 2 Peter." *ZNW* 99 (2008): 129–38.
- Charette, B. "To Proclaim Liberty to the Captives': Matthew 11:28-30 in the Light of Prophetic Expectation." *NTS* 38 (1992): 290–97.
- Charles, J. Daryl. "On Angels and Asses: the Moral Paradigm in 2 Peter 2." *Proceedings - Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies* 21 (2001): 1–12.
- Charles, R.H. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- . *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John: With Introd., Notes, and Indices, Also the Greek Text and English Translation*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920.
- Charlesworth, James H, ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1983.
- Childs, Brevard S. "Death and Dying in Old Testament Theology." *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*. Edited by John H Marks and Robert McClive Good. Guilford, Conn.: Four Quarters, 1987.
- Clark, Francis. *The "Gregorian" Dialogues and the Origins of Benedictine Monasticism*. Studies in the History of Christian Thought. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

- Clark, Raymond J. *Catabasis: Vergil and the Wisdom-Tradition*. Amsterdam: Grüner, 1979.
- Clark, Ronald R. "Schools, Scholars, and Students: the Wisdom School Sitz im Leben and Proverbs." *ResQ* 47 (2005): 161–77.
- Clarke, M. L. *Higher Education in the Ancient World*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.
- Clark-Soles, Jaime. *Death and the Afterlife in the New Testament*. New York: T&T Clark, 2006.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro. *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984.
- . "Is Hershel Doomed to the Lake of Fire?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 37 (2011): 26.
- . *Mark: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress, 2007.
- . "The Apocalyptic Ekphrasis." Pages 449–64 in *1900th Anniversary of Saint John's Apocalypse: Proceedings of the International and Interdisciplinary Symposium*. Athens: Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian in Patmos, 1999.
- . "The Early Christian Apocalypses." *Semeia* 14 (1979): 61–121.
- . "The Otherworld and the New Age in the Letters of Paul." Pages 189–207 in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions*. Edited by Tobias Nicklas et al. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Collins, John J. "Apocalypse: the Morphology of a Genre." *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–217.
- . *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*. New York: Crossroad, 1984.
- . "The Jewish Apocalypses." *Semeia*, 14 (1979): 21–59.
- . "The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 95–116 in *Other Worlds and their Relation to this World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions*. Edited by Tobias Nicklas et al. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- . "The Root of Immortality: Death in the Context of Jewish Wisdom." *HTR* 71 (1978): 177–92.
- Comber, Joseph A. "The Composition and Literary Characteristics of Matt 11.20-24." *CBQ* 39 (1977): 497–504.

- Cook, Stephen L. "Funerary Practices and Afterlife Expectations in Ancient Israel" *Religion Compass* 1 (2007): 1–24.
- Cope, O. Lamar. "To the Close of the Age': the Role of Apocalyptic Thought in the Gospel of Matthew." Pages 113–24 in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament*. Edited by Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards. Sheffield: JSOT, 1989.
- Copeland, Kirsti Barrett. "Sinners and Post-Mortem 'Baptism' in the Acherusian Lake." Pages 91–107 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- . "The Holy Contest': Competition for the Best Afterlife in the Apocalypse of Paul and Late Antique Egypt." Pages 369–89 in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions*. Edited by Tobias Nicklas et al. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- . "Thinking with Oceans: Muthos, Revelation and the *Apocalypse of Paul*." Pages 77–104 in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Studies on early Christian apocrypha. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Crenshaw, James L. *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence*. New York: Doubleday, 1998.
- . "Education in Ancient Israel." *JBL* 104 (1985): 601–15.
- . "Method in Determining Wisdom Influence upon Historical Literature." *JBL* 88 (1969): 129–42.
- . *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*. Library of Biblical Studies. New York: KTAV, 1976.
- . *The Psalms: An Introduction*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001.
- Cribb, Bryan. *Speaking on the Brink of Sheol*. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009.
- Criboire, Raffaella, and American Council of Learned Societies. *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.
- . *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- . *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Cunningham, Valentine. "Why Ekphrasis?" *CP* 102 (2007): 57–71.

- Czachesz, István. "The Grotesque Body in the *Apocalypse of Peter*." Pages 108–126 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- . "Torture in Hell and Reality." Pages 130–43 in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Studies on early Christian apocrypha. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Dahood, Mitchell J. *Psalms I: 1-50*. Anchor Bible. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966.
- Davies, Graham. "Were there Schools in Ancient Israel?" Pages 199–211 in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Davies, Philip. "Didactic Stories." Pages 99–131 in *Justification and Variegated Nomism*. Edited by D. A. Carson, Peter Thomas O'Brien, and Mark A Seifrid. WUNT 140. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- Davies, W. D. *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.
- Davies, W.D., and Dale C. Allison. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew: Matthew 1-7*. ICC. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988.
- . *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew: Matthew 19-28*. ICC. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988.
- . *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew: Matthew 8-18*. ICC. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988.
- Davies, W.D. "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30." *HTR* 46 (1953): 113–39.
- Day, John. "The Development of the Belief in Life After Death in Ancient Israel." *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason*. Edited by John Barton and David James Reimer. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996.
- DeConick, April D. "The Yoke Saying in the Gospel of Thomas 90." *VC* 44 (1990): 280–94.
- Delitzsch, Friedrich. *Wo lag das Paradies? eine biblisch-assyriologische Studie : mit zahlreichen assyriologischen Beiträgen zur biblischen Länder- und Völkerkunde und einer Karte Babyloniens*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1881.
- Deming, Will. "Mark 9:42-10:12, Matthew 5:27-32, and *B. Nid. 13b*: A First Century Discussion of Male Sexuality" *36* (1990): 130–41.

- Deutsch, Celia. *Lady Wisdom, Jesus, and the Sages: Metaphor and Social Context in Matthew's Gospel*. Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996.
- Dibelius, Martin. *From Tradition to Gospel*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.
- . *James: Commentary on the Epistle of James*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976.
- Dieterich, Albrecht. *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*. Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1969 [1913].
- Dietrich, Bernard C. *Death, Fate, and the Gods: The Development of a Religious Idea in Greek Popular Belief and in Homer*. University of London Classical Studies 3. London: Athlone Press, 1967.
- von Dobschütz, Ernst. "Matthäus als Rabbi und Katechet" *ZNW* 27 (1928): 338–48.
- Dorter, Kenneth. *Plato's Phaedo: An Interpretation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Doxapatres. "Homiliae in Aphthonii Progymnasmata." *Rhetores Graeci, Ex Codicibus Florentinis, Mediolanensibus, Nsibus, Neapolitanis, Parisiensibus, Romanis, Venetis, Taurinensibus Et Onensibus*. Osnabrèuck: Zeller, 1968.
- Draper, Jonathan A. "The Genesis and Narrative Thrust of the Paraenesis in the Sermon on the Mount." *JSNT* 75 (1999): 25–48.
- Drazin, Nathan. *History of Jewish Education from 515 B.C.E. to 220 C.E. (During the Periods of the Second Commonwealth and the Tannaim)*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940.
- Duensing, Hugo, and Aurelio de Santos Otero. "Apocalypse of Paul." *New Testament Apocrypha*. Edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke, Translated by R. Wilson. Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 1991.
- Dunn, James D. G. *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians*. Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox, 1990.
- Eberhardt, Gönke. *JHWH und die Unterwelt: Spuren einer Kompetenzerweiterung JHWHs im Alten Testament*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- Ebner, Eliezer. *Elementary Education in Ancient Israel During the Tannaitic Period (10-220 C.E.)*. New York: Bloch, 1956.

- Edmonds, Radcliffe G. *Myths of the Underworld Journey in Plato, Aristophanes, and the "Orphic" Gold Tablets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . "Redefining Ancient Orphism", Forthcoming 2012.
- Emerton, John A. "The Teaching of Amenemope and Proverbs xxii 17-xxiv 22: Further Reflections on a Long-Standing Problem." *VT* 51 (2001): 431-65.
- Exum, Cheryl. "Whom Will He Teach Knowledge?" A Literary Approach to Isaiah 28." *Art and Meaning, Rhetoric in Biblical Literature*. Edited by David J.A. Clines, David M. Gunn, and Alan J. Hauser. JSOTSup 19. Dept. of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 1982.
- Fiensy, David A. "Lex Talionis in the Apocalypse of Peter." *HTR* 76 (1983): 255-58.
- Fitzgerald, John T, and L. Michael White, eds. *The Tabula of Cebes*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Gospel According to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. New York: Doubleday, 1981.
- Fleddermann, Harry. "The Discipleship Discourse (Mark 9:33-50)" *CBQ* 43 (1981): 57-75.
- Fontaine, Carole R. "The Bearing of Wisdom on the Shape of 2 Samuel 11-12 and 1 Kings 3." *JSOT* 34 (1986): 61-77.
- Ford, Josephine Massyngberde. *Revelation*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975.
- Foster, Paul. *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Fowler, D. P. "Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 25-35.
- Fox, Michael V. "Wisdom in the Joseph Story." *VT* 51 (2001): 26-41.
- Frankfurter, David. *Elijah in Upper Egypt: Studies in the History and Composition of the Coptic Elijah Apocalypse*, 1990.
- Freyne, Sean. "Vilifying the Other and Defining the Self: Matthew's and John's Anti-Jewish Polemic in Focus." Pages 117-43 in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985.
- Friedman, Richard, and Shawna Dolansky Overton. "Death and the Afterlife: The Biblical Silence." Pages 37-59 in *Death, Life-after-Death*,

- Resurrection, and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity*. Edited by Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Ferguson, Everett. "Canon Muratori: Date and Provenance." *StPatr* 17 (1982): 677-83.
- Gammie, John G. "Paraenetic Literature: Toward the Morphology of a Secondary Genre." *Semeia* 50 (1990): 41-77.
- Garland, David E. *The Intention of Matthew 23*. Leiden: Brill, 1979.
- Garland, Robert. *The Greek Way of Death*. 2d ed. Cornell paperbacks. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- George W. E. Nickelsburg. *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*. 2d ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- Gilbert, Maurice. *La sagesse de l'Ancien Testament*. Paris: J. Duculot, 1979.
- Gill, David H. "Observations on the Lukan Travel Narrative and Some Related Passages." *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970): 199-221.
- Gilmour, Michael J. "Delighting in the Suffering of Others: Early Christian Schadenfreude and the Function of the Apocalypse of Peter." *BBR* 16 (2006): 129-39.
- . "Hints of Homer in Luke 16:19-31." *Did* 10 (1999): 23-33.
- Glasson, Thomas F. *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology; with Special Reference to the Apocalypses and Pseudepigraphs*. London: SPCK, 1961.
- Goff, Matthew. "Hellish females: the Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184)." *JSJ* 39 (2008): 20-45.
- Goldhill, Simon. "What Is Ekphrasis for?" *CP* 102 (2007): 1-19.
- Golka, Friedemann W. "Die israelitische Weisheitsschule oder 'des Kaisers neue Kleider'." *VT* 33 (1983): 257-70.
- Goulder, M. D. *The Psalms of the Sons of Korah*. Sheffield, England: JSOT, 1982.
- Gowler, David B. "'At His Gate Lay a Poor Man': a Dialogic Reading of Luke 16:19-31." *PRSt* 32 (2005): 249-65.
- Grabbe, L. "The Jews and Hellenization." Pages 147-70 in *Judaism From Cyrus to Hadrian*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.

- Graf, Fritz. *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974.
- Grant, Robert M. "Sermon on the Mount in Early Christianity." *Semeia* 12 (1978): 215–31.
- Gray, Patrick. "Abortion, Infanticide, and the Social Rhetoric of the Apocalypse of Peter." *JECS* 9 (2001): 313–37.
- Green, Joel B. "Eschatology and the Nature of Humans: a Reconsideration of Pertinent Evidence." *Science and Christian Belief* 14 (2002): 33–50.
- Grelot, Pierre. "La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales." *RB* 65 (1958): 33–69.
- Gressmann, Hugo. *Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus: Eine literargeschichtliche studie*. Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918.
- Gundry, Robert Horton. *Matthew, a Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982.
- Habel, Norman C. *The Book of Job*. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985.
- Hagner, Donald A. "Apocalyptic Motifs in the Gospel of Matthew: Continuity and Discontinuity." *HBT* 7 (1985): 53–82.
- Hahneman, Geoffrey M. *The Muratorian Fragment and the Development of the Canon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Halliwell, Stephen. "Greek Laughter and the Problem of the Absurd." *Arion* 13 (2005): 121–46.
- . *Greek Laughter: A Study of Cultural Psychology from Homer to Early Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Hallote, Rachel S. *Death, Burial, and Afterlife in the Biblical World: How the Israelites and Their Neighbors Treated the Dead*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2001.
- Hamon, Philippe, and Patricia Baudoin. "Rhetorical Status of the Descriptive." *Yale French Studies*, 61 (1981): 1–26.
- Hanson, Paul D. *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.
- Hare, Douglas R. A. *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

- von Harnack, Adolf. "Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus" 44 (1892): 895–903, 949–65.
- Harrington, Daniel J. *The Gospel of Matthew*. Edited by Daniel J. Harrington. SP. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1991.
- Harris, R. L. "she'öl." Pages 892-3 in *TWOT*. Edited by G.L. Archer R.L. Harris. Chicago, 1980.
- Harris, William V. *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Harrison, Jim. "In Quest of the Third Heaven: Paul & His Apocalyptic Imitators." *Vigiliae Christianae* 58 (2004): 24–55.
- Hartley, John E. *The Book of Job*. NICNT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988.
- Hatfield, Stephen Gill. "The Rhetorical Function of Selected Vice/Virtue Lists in the Letters of Paul". Ph.D. Diss.: Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1987.
- Hays, Christopher B. *Death in the Iron Age II and in First Isaiah*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- Hays, Christopher. "The Covenant with Mut: a New Interpretation of Isaiah 28:1-22." *VT* 60 (2010): 212–40.
- Heidel, A. *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949.
- Heider, George C. *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment*. 43. Sheffield: JSOT, 1985.
- Heinrich Weinel. *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*. Edited by Edgar Hennecke. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1924.
- Henderson, Ian H. "'Salted with Fire' (Mark 9.42-50): Style, Oracles and (Socio)Rhetorical Gospel Criticism." *JSNT* 80 (2000): 44–65.
- Hengel, Martin. *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974.
- Henning, Meghan. "In Sickness and in Health: Ancient 'Rituals of Truth' in the Greco-Roman World and 1 Peter." Pages 185-203 in *Disability Studies and Biblical Literature*. Edited by Candida R. Moss and Jeremy Schipper. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.
- Hens-Piazza, Gina. *1-2 Kings*. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006.

- Hezser, Catherine. *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- Hilhorst, Anthony. "The *Apocalypse of Paul*: Previous History and Afterlife." Pages 1–22 in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*. Edited by Jan N Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Hill, David. *The Gospel of Matthew*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1981.
- Hillers, Delbert. "Dust: Some Aspects of Old Testament Imagery." *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*. Edited by John H. Marks and Robert McClive Good. Guilford, Conn: Four Quarters Pub. Co., 1987.
- Hills, Julian Victor. "Parables, Pretenders, and Prophecies: Translation and Interpretation in the *Apocalypse of Peter 2*." *RB* 98 (1991): 560–73.
- Himmelfarb, Martha. *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.
- Hock, Ronald F. "Lazarus and Micyllus: Greco-Roman Backgrounds to Luke 16:19-31." *JBL* 106 (1987): 447–63.
- . "Homer in Greco-Roman Education." Pages 56–77 in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity*. Edited by Dennis Ronald MacDonald. Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 2001.
- Holladay, Carl R. *A Critical Introduction to the New Testament: Interpreting the Message and Meaning of Jesus Christ*. Nashville: Abingdon, 2005.
- Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar, and Erich Zenger. *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*. Edited by Klaus Baltzer. Translated by Linda Maloney. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- Houtman, Alberdina, and Magdalena Wilhelmina Misset-van de Weg. "The Fate of the Wicked: Second Death in Early Jewish and Christian Texts." Pages 405–24 in *Empsychoi Logoi -- Religious Innovations in Antiquity*. Edited by Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong, and Magda Misset-van de Weg. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Hughes, Frank Witt. "The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31) and Graeco-Roman Rhetoric." Pages 29–41 in *Rhetoric and the New Testament*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993.
- Hughes, Robert. *Heaven and Hell in Western Art*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968.

- Hultgren, Stephen J. "The apostolic church's influence on the order of sayings in the double tradition. Part II, Luke's travel narrative." *ZNW* 100 (2009): 199–222.
- Ivarsson, Fredrik. "Vice Lists and Deviant Masculinity: the Rhetorical Function of 1Corinthians 5.10-11 and 6.9-10." *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses*. Edited by Todd Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Jaeger, Werner. *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*. 3 Vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943-1986.
- . *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Jakab, Attila. "The Reception of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ancient Christianity." Pages 174–86 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- James C. VanderKam. *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984.
- James, M. R. *Apocrypha Anecdota: A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893.
- . "Introduction." *The Fourth Book of Ezra*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895.
- Jamieson-Drake, David W. *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah: A Socio-Archeological Approach*. Sheffield: Almond Press, 1991.
- Jastrow, M. "The Babylonian Term Su'alu." *AJSL* 14 (1897-98): 169–70.
- Jáuregui, Miguel Herrero de. *Orphism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010.
- Jellicoe, Sidney. "Hebrew-Greek Equivalents for the Nether World, Its Milieu and Inhabitants, in the Old Testament." *Textus* 8 (1973): 1–19.
- Jeremias, Alfred. *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode: nach den Quellen mit berücksichtigung der alttestamentlichen Parallelen*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1887.
- Johnson, Luke Timothy. *The First and Second Letters to Timothy: a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. New York: Doubleday, 2001.
- . *The Gospel of Luke*. Sacra Pagina. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1991.

- . *The Letter of James: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. New York: Doubleday, 1995.
- . “The New Testament’s Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic.” *JBL* 108 (1989) 419-41.
- . *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999.
- Johnston, Philip. *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament*. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2002.
- Joyal, Mark. *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Kähler, Ernst. *Studien zum Te Deum and zur Geschichte des 24 Psalms in der alten Kirche*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958.
- Käsemann, Ernst. “The Problem of New Testament Theology.” *NTS* 19 (1973): 235-45.
- Kaster, Robert A. *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Kea, Perry V. “Salting the Salt: Q 14-35 and Mark 9:49-50.” *Forum* 6, no. 3-4 (1990): 239-44.
- Keener, Craig S. *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999.
- Kelhoffer, James A. “Review of David Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew*.” *CurTM* 25 (1998): 524.
- Kennedy, George Alexander. *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- . *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- . *Quintilian*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969.
- . *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- Kingsbury, Jack Dean. *Matthew as Story*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988.
- Kissinger, Warren S. *The Sermon on the Mount: A History of Interpretation and Bibliography*. ATLA bibliography series ; no. 3. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1975.

- Klauck, Hans-Josef. "With Paul through Heaven and Hell: Two Apocryphal Apocalypses." *BR* 52 (2007): 57–72.
- Kloppenborg, John S. "The Q sayings on anxiety (Q 12:2-7)." *Forum* 5 (1989): 83–98.
- Knibb, Michael A. "Life and Death in the Old Testament." Pages 395–418 in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological, and Political Perspectives: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study*. Edited by R.E. Clements. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Knibb, Michael A., and Edward Ullendorff. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea fragments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Köhler, Ludwig. "Alttestamentliche Wortforschung: Sheol." *ThZ* 2 (1946): 71–74.
- . "Problems in the Study of the Language of the Old Testament." *JSS* 1 (1956): 3–24.
- Koester, Helmut. "Mark 9:43-47 and Quintilian 8,3,75." *HTR* 71 (1978): 151–53.
- . *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957.
- Koopmans, William T. "The Testament of David in 1 Kings 2:1-10." *VT* 41 (1991): 429–49.
- Kraftchick, Steven J. *Jude, 2 Peter*. ANTC Nashville: Abingdon, 2002.
- Kraus, Hans-Joachim. *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988.
- Kraus, Thomas J., and Tobias Nicklas. *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse: Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung*. Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.
- Kümmel, Werner Georg. *The New Testament: the History of the Investigation of its Problems*. Edited by Howard Clark Kee. New York: Abingdon, 1972.
- Kvanvig, Jonathan L. *The Problem of Hell*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Kyrtatas, Dimitris J. "The Origins of Christian Hell." *Numen* 56 (2009): 282–97.

- Lamberton, Robert. *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Lambrecht, Jan. "Final Judgments and Ultimate Blessings: The Climactic Visions of Revelation 20,11-21,8." *Biblica* 81 (2000): 362–85.
- . "Scandal and Salt: Is Mark Dependent on Q in 9,42-50?" Pages 223–34 in *Forschungen zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Lampe, Peter. "Can Words Be Violent or Do They Only Sound that Way? Verbal Warfare from Afar as a Complement to a Placid Personal Presence." Pages 223-40 in *Paul and Rhetoric*. Edited by P. Sampley and P. Lampe. London: Continuum, 2007.
- Lanzillotta, Lautaro Roig. "Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the *Apocalypse of Peter*." Pages 127–57 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- . "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* in Ms Or 7023." Pages 144–57 in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Studies on early Christian apocrypha. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Lehtipuu, Outi. *The Afterlife Imagery in Luke's Story of the Rich Man and Lazarus*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum, v. 123. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Lemaire, André. *Les Écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël*. Fribourg: Editions universitaires, 1981.
- . "Schools and Literacy in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism." Pages 207–17 in *Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2001.
- Levenson, Jon D., and Kevin J. Madigan. *Resurrection: The Power of God for Christians and Jews*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Levenson, Jon D. *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- . *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Levenson, Jon Douglas. *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988.

- Levine, Amy-Jill, ed. *A Feminist Companion to Matthew*. Cleveland: Pilgrim, 2004.
- Lewis, Theodore J. *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
- . “Dead, Abode of the.” Pages 101-105 in vol.2 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Lilly, Ingrid E. *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions*. VTSup 150. Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Lost Scriptures: Books That Did Not Make It into the New Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Luther, Martin. “Prefaces to the New Testament.” *Luther’s Works*. Edited by H. J. Grimm. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955.
- Luz, Ulrich. *Matthew 1-7*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- . *Matthew 21-28: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- . *Matthew 8-20: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001.
- . *Studies in Matthew*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Mack, Burton L, and Vernon K. Robbins. *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels*. Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge, 1989.
- Mackay, Christopher S. *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Maher, Michael. “‘Take My Yoke Upon You’ (Matt 11:29).” *NTS* 22 (1975): 97–103.
- Maier, Christl. *Daughter Zion, Mother Zion: Gender, Space and the Sacred in Ancient Israel*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008.
- . *Die “fremde Frau” in Proverbien 1-9: Eine exegetische und sozialgeschichtliche Studie*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995.
- Makujina, John. “The ‘Trouble’ with Lot in 2 Peter : Locating Peter’s Source for Lot’s Torment.” *WTJ* 60 (1998): 255–69.
- Mann, Thomas W. “Holiness and Death in the Redaction of Numbers 16:1-20:13.” Pages 181–90 in *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*. Edited by John H. Marks and Robert McClive Good. Guilford, Conn.: Four Quarters, 1987.

- Marcus, Joel. *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- . “The Gates of Hades and the Keys of the Kingdom (Matt 16:18-19).” *CBQ* 50 (1988): 443–55.
- Marguerat, Daniel. *Le Jugement dans l’Evangile de Matthieu*. Genève: Labor et Fides, 1981.
- Marrassini, P. “L’Apocalisse di Pietro.” Pages 171–232 in *Ethiopia e oltri. Studi in onore die Lanfranco Ricci*. Edited by Y. et al. Beyene. Studi africanisti. Serie etiopica 1. Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, Dipartimento di studi e ricerche su Africa e Paesi arabi, 1994.
- Marrou, Henri Irénée. *A History of Education in Antiquity*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982.
- Marshall, I. Howard. “Fear Him Who Can Destroy Both Soul and Body in Hell: Mt 10:28; Lk 12:4f.” *ExpTim* 81 (1970): 276–80.
- Martin, Dale B. “Paul and the Judaism/Hellenism Dichotomy: Toward a Social History of the Question.” Pages 29–61 in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*. Edited by Troels Engberg-Pedersen. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001.
- Massaux, Édouard. *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*. Edited by Arthur J. Bellinzoni. Translated by Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht. 3 vols. Leuven: Peeters, 1990.
- McDonald, Lee Martin. *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority*. 3d ed. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 2007.
- McEleney, Neil J. “Vice Lists of the Pastoral Epistles.” *CBQ* 36 (1974): 203–19.
- McKenzie, John L. *Second Isaiah*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968.
- Meeks, Wayne A. *The Moral World of the First Christians*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986.
- . “Apocalyptic Discourse and Strategies of Goodness.” *JR* 80 (2000): 461–75.
- . “Breaking Away: Three New Testament Pictures of Christianity’s Separation from the Jewish Communities.” Pages 93–116 in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, “Others” in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985.

- Meier, John P. *The Vision of Matthew: Christ, Church, and Morality in the First Gospel*. New York: Paulist, 1979.
- Mendelson, Alan. *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1982.
- Metzger, Bruce. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. 2d ed. Freiburg: German Bible Society, 1994.
- Milik, Józef T. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Milikowsky, Chaim. "Which Gehenna: Retribution and Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and in Early Jewish Texts." *NTS* 34 (1988): 238–49.
- Minear, Paul S. *Matthew, the Teacher's Gospel*. New York: Pilgrim, 1982.
- Minnen, Peter Van. "The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*." Pages 15–39 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- Minois, Georges. *Histoire des Enfers*. Paris: Fayard, 1991.
- Morales, Helen. *Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Morgan, Teresa. *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Morris, Ian. "Attitudes toward Death in Archaic Greece." *Classical Antiquity* 8 (1989): 296–320.
- Morris, Nathan. *The Jewish School: An Introduction to the History of Jewish Education*. New York: Jewish Education Committee Press, 1964.
- Moss, Candida R. *Ancient Christian Martyrdom: Diverse Practices, Theologies and Traditions*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- . "The Man with the Flow of Power: Porous Bodies in Mark 5:25-34" *JBL* 129 (2010): 507–19.
- . *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . "The Transfiguration: An Exercise in Markan Accommodation." *BibInt* 12 (2004): 69–89.

- Nasrallah, Laura. "Mapping the World: Justin, Tatian, Lucian, and the Second Sophistic." *HTR* 98 (2005): 283–314.
- Nel, Philip J. "The Genres of Biblical Wisdom Literature." *JNSL* 9 (1981): 129–42.
- Newsom, Carol A. *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations*. Oxford University Press, 2003.
- . "The Development of *1 Enoch* 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment." *CBQ* 42 (1980): 310–29.
- . "Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of Proverbs 1–9." Pages 142–60 in *Gender and Difference*. Edited by P.L. Day. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989.
- Neyrey, Jerome H. *2 Peter, Jude: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible. New York: Doubleday, 1993.
- Nickelsburg, George W.E. *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001.
- Nicklas, Tobias. "'Insider' und 'Outsider': Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung 'jenseitiger Orte' in der Offenbarung des Petrus." Pages 35–48 in *Topographie des Jenseits: Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike*. Edited by Walter Ameling. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011.
- . "Resurrection-Judgment-Punishment: *Apocalypse of Peter* 4." Pages 457–70 in *Resurrection from the Dead: Biblical Traditions in Dialogue*. Edited by Geert Van Oyen and T. Shepherd. Leuven: Peeters, Forthcoming.
- Norden, Eduard. "Die Petrusapokalypse und ihre antiken Vorbilder." Pages 218–33 in *Kleine Schriften zum klassischen Altertum*. Edited by Eduard Norden. 1893. Repr., Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966.
- O'Kane, Martin. "'The Bosom of Abraham' (Luke 16:22): Father Abraham in the Visual Imagination." *BibInt* 15 (2007): 485–518.
- Odo John, Zimmerman, trans. *Fathers of the Church, a New Translation*. New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959.
- Oikonomopoulou, Katerina. "Journeying the Underworld of Lucian's *Cataplus*." *Education and Representations of the Beyond in Later Antiquity*. Edited by A. Lefteratou, K. Stamatopoulos, and I. Tanaseanu-Döbler. Göttingen, Forthcoming.
- Orel, Sarah E. *Death and Taxes in the Ancient Near East*. Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1992.

- Orlov, Andrei A. *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- . *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- . *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Overman, Andrew J. *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: A Study of the Social World of the Matthean Community*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1989.
- Park, Joseph S. *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions: With Special Reference to Pauline Literature*. WUNT 121. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- Pedersen, Johannes. *Israel: Its Life and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926.
- Pennington, Jonathan T. *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Perdue, Leo G. "The Death of the Sage and Moral Exhortation: from Ancient Near Eastern Instructions to Graeco-Roman Paraenesis." *Semeia* 50 (1990): 81–109.
- Pesch, Wilhelm. *Matthäus der Seelsorger: Das neue Verständnis der Evangelien dargestellt am Beispiel von Matthäus 18*. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1966.
- Pesthy, Monika. "They mercy, O Lord, is in the heavens; and thy righteousness reacheth unto the clouds." Pages 40–51 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- Pilch, John J. *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.
- Piovanelli, Pierluigi. "The Miraculous Discovery of the Hidden Manuscript, or the Paratextual Function of the Prologue to the *Apocalypse of Paul*." Pages 23–49 in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Pope, Marvin H. *Job*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965.
- Pope, Marvin. "The Cult of the Dead at Ugarit." Pages 159–79 in *Ugaritic in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*. Edited by G. D. Young. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1981.

- Powys, David J. *“Hell”: A Hard Look at a Hard Question: The Fate of the Unrighteous in New Testament Thought*. Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 1998.
- Pucci, Pietro. “Euripides and Aristophanes: What does Tragedy Teach?” Pages 105–26 in *Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature: Essays in Honour of Froma Zeitlin*. Edited by Christina Shuttleworth Kraus. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Putnam, Michael C. J. *Virgil’s Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Rad, Gerhard von. “Josephgeschichte und altere Chokma.” *VTSup* 1 (1953): 121–27.
- Reid, Robert Stephen. “On Preaching ‘Fictive Argument’: a Reader-Response Look at a Lukan Parable and Three Sayings on Discipleship.” *ResQ* 43 (2001): 13–31.
- Relihan, Joel C. *Ancient Menippean Satire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Riesner, Rainer. *Jesus als Lehrer: eine Untersuchung zum Ursprung der Evangelien-Überlieferung*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981.
- Roberts, Alexander, and James Donaldson, eds. *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1994.
- Robinson, J. A., and M.R. James. *The Gospel According to Peter and the Revelation of Peter*. London: C.J. Clay, 1892.
- Robinson, James M., Paul Hoffman, and John S. Kloppenborg. *The Critical Edition of Q*. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.
- Rollston, Christopher. “Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: the Old Hebrew Epigraphic Evidence.” *BASOR* 344 (2006): 47–74.
- Rosenberg, Ruth. “The Concept of Biblical Sheol Within the Context of ANE Beliefs.” Ph.D. diss.: Harvard University, 1980.
- Rossing, Barbara R. *The Choice between Two Cities: Whore, Bride, and Empire in the Apocalypse*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999.
- Rousselle, Aline. “Images as Education in the Roman Empire.” Pages 373–403 in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Edited by Yun Lee Too. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

- Rowland, Christopher. "Apocalyptic, The Poor, and the Gospel of Matthew." *JTS* 45 (1994): 504–18.
- . *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity*. New York: Crossroad, 1982.
- Rutherford, Andrew. "The Apocalypse of the Virgin." *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 1896. Repr., Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1994.
- Sabourin, Léopold. "Traits Apocalyptiques dans l'Évangile de Matthieu." *ScEs* 33 (1981): 357–72.
- Saldarini, Anthony J. *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Sanders, E. P. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977.
- Sanders, Jack T. "Wisdom, Theodicy, Death, and the Evolution of Intellectual Traditions." *JSJ* 36 (2005): 263–77.
- Scharen, Hans. "Gehenna in the Synoptics." *BSac* 149 (1992): 324–37.
- . "Gehenna in the Synoptics." *BSac* 149 (1992): 454–70.
- Schneemelcher, Wilhelm, and Edgar Hennecke, eds. *New Testament Apocrypha*. Translated by R. Wilson. Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 1991.
- Schweizer, Eduard. "Matthew's Church." *The Interpretation of Matthew*. Edited by Graham Stanton. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995.
- Scolnic, Benjamin E. "David's Final Testament: Morality or Expediency?" *Judaism* 43 (1994): 19–26.
- Scott, R. B. Y. *Proverbs. Ecclesiastes*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965.
- Segal, Alan F. *Life after Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West*. New York: Doubleday, 2004.
- Sevenich-Bax, Elisabeth. "Schule in Israel als Sitz der Weisheit." Pages 59–77 in *Weisheit*. Münster: Aschendorff, 2003.
- Seymour, Charles Steven. *A Theodicy of Hell*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2000.
- Silverstein, Theodore, and A. Hilhorst, eds. *Apocalypse of Paul: A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions*. Genève: P. Cramer, 1997.

- Silverstein, Theodore. *Visio Sancti Pauli; The History of the Apocalypse in Latin, Together with Nine Texts*. London: Christophers, 1935.
- Sim, David C. *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998.
- Slatkin, Laura M. "Notes on Tragic Visualizing in the Iliad." Pages 19–34 in *Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature: Essays in Honour of Froma Zeitlin*. Edited by Christina Shuttleworth Kraus. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Smail, William M. *Quintilian on Education*. Clarendon Press, 1938.
- Smit Sibinga, Joost. "Structure of the Apocalyptic Discourse, Matthew 24 and 25." *ST* 29 (1975): 71–79.
- Smith, Alden. *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Sneed, Mark. "Is the 'Wisdom Tradition' a Tradition?" *CBQ* 73 (2011): 50–71.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane. *"Reading" Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period*. Oxford: Clarendon Press Press, 1995.
- Spronk, Klaas. *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1986.
- . "Down with Hêlêl! The Assumed Mythological Background of Isa 14:12." Pages 717–26 in *Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*. Edited by M. Dietrich and I. Kottsieper. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998.
- Stanton, Graham. *The Interpretation of Matthew*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.
- Steindorff, G. *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899.
- Stendahl, Krister. *The School of St. Matthew, and Its Use of the Old Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968.
- Stock-Hesketh, Jonathan. "Circles and Mirrors: Understanding 1 Enoch 21–32." *JSP* 21 (2000): 27–58.
- Stone, Michael E. *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies*. Leuven: Peeters, 2006.

- . “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.” *CBQ* 40 (1978): 479–92.
- . “The Metamorphosis of Ezra: Jewish Apocalypse and Medieval Vision.” *JTS* 33 (1982): 1–18.
- . “Two unpublished eschatological texts.” *JSP* 18 (2009): 293–302.
- Stone, Michael E., and John Strugnell. *The Books of Elijah, Parts 1 and 2*. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979.
- Strecker, Georg. *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962.
- Strong, John T. “Egypt’s Shameful Death and the House of Israel’s Exodus from Sheol (Ezekiel 32.17-32 and 37.1-14).” *JSOT* 34 (2010): 475–504.
- Sundberg, Albert C. “Canon Muratori: A Fourth-Century List.” *HTR* 66 (1973): 1–41.
- Sutcliffe, Edmund F. *The Old Testament and the Future Life*. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1946.
- Sweeney, Marvin A. *Isaiah 1-39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*. Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1996.
- Swift, Fletcher Harper. *Education in Ancient Israel, from Earliest Times to 70 A.D.* Chicago: Open Court, 1919.
- Syreeni, Kari. “Separation and Identity: Aspects of the Symbolic World of Matthew 6.1-18.” *NTS* 40 (1994): 522–41.
- Talbert, Charles H. *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel*. New York: Crossroad, 1982.
- Tannehill, Robert C. *Luke*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1996.
- Taylor, Vincent. *The Gospel According to St. Mark*. London: Macmillan, 1952.
- “The Muratorian Canon.” Pages 331–33 in *Lost Scriptures: Books That Did Not Make It into the New Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Thurén, Lauri. “Style Never Goes out of Fashion: 2 Peter Re-evaluated.” Pages 329–47 in *Rhetoric, Scripture and Theology*. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1996.
- Tigchelaar, Eibert. “Is the Liar Bar Kokhba? Considering the Date and Provenance of the Greek (Ethiopic) *Apocalypse of Peter*.” Pages 63-77 in *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Edited by Jan N. Bremmer and István Czachesz. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.

- Toon, Peter. *Heaven and Hell: A Biblical and Theological Overview*. Nashville: Nelson, 1986.
- Treu, Ursula. "Christian Sibyllines." Pages 652–85 in *New Testament Apocrypha*. Edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke, Translated by R. Wilson. Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 1991.
- Tromp, Nicholas J. *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969.
- Trudinger, Paul. "The 'Our Father' in Matthew as Apocalyptic Eschatology." *DRev* 107 (1989): 49–54.
- Trull, Gregory V. "An Exegesis of Psalm 16:10." *BSac* 161 (2004): 304–21.
- Turner, Alice K. *The History of Hell*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1993.
- Vasaly, Ann. *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- . *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Verheyden, Joseph. "The Canon Muratori: A Matter of Dispute." Pages 487–556 in *The Biblical Canons*. Edited by J. M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- Verseput, Donald. *The Rejection of the Humble Messianic King*. New York: Peter Lang, 1986.
- Vergil. *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*. Edited by Eduard Norden. 3. Aufl. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1927.
- Vorgrimler, Herbert. *Geschichte der Hölle*. München: W. Fink, 1993.
- Wahl, Otto, ed. *Apocalypsis Esdrae; Apocalypsis Sedrach; Visio Beati Esdrae*. Leiden: Brill, 1977.
- Wainwright, Elaine M. *Shall We Look for Another?: A Feminist Rereading of the Matthean Jesus*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1998.
- . *Towards a Feminist Critical Reading of the Gospel According to Matthew*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991.
- . *Women Healing/Healing Women: The Genderization of Healing in Early Christianity*. London: Equinox, 2006.
- Walker, Alexander. "Revelation of Esdras." Vol. 8, pages 571–74 in *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*. Edited by

- Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 1896. Repr., Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1994.
- Waters, Kenneth L. "Matthew 27:52-53 as Apocalyptic Apostrophe: Temporal-Spatial Collapse in the Gospel of Matthew." *JBL* 122 (2003): 489–515.
- Watson, Duane F. "Gehenna." Pages 926-28 in vol. 2 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- . *Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter*. Decatur, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1988.
- . "The Rhetoric of James 3:1-12 and a Classical Pattern of Argumentation." *NovT* 35 (1993): 48–64.
- Webb, Ruth. *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2009.
- Webster, Edwin C. "A Rhetorical Study of Isaiah 66." *JSOT* 34 (1986): 93–108.
- Weir, J Emmette. "The Perfect Way, a Study of Wisdom Motifs in Psalm 101." *EvQ* 53 (1981): 54–59.
- Weitzman, Steven. *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative: The History of a Literary Convention in Ancient Israel*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Wevers, John William. "A Study in the Exegetical Principles Underlying the Greek Text of 2 Sam 11:2 - 1 Kings 2:11." *CBQ* 15 (1953): 30–45.
- Whybray, Roger Norman. *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974.
- Wibbing, Siegfried. *Die Tugend-und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament: und ihre Traditionsgeschichte unter besonder Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Texte*. Berlin: A Töpelmann, 1959.
- Wiefel, Wolfgang. *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998.
- Williams, Gordon Willis. *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Williams, James G. "Paraenesis, Excess, and Ethics: Matthew's Rhetoric in the Sermon on the Mount." *Semeia* 50 (1990): 163–87.
- Williams, Sam K. *Jesus' Death as Saving Event: The Background and Origin of a Concept*. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975.

- Williamson Jr., Robert. "Death and Symbolic Immortality in Second Temple Wisdom Instructions". Ph.D. diss.: Emory University, 2011.
- Wilson, Robert R. "The Death of the King of Tyre: the Editorial History of Ezekiel 28." *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*. Edited by John H Marks and Robert McClive Good. Guilford, Conn: Four Quarters Pub. Co, 1987.
- Winter, Paul. "Matthew 11:27 and Luke 10:22 from the First to the Fifth Century." *NovT* 1 (1956): 112–48.
- Wintermute, O.S. "Apocalypse of Zephaniah." Pages 497–515 in vol.1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H Charlesworth. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1983.
- Wuellner, Wilhelm H. "The rhetorical genre of Jesus' sermon in Luke 12.1-13.9." Pages 93–118 in *Persuasive artistry*. Sheffield, England: JSOT, 1991.
- Yieh, John Yueh-Han. *One Teacher: Jesus' Teaching Role in Matthew's Gospel Report*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.
- Young, Frances M. *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom*. Cambridge: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979.
- . "Toward a Christian Paideia." Pages 485–500 in *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*. Edited by Lewis Ayres and Andrew Louth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- . "Naked or Clothed? Eschatology and the Doctrine of Creation." Pages 1–19 in *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul: Papers Read at the 2007 Summer Meeting and the 2008 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. Edited by Peter D. Clarke and Tony Claydon. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2009.
- Zeitlin, Froma. "Visions and Revisions of Homer in the Second Sophistic." Pages 195–266 in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic, and the Development of Empire*. Edited by Simon Goldhill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Zenger, Erich. *A God of Vengeance? Understanding the Psalms of Divine Wrath*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- Zimmerli, Walther. *Ezekiel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979.
- Zucker, David J. "The Riddle of Psalm 49." *JBQ* 33 (2005): 143–52.

<p>שְׁאוֹל (Sheol)</p>	Psalms 30:3	X			
	Psalms 18:5	X			
	Psalms 16:10	X			
	Psalms 9:17	X			
	Psalms 6:5	X			
	Job 24:19	X	X		
	Job 21:13, 26	X	X		
	Job 17:13, 16	X	X		
	Job 14:13	X		X	
	Job 11:8	X		X	
	Job 7:9	X			
	1 Kings 2:6, 9	X			
	2 Samuel 22:6	X			
	1 Samuel 2:6	X			
Deuteronomy 32:22	X		X		
Numbers 16:30, 33	X				
Genesis 44:29, 31	X				
Genesis 42:38	X				
Genesis 37:35	X				
1) Netherworld					
2) Undesirable Place					
3) Deep/Remote Place					
4) Opposite of Heavens					

שְׁאוֹל (Sheol, cont.)	Song of Songs 8:6	X			
	Ecclesiastes 9:10	X			
	Proverbs 30:16	X			
	Proverbs 27:20	X			
	Proverbs 23:12-14	X			
	Proverbs 15:11-24	X		X	
	Proverbs 9:18	X			
	Proverbs 7:27	X		X	
	Proverbs 5:5	X			
	Proverbs 1:12	X			
	Psalms 141:7	X			
	Psalms 139:8	X			X
	Psalms 116:3	X			
	Psalms 89:48	X			
Psalms 88:3	X				
Psalms 86:11-13	X				
Psalms 55:15	X				
Psalms 49	X				
Psalms 31:17	X				
1) Netherworld		X			
2) Undesirable Place					
3) Deep/Remote Place					
4) Opposite of Heavens					

שְׁאוֹל (Sheol, cont.)	Habakkuk 2:5	X								
	Jonah 2:2-6	X					X			
	Amos 9:2	X							X	
	Hosea 13:14	X								
	Ezekiel 31-32	X								
	Isaiah 57:9	X				X				
	Isaiah 38:10, 18	X								
	Isaiah 28:15, 18	X								
	Isaiah 14:9-15	X			X					
	Isaiah 7:11	X			X					
	Isaiah 5:14	X								
	1) Netherworld		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2) Undesirable Place										
3) Deep/Remote Place			X	X			X			
4) Opposite of Heavens			X					X		

<p>עֵיִת בְּהִינּוֹם</p> <p>(Valley of Hinnom [later, Gehenna])</p>	Joshua 15:8	Joshua 18:16	2 Kings 23:10	Nehemiah 1 1:30	Jeremiah 7:31-32	Isaiah 66:24*
1) Netherworld						
2) Undesirable Place			X		X	X
3) Deep/Remote Place						
4) Opposite of Heavens						

* Although the term for Gehenna is not used here, the passage is included because of its association of the Valley of Hinnom

אֲבַדּוֹן (Abaddon)	Job 26:6	Job 28:22	Job 31:12	Psaln 88:11	Proverbs 15:11	Proverbs 27:20
1) Netherworld	X	X	X	X	X	X
2) Undesirable Place						
3) Deep/Remote Place	X					
4) Opposite of Heavens						

Appendix B: The “Abode of the Dead” as a Rhetorical Tool in the Hebrew Bible

שַׁחַת (Pit)	Job 17:14	Job 33:18	Psalms 16:10	Psalms 30:9	Psalms 55:23	Psalms 103:4	Isaiah 38:17	Isaiah 51:14	Ezekiel 28:8	Jonah 2:6
5) Vivid Imagery*	M		M	X			X			X
6) Judgment or Punishment					X				X	
7) Moral Formation		X						X		

* M=Passages that use the term as a metaphor/figuratively

בּוֹר (Pit)	Ezekiel 32:18-30											
	Ezekiel 31:14								X	X	X	X
	Ezekiel 26:20								X			
	Isaiah 38:18	M										
	Isaiah 14:15, 19							X				
	Proverbs 1:12	M										
	Psalms 143:7	M										
	Psalms 88:4-6	X										
	Psalms 69:15	M										
	Psalms 55:23			X								
	Psalms 30:3	M										
	Psalms 28:1	X										
5) Vivid Imagery*	X	M		M	X	M	M		M			
6) Judgment or Punishment			X					X		X	X	X
7) Moral Formation												

* M=Passages that use the term as a metaphor/figuratively

שְׁאוֹל (Sheol)	Psalms 30:3				M
	Psalms 18:5	X			
	Psalms 16:10				X
	Psalms 9:17		X		
	Psalms 6:5	X			
	Job 24:19	X			X
	Job 21:13, 26	X			
	Job 17:13, 16	X			
	Job 14:13				
	Job 11:8	X			
	Job 7:9	X			
	1 Kings 2:6, 9				X
	2 Samuel 22:6		X		
1 Samuel 2:6		X			
Deuteronomy 32:22	X				
Numbers 16:30, 33			X		
Genesis 44:29, 31	X				
Genesis 42:38	X				
Genesis 37:45					
	5) Vivid Imagery*				
	6) Judgment or Punishment				
	7) Moral Formation				

* M=Passages that use the term as a metaphor/figuratively

שֵׁוֹל (Sheol, cont.)	Song of Songs 8:6	X		
	Ecclesiastes 9:10	X		
	Proverbs 30:16	X		
	Proverbs 27:20	X		
	Proverbs 23:12-14	M		X
	Proverbs 15:11-24			X
	Proverbs 9:18			X
	Proverbs 7:27			X
	Proverbs 5:5			X
	Proverbs 1:12	M		
	Psalms 141:7			X
	Psalms 139:8	X		
	Psalms 116:3	X		
	Psalms 89:48			
Psalms 88:3	X			
Psalms 86:11-13			X	
Psalms 55:15			X	
Psalms 49			X	
Psalms 31:17	X			
5) Vivid Imagery*				
6) Judgment or Punishment	X			
7) Moral Formation				

* M=Passages that use the term as a metaphor/figuratively

שְׁאוֹל (Sheol, cont.)	Habakkuk 2:5		X		
	Jonah 2:2-6	X			
	Amos 9:2	X			
	Hosea 13:14	X			
	Ezekiel 31-32		X		
	Isaiah 57:9				
	Isaiah 38:10, 18	M			
	Isaiah 28:15, 18	M			
	Isaiah 14:9-15		X		
	Isaiah 7:11	X			
Isaiah 5:14		X			
1) Vivid Imagery*					
2) Judgment or Punishment					
3) Moral Formation					

* M=Passages that use the term as a metaphor/figuratively

<p>גיא הַיְהִינּוֹם</p> <p>(Valley of Hinnom</p> <p>[later, Gehenna])</p>	Joshua 15:8	Joshua 18:16	2 Kings 23:10	Nehemiah 1 1:30	Jeremiah 7:31-32	Isaiah 66:24**
1) Vivid Imagery*					X	X
2) Judgment or Punishment						X
3) Moral Formation						

* M=Passages that use the term as a metaphor/figuratively

** Although the term for Gehenna is not used here, the passage is included because of its association of the Valley of Hinnom

אַבְדֹּן (Abaddon)	Job 26:6	Job 28:22	Job 31:12	Psalm 88:11	Proverbs 15:11	Proverbs 27:20
1) Vivid Imagery*	X	X		X		X
2) Judgment or Punishment			X			
3) Moral Formation					X	

* M=Passages that use the term as a metaphor/figuratively

Appendix C: *Ekphrasis* in Greek and Latin Texts that Deal with Hades Extensively

	Homer <i>Odyssey</i> 11	Aristophanes <i>Frogs</i>	Plato <i>Republic</i> 10.614C-621B	Plato <i>Phaedo</i> 107D-114C	Virgil <i>Aeneid</i> 6	Lucian <i>Menippus</i>	Lucian <i>Dialogues of the Dead</i>	Plutarch <i>On the Sign of Socrates</i> 589-92	Plutarch <i>The Divine Vengeance</i> 564-8
1) Verbs of Perception	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
2) Vivid Description	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3) <i>Ekphrasis</i> with Explicit Didactic Purpose	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4) <i>Ekphrasis</i> of Punishment with Explicit Didactic Purpose			X	X		X			X

Appendix D: *Enargeia* of “Hell” in the New Testament (apart from Matthew)

	Mark 9:42-50	Luke 16:19-31	James 3:6	2Peter 2:4	Revelation 1:17-20	Revelation 6:1-17	Revelation 19:19-21	Revelation 20:7-15
1) Verbs of Perception		X			X	X	X	X
2) Vivid Description	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3) <i>Enargeia</i> with Explicit Didactic Purpose	X	X	X	X			X	X
4) <i>Enargeia</i> of Punishment with Explicit Didactic Purpose	X	X		X			X	X

Appendix E: *Enargeia* of Eschatological Punishment in Matthew

*T denotes a text for which the main evidence of *enargeia* is not descriptive language itself but Matthew's diverse use of terms and images

Matthew 25:30, 41, 46																
Matthew 24:51														X	X	
Matthew 23:33														T	T	
Matthew 23:15														T		
Matthew 22:13														X		
Matthew 18:8, 9														X		
Matthew 16:18																
Matthew 15:13-14	X															
Matthew 13:40, 42, 50														X	X	
Matthew 11:23														T		
Matthew 10:28														T		
Matthew 8:12														X	X	
Matthew 7:19														X		
Matthew 5:29-30														X	X	
Matthew 5:22														X		
Matthew 3:10, 12														X		
	1) Verbs of Perception															
	2) Vivid Description	X	X	X	X	X	T	T	X	X	T	X	T	T	X	X
	3) <i>Enargeia</i> with Explicit Didactic Purpose	X	X	X	X	X			X					X	X	
	4) <i>Enargeia</i> of punishment with ethical or cultural "lesson"		X	X		X		X			X	X	X	X		X

Appendix F: Eschatological Fire in Matthew

Reference	Greek	English (NRSV)
Matthew 3:10	ἤδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται· πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	Even now the ax is lying at the root of the trees; every tree therefore that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire.
Matthew 3:12	οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ συναῖξει τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.	His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor and will gather his wheat into the granary; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.
Matthew 7:19	πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	Every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire.
Matthew 13:40	ὡσπερ οὖν συλλέγεται τὰ ζιζάνια καὶ πυρὶ [κατα]καίεται , οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος	Just as the weeds are collected and burned up with fire, so will it be at the end of the age.
Matthew 13:42	καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός · ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.	and they will throw them into the furnace of fire, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
Matthew 13:50	καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός · ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.	and they will throw them into the furnace of fire, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.
Matthew 18:8	Εἰ δὲ ἡ χεὶρ σου ἢ ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτὸν καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ· καλὸν σοὶ ἔστιν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν κυλλὸν ἢ χωλὸν ἢ δύο χεῖρας ἢ δύο πόδας ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον .	If your hand or your foot causes you to stumble, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to enter life maimed or lame than to have two hands or two feet and to be thrown into the eternal fire.

Matthew 25:41	τότε ἐρεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐναντύμων· πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ [οἱ] κατηραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἠτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.	Then he will say to those at his left hand, 'You that are accursed, depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels
------------------	---	--

Appendix G: “Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth” in Matthew

Reference	Greek	English (NRSV)	Context
Matthew 8.12	οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.	while the heirs of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.	Jesus Heals Centurion’s Servant/Juxtaposing feast of Patriarchs in Heaven and Outer Darkness
Matthew 13.42	καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.	and they will throw them into the furnace of fire, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.	Parable of the Weeds/Son of Man’s angels gathering up the “evil ones” at the end of the age
Matthew 13.50	καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.	and throw them into the furnace of fire, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.	Three Parables/Angels separating the righteous from the “evil ones” at the end of the age

<p>Matthew 22.13</p>	<p>τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν τοῖς διακόνοις· δῆσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐκβάλετε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.</p>	<p>Then the king said to the attendants, 'Bind him hand and foot, and throw him into the outer darkness, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'</p>	<p>Parable of the Wedding Banquet/Many are invited few are chosen</p>
<p>Matthew 24.51</p>	<p>καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν θήσει· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.</p>	<p>He will cut him in pieces and put him with the hypocrites, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.</p>	<p>The Unfaithful Slave/Son of Man is coming at an unexpected hour</p>
<p>Matthew 25.30</p>	<p>καὶ τὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον ἐκβάλετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.</p>	<p>As for this worthless slave, throw him into the outer darkness, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.</p>	<p>The Parable of the Talents/Preceding the Son of Man judging the nations and separating the sheep from goats</p>