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Christian and Pagan Ascent in New Testament Times

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Many scholars have often considered the concept of ascent in the New Testament to be closely related to and drawn from the models available in the Hellenistic world. This article argues for fundamental morphological differences between the concept of ascent in the New Testament and the pervasive and popular motif of ascent in the Graeco-Roman world. At the core of the differences lies a completely different anthropological understanding. Sources and influences other than the contemporary models must therefore be found. The article concludes by suggesting that the most appropriate antecedents of ascent in the New Testament should be sought in the Old Testament itself and mediated by Second Temple apocalyptic thought.

Key Words: ascent, resurrection, anthropology, afterlife, New Testament, paganism

1. Introduction

At both a popular and scholarly level, it has frequently been maintained that Christianity drew its core ideas from the popular beliefs of the day,[1] and this has been considered to also apply to the New Testament's concept of ascent. It is true that Christianity developed within a vigorous milieu of competing beliefs, and the notions of the ascent of the soul were pervasive. By Graeco-Roman times, a complex milieu of ascent traditions and myths appear to have coalesced to some extend so as to include some recurring themes.

Within the Hellenistic conception, ascent was understood to occur immediately after death, although it could also occur in a visionary sense

[1] Babylonian and Zoroastrian beliefs have been commonly postulated as the sources of the Christian idea of ascent. To engage with these hypotheses would be an extremely complicated and involved affair, and outside of the scope of this paper.

while the person was alive. Furthermore, it was the soul that ascended, and the body was left behind. As the soul ascended it did so through a number of superimposed heavens, and these heavens often had guardians who tested the soul at various levels. Typically the culmination of the ascent was some form of divinification or assimilation into divinity.

Against this background, this historical and comparative study will consider the concepts of ascent found in the New Testament. It will contrast these New Testament concepts with popular beliefs about ascent that prevailed in the Graeco-Roman world in New Testament times.[2] In doing so, this paper will argue that there are critical differences between these two conceptualisations.

2. The Pagan Concept of Ascent and the New Testament

There are five key aspects that may be seen as phenomenological features of the pagan concept of ascent that will be briefly considered here: (1) The focus on ascent; (2) ascent as return; (3) eschatological ascent versus immediate post-mortem ascent; (4) unimpeded ascent versus cosmological levels, gateways, gatekeepers and trials; and (5) the ascent of the body versus the ascent of the soul.

2.1 Focus on Ascent

In the Hellenistic world, the notion of ascent appears to have been an extremely pervasive one, and was both influenced and expressed by many cultures and traditions.[3] Segal makes the point that, "both Greek and Roman societies from Plato to Plutarch, from one end of the span of Hellenistic culture to the other, know of the journey to the heavens."[4] Accordingly, the idea of ascent to the heavens seems to have been felt in almost every aspect of society. A prime example was the manner in which the Romans formulated the idea of the apotheosis of the emperor, which was a key plank of the emperor cult from the time of the early empire.

[2] The paper considers pagan notions of ascent rather than the ascents found in the Jewish apocalyptic texts.

[3] John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2d ed.; Biblical Resources Series; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 34.

[4] Alan F. Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen* Welt II (vol. 23; ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 1333–1394 1347.

However, Segal observes that, "if astral immortality was promulgated of the emperors, it was scarcely in less demand by the people."[5]

Within the Greek tradition, we are able to identify the ascent motif well before Plato. Culianu notes that, "[t]he forerunners of Plato were Greek medicine-men such as Abaris, Epimenides, Empedocles and Pythagoras. They were physicians (*iatros*) as well as seers (*mantis*), or, to use E.R. Dodd's formula, *iatromantes*. The account of their journeys through the realm of visions gave birth to the Greek apocalyptic genre."[6] It is noteworthy that the theme of the otherworldly journey is already found in Homer, *Odyssey*, Book 11.

Plato's tale about Er[7] in the tenth book of the *Republic*, tells of the journey of Er after his apparent death into the apparently superimposed heavens within the context of the many journeys of the soul to and from the heavens. This work was highly influential, and served as a model for Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*[8] and for aspects of Plutarch's works.[9] In the accounts of ascent referred to above and generally in the ancient world the glorious journeys of ascent are therefore described in an explicit and detailed manner.

However, this is not the case in the New Testament. In fact, the first important aspect to note with regard to ascent in the New Testament is

5 Segal, "Heavenly Ascent," 1349. Arguably the oldest known tradition incorporating this motif is found within the traditional Egyptian views of the afterlife, which at first applied to the Pharaoh and was then extended to include everyone who could afford to make the necessary preparations. The oldest and persistent Egyptian view of the afterlife explicitly involved a post-mortem ascent of the soul to assimilation with divinity and to a stellar afterlife. We know that Egyptian ideas were very influential in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Segal, "Heavenly Ascent," 1350, notes that, "Egypt was the source of one of the most potent ideas of immortality that entered Rome . . . the issues and liturgies of the Egyptian religion penetrated deep into Roman consciousness." In spite of this, the evidence does not allow us to identify precisely how influential they were, and what any lines of transmission may have been.

6 Ioan Petru Culianu, *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascension of the Soul and its Relevance* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), 1.

7 Known as "The Myth of Er."

8 The *Somnium Scipionis* is found in *Cicero, On the Commonwealth and on the Laws* (Book 6.9–29; trans. James Zetzel; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 95–102.

9 See, for example *Plutarch's De sera numinis vindicta* 22-31 in *Moralia* VII.44. In *Between Heathenism and Christianity – Being a Translation of Seneca's De Providentia and Plutarch's De Sera Numinis Vindicta* (trans. C. W. Super; Chandra Chakravarti Press, 2007; repr. Fleming H. Revell, 1899). Also Plutarch, *De genio Socratis* 21-22 in *Plutarque, Le démon de Socrate* (ed. and trans. André Corlu; Études et Commentaires LXXIII; Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1970).

that the New Testament does not emphasise the idea of ascent as much as one might expect.[10] While we can see in the New Testament that ascent is implied in various places, the notion of ascent is often not explicitly referred to and much less described. On the one hand, Harris notes the "relatively paucity" of references to the ascension of Jesus and that "nowhere does the New Testament use the customary Greek word for 'ascent' (*anabasis*)."[11] On the other hand, Farrow provides an impressive list of passages in the New Testament that touch on the ascension motif.[12] Furthermore, Farrow comments that, "[i]t is sometimes suggested that there is little of the ascension as an event with its own distinct significance to be found in the New Testament outside of Luke 24 and Acts 1. That is an entirely specious claim . . . "[13]

The reason why different scholars can come to such different opinions regarding ascension in the New Testament is because it is not the same as the concept of ascent that was prevalent in the broader Hellenistic world, which was reflected in many of the Jewish apocalyptic texts. Within this Hellenistic ascent topos, the focus was typically on the description and, often in great detail, on the ascent to heaven. This is what is essentially absent from the New Testament. The point may be illustrated by considering that if the story of the resurrection of Lazarus in John 11 had been part of a popular or even philosophical Graeco-Roman genre that focused on ascent, we would have had at least the equivalent of a couple of chapters describing the ascent of Lazarus into heaven in some detail. This would then have been followed by another couple of chapters describing his (disappointing, I dare say) recall back to earth, and his journey back to heaven.

Further, we can also observe that the ascents that are referred to in the New Testament appear to be substantially phenomologically different to the ascents of the Hellenistic topos. Salient differences between the New Testament notion of ascent and those of the broader Hellenistic stream include that instead of emphasising ascent as a return to humanity's original homeland, the New Testament essentially presents the notion of ascent as a one-way journey from this earth to heaven. Instead of an immediate ascent after death, the New Testament presents the notion of

[10] Indeed, ascent is not a significant feature of the Old Testament with the exception of the ascent to heaven of Elijah.

[11] Harris, *Raised Immortal*, 86.

[12] Douglas Farrow, *Ascension and the Ecclesia: On the Significance of the Doctrine of the Ascension for Ecclesiology and Christian Cosmology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), "Appendix A: Biblical Resources," 275–280.

[13] Farrow, *Ascension*, 29.

an eschatological ascent following the resurrection. Furthermore, the entire typical cosmology of pagan ascent with its superimposed heavens, gateways, gatekeepers, trials, and passwords is missing from the New Testament. Finally, the New Testament nowhere mentions the ascent of the soul; it is rather the ascent of the body or the whole person, which is envisaged.

This is why Phil 2 may be viewed as a parody of the contemporary Hellenistic notions of ascent. Indeed, in Phil 2, there appear to be echoes of the imperial cult, and Christopher Bryan has noted that, "there are parallels between the exaltation of Christ as described in the Philippians hymn and the narrative sequence of imperial propaganda. . . . The Philippians would have seen these imperial parallels, and had been expected to see them."[14] Therefore, instead of the expected exaltation as a result of ascent, Paul here presents exaltation as a result of Christ's descent. N.T. Wright has developed this perspective and observes that for Paul, Christ is presented as "the reality of which Caesar is the parody."[15]

2.2 Ascent as Return

In the Hellenistic world, and as exemplified in the Myth of Er, the ascent of the soul was merely the return of the soul to its rightful and original home since the soul was originally from the heavens.[16] This view seems to have originated with the Orphics.[17] The Orphic mysteries appear to have first developed around the sixth century B.C. in the east, and they are still a "very complex, scholarly mystery"[18] so that conclusions about their doctrines can only be tentative. However, the essential Orphic doctrine, as Porter characterises it, appears to have been that "the divine soul should be free from the restrictions of the body, and that it was possible for the soul to progress through a series of individual lives, as well as various

[14] Christopher Bryan, *Render to Caesar: Jesus, the Early Church, and the Roman Superpower* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 87, citing Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter* (SNTSMS 110; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 145.

[15] Nicholas Thomas Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (London: SPCK, 2003), 228. See also Nicholas Thomas Wright, *Surprised by Hope: Rethinking Heaven, the Resurrection, and the Mission of the Church* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 131–142.

[16] Jan N. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol; London: Routledge, 2002), 22, citing the Thessalian Gold Leaves, B9.

[17] Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), citing P. Friedlaender, "Geschichtswende in Dedlicht," *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* 15 (1928), 89–120; 3, 280.

[18] Segal, *Life After Death*, 220.

forms of purgation in the underworld, until it could be free form this cycle of rebirth and return to its divine state."[19]

This view, common in antiquity, envisages many downward and upward journeys of the soul as it progresses through many cycles of reincarnation. This divine state appears to have been in the atmosphere or in the sky, for Aristotle tells us that the Orphics taught that the soul enters the body as one breathes.[20] This is, of course, presumably after the soul has undergone its necessary punishments and reincarnations. Croy observes that, "Orphism is credited with the saying, 'The body is the tomb of the soul,'"[21] with the corresponding notion that the divine soul was freed from the fetter of the body at death.

Lattimore comments that before Plato, "[a]lthough the notion of the soul returning to the sky started to become more influential" it "was not initially necessarily tied to the notion of a self-existent, rational soul."[22] According to Cicero, Plato considered that, "souls on leaving the body reach heaven as if going home" (*cum e corporibus excesserint, in caelum quasi in domivilium suum pervenire*) and he argued that "souls on leaving the body, whether they are 'airy' that is to say, consisting of breath, or fiery, are carried up on high" (*cum e corpore excesserint, sive illi sint animals, id est, spirabiles, sive ignei, sublime ferri*).[23] In Plato's *Timaeus*, we are told that the creator of the world "assigned each soul to a star" (τοῖς ἄστροις ἔνειμέν ἑκάστην πρὸς ἕκαστον)[24] and that, "[i]f a person lived a good life throughout the due course of his time, he would at the end return to his dwelling place in his companion star (οἴκησιν ἄστρου), to live a life of happiness that agreed with his character."[25]

Segal observes that, "[a]fter Plato, the Greek world took the notion that the isles of the blessed are in the sky seriously. If the soul is immortal, it

19 Stanley E. Porter, "Resurrection, the Greeks and the New Testament," in *Resurrection* (ed. Stanley E. Porter, Michael A. Hayes, and David. Tombs; Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 186; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 75.

20 Aristotle, *De anima*, 1.5.

21 N. Clayton Croy, "Hellenistic Philosophies and the Preaching of the Resurrection (Acts 17:18,32)," *Novum Testamentum* 39.1 (1997), 29.

22 Lattimore, *Themes*, 26–27.

23 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* (I.11.24; I.17.40; ed. and trans. A. E. Douglas; Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1985), 34–35, 42–43.

24 *Plato, Timaeus*, 41e, in *Plato* (vol. IX, Loeb Classical Library; trans. Robert Gregg Bury; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), 90; Greek text in Plato, *Timaeus* (ed. Donald J. Zeyl; Indianapolis: Hacket Publishing Company, 2000), 29.

25 Plato, *Timaeus*, 42b, 29.

must return to the immortal realm."[26] The same pattern is evident in Middle Platonism. Indeed, Winston notes that, "[t]he central thrust and fundamental aim of Philo's biblical commentary is to trace the return of the human soul to its native homeland by means of the allegorical method of interpretation."[27]

Cicero, who embraced the notion of the post-mortem ascension of the soul, also believed that the sky was the true home of the soul. Furthermore, Porter identifies the central belief of Mithraism as apparently being based around the idea of the heavens as the true and original home of the human soul,[28] characterizing the core Mithraic belief as having,

> revolved around the journey of the soul. The soul was seen to be immortal, and endured a time of trial while it resided in an earthly body. The soul travelled from its home through several planetary levels to the human. The earthly life is seen as a chance to purge oneself of the earthly impurities through the knowledge gained through the mysteries. At death, a struggle takes place over the soul of the dead person, to see if good outweighs bad. Good souls re-ascend and this journey back to the realm of light is seen as an important stage in the course of the soul's travels.[29]

In the pagan tradition, it is therefore not surprizing that the soul ascends after death; it is after all returning to its own element. The New Testament, however, knows of no such original journey of the soul from heaven into the human body; it knows of no such native, original, heavenly home for the soul. Instead, the ascent into heaven as Paul envisions it is incredible, miraculous, and full of wonder (1 Cor 15:55-57), precisely because Paul describes the native home of natural humanity as being this earth because, "the first man is from the earth, earthy" (v. 47.) Note also: "As is the earthy, so also are those who are earthy" (v. 48).

Therefore humanity "cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (v. 50), and it is for this reason that believers must "all be changed" (v. 51) at the last trumpet (v. 52). If believers consider themselves "exiles and strangers on the earth" (Heb 11:13), it is only because they can look forward by faith to "a country of their own" (v. 14), and this in turn is only because of the saving work of "Jesus, the author and perfector of faith" (Heb 12:2.) It is therefore only because of Christ's saving intervention that the followers of

[26] Segal, *Life After Death*, 234.

[27] David Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1985), 36.

[28] Porter, "Resurrection," 76–77.

[29] Ibid.

Christ consider the words of Paul to be true, when he wrote, "For our citizenship is in heaven [ἐν οὐρανοῖς], from which also we eagerly wait for a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ" (Phil 3:20).

Note how in this passage the believer awaits Christ's descent from heaven. It is only His eschatological (second) descent from heaven that makes possible the believer's own ascent. Furthermore, Christ's eschatological descent is only possible because of His first incarnational descent. Indeed, this is why instead of emphasizing ascent as the believer's hope, the New Testament emphasizes much more the descent of Jesus Christ as being the basis of the believer's hope. Christ comes down to save us. In this vein, it is significant that in one of the final images of God's restoration of His kingdom on this earth, it is the New Jerusalem that descends out of heaven, "coming down [καταβαίνουσαν] out of heaven from God" (Rev 21:2).

While it is true that the Son of Man originally descends from His home in heaven to this earth, this is not true for the rest of humanity. The celestial journey of the saved is essentially only a one-way, upward journey, and this journey is only possible because of the descent of the Son of Man. The pagan model of the soul's descent, and then ascent as a return to its original home is thus entirely foreign to the thinking of the New Testament as far as humanity is concerned.

2.3 Eschatological Or Post-Mortem Ascent

Here I would like to contrast the New Testament notion of eschatological ascent and its corollary eschatological resurrection with the corresponding idea of ascent immediately after death. It is important to remember, however, that although an eschatological bodily resurrection seems to have been a familiar belief at the time, it was by no means universally accepted within Judaism.[30] However, there does appear to have been a popular and likely majority belief that had developed within Judaism by the time of Christ, which was that at the last day there would be a bodily resurrection for the righteous.

In line with this tradition, the Gospels present Jesus as unwaveringly teaching a bodily resurrection at the end of the eschaton. As N.T. Wright notes, it is obvious that the entire gospel tradition belongs "with the Jewish view over against the pagan one; and, within the Jewish view, with the Pharisees (and others who agreed with them) over against the various other options."[31] Even so, there are still some scholars who

[30] Dag Øistein. Endsjo, "Immortal Bodies before Christ: Bodily Continuity in Ancient Greece and 1 Corinthians," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 30.4 (2008), 418.

[31] Wright, *Resurrection*, 448.

maintain that the historical Jesus never spoke about a general resurrection of the dead, and in recent times Meier has argued for this view.[32] However, in John 6, Jesus is recorded as stating three times (vv. 39–40, 44) that the resurrection, of which He would be the agent, would occur "on the last day" (ἐσχάτῃ ημέρᾳ). We have further evidence that a resurrection of the just in the eschaton was accepted by those to whom Jesus spoke. For example, when Jesus says to Martha, "your brother will rise again" (John 11:23), He is apparently not telling Martha anything she does not already know, for she responds, "I know that he will rise again on the resurrection on the last day" (ἐσχάτῃ ημέρᾳ) (v. 24). Even though Jesus refers to the saints "rising,"[33] and Paul refers to the saints "rising" and "ascending" "in the air" (1 Thess 4:16–17), these references are only within the context of a general resurrection of the body at the end of time and not immediately after death.

Jesus accordingly referred to "the resurrection of the just" (ἀναστάσει τῶν δικαίων) (Luke 14:14) at which the blessed will be rewarded. In His reckoning, this would be part of a general resurrection of all, both the just and the wicked, that would occur at a future point in time, as is clear from John 5:28–29. Also within the teachings of Jesus, it is clear that the bodily resurrection and the reception of immortality are connected; both happen together. Accordingly, in John's Gospel, Jesus describes the Father as the One who "raises the dead and gives them life (ζῳοποιεῖ)" in the context of the "resurrection of life" (ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς) (vv. 21, 29).

It is, however, important to understand that within Judaism in the New Testament period, the evidence demonstrates that there is "no single doctrine about life after death, but several" including the idea of the immortal soul, and even reincarnation.[34] It is evident within the New Testament texts that there were other views of the afterlife current within the first-century Jewish milieu in which Jesus taught. All three synoptic gospels record the encounter of Jesus with the Sadducees "who say that there is no resurrection"[35] so that its authenticity can hardly be questioned.[36] Jesus' response to the Sadducees is clear and direct: "You

[32] See John P. Meier, "The Debate on the Resurrection of the Dead: An Incident from the Ministry of the Historical Jesus?," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 77 (2000), 15.

[33] For example, see John 5:28–30 and John 11:24.

[34] Hans C. C. Cavallin, *Life After Death: Paul's Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Cor 15 – An Enquiry into the Jewish Background* (Sweden: Gleerup, 1974), 419.

[35] Mark 12:18–27; Matt 22:23–32; Luke 20:27–40.

[36] Meier, "Debate," 23; Bradley R. Trick, "Death, Covenants, and the Proof of Resurrection in Mark 12:18–27," *Novum Testamentum* 49.3 (2007), 233–234, 255.

are mistaken, not understanding the Scriptures nor the power of God" (Matt 22:29). Jesus then proceeds to prove the resurrection out of the Jewish Scriptures (vv. 31–32).

That there were other views of the afterlife in first century Jewish Palestinian society is also suggested by the fact that Jesus was able to tell the story of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31). Wright notes, however, that,"the parable of the rich man and Lazarus is to be treated precisely as a parable, not as a literal description of the afterlife and its possibilities. It is therefore inappropriate to use it as *prima facie* evidence for Jesus' own sketching (or Luke's portrait of Jesus's sketching) of a standard post-mortem scenario. It is rather, an adaptation of a well-known folk tale."[37]

Within the Gospels, the most prominent thematic use of the idea of ascent to heaven is found in the Gospel of John. Nicholson's study, relevantly titled *Death as Departure* demonstrates that, "the Fourth Evangelist works with a motif which speaks of the descent and ascent of Jesus. At the heart of this motif is a movement from 'above' to 'below' and then back 'above.'"[38] In this regard, one saying is particularly notable, which is recorded only in John's gospel: "And he said to him, Truly, truly, I say unto you, you will see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending [ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας] on the Son of man" (John 1:51). In this saying, Jesus is alluding to the ladder of Gen 28:12. The implication He is drawing is that to ascend to heaven is possible only through the Son of man.

Because of John's emphasis on the believer's union with Jesus,[39] the believer is also to participate in Jesus' ascension.[40] Regardless, while John elucidates this schema clearly, it is certainly within both a present spiritual setting as well as a future eschatological setting, rather than as an ascent of believers to heaven immediately after death. It is notable that Acts 2 specifically negates the proposition that saints ascend to God immediately after death, as is evident in Peter's proclamation of the resurrection on the day of Pentecost. Peter based his case on a premise to which he seems to have assumed that the large crowd of listeners would not object. He said, "Brothers, I can tell you confidently that the patriarch

37 Wright, *Resurrection*, 438; See also Harris, *Raised Immortal*, 134.

38 Godrey C. Nicholson, *Death as Departure: The Johannine Descent-Ascent Schema* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 161.

39 With regard to the union between Christ and believers, see John 15:4 and 17:20-23.

40 Nicholson's thesis does not explicitly make this particular point, yet it seems self-evident. In relation to the believers participating with Jesus on His journey, note John 13:36 and 14:2–3, although the language of ascent is not used in these texts.

David died and was buried, and his tomb is here to this day" (Acts 2:29 NIV). A little later, Peter specifically asserts that regardless, "David did not ascend to heaven" (v. 34). David had died but was not yet ascended to heaven. If we understand Peter's thinking to be aligned with that of Jesus and Paul, then the ascension was to occur at the second coming of Jesus.

This link between the ascent of Jesus with that of His followers is also made by Paul, as Reis has noted,[41] with specific reference to Phil 2:6–11. In this passage, it is notable that Jesus' exaltation is described with the Greek word ὑπερύψωσεν (v. 9), which clearly contains the idea of being "raised" up following His humiliation (ἐταπείνωσεν) and death (v. 8).[42] Reis holds that Paul, in general and in relation to the Christ Hymn, "on both an ethical and soteriological level, did make a connection between the story of Jesus and those who follow the gospel."[43]

With regard to the spectrum of beliefs regarding the afterlife, Paul "clearly belongs on the Jewish map rather than the pagan one, despite the efforts that scholars sometimes make to get him to change his mind. Within the Jewish spectrum, he belongs, with most Jews of his day, at the same place as the Pharisees."[44] In continuing this tradition,[45] the Pauline analysis is the product of a traditional Hebraic phenomenal approach.[46]

41 David M. Reis, "The Journey of the Soul: Its Expressions in Early Christianity" (Ph.D. diss.; Claremont Graduate University, 1999), 247–254.

42 Note Frederick William Danker, "ὑπερυψόω," *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (3d ed.; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 1034.

43 Reis, "Journey of the Soul," 249. It is worth noting, however, that Reis' analysis is done firmly within a dualistic context. In fact, the word soul is not used in this passage at all; Reis reads this into the text on the basis of comparative Hellenistic ascent narratives.

44 Wright, *Resurrection*, 372. See also Bruce Chilton, "Resurrection in the Gospels," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Death, Life-After-Death, Resurrection, and The World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (ed. A. J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 226.

45 Chilton, "Resurrection in the Gospels," 226.

46 Wright, *Resurrection*, 365; see also G. J. Warne, "The Soul in Philo and Paul" (M.A. diss.; University of Queensland, 1998), 238–239. There are scholars who attempt to seek evidence of a bi-partite anthropology, or at least evidence of a transition in the understanding of the nature of death and the afterlife in the writings of Paul, and in particular in texts such as 1 Cor 15:29; 2 Cor 5:1–7; 2 Cor 8:5–10. See for example James E. Patrick, "Living Rewards for Dead Apostles: 'Baptised for the Dead' in 1 Corinthians 15.29," *New Testament Studies* 52 (2009), 71; L. Roig Lanzilotta, "One Human Being, Three Early Christian Anthropologies: An Assessment of Acta Andreae's Tenor on the basis of Its Anthropological Views," *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007), 422; and Reis, "Journey of the Soul," 239. Note, however, the comments by

Paul unbendingly demands that his readers accept the resurrection of the body.[47] Lattimore correspondingly argues that to Paul any other kind of immortality other than a resurrection of the body in the context of an end-time general resurrection "was meaningless."[48]

The teaching of the New Testament regarding immortality is well illustrated in the epistles of Paul, since Paul's teaching aligns with that of Jesus. Paul teaches that immortality is theocentric, since it is God alone who possesses immortality (ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν) (1 Tim 6:16), and that it is Christ Jesus who has "brought life and immortality . . . to light through the gospel" (φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν) (2 Tim 1:10). We are therefore to seek immortality (Rom 2:7), which the righteous will "put on" at the resurrection. Of that day, Paul writes that when the trumpet sounds and the dead are raised (1 Cor 15:52), then, "this perishable must put on the imperishable, and this mortal must put on immortality. But when this perishable will have put on the imperishable, and this mortal will have put on immortality [τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν], then will come about the saying that is written, "death is swallowed up in victory" (1 Cor 15:53–54).

This then provides a framework within which Paul's eschatology must necessarily be interpreted. For example, the passage in 2 Cor 5:1–10 in which Paul discusses being "absent from the body" and being "at home with the Lord" must be understood in the context of the reception of immortality at the resurrection of the saints. Although this passage has been greatly misunderstood, the significant parallels between this passage and 1 Cor 15 should be noted, such as "being clothed" (ἐπενδύσασθαι) in 2 Cor 5:4, and putting on (ἐνδύσασθαι) immortality in 1 Cor 15:53; also, mortality being "swallowed up [καταποθῇ] by life" in 2 Cor 5:4, and death being "swallowed up [κατεπόθη] in victory" in 1 Cor 15:54. These parallels clearly indicate that what Paul longs for in 2 Cor 5 is to be fulfilled, not immediately upon his death in terms of an immediately realized personal eschatology, but rather at the eschatological and universal resurrection described by Paul in 1 Cor 15.[49]

Joseph Osei-Bonsu, "Does 2 Cor 5.1–10 Teach the Reception of the Resurrection Body at the Moment of Death?," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 28 (1986): 81–101.

47 Claudia Setzer, *Resurrection of the Body in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Doctrine, Community, and Self-Definition* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 55.

48 Lattimore, *Themes*, 310.

49 Further, see Osei-Bonsu, "Reception," 95; Wright, *Resurrection*, 365; and Donald Guthrie, "Transformation and the Parousia," *Vox Evangelica* 14 (1984), 50. For a contrary view see Murray J. Harris, *Raised Immortal: The Relation Between Resurrection*

For Paul, the resurrection occurs at the coming of Christ.[50] This is clear from 1 Thess 4:15-17, a passage which alludes to the teaching of Jesus recorded in Matt 24:31-31.[51] In 1 Thess 4:15–17 we also have the concept of rising to meet the Lord in the air. This continues the emphasis on the similarity between the resurrection and ascent of Jesus,[52] since at His own ascension to heaven after His resurrection Jesus is described as being "lifted up" (Acts 1:9) "into the sky" (εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν) (v. 10).

Paul understands that the resurrection of believers is still in the future (1 Cor 15:25–26) and is to occur in the eschaton. Paul then turns his attention in to responding to the specific question of the nature of the resurrection body, "But someone will say, 'How are the dead raised? And with what kind of body do they come?'" (v. 35). With regard to this question, Segal observes that it is apparent that although early Christianity "strongly favored resurrection over immortality of the soul at its inception" there were some who questioned whether "the resurrection body is material or spiritual."[53]

It is, however, striking that Paul responds after exclaiming "You fool!" to those who ask this question! (1 Cor 15:36). In Paul's response it is clear that it is certainly the "body" (σῶμα) that is resurrected; it is merely a question of "what kind of body." It is to be noted that Paul is not here teaching the concept of a spiritual resurrection of the soul, but rather that of the resurrection of the body. In that vein, the resurrection body may be a "heavenly" (ἐπουράνια) body (v. 40), and an "imperishable" (ἀφθαρσία) body (v. 42), and a "spiritual" (πνευματικόν) body (v. 44); however, it is a body nonetheless.

Segal rightly observes with regard to 1 Cor 15:41 that "*soma pneumatikon* is a complete contradiction in terms for anyone in a Platonic system, especially when contrasted with the psychic body just mentioned."[54] In relation to 1 Cor 15:35, Segal also notes that Paul is "outlining a notion of immortality which has nothing to do with an

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and Immortality in New Testament Teaching (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1983), 135; and *Clark-Soles, Death and the Afterlife*, 105–106.

50 Therefore immortality is received at the parousia. See Guthrie, "Transformation," 50.

51 See 1 Thess 4:15–17.

52 See also Rom 6:5.

53 Segal, *Life After Death*, 478.

54 Ibid., 429.

immortal soul directly; it is an offshoot of Jewish apocalypticism."[55] As Segal further observes, Paul certainly "distinguishes between the earthly body and the resurrection body. But, if so, he is likewise and I think primarily speaking out of his apocalyptic Judaism. He is entirely consistent with his Hebrew past . . . using Greek language to approximate the Hebrew concepts."[56] As McDonald has noted, "[t]he New Testament is not content with a disembodied immortality. It holds out the promise of 'new and glorious' bodies, after these present bodies have broken into dust."[57]

However, we may observe that within the New Testament text, there appear to be not one but two classes of journeys to heaven in which humans may participate. The first class of heavenly journey is that which we have been discussing, the ascent of the righteous at the eschaton. In the New Testament, this ascent is linked to resurrection, transformation, and immortality. The second class of heavenly journey is the visionary journey undertaken in life. In this class of journey, neither the texts themselves nor their context specifically or directly associate the heavenly travellers with an entrance into the afterlife or with immortality. Although the ascent at the eschaton is the privilege of all the righteous, the visionary journey is seemingly allowed only to a few. There are two examples of this visionary journey in the New Testament, one is Paul's journey to paradise and the other is John's vision of heaven in the Apocalypse.

With regard to Paul's visionary journey, it is striking that Paul does not understand how the ascent occurred. He writes, "whether in the body I do not know, or out of the body [ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος] I do not know, God knows" (1 Cor 12:2). Whatever may have been Paul's definition of being "in" or "out of the body,"[58] it clearly appears not to be aligned with Greek categories, since Paul's uncertainty suggests that for him "either mode of rapture was a possibility."[59] This was essentially inconceivable within the Hellenistic Greek view. Regardless, it is clear that the New Testament journey of ascent after death occurs in the context of an eschatological, bodily resurrection. This does not accord with the Greek and Hellenistic view of the immediate post-mortem ascent of the soul.

55 Alan F. Segal, "Paul's Thinking About Resurrection in its Jewish Context," *New Testament Studies* 44 (1998), 417.

56 Ibid., 418.

57 H. Dermot McDonald, "The Idea of Immortality," *Vox Evangelica* 7 (1971), 26.

58 Or of "spirit" for that matter.

59 Andrew T. Lincoln, "'Paul the Visionary': The Setting and Significance of the Rapture to Paradise in II Corinthians XII.1–10," *New Testament Studies* 25 (1979), 215.

2.4 Cosmology of Ascent

The aspect of ascent in the Hellenistic world and in the New Testament involves the cosmology of the ascent. An important role of Hellenistic visions of ascent was to explain the cosmology of the world and of the heavens. According to the Sumerians and Babylonians, ascent took place by passing through a series of seven stratified cosmic levels. Lambert explains that the evidence for the Sumerian view of the universe as consisting of cosmic levels is not necessarily explicit,

> but derives from the use of terms which were inherited by the Babylonians, from whom there is more direct evidence. The picture is clear from many textual allusions firmly dated to the second half of the third millennium BC; and while there is much less evidence for the first half of the same millennium, and it is much less well understood, there can be little doubt that this conception of the universe goes back in Mesopotamia to at least 3,000 BC. It continued virtually unchanged until the end of Babylonian civilisation.[60]

The very few cosmological accounts that the Babylonians left for us demonstrate that they had inherited a "doctrine of several superimposed heavens" from the Sumerians.[61] Arbel notes that, "[t]angible depictions of divine reality are evident in various mythological accounts of Mesopotamia. The realm of the high gods is illustrated as a tangible world situated up in the sky . . . this celestial realm is one of cosmic levels. Imagined as several superimposed heavenly layers of equal size and shape, the transcendent realm emerged as concrete."[62] The seven layers, or heavens, are evident in the Legend of Etana, which,describes this mythological figure crossing the gap between Heaven and Earth on the wings of an eagle . . . He ascends to Heaven, passes through the seven divine regions of the gods Anu, Enlil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar, and enters their seven heavenly gates:

> After they had [flown up to the heaven of Anu]
> [They passed] through the gates of A[nu, Enlil, and Ea].
> The eagle and [bowed down together]

60 Wilfred G. Lambert, "The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon" in *Ancient Cosmologies* (ed. Carmen Blacker and Michael Loewe; London: Allen & Unwin, 1975), 42–64, 48–49.

61 Ibid., 58.

62 Vita Daphna Arbel, *Beholders of Divine Secrets: Mysticism and Myth in the Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 71.

> [They passed through the gates of Si[n Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar].
> The eagle and [bowed down together].[63]

As Lewy noted, the ascent through these heavens "itself constitutes the principal act of the Chaldaean mystery."[64] Similarly, in the Egyptian tradition, in the *Book of Going Forth By Day*, there were seven gateways whose keepers the deceased must satisfy with names and passwords in order to proceed.[65] The spells of the *Pyramid Texts* speak of the dangers and gateways through which the Pharaoh must pass in the afterlife. These included specific names and answer to questions that he needed to provide in order to pass in safety.[66]

Similar conceptual elements seem to be important in the Hellenistic narratives of ascent.[67] Dionysos and Xanthias face an entire system of doorways, guardians, and passwords in order to access the afterlife.[68] Edmonds describes how,

> [h]aving found the halls of Hades, Dionysos and Xanthias are confronted with the problem of getting past those who guard its doors, a problem that has many resonances in the mythic tradition. As early as Hesiod, dangerous guardians appear at the gates of the house of Hades . . . Dionysos tries to get past this obstacle of the gate of Hades by proclaiming his identity as Herakles. The declaration of

63 James V. Kinnier-Wilson, *The Legend of Etana: A New Edition* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1985),121; See also W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1988), 209; Lambert, "Cosmology," 56, 58.

64 Hans Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy, Mysticism Magic and Platonism in the later Roman Empire* (Le Caire, 184), quoted in Culianu, *Psychoanodia*, 13.

65 Erik Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (trans. D. Lorton; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 11.

66 *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (trans. James P. Allen; Writings from the Ancient World 23; ed. Peter Der Manuelian; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

67 Hornung *Afterlife*, 5; See also Terence DuQuesne, *At the Court of Osiris: Book of the Dead Spell 194–A Rare Egyptian Judgment Spell Edited and Interpreted with Commentary* (Oxfordshire Communications in Egyptology IV, Da'th Scholarly Services; London: Darengo Publications, 1994), 46; Bojana Mojsov, *Osiris: Death and Afterlife of a God* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 46.

68 Aristophanes, *The Frogs*, Scene 2, lines 460ff, in *Aristophanes: Frogs and Other Plays* (trans. David Barrett, rev. trans. Shomit Dutta; London: Penguin Books, 2007), 152ff. For Greek text, see *Aristophanes: Frogs* (ed. Kenneth Dover; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 142ff.

> identity is a familiar feature in the mystic tradition, and a special identity is often the solution to bypassing this obstacle.[69]

A similar cosmology and access system also appears to have been at the heart of the Mithraic mysteries. In his description of the Mithraic mysteries, Celsus also writes that in them "is a symbol of the two orbits in heaven, the one being that of the fixed stars and the other that assigned to the planets, and of the soul's passage through these. The symbol is this. There is a ladder with seven gates and at its top an eighth gate."[70] Culianu observes that,

> [t]he so-called 'Mithraic liturgy' is likely to be a description of the experience of the soul after death. A prayer is used by the soul to attain the doors of the heavenly fire, after which there is the aethereal world of the planetary gods. In front of these doors, it must introduce itself to the keeper and utter a magic formula: "I am also a star going together with you, rising, with its rays of light, from the depths: oxyoxerthouth." The journey goes on, with the aid of Helios, through other gates, beyond the Pole and the sphere of the fixed stars, to the Divinity.[71]

In the New Testament accounts of ascent, the typical Graeco-Roman cosmology and paraphernalia of ascent is absent. Paul's visionary journey in 2 Cor 12:1–4 may be cited as an interesting and unique case in point. Here, Paul refers to being caught up to the third heaven (ἁρπαγέντα τόν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ) (v. 2). The concept of three heavens is unknown in contemporary pagan writings, although it is not unknown within Jewish apocalyptic texts.[72] On the other hand, John's visionary ascent recorded in Rev 4:1-2, is immediate and direct, and depicts a single or unitary heaven. Besides Paul's record (2 Cor 12:1–4), the New Testament does not know of what could be understood as superimposed heavens in. There are certainly no gateways, no guardians and no passwords in the New Testament conception of ascent.[73]

[69] Radcliffe Guest Edmonds III, "Descent to the Depths of Comedy: The *Frogs* of Aristophanes," in *Myths of the Underworld Journey: Plato, Aristophanes, and the 'Orphic' Gold Tablets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 147, 149.

[70] Origen, *Contra Celsum* (trans. Henry Chadwick; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 6, 22, 334.

[71] Culianu, *Psychanodia*, 13, quoting Albrecht Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (1922; repr. Darmstadt, 1966), 69–73.

[72] See the original version of the *Testament of Levi* 2.3; *Life of Adam and Eve*, ch. 8; and the *Apocalypse of Moses*.

[73] Harris, *Raised Immortal*, 237.

2.4 Ascent of the Body versus Ascent of the Soul

Ascent in the Hellenistic world occurred within the context of a dualistic understanding of anthropology. The New Testament, on the other hand, reflect the Hebrew monistic world-view.[74] Lanzilotta specifically comments on the New Testament use of the term ψυχή, since "it shows the total absence of the meaning that for us is the most evident, to wit 'soul.'"[75] The human being in the New Testament is a clear unity, and when an interior dimension is mentioned, this is neither conceived of as a separate element, nor is it more highly esteemed than the body, nor is it expected to survive the body after death.[76]

Clark-Soles notes that Paul "does not use the dichotomy between *sarx/soma* and *pneuma* to argue for immortality of the soul, as did the rabbis. This popular dichotomy is absent in Paul's technical discussion of *sarx*, *pneuma*, and *soma*."[77] Certainly, Paul's use of language in relation to concepts of body and soul appears to be quite unique. As far Paul's concept of soul is concerned, Segal observes that it was "quite limited"[78] when compared to that of the Hellenistic philosophers, and that it was "unschooled by Platonic ideas of the soul's immortality."[79] Certainly, Paul does not envisage the ψυχή as something that exists independently of the body after death.[80] The phrase 'immortality of the soul' does not occur in the New Testament. Instead, within the context of the resurrection, Paul uses the term ψυχή "to preserve the previous identity of those resurrected in their new perfected state."[81] Segal observes that this is "the predominant view of the New Testament."[82]

The writers of the New Testament present a traditional, Second-Temple, Jewish view of the afterlife. This does not imply that this was the only Jewish view of the afterlife, merely one which appears to have achieved the greatest currency. Harris comments that, "[w]ith its basically

74 Lanzilotta, "Anthropologies," 419.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Clark-Soles, *Death*, 67.

78 Segal, *Life After Death*, 411.

79 Ibid.

80 Robert Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 448–449. See also Jaime Clark-Soles, *Death and the Afterlife in the New Testament* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 65.

81 Segal, "Paul's Thinking," 418.

82 Ibid.

monistic anthropology, the New Testament is unconcerned to identify one 'part' of the person that survives death to the exclusion of other 'parts.' The interchangeability of the terms 'spirit' and 'soul' to designate the departed Christian well illustrates the point."[83] Furthermore, as Clark-Soles highlights,

> The much-ignored fact is that neither the New Testament nor the early Christian writers ever used the term 'immortal soul' or 'immortal spirit.' The early Christians, like the rabbis, understood that union with God was union of the whole human, both soul and body. Christian tradition continued to assume this union until, in the third century CE, Platonic ideas of the soul's great superiority to the body promoted the idea of the survival of souls apart form bodies.[84]

Harris states, "[t]he concept of 'the immortality of the soul' ill accords with the tenor of New Testament teaching and therefore the expression deserves no place in Christian terminology."[85] Conversely, it is notable that in the New Testament, the belief in bodily resurrection was not an isolated tenet, but rather part of an integrated "constellation of beliefs."[86] This point was reinforced by Harris, who observed that, "[a]ny disjunction between resurrection and immortality does an injustice to the New Testament evidence. Indeed, it is in a conjunction of these two ideas that we find a most satisfactory summary of the New Testament view of the future destiny of believers. The ideas are inseparable, since it is only by means of a resurrection transformation that the believer gains immortality."[87] For this reason also, the understanding of immortality in the New Testament is inextricably linked to the notion of resurrection.

Ferguson observes that the notion of the immortality of the soul appears to be the result of reading the Greek philosophical tradition back into the text.[88] This is merely one of many scholars who have ultimately agreed with Oscar Cullmann, who concluded his famous 1955 Ingersoll lecture with the words, "[t]he answer to the question, 'Immortality of the soul or resurrection of the dead in the New Testament,' is unequivocal. The teaching of the philosophers Socrates and Plato can in no way be

[83] Harris, *Raised Immortal*, 140.

[84] Clark-Soles, *Death and the Afterlife*, 42.

[85] Harris, *Raised Immortal*, 237.

[86] Setzer, *Resurrection*, 1.

[87] Harris, *Raised Immortal*, 239.

[88] Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (3d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 555.

brought into consonance with that of the New Testament."[89] Fudge accordingly observes that as far as Christianity is concerned, "[i]t has been generally thought that the immortality of the soul was a necessary tool for Christian theology. Today, however, the doctrine is increasingly regarded as a post-apocalyptic innovation – not only unnecessary but positively harmful to proper biblical interpretation and understanding."[90]

The New Testament writers understood human immortality only within the context of the transformational resurrection of the body. Entry into heaven is simple, and stark in its simplicity. No magic is required, no incantations or secret passwords; it is simply a miraculous work of God. This is a fundamental difference between ascents in the New Testament and ascents in the pagan world.

Ultimately, it is the anthropological difference that lies at the heart of the distinctions between ascent in the New Testament and in the pagan world. First, there is the fact that ascent is not much emphasised in the New Testament; and, second, when it is mentioned, the biblical text does not speak of the ascent of the soul but of the ascent of the whole human being, glorified and perfected at the resurrection.

3. Conclusion

This paper has surveyed and contrasted the concepts of ascent found in the New Testament with those found in the contemporary literature of the pagan world. The New Testament does not emphasise ascent, as does the literature of the Hellenistic world. Instead of emphasising ascent as a return to humanity's original homeland, the New Testament presents the notion of ascent as a one-way journey from this earth to heaven. Instead of an immediate ascent after death, the New Testament presents the notion of an eschatological ascent following the resurrection. Furthermore, the cosmology of pagan ascent with its superimposed heavens, gateways, gatekeepers, trials, and passwords is missing from the New Testament. Finally, the New Testament nowhere mentions the ascent of the soul; it is rather the ascent of the whole person, which is envisaged. These differences allow the conclusion that the concept of ascent found in the New Testament is essentially different to that found in the Hellenistic traditions. As such the New Testament conceptualisation

[89] Oscar Cullmann, *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead? The Witness of the New Testament* (Ingersoll Lecture, 1955; London: Epworth Press, 1958), 60.

[90] Edward William Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes: A Biblical and Historical Study of Final Punishment* (Houston: Providential Press, 1982), 55–56.

of ascent appears not to belong to the mainstream Hellenistic traditions of ascent, but rather to be significantly influenced by other sources.

While some scholars,[91] have postulated the roots of the concept of post-mortem ascent as being found in such milieus as the Sumerian, Chaldean, and Babylonian cults, this research concludes that the New Testament understanding of ascent is grounded in the Old Testament,[92] albeit mediated by pre-70 AD Jewish apocalyptic thought.[93] In spite of the variegation in the apocalyptic texts with its Hellenistic influence,[94] the apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple period predominantly reflects an anthropology and eschatology[95] that is aligned with that of the Old Testament. The Old Testament and the Second Temple texts would therefore seem to provide more fruitful ground for further research than the attempt to classify the New Testament notions of ascent together with those of the broader Graeco-Roman world.

91 Wilhelm Bousset, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 4 (1901): 136–169; Culianu, *Psychanodia*.

92 The persistent Old Testament notion of God as the One who "dwells on high" (Isa 33:5) and the ascent of Elijah to heaven (2 Kgs 2:11) suggest appropriate directions in the quest for the sources of ascent in the New Testament.

93 The notion of ascent is a key feature particularly in the Enochic literature, as in *1 Enoch* 37–71. See Birger A. Pearson, "Jewish Sources in Gnostic Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 451.

94 Sang Meyng Lee, *The Cosmic Drama of Salvation: A Study of Paul's Undisputed Writings from Anthropological and Cosmological Perspectives* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2, Reihe 267; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 65.

95 Generally on this, see Richard Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum, v. 93; Boston: Brill, 1998).