

# "Hell as 'Heterotopia': Edification and Interpretation from Enoch to the Apocalypses of Peter and Paul"

Meghan Henning  
The University of Dayton

## 1. Otherworldly Journeys and their Relation to this World

Otherworldly journeys are a challenging object of study for the contemporary historian because they do not seem to resonate with the post-enlightenment worldview that bolsters scientific academic inquiry. And yet, even if we do not imagine heaven and hell in the same way that ancient thinkers did, the impulse to create "otherworlds" is still very much alive. With every new technology humans open the possibility of new spaces with complex relationships to the spaces that already exist. Here, before we think about the reception of *I Enoch* in the apocalypses, I would like to take a moment to propose a theoretical framework for thinking about how the space of an "otherworld" functions in relationship to familiar spaces. Such a theoretical model is helpful, because the reception of the Enochic visions is not simply a matter of the citation of words and phrases or shared imagery, but a case of shared rhetoric, in which the later apocalypses inherited not only an idea, but with it a whole discursive framework for conceiving of spaces and the relationships between those spaces.<sup>1</sup> In particular, we will examine Michel Foucault's concept of "heterotopias" as a tool for teasing out the relationship between *I Enoch*'s otherworldly journeys and the journeys of later apocalypses. This theoretical framework will enable us to see the broad influence of *I Enoch* as well as the ways in which later authors greatly expand and emend Enoch's vision so that in texts like the *Apocalypse of Peter* or the *Apocalypse of Paul* the otherworldly tour has a very different relationship to the familiar earthly spaces.

## 2. The Hermeneutics of Heaven and Hell: Places of Eternal Punishment as "Heterotopias"

In a public lecture that was given by Foucault in 1967, entitled "Des Espaces Autres," Foucault experiments with a possible theoretical framework for understanding spaces that are set apart from the social norm.<sup>2</sup> Foucault is here interested in spaces that he observes to be "in relation with all the other sites," while also interpreting those spaces in some way.<sup>3</sup> For Foucault, there are two spaces that fit this definition, "utopias" and "heterotopias." Utopias, he contends are "unreal," spaces with "no real place," while

---

<sup>1</sup> Candida R. Moss, "Nailing Down and Tying Up: Lessons in Intertextual Impossibility from the Martyrdom of Polycarp," *VC* 67 (2013): 117-36; On the relationship between the otherworld and ancient Greek rhetoric see Meghan Henning, *Educating Early Christians through the Rhetoric of Hell: "Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth" as Paideia in Matthew and the Early Church*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament II* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014): 382.

<sup>2</sup> See the English translation of Foucault's March 1967 lecture "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16.1 (1986), 22-27.

<sup>3</sup> Foucault, "Of other Spaces" (cf. n. 2), 24. These spaces, Foucault says "suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect."

heterotopias are a “simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live.” Since Foucault is working primarily with modern history, he might have placed the otherworld into the category of “utopia,” arguing that these spaces are simply imaginary. However, for the ancient audiences of the apocalyptic texts these spaces were very much connected with reality, and thus fit Foucault’s definition of heterotopia as a space that is both mythic and real, calling into question lived spaces.<sup>4</sup> Foucault gives the example of the “quasi-eternity” of the cemetery, a heterotopia which spans past and present, but also functions distinctively in different eras of history. Foucault contends that societies are able to make an existing heterotopia function very differently over time,<sup>5</sup> and are often linked to “slices of time” so that they are both dependent upon and outside of the flow of time.<sup>6</sup> Like the cemetery, the ancient conceptions of the otherworldly journey play with the flow of time, depicting a seer in the “present” touring an eternal space. In addition to having a flexible relationship with time, Foucault’s heterotopias are also able to juxtapose “in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are themselves incompatible.” This function of the heterotopia is observable in the theater, or the garden, in which elements that are totally foreign to one another and from all over the world can be brought together in a single rectangular space.<sup>7</sup> As we will see below, the otherworld certainly shares this capacity, drawing together saints and sinners from all walks of life and eras, and sometimes even drawing upon the imagery of the garden as a “happy universalizing heterotopia.”

Finally, of particular interest for our investigation is Foucault’s understanding of how heterotopias relate to other spaces, describing a movement between the two poles he establishes:

The last trait of heterotopias is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory (perhaps that is the role that was played by those famous brothels of which we are now deprived). Or else, on

---

<sup>4</sup> On a superficial level one could see overlap here between Foucault and Henri Lefebvre’s concept of lived space and its relationship to conceived space and perceived space. In substance, however, Foucault’s discussion of heterotopias is, like the rest of his thinking, anti-dialectical, and resists phenomenology, whereas Lefebvre’s epistemology of space is built upon the dialectics of Hegel and Nietzsche. For a thorough theoretical discussion of spatial theory and its application to Biblical texts, see Christl Maier, *Daughter Zion, Mother Zion: Gender, Space, and the Sacred in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008).

<sup>5</sup> The cemetery, as Foucault notes, began to function differently when the belief in the resurrection of the body begins to subside, developing a stronger “cult of the dead.” Here, he reads history qualitatively, as in his other archeological works, identifying epistemes, or historical periods with unique grids of knowledge that enable people to understand experience in a consistent way.

<sup>6</sup> Among others Foucault gives the example of the contemporary library as representative of an “indefinitely accumulating time,” “in which time never stops building up and topping its own summit, whereas in the seventeenth century...museums and libraries were the expression of individual choice.” Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 26.

<sup>7</sup> “The garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world. The garden has been a sort of happy, universalizing heterotopia since the beginnings of antiquity (our modern zoological gardens spring from that source).” Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 26.

the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled.

Somewhere between illusion and “compensation” heterotopias can operate on the continuum between a spatial critique of other spaces or a well-ordered alternative. As we will see below, the Jewish and early Christian depictions of the otherworld traverse this axis, beginning with *I Enoch* and then interpreting Enoch’s vision in ways that expand and revise the relationship between lived space and heterotopia that Enoch’s journey proposes.

### 3. *I Enoch*, Otherworldly Journeys, and Authority

The apocalypses that deal with journeys to the netherworld have been categorized by scholars as “tours of hell”<sup>8</sup> or “descents to hell,”<sup>9</sup> emphasizing the journey itself as one of the distinctive features of the text.<sup>10</sup> The ascents to heaven also take the form of a journey, but do not neatly fit into a single generic category of “tour” the way that trips to hell do.<sup>11</sup> These journeys belong to a larger sub-genre of apocalyptic literature known as

---

<sup>8</sup> Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 41–66.

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

<sup>10</sup> Scholars have interpreted the rhetorical function of the geographic tours by drawing upon different ancient parallels. Martha Himmelfarb (*Tours of Hell*, 45-60) 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. More recently, scholars have returned to and nuanced Albrecht Dieterich’s proposal that the “tours of hell” borrowed extensively from the *nekylia*. Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekylia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (1893, 1913; repr., Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1969), 217–24, argues that the *Apocalypse of Peter* was strongly influenced by the “Orphic-Pythagorean” tradition of the *nekylia*, and that the parallels between *I Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* can be explained through the influence of the Essenes who were interested in Orphic-Pythagoreanism. 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 Dieterich and Himmelfarb, 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 *I Enoch* and Virgil’s *Aeneid* as evidence of this exchange. For more recent attempts to revisit this thesis see, 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; Bauckham, *A Study of the Geography of I 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.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the different sub-types of heavenly ascent see Jan N. Bremmer, “Descents to Hell and Ascents to Heaven,” in John J. Collins ed., *Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 340-57; and Adela Yarbro Collins, “Traveling Up and Away: Journeys to the Upper and Outer Regions of the World,” in David E. Aune and Frederick E. Brenk, eds., *Greco-Roman Culture and the New Testament: Studies Commemorating the Centennial of the Pontifical Biblical Institute* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 143; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 135-166. As Collins, 135, asserts, the “ascents” are a theme in antiquity and late antiquity and not a genre or sub-genre, since writings of several different kinds can include an ascent.

the “other worldly journeys,” which offer tours of a variety of otherworldly spaces including, but not limited to, the places of the dead.<sup>12</sup> The earliest extant instances of Jewish apocalyptic tours of the places of the dead are in *1 Enoch*.<sup>13</sup> The Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36) was likely written in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E.<sup>14</sup> This section of *1 Enoch* is preserved in Greek, and Ethiopic, and fragments of the Aramaic are available in the DSS.<sup>15</sup> 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).<sup>16</sup> 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).<sup>17</sup>

For the study of the otherworld, 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 stronger focus on judgment, punishment, and differentiated fates within Second Temple Judaism. The influence of these distinctive concepts of the otherworld can be seen in the reception of *1 Enoch* in early Christian texts that are now deemed “canonical.”<sup>18</sup> In terms of the rhetoric of heaven and hell, Enoch’s journey signifies the first time in (extant) Judeo-Christian literature in which the language of a “tour” is used

---

<sup>12</sup> 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. Although the heavenly journeys do not constitute a genre, they will be discussed here along with descents to hell in the apocalypses, where they share the form of otherworldly journey.

<sup>13</sup> See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 50–56.

<sup>14</sup> 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, 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 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.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> John J. Collins, “The Jewish Apocalypses,” 37.

<sup>17</sup> See also the “Similitudes of Enoch” (*1 Enoch* 37–71), in which Enoch is taken up to heaven in a whirlwind and sees the resting place of the righteous, the righteous angels, and the Chosen One.

<sup>18</sup> Although Jude 14–15 is the only direct citation of *1 Enoch*, there are several strong allusions to *1 Enoch* in the NT. Of particular interest with respect to the study of the otherworld is the influence of *1 Enoch*’s flood typology and scenes of final judgment and eternal fire. See Matt 25:31–46 cf. *1 En.* 62–63; Rev 20:1–4 cf. *1 En.* 10:11–13; 1Pet 3:18–22 cf. *1 En.* 3:19–20; 10:21; 2 Pet. 2:4–5 cf. *1 En.* 10:11–13.

to present the details of other-worldly spaces.<sup>19</sup> In particular, the journey of *I Enoch* is framed by a tour guide that directs the seer's gaze, directional markers that create a topographical picture or "mental map,"<sup>20</sup> and vivid imagery that enables readers of the text to have an emotionally moving, eye witness experience of the spaces that are described.<sup>21</sup> Fusing the form of the "tour," with imagery like Gehenna and the day of judgment, *I Enoch* represents a Jewish apocalyptic "otherworld" that draws upon Greek journeys to Hades and heaven, but also introduces distinctive motifs.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.1 Image and Illusion: *I Enoch's* Heterotopias and "Real Space"

*I Enoch* and those that followed its model used the familiar rhetorical form of the journey to connect the spaces of the otherworld to those of the inhabited world. While the readings and re-readings of the Enochic otherworlds change over time, the features of the journey and the visual rhetoric remain constant. Although the narration of the tour "sometimes obfuscates the spatial relationship between the locales,"<sup>23</sup> several scholars have tried to sketch a map of Enoch's journeys in the Book of the Watchers.<sup>24</sup> In her own

---

<sup>19</sup> In this regard, the Book of the Watchers represents an apocalyptic worldview that is itself influenced by the Hellenistic culture it seeks to engage. Despite scholarly attempts to root Enoch's tours of the otherworld in the world of the Hebrew Bible, the format of the tour and its rhetoric are strongly influenced by its Greek counterparts. For discussions of this Hellenistic influence on this sub-genre, see Richard Bauckham, "The Apocalypse of Peter: A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba," in R. Bauckham, ed., *The Fate of the Dead: Studies in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden Brill, 1998), 207; Jan N. 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 Kelley Coblenz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of I Enoch 17–19: "No One Has Seen What I Have Seen"* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 287, concludes "the author of *I Enoch* 17–19 was not only knowledgeable of mythic traditions from classical Greece, but was scarcely reticent in employing Greek *topoi*."

<sup>20</sup> Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of I Enoch 17–19*, 7.

<sup>21</sup> 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. For a discussion of the role of *ekphrasis* in Jewish and early Christian apocalypses see Henning, *Educating Early Christians*, 83–107, 174–223.

<sup>22</sup> 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. The geography is distinctive in some of the Jewish apocalypses, in which punishment occurs on a mountain (*I 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 (*I En.* 27:5). In the Greek and Latin texts, the tours of Hades does not always include a tour guide (For instance, Odysseus and Plato's Er do not have guides on their journeys, while Aeneas's journey is guided by the Sibyl.). 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 (See for example the journeys of Odysseus and Er in Homer, *Od.* 11 and Plato, *Resp.* 10.614–619). Thus, the use of the tour format is distinctive in Jewish and Christian apocalypses is somewhat distinctive, in that the apocalyptic seer is always directed around the sites by a guide. 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.

<sup>23</sup> Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of I Enoch 17–19*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> 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:

study of Enoch's cosmic terrain, Kelley Coblenz Bautch has demonstrated that the geography in *1 Enoch* 17–19 is not haphazard or unintentional “but rather bears witness to cognitive mapping.”<sup>25</sup> Enoch's heterotopias, then, are found within these neatly mapped spaces, offering the impression that they are real spaces or intimately related to real space. However, later readers of *1 Enoch* do not simply replicate this “map” of otherworldly spaces, but instead seek to create their own geographic tours. As we will see below, the later apocalyptic authors receive the form of *1 Enoch*'s tour, but develop distinct heterotopias that function differently from those of Enoch's visions. 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.<sup>26</sup> 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,<sup>27</sup> and the fourth is for the unrighteous (perhaps those who have not yet received punishment).

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.<sup>28</sup> 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. Here<sup>29</sup> their spirits are separated for this great torment, until the

---

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.

<sup>25</sup> 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.”

<sup>26</sup> The concept of hollow places may originate in Isa 26.20; cf. *1 Clem.* 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.

<sup>27</sup> 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.

<sup>28</sup> 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, 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). 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.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

great day of judgment, of scourges and tortures of the cursed forever, that there might be a recompense for their spirits.<sup>30</sup> There he will bind them forever (*IEn* 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 problem of theodicy for both Enoch and the readers of the text.<sup>31</sup> In this way, the directional markers, visual imagery, and spatial differentiation in Enoch's tour to the "mountain of the dead" adds meaning to the sights Enoch sees. The heterotopias that Enoch sees on the mountain of the dead are very clearly related to the real space of the present world. In Foucault's continuum, these spaces are "meticulous" and "well-ordered" alternatives to the chaos of real spaces in which justice does not always prevail.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.2 The Reception of *I Enoch's* Otherworlds in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

In addition to influencing several of the early Christian texts that are now considered "canonical," the tour format of the Enochic literature played an important role for later Jewish and Christian apocalyptic authors. In fact, in the Akhmim fragment *I Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* circulated together, suggesting that at least some ancient audiences saw a connection between the two works.<sup>33</sup> Within Jewish apocalyptic literature,<sup>34</sup> the later apocalypses rely upon the major features of *I Enoch's* depiction of

---

<sup>30</sup> Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 300–301, follows the Ethiopic which reads "for their spirits" (*lanafsomu*), while the Greek reads "for their sins" (τῶν ἁματωλῶν), following the parallel constructions in vv.9b, 10a, 12, 13.

<sup>31</sup> Parallel to the distinctions made among the souls in *I 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.

<sup>32</sup> See also, Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 113–14, who concludes that the most important accomplishment of Enoch's heavenly ascent was in relationship to the unsatisfactory daily life of readers: "their most important accomplishment was to suggest an understanding of human possibility, of the status of the righteous in the universe."

<sup>33</sup> Bremmer, "Tours of Hell." Although both parts of the fragment were written by different scribes at a later time, the presence of *I Enoch* and the *Apoc. Peter* in the Akhmim fragment suggests that a later compiler, and subsequently some ancient audiences, saw a connection between the two works.

<sup>34</sup> 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). Likewise, Robert A. Kraft, *Exploring the Scripturesque: Jewish Texts and their Christian Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 14–15, argues that there is a larger onus of proof upon those who wish to claim the Jewish origin of a text,

the otherworlds, but they provide far more detailed visions of the spaces than what we find in *1 Enoch*. In essence, *1 Enoch* provides a template for the apocalyptic "otherworldly journey" that is expanded and made more specific.

There are three main indicators in the Jewish apocalypses that the rhetoric of *1 Enoch's* journey is being used to lead the reader around to the places of the dead: the tour guide, directional language, and vivid topographical descriptions.<sup>35</sup> The tour guides in the Book of the Watchers are angels, who provide explanations of the sights in response to Enoch's questions.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Enoch's journey through the different heavens in *2 Enoch* is described with directional markers for ascent and descent (up, down, north, south).<sup>40</sup> The Akhmimic text of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* does not use directional language, but instead the seer describes his journey primarily in terms of the topography of the sites that he visits.

The later 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

---

especially absent any Jewish fragments or any clear early patristic usage. 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.

<sup>35</sup> See Henning, *Educating Early Christians*, 56, 84, for discussions of the rhetorical role of *periēgēsis*, or the journey in bringing order to a space.

<sup>36</sup> 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."

<sup>37</sup> 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."

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, *Apoc. Zeph.* 3.1–4. While, O.S. Wintermute, "Apocalypse of Zephaniah," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983) 1: 501, notes that despite the text's preservation in a Christian monastery, there are no signs that the text was modified, later scholarship has argued that the extant fragments do reflect distinctively Christian concerns. For summary and discussion of these Christian elements, and the justification of a "Jewish-Christian milieu" as the original context for the Coptic fragments see Diebner, *Zephanjas Apokalypsen*, 1230; Bremmer, "Tours of Hell," 29–30.

<sup>39</sup> 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*.

<sup>40</sup> 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."

with specific behaviors during earthly existence.<sup>41</sup> The passage as a whole has a parallel structure, first detailing the delights of paradise, then the characteristics of the “righteous” that will be found there. The third heaven is filled with trees in full bloom, a plethora of ripe fruit, a garden with a profusion of good food, an olive tree with a perpetual flow of oil, angels singing, and four gently flowing rivers, all of which surrounds the tree of life whose fragrance is “indescribably” pleasant (the tree of life is a common feature in visions of heaven, receiving extensive treatment in *3 Baruch* 4).<sup>42</sup> Enoch is told that this place is prepared for the righteous, namely those who meet the requirements of righteousness that are outlined by Matthew 25 and the Hebrew Bible prophets: this heaven is for those who suffer tribulation, give bread to the hungry, cloth the naked, help the fallen and injured, and worship the Lord alone (*2 En.* 9 cf. Isa 1:17; 58:7; Jer 22:3; Ezek 18:7; Matt 25:34-37). This lush landscape, contains the light and flowing water of *1 Enoch’s* journey, but by relocating the space of the righteous to the third heaven and providing a more specific description of the righteous persons there, *2 Enoch* is also able to re-interpret the inhabitants of that space in terms of the specific ethical guidelines of prophetic texts. In the heterotopias of *2 Enoch’s* third heaven, we find seamless conceptual blending between the rhetorical form of *1 Enoch*, and the themes of several texts that are now considered “canonical.”<sup>43</sup>

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.”<sup>44</sup> 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]).

---

<sup>41</sup> 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.

<sup>42</sup> *2 Enoch* is a “Jewish Christian” apocalypse in the sense that the composition of the text involved both Jews and Christians over a number of years. The text contains a number of Christian glosses, suggesting early Christian influence of some kind. F. I. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 2:95-96, has dismissed a Christian influence on the text because it does not reflect a “Christian scheme of salvation.” Whether we can call it Christian or not, it seems that readers of Matthew or the book of Revelation would readily recognize the scheme of salvation that is present in *2 Enoch*.

<sup>43</sup> As we will see below, the ancient conception of the garden lent itself to this kind of conceptual blending, so that heaven can easily bring together various kinds of persons from different times and places.

<sup>44</sup> Or [J] has “those who do not glorify God, who practice on the earth the sin which is against nature...” *2 En* 10:4.

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.<sup>45</sup> These bodily punishments are exacted upon those who steal souls and possessions from others, and “bring about the death of the hungry by starvation” (2 *En* 10:5).<sup>46</sup> 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). In the depiction of Hades in *Apoc. Zeph.* 10 the punishments are specific to the particular sin that is being punished. Here those who accepted bribes, or interest, and the unperfected catechumens are punished in the sea. When the seer asks if those he sees enduring punishment will be given a chance to repent the angel answers that these individuals have until the day of judgment to repent. This opportunity to repent is a unique feature for such a tour, and indicates more explicitly to the audience that this heterotopia is designed to illicit change in the sinners punished, and also in the audience.

### 3.3 Otherworlds as Heterotopias: Shifting Functions over Time

Although 2 *Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* follow the form of 1 *Enoch*’s journey to the otherworlds, the function of the heterotopias that they tour changes over time. 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.” This neat divide between the wicked and the righteous in 1 *Enoch*’s otherworld provides a meticulously ordered alternative for this worldly space, in which the two groups of souls are chaotically mixed together, and are very difficult to distinguish. In this way, 1 *Enoch* is closer to the extreme pole of Foucault’s continuum, at which the heterotopia serves as a “real space” that is a well ordered alternative to other spaces that are “messy” and “ill constructed.”<sup>47</sup> In 2 *Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the level of detail that is used to describe the space itself decreases, and much greater attention is given to the righteous and the sinners and their respective rewards and punishments. In 2 *Enoch* specific spaces are matched to particular groups of righteous persons and sinners. The *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* is even more precise, matching a specific punishment to a particular behavior. Even as these texts intensify the differentiation of the otherworldly inhabitants they also represent a move away from a space that functions purely as an

---

<sup>45</sup> 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 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.”

<sup>46</sup> 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.

<sup>47</sup> Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 26.

alternative to other spaces (as in *1 Enoch*), drawing on specific categories and roles that are defined in those other spaces.<sup>48</sup> Whereas the rewards and punishments of *1 Enoch* represent an alternate space in which justice is served, in *2 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* the rewards and punishments themselves are pedagogical, exhorting readers to choose a particular way of life in the spaces they inhabit now.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4. Revealing the Illusion of this Worldly Structure: Expansion, Order, and Organization in the Otherworld

Like *2 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse of Paul* all greatly expand the visions of the otherworld that we first find in *1 Enoch*. Each of these texts reinterprets Enoch's journey by replacing Enoch with a prophet or apostle that is particularly important for the early Church, giving authority to the journey by associating it with someone like Isaiah, Peter, or Paul.<sup>50</sup> Each of these texts also "fills in the gaps" of *1 Enoch* with respect to the specific details about the inhabitants of the otherworlds, although each of them expands Enoch's picture in distinctive ways.

##### 4.1 Interpretation, Exegesis, and Filling in the Gaps: *1 Enoch*, Matthew, and Paul in the Early Christian Apocalypses

The *Apocalypse of Peter* fuses the format of Enoch's otherworldly tour with images from *1 Enoch* and the Gospel of Matthew. The author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* not only uses the directional cues, topography and vivid imagery from the otherworldly journey in the Book of the Watchers, but also alludes to specific images of the judgment of worldly leaders and the fallen angels in the place of punishment from the Book of Parables.<sup>51</sup> In addition to recalling specific passages from the *1 Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Peter* also relies upon Matt 24-25 and Matt 17 for its narrative frame, interpreting the otherworlds as the places of final judgment described in Matthew. 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. 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.<sup>52</sup> For instance, *Apoc. Pet.* 1-6 recalls the Matthean notion that

---

<sup>48</sup> As Collins, "Traveling Up and Away," 150, notes, the placement of leaders in the fifth heaven and followers in the second heaven of *2 Enoch* may reflect the hierarchical structures of earth.

<sup>49</sup> Although the emphasis on worship and Divine justice in *1 Enoch* can be understood as part of instruction more broadly, the punishments themselves are not pedagogical and do not provide specific information about how to inhabit other spaces.

<sup>50</sup> As Collins, "Traveling Up and Away," 166, notes, ascents were often attributed to a famous person in order to legitimate the vision.

<sup>51</sup> *Apoc. Pet.* 4 cf. *1 En.* 61:5; *Apoc. Pet.* 13 cf. *1 En.* 62:15-16; 63:1, 7-9.

<sup>52</sup> 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;

a person's "deeds" determine his or her eternal fate. 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).<sup>53</sup> In this way, the *Apocalypse of Peter* elaborates upon the generic descriptors of "righteous" and "wicked" with ethical categories similar to those we observed in *2 En.* 8-10.

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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> *Apoc. Pet.* 5 recounts the cosmic and geological disasters that will befall sinners on the Day of Judgment, culminating in a "stream of unquenchable fire" whose seething waves elicit "much gnashing of teeth among the children of men."<sup>56</sup> 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:

---

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).

<sup>53</sup> 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."

<sup>54</sup> 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.

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

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.<sup>57</sup>

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. 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, and provide a topographical description of the otherworld that awaits sinners on the Day of Judgment. 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.<sup>58</sup>

While the *Apoc. Peter* mainly embellishes or expands Matthew's eschatology, the *Apoc. of Paul* interprets Matthew extensively,<sup>59</sup> but also layers Matthean and Pauline themes.<sup>60</sup> 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 Pauline letters,<sup>61</sup> but the *Apocalypse of Paul* makes the

---

<sup>57</sup> *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."

<sup>58</sup> 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 arguing for exclusive literary dependence. 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*. For a discussion of the reception of Matthew in the early Church, see 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); trans. of *Influence de l'évangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1950); Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin: Akademie, 1957); W.D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1987).

<sup>59</sup> Namely, the *Apoc. Paul* employs Matthean exegesis similarly to what we demonstrated in the *Apoc. Pet.*, and expands the "weeping" motif even further. See especially the punishments assigned to those who do not follow 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), and the weeping motif (*Apoc. Paul* 10; 14; 16; 17; 32; 33; 36; 38; 39; 40; 42; 43; 48)." 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;), but they also gnash their teeth at a wicked soul as it leaves its body (*Apoc. Paul* 14), 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).

<sup>60</sup> 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).

<sup>61</sup> 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

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.<sup>62</sup> The opening lines of *Apoc. Paul* 3 recall Romans 2:17-4:25,<sup>63</sup> 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 [L<sup>1</sup>, 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, 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.<sup>64</sup> 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).<sup>65</sup> In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, creation's outcry does not testify to humanity and its redemption as the crown of creation, but instead 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.<sup>66</sup> Thus, *Apoc. Paul* 3-7 reads

---

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.

<sup>62</sup> In addition to interpreting Romans, the *Apocalypse of Paul* also plays with several other Pauline themes. See Henning, *Educating Early Christians*, 189-96, for a fuller discussion of the Pauline exegesis in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

<sup>63</sup> 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.

<sup>64</sup> 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.

<sup>65</sup> 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).

<sup>66</sup> See Wayne A. Meeks, "Apocalyptic Discourse and Strategies of Goodness," *JR* 80 (2000): 474, who argues that in Romans "God's eschatological revision of human judgments also constitutes one of the leitmotifs of the entire Letter."

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.<sup>67</sup>

The *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* utilize the form of Enoch's journey to the otherworld, but consciously reinterpret it through allusions to Matthew and the Pauline letters. These connections to other early Christian texts authorize the visions of the otherworld that each text presents. These interpretations of the otherworld are not simple accretions of new details to Enoch's journey. Instead, by expanding the level of detail of the descriptions of heaven and hell, the later apocalypses actually change the way in which these heterotopias function.

#### 4.2 Heavenly Garden and Spectacular Zoo: The Juxtaposition of Incompatible Spaces in the Otherworldly Heterotopias

Whereas *I Enoch's* journey contrasted the moral categories of "righteous" and "wicked," following the tradition of the two ways, the later apocalypses are able to juxtapose many different worldly categories or social spaces. In Foucault's schema, this ability to bring together many different spaces in one space is a key function of the heterotopia, and can be observed in a space like the garden:

The garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world. The garden has been a sort of happy, universalizing heterotopia since the beginnings of antiquity (our modern zoological gardens spring from that source).<sup>68</sup>

If we think about the concept of the garden or zoo, the shifting function of the apocalyptic journeys to heaven and hell comes into relief. In a garden or zoo we are able to compare familiar and unfamiliar elements, allowing us to recognize that which is unfamiliar. Paradoxically, by bringing these elements "near" and observing them in a single strange space, the artificiality of the space is also apparent to the visitor. That is, the spectacle of the garden or the zoo, its very nature as heterotopia, makes it first and foremost a site to be viewed, toured, visited, and studied, but not inhabited.<sup>69</sup> In this regard, by bringing together disparate elements in one space, the heterotopia becomes a

---

<sup>67</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 26.

<sup>69</sup> This observation of the function of heterotopias is a departure from Foucault's short lecture, in which he distinguishes a bit too sharply "real" and "imaginary" spaces, but does not consider that sparking imagination is perhaps the primary function of some of these "other spaces," which function primarily as objects of the visitor's gaze.

kind of spectacle, inviting the viewer to gaze upon its inhabitants in order to learn something about all of the other spaces she inhabits.

The apocalyptic visions of the heavenly garden often work as a kind of "happy universalizing heterotopia" that enables the viewer to collect familiar and unfamiliar elements into one space, so that he is able to recognize species that would otherwise be unfamiliar. Biblical heroes who lived in very different historical contexts are all found dwelling in the same space, and are readily recognized by the seer, who has presumably never seen these figures before. As the apocalyptic seers tour the heavens they take note of the saints who are there, calling them out by name.<sup>70</sup> Peter's vision of heaven recalls the transfiguration, featuring Moses and Elijah and locating Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the great garden of paradise (*Apoc. Pet.* 16-17); Zephaniah runs to greet Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Enoch, Elijah and David (*Apoc. Zeph.* 9); Isaiah sees "the righteous from the time of Adam onwards" including Abel, Enoch and Seth in the seventh heaven (*Ascen. Isa.* 9); Paul sees the major and minor prophets (identified by name and as "major and minor prophets," *Apoc. Paul* 25), David (*Apoc. Paul* 29), the Virgin Mary (*Apoc. Paul* 46), the patriarchs of the Hebrew Bible, Moses, Lot, Job, Noah, Adam, Abel (*Apoc. Paul* 47-51), and the Apostles (identified by name and as a group, *Apoc. Paul* 51). Since the reputations of these saints precede them, their qualifications for dwelling in heaven need not be listed. In these visions of heaven, the saints are like the elephant at the zoo, a person doesn't need to have seen Abraham in order to identify him at first sight. These famous righteous persons are juxtaposed with the anonymous righteous persons, who are largely recognizable as such because of their grouping with the saints. Unlike the sinners in hell, who are identified by their specific deeds, the heavenly occupants are primarily identifiable via their proximity to the saints.<sup>71</sup>

In the *Apocalypse of Peter* those who are "written in the book of life" dwell in heaven as a single homogenous group in contrast to the dozens of anonymous sinners who are isolated according to their infractions and tormented eternally (*Apoc. Pet.* 17). Similar to the *Apocalypse of Peter's* insistence that the inhabitants of heaven are those who resist the "false Christ," the *Ascension of Isaiah* presents a vision of the heavens that is couched in terms of an ongoing conflict between the "false prophets" and the "righteous." At the text's outset these "pseudo-prophets" and their violent acts are juxtaposed against the

---

<sup>70</sup> See the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Testament of Isaac*, and the *Testament of Jacob* for later explanations of how the patriarchs who were already buried had their souls removed to be with God in heaven. See also, the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* in which Jesus says that he "called Adam up out of Hades."

<sup>71</sup> There are other unnamed righteous persons in heaven, but unlike the unrighteous persons we find in hell, they are very rarely identified by specific earthly deeds (or their behaviors are described with a much lower level of specificity). The vision of heaven in *2 En.* 8-9 provides the most specific picture of deeds that merit eternal reward. In the final words of the *Apocalypse of Peter* God is praised for having "written the names of the righteous in the book of life." Apart from the named "righteous fathers" of chapter 16, this is all we know about the inhabitants of heaven from this text—they are righteous and their names are written in the book (cf. Daniel 12:1; Rev.17:8). In the *Ascension of Isaiah* the reader is given a host of details regarding the different levels of heaven, and their inhabitants, but those details do not delineate specific behaviors. Instead we learn that the seventh heaven is inhabited by the "righteous" whose identity is primarily crafted in terms of their beliefs and by way of contrast to the pseudo-prophets. In the *Apoc. Paul* 21-22 we meet the heaven dwellers who "hunger and thirst for righteousness," a righteousness that seems to be axiomatic since we aren't given any further definition of their righteous qualities.

"true prophets" who dwell alone in the mountains and lament Israel's failings (*Ascen. Isa.* 2:11-16). Later, the righteous are contrasted with the Christians who will go astray in the last days, falling into chaotic speech, bad leadership, and the love of money (*Ascen. Isa.* 3:21-31). In this way, the vision of heaven that follows in the *Ascension of Isaiah* defines the identity of its "in" group of righteous believers not in terms of their own behaviors, but in terms of the deeds that they do not do.<sup>72</sup>

In the apocalypses that describe hell, the juxtaposition of different "species" of sinners works slightly differently, each group of anonymous sinners is "foreign" and unrecognizable to the tourist until the tour guide offers an explanation. Identification with Christ does not naturally lead to righteousness and good deeds, and identification of a "Christian" on earth is even more precarious. Here, the visions of hell and heaven are used to bolster the theological identity of "true Christians" who follow Christ by delineating the theological identity and fate of the "false Christians" who follow an imposter.<sup>73</sup> The *Apocalypse of Peter* connects Christ's reign and final judgment with human deeds ("recompense every man according to his work," *Apoc. Pet.* 1; *Apoc. Pet.* 6, cf. Matt 16:27), so that Christian identity is equated with a particular lifestyle on earth. Compared to *I Enoch*, there is a relatively high level of detail that is used to classify sinners in this otherworldly journey, depicting the punishment of different subcategories of the same sin.<sup>74</sup> In a world that is plagued by charlatans who claim to be "the Christ" (*Apoc. Pet.* 1), the *Apocalypse of Peter* uses the clear categorization of the wicked and righteous in the otherworlds to awaken the reader to the need to adjudicate authentic Christianity on earth.

Further complicating any attempt to carve out neat categories in the otherworld, the *Apocalypse of Paul's* vision of hell includes a wide range of practitioners, who would likely have been identified as Christian on earth. The Christians punished here include churchgoers who misbehave outside of church, a wayward presbyter, a bishop who was not compassionate towards widows and orphans, a deacon who ate the offerings, a lector who did not keep the commandments, and churchgoers who did not pay attention to the

---

<sup>72</sup> See also *Zost.* 4.26, 42-44, in which different groups of souls are "classified" without material analogies for heavenly existence. Here the contrast is between agency or freedom and withdrawal into god. Like *I En.* 22, this text does not speak of actual rewards and punishments but of differentiated fates. Nevertheless, in *Zostrianos* those differentiated fates still outline the paragon of earthly behavior---acting so that you might "dwell within."

<sup>73</sup> We reject the interpretation of these terms as references to Bar Kokhba and the Judean revolt. For an excellent discussion of the problems with assigning a highly specific historical context to the *Apocalypse of Peter* 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. Although the term *martys* is used, the emphasis in the context of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is on the lives of these "witnesses." See Henning, *Educating Early Christians*, 185.

<sup>74</sup> For instance in the *Apoc. Pet.* 7 we find the women who plaited their hair (for the purpose of fornication) hung up by their hair, while those who did not keep their virginity until marriage have their flesh torn to pieces in a separate place (*Apoc. Pet.* 11). And elsewhere in the *Apocalypse of Peter* distinct punishments are described for those who blasphemed the way of righteousness (hanging punishments, *Apoc. Pet.* 7), those who have denied righteousness (a burning pit, *Apoc. Pet.* 7), as well as for those slanderers "who doubt my [Christ's] righteousness" (chewing their tongues and having their eyes burned with red hot irons, *Apoc. Pet.* 8).

Word of God in church (*Apoc. Paul* 31-37).<sup>75</sup> This stringent differentiation of categories of misled and misleading Christians in the afterlife enables the reader to refine his or her understanding of the label "Christian," and perhaps even to call into question the stability of his or her own Christian identity. This vision of the otherworld focuses on behaviors that are incongruous with the person's earthly moniker but that likely went unnoticed, begging the reader to take notice of human behavior rather than the categories assigned in the present world. As such, visions of the otherworld use strictly defined behavioral categories in order to redraw theological boundary lines, demonstrating that identification with Christ in the otherworld is more demanding than simply claiming the title "Christian," holding a church office, or even attending church. While the categories in the text become more demanding, they also call into question the fixity of the categories like "Christian," using the flexibility of hell as "heterotopia" to rethink the illusory nature of these titles in the present world.

Although the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* use the format of *I Enoch's* journey, the way that they populate the terrain of heaven and hell transforms those spaces into a kind of menagerie. The otherworlds are no longer alternative spaces in which the wicked and righteous are sorted for the purpose of Divine justice (as in *I Enoch*), or even simply spaces that make specific ethical qualifications about entry into the afterlife (as in *2 Enoch*) but heterotopias that unveil the illusory nature of the carefully organized spaces of the earthly world. In this shift the apocalyptic visions of heaven and hell become spectacles that invite the reader to reflect upon and learn from the inhabitants. Like the ancient garden or the contemporary zoo, these depictions of the otherworld paradoxically make the origins of its inhabitants seem more remote. They offer a way for the tourist to avoid future travel to faraway places because they ameliorate all of the deficiencies in her understanding of the spaces that she now inhabits.

##### 5. Heterotopias and the History of Interpretation: Does Enoch Engender an "Apocryphal Hermeneutic"?

Although Foucault originally intended his concept of heterotopia to apply mainly to the spaces of confinement in modernity, his description of "other spaces" provides insight into the distinct functions and shifting theological messages of the apocalyptic journeys to the otherworld. These heterotopias each make claims to authority, some demanding very specific responses on the part of the text's readers. Beginning with *I Enoch*, the tradition of otherworldly journeys provides readers with heterotopias that are first understood as alternative spaces to earthly space and its chaos. These heterotopias quickly developed into spaces that still represent a proclamation of divine justice, but also call into question the illusory nature of earthly spaces. In this way, the apocalyptic visions

---

<sup>75</sup> When compared with the *Apoc. Pet.*, the *Apoc. Paul* is much more interested in the inner differentiation of the community, likely because it is written in a post-Theodosian era. 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* (Geneve: P.Cramer, 1997).

of heaven and hell seem to occupy the center of Foucault's "continuum," offering an alternative space that simultaneously offers hope for the escape of earthly space, while also requiring that readers confront its illusions through reflection and ethical reform.

If we see each apocalypse as a novel interpretation of the basic form of the Enochic journey, we are able to see that the concept of an otherworldly journey, like Foucault's heterotopias, could be employed for very different purposes over time. The spaces that divide the wicked from the righteous in *I Enoch* partition the "Two Ways" of earthly morality, creating heterotopias that provide an escape from this worldly space. In the heavens of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Ascension of Isaiah* we find an attempt to delineate the "true martyrs" and the "true prophets," calling into question the earthly spaces in which these titles might be falsely claimed. As the later apocalypses employ more specific details about each of the inhabitants of these heterotopias, heaven and hell start to function less like a dwelling space and more like an ancient garden or a contemporary zoo, juxtaposing all manner of persons for the tourist to "observe." In the apocalyptic visions of heaven and hell the spectacle of these spaces becomes the central attraction, so that readers might connect what they see on this journey to the spaces they inhabit presently.

These extrapolations of Enoch's journey, though they differ in their theological content and ethical emphases, all seem to carry forward and accentuate the format of the journey that we find in *I Enoch*. In doing so, they also engender a set of reading practices surrounding otherworldly spaces that is grounded in the Enochic corpus, but applied broadly to texts that we now deem canonical. This hermeneutic goes far beyond the "apocryphal" apocalypses that we have studied here, but is applied by many different early Christian thinkers who either consciously or unconsciously re-read the flexible elements of Enoch's heterotopias in a variety of contexts.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> See for example John Chrysostom's homilies on Matthew, for the way in which the idea that the otherworld is a heterotopia that should unveil the illusions of this world and incite behavioral change. Chrysostom *Hom. Matt.* 30.6, 43.