

CHRISTINE R. TROTTER

# Hellenistic Jews and Consolatory Rhetoric

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe  
600*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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Christine R. Trotter

# Hellenistic Jews and Consolatory Rhetoric

2 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon,  
1 Thessalonians, and Hebrews

Mohr Siebeck

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For Luke, Avery, and Caleb



## Preface

This book is a revision of my doctoral dissertation, submitted in 2021 to the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. I am grateful to my advisor, Margaret M. Mitchell, whose work on 1 Thessalonians sparked my interest in consolatory rhetoric. Her precision and excitement about Paul and Paulinism have made a lasting impact on me. My arguments are stronger as a result of her tireless care to comment on drafts of my chapters and meet with me to discuss them. The breadth of her knowledge of New Testament scholarship is unparalleled, and I am fortunate to have been the beneficiary of her mentorship.

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Chicago, June 2023

Christine R. Trotter

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*Introduction:*

## Hellenistic Jews and Consolatory Rhetoric

*God did not make death, nor does he delight in the destruction of the living....  
God created man for immortality, and as the image of his own likeness he made  
him; but by the devil's envy death entered into the world, and those who belong  
to his portion experience it.*<sup>1</sup>

The author of the Wisdom of Solomon asserts that death was not God's design for humankind but entered creation due to an otherworldly being. Furthermore, he claims that death is not something experienced by everyone. Only those who belong to the devil really die. In subsequent chapters of his work, he argues that those who belong to God enjoy the immortality God intended from the beginning of creation. The Wisdom of Solomon, an early first-century CE composition, was addressed to Greek-speaking Jews who had survived a persecution in which some of those faithful to the Torah suffered and even died at the hands of non-Jews. Offering a plausible interpretation of their suffering that demonstrated God to still be on the side of the maltreated Jews was a necessary ingredient of the author's larger aim of persuading readers to hold fast to the God of Israel, despite the risks their allegiance entailed. His compressed exegesis of Gen 1–3 in the passage cited has a consolatory function. Not only is death contrary to God's plan, but readers who had lost loved ones are told that they did not actually die. As the author will illustrate, those departed righteous ones only seem to have died, but they are actually living an immortal existence in God's hand (3:1–5:23).

The author of the Wisdom of Solomon interweaves his exegesis of Gen 1–3 with other biblical motifs (e. g., Ezek 18:32; 33:11) and concepts from Greek philosophical discourse on immortality in the interest of his larger consolatory argument.<sup>2</sup> The Jewish Scriptures generally hold death to be God's will for finite

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<sup>1</sup> Wis 1:13; 2:23–25. Unless marked otherwise, all translations of Greek texts in this monograph are my own.

<sup>2</sup> While he was certainly influenced by Plato's teaching on the nature of the soul, James M. Reese has argued that the author of the Wisdom of Solomon was likely also indebted to the teaching of Philodemus of Gadara on ἀφθαρσία, "incorruption" or "immortality," and may have been responding to Epicureanism in his use of ἀϊδιότης, "eternity" (*Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences*, AnBib 41 [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970], 62–69).

human beings and attribute immortality solely to God, with rare exceptions.<sup>3</sup> The Wisdom of Solomon, however, argues that immortality is available to all righteous people (1:15; 3:1–9; 4:7–14; 5:15–16) in terms that have strong affinities with Middle Platonism.<sup>4</sup> The author of the Wisdom of Solomon hoped that his admixture of his biblical inheritance with the contemporary Platonic doctrine of the soul would constitute a fitting balm to soothe the wounds of his Jewish audience immersed in the Greek culture of Alexandria, an audience still recovering from past persecution and fearing future harm.<sup>5</sup>

The Wisdom of Solomon is an example of a larger group of texts under consideration in this monograph whose Hellenistic Jewish authors utilized their pluriform cultural heritage to provide answers to the perennial questions that arise in the face of human suffering. The author's concerns with theodicy and giving an empowering meaning to seemingly unmerited suffering are also found, for example, in 1–2 Enoch, Sirach, Judith, Baruch, 2 Maccabees, the Philonic corpus, Paul's letters, Hebrews, and 4 Maccabees. Neither the biblical authors nor the Greek philosophical schools alone offered clear answers to the questions raised by the Hellenistic Jewish authors of these texts: questions about God's power, justice, and goodness when the righteous suffer and die, about the postmortem fate of the dead, and about how unmerited suffering fits into God's purposes.<sup>6</sup> Which biblical voices do the Hellenistic Jewish authors of these texts

<sup>3</sup> John J. Collins calls "the idea that God did not make death" a "shocking novelty in Jewish tradition" (*Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, OTL [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997], 187–88). Apart from Gen 2–3, the origin of death is not a major concern of the Hebrew Bible (Kent H. Richards, "Death: Old Testament," *ABD* 2:108–9).

Enoch (Gen 5:24) and Elijah (2 Kgs 2:3–11) were translated, and the seer of Daniel prophesies that many of the righteous dead, "the wise," will awake to everlasting life (Dan 12:1–4) (Bernd Janowski, "Death, Dying II. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament," *EBR* 6:359–61).

<sup>4</sup> John J. Collins, "The Root of Immortality: Death in the Context of Jewish Wisdom," *HTR* 71 (1978): 177–92; John M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: A Study of Platonism 80 B.C. to A.D. 220* (London: Duckworth, 1977), 177–78.

<sup>5</sup> Contemporary Platonism held that the souls of the wise enjoyed immortality, but there was no personal immortality for evil people (Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 177–78).

<sup>6</sup> Michael E. W. Thompson, "Where Is the God of Justice?": *The Old Testament and Suffering* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011); James L. Crenshaw, *Defending God: Biblical Responses to the Problem of Evil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Antti Laato and Johannes C. de Moor, eds., *Theodicy in the World of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Shannon Burkes, *God, Self, and Death: The Shape of Religious Transformation in the Second Temple Period*, JSJSup 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); James L. Crenshaw, ed., *Theodicy in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); James Arthur Dumke, "The Suffering of the Righteous in Jewish Apocryphal Literature" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1980); A. R. C. Leaney, "The Eschatological Significance of Human Suffering in the Old Testament and in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *SJT* 5 (1963): 286–301; James A. Sanders, *Suffering as Divine Discipline in the Old Testament and Post-biblical Judaism*, CRDSB 28 (Rochester: Colgate Rochester Divinity School, 1955); Edmund F. Sutcliffe, *Providence and Suffering in the Old and New Testaments* (London: Nelson, 1953); Arthur S. Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament* (London: Epworth, 1947); L. B. Paton, "The Problem of Suffering in the Pre-exilic Prophets," *JBL* 46 (1927): 111–31. For Greek views, see Roman Garrison, *Why Are You Silent, Lord?*, BibSem 68 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000);

echo, and which ones do they avoid in their consolatory endeavors? How do their arguments compare with reflections on suffering and death in contemporary Jewish texts? What did they embrace and what did they reject from Platonic, Stoic, Epicurean, Peripatetic, and Cyrenaic theories of consolation? Greek philosophical discussions on suffering and death have arguably left their mark on books that would eventually be included in the Jewish and Christian canons, such as Ecclesiastes and Daniel, even in the Masoretic Text. Yet what logical and theological tensions are created when our authors interpret their Bible in Greek philosophical terms that stretch the biblical texts beyond their original meanings and contexts?<sup>7</sup> As readers of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, these authors were primed to find the vocabulary of the Platonic dialogues and other Greek literature in their sacred texts and to interpret accordingly.<sup>8</sup> They often found their Bible and select strands of Hellenistic philosophy to be in harmony, whereas a direct comparison with the Masoretic Text would have shown a starker tension.

Nevertheless, our authors' attempts to console readers by integrating assumptions and arguments from the Bible with those of their Greco-Roman world were not without costs. For example, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon's desire to distance God from all evil, including death, causes him to personify death as an otherworldly being who invades God's creation from the outside (1:13–16; 2:23–25). In his effort to maintain the axiom of Plato, Cleanthes, and others that "the deity is absolutely good, and therefore, cannot have anything to do with death,"<sup>9</sup> the author of the Wisdom of Solomon also strains the limits of his monotheism.<sup>10</sup> Can Hellenistic Jewish authors have it both ways when offering consolation? What must be sacrificed?

In this analysis, I understand Hellenistic Judaism as "simply the form taken by Judaism in Greek-speaking environments in the Hellenistic age."<sup>11</sup> This

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Thomas Finan, "The Myth of the Innocent Sufferer: Some Greek Paradigms," *PIBA* 9 (1985): 121–35; Harold Cherniss, "The Sources of Evil according to Plato," *PAPS* 98 (1954): 23–37; James Adam, "Ancient Greek Views of Suffering and Evil," in *The Vitality of Platonism*, ed. Adela M. Adam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 190–212.

<sup>7</sup> Although the Torah and the Prophets were already established during this period, the Writings of the Hebrew Bible continued to be in flux. The modern canon of the Hebrew Bible is first attested in the late first century CE by Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 1.8).

<sup>8</sup> Louis H. Feldman, "The Septuagint: The First Translation of the Torah and Its Effects," in *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered*, *JSJSup* 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 53–69.

<sup>9</sup> Laato and de Moor call this a "basic idea in ancient Greek philosophy" (*Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, xxviii). See, e.g., Plato, *Resp.* 379A–380C; cf. *Resp.* 617E; *Tim.* 42D, 69C–D; Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* (*SVF* 1.537); Democritus, DK. 68, B. 175.

<sup>10</sup> David Winston, "Theodicy in the Wisdom of Solomon," in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible*, ed. Antti Laato and J. C. de Moor (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 525–45, esp. 526.

<sup>11</sup> John J. Collins, *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture: Essays on the Jewish Encounter with Hellenism and Roman Rule*, *JSJSup* 100 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 5. This definition of Collins rightly refuses to limit Hellenistic Judaism to the particular form of Judaism found in the diaspora, a view that continues to be propagated (e.g., Peder Borgen, "Introduction," in *The*



monograph thus investigates how Jews of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods utilized Greek literary forms and rhetoric to console their readers. I approach this question through a study of the consolatory rhetoric in Jewish texts spanning from the Septuagint to texts responding to the destruction of the Second Temple. I focus on 2 Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon, 1 Thessalonians, and Hebrews for three primary reasons.

First, the authors of these texts are all engaged in interpreting the suffering of specific readers, offering them comfort, and enjoining particular behaviors for them to live faithfully in distress. Each author addresses suffering on account of persecution in some form, ranging from verbal abuse, social discrimination, and confiscation of property, to imprisonment, torture, and death.<sup>12</sup> Because their consolatory efforts are aimed at resolving particular instances of trauma in specific communities, they are “address-mode” texts.<sup>13</sup> As such, they stand apart from fictional stories of one person consoling another and fictional consolatory letters (“facsimile” texts).<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, they differ from “texts which bear closely on the practice of consolation but are not in themselves directly consolatory,” that is, “reflective-mode” or “metaconsolatory” texts.<sup>15</sup>

Second, these four texts are particularly illustrative of the different approaches Hellenistic Jewish authors might adopt when consoling persecuted communities. These different methods can be seen, for example, in the meaning each author assigns to the suffering of their intended communities. The author of the earliest text, 2 Maccabees, views the suffering of the Jerusalem Jews as just

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*New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism*, ed. Peder Borgen and Søren Giversen [Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1995], 9–13, esp. 9) despite the important work of Martin Hengel and others.

<sup>12</sup> The authors of 2 Maccabees and the Wisdom of Solomon were responding to persecution that had escalated to the point of public torture and death. Some of the intended recipients of Hebrews had suffered public humiliation, imprisonment, and confiscation of their property, but the author suggests that none of them had died as a result of persecution. The nature of the persecution endured by the Thessalonians is more highly debated, with a lack of consensus regarding whether Paul’s addressees were facing only verbal abuse and social discrimination, or whether the unexpected deaths among them were the result of persecution.

<sup>13</sup> J. H. D. Scourfield, “Towards a Genre of Consolation,” in *Greek and Roman Consolations: Eight Studies of a Tradition and Its Afterlife*, ed. Han Baltussen (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2013), 1–36, esp. 20.

<sup>14</sup> For the category of “facsimile” texts, see Scourfield, “Towards a Genre,” 18–20. In Hellenistic Jewish literature, fictional scenes of consolation include Tob 5:18–6:1; 7:15–16; Jdt 8:12–27; Josephus, *B. J.* 4.39–48; 7.320–388; *A. J.* 7.178, 201–204; 8.355–357; 4 Ezra 9.38–10.24; 14.27–36. Scourfield identifies the following as fictional consolatory letters, though he displays some hesitation regarding whether the letters of Apollonius of Tyana should be included: the *Letters of Phalaris*, *Ep.* 10, 103; the “Socratic Epistles,” *Ep.* 21; [Xen.], *Ep.* 3; Ap. Ty., *Ep.* 55, 58 (“Towards a Genre,” 30 n. 127). To this corpus, I add 2 Bar. 78–86.

<sup>15</sup> Philosophical discussions about consolation, grief, death, and mourning fall into this category (Scourfield, “Towards a Genre,” 19–20). Within Hellenistic Jewish literature, see, e. g., Sir 2:1–18; 38:9–23; *Let. Aris.* 268; *Ps.-Phoc.* 59–69; 97–121; Philo, *De Abrahamo*, *Quod deterius potiori insidari solet*, *De Iosepho*, *De mutatione nominum*, *De praemiis et poenis*, *De providentia*.

punishment for sin and, without hesitation, acknowledges God as the cause of their plight and pain (5:17–20; 6:12–16; 7:32–38). The author of the Wisdom of Solomon, writing some two hundred years later, advocates the opposite position. He argues that the suffering and death of Alexandrian Jews should not be regarded as divine punishment for sin, and furthermore, that God did not cause their suffering. Viewing the Thessalonian Christ-believers' afflictions within an apocalyptic worldview and in light of the suffering and death of Jesus, Paul argued that their suffering was an expected and inescapable consequence of faithfully following the God of Israel and awaiting his son, Jesus. As one would expect, the Paulinist author of Hebrews, writing some twenty to forty years after 1 Thessalonians, echoes Paul's view that God's faithful ones have always suffered (11:1–12:3). Yet the author of Hebrews also expresses his perspective on suffering in terms reminiscent of the Wisdom of Solomon when he urges his readers to conceptualize their present suffering not as punishment for sin but as an indication of God's care and love for them as his children (12:4–11). In fact, the author of Hebrews appears to have known and utilized 2 Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon, and 1 Thessalonians when formulating his own consolatory discourse.<sup>16</sup> By analyzing these four texts on their own and in relationship to each other, we gain both an understanding of the diversity within Hellenistic Jewish consolatory rhetoric and an ability to articulate what unites Hellenistic Jewish consolers across theological borderlines.

Paul and the author of Hebrews believed that Jesus was the Messiah of Israel, but they were, nevertheless, Hellenistic Jews.<sup>17</sup> Like the author of 2 Maccabees and the Wisdom of Solomon, they believed in one God, the God of Israel, revered the Jewish Scriptures that they read in the Septuagint translation, and believed that Israel was both elected by God and bound to him by a covenant entailing certain obligations and privileges. Although both authors would

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Heb 11:35 and 2 Macc 6:18–7:42; Heb 1:3 and Wis 7:26; Heb 12:4–11 and Wis 3:5; 11:9–10; 12:22; Heb 10:32–39 and 1 Thess 1:2–10; 5:9. See Chapter 5, § 5.4 Imitating Pauline Consolation regarding Persecution.

<sup>17</sup> Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Michael F. Bird, *An Anomalous Jew: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), esp. 49–50; Kimberly Ambrose, *Jew among Jews: Rehabilitating Paul* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015); Mark D. Nanos and Magnus Zetterholm, eds., *Paul within Judaism: Restoring the First-Century Context to the Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015); Pamela M. Eisenbaum, *Paul Was Not a Christian: The Original Message of a Misunderstood Apostle* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009); Eisenbaum, "Locating Hebrews within the Literary Landscape of Christian Origins," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods, New Insights*, ed. Gabriella Gelardini, *BibInt* 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 213–37; John Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes towards Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Gabriella Gelardini, "Verhärtet eure Herzen nicht": *Der Hebräer, eine Synagogenhomilie zu Tischa be-Aw*, *BibInt* 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Clark M. Williamson, "Anti-Judaism in Hebrews?," *Int* 57 (2003): 266–79; Marie E. Isaacs, *Sacred Space: An Approach to the Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, *JSNTS* 73 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

eventually be considered advocates of Christianity, to label them as Christian when analyzing their consolatory rhetoric is anachronistic and foreign to how they identified themselves. Both authors wrote in the first century CE, and the view that the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity occurred in the first or early second century CE has increasingly been challenged in the past thirty years.<sup>18</sup> As a result, scholars today rightly analyze the first-century CE writings of the early Jesus movement *within Judaism*, as evidence of its diversity in thought and practice. My studies of 1 Thessalonians and Hebrews demonstrate the great extent to which both Paul and the author of Hebrews consoled their readers using the same methods as those used by their Jewish peers who were not Christ-believers.<sup>19</sup>

Lastly, each of these four texts contains consolatory rhetoric that is either underappreciated or unrecognized as ancient consolatory rhetoric in modern scholarship.<sup>20</sup> Among them, only 1 Thessalonians has been a locus of scholarly attention on the question of Paul's use of ancient methods and forms of consolation.<sup>21</sup> Studies on the consolatory rhetoric within 2 Maccabees, the Wisdom

<sup>18</sup> E. g., Peter J. Tomson, *Studies on Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries*, WUNT 418 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019); Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Paula Fredriksen, "What Parting of the Ways? Jews, Gentiles, and the Ancient Mediterranean City," in *The Ways That Never Parted*, ed. Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, TSAJ 95 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 35–63; Philip S. Alexander, "The Parting of the Ways' from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism," in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways, AD 70 to 135*, ed. James D. G. Dunn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), esp. 1–25; Martha Himmelfarb, "The Parting of the Ways Reconsidered: Diversity in Judaism and Jewish-Christian Relations in the Roman Empire, A Jewish Perspective," in *Interwoven Destinies: Jews and Christians through the Ages*, ed. Eugene Fisher (New York: Paulist, 1993), esp. 47–61; Steven Katz, "Issues in the Separation of Judaism and Christianity after 70 CE: A Reconsideration," *JBL* 103 (1984): 43–76.

<sup>19</sup> While the author of 2 Maccabees wrote about two hundred years before Paul and the author of Hebrews, this study also analyzes the consolatory rhetoric of Jews who were their contemporaries (e. g., Philo, Josephus, and the authors of the Wisdom of Solomon, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch).

<sup>20</sup> Underappreciated as ancient consolatory rhetoric: e. g., 2 Macc 6:18–7:42; 9:1–29; 12:39–45; Wis 1–5; 1 Thess 1:6–10; 2:1–2, 13–20; 4:13–5:11; Heb 6:15–20; 12:4–13. Unrecognized as ancient consolatory rhetoric: e. g., 2 Macc 6:12–17; 14:37–46; 15:7–19; Wis 6:15–20; 8:7, 13, 16–17; 10:1–19:22; 1 Thess 4:9–12; 5:12–22; Heb 10:32–12:3; 13:5–6.

<sup>21</sup> E. g., David Luckensmeyer and Bronwen Neil, "Reading First Thessalonians as a Consolatory Letter in Light of Seneca and Ancient Handbooks on Letter-Writing," *NTS* 62 (2016): 31–48; Abraham Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians*, AB 32B (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 279–86; Abraham Smith, *Comfort One Another: Reconstructing the Rhetoric and Audience of 1 Thessalonians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995); Juan Chapa, "Is First Thessalonians a Letter of Consolation?," *NTS* 40 (1994): 150–60, esp. 159 n. 45; Chapa, "Consolatory Patterns? 1 Thess 4, 13.18; 5, 11," in *The Thessalonian Correspondence*, ed. Raymond F. Collins (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 220–28, esp. 224–26; Malherbe, "Exhortation in First Thessalonians," in *Light from the Gentiles*, NovTSup 150 (Leiden: Brill, 2014; repr. NovT 25 [1989]: 49–66), 182–85; Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians: The Philosophical Tra-*

of Solomon, and Hebrews qua ancient consolatory rhetoric are few in the case of 2 Maccabees and the Wisdom of Solomon and nonexistent in the case of Hebrews.<sup>22</sup> Scholars have identified a consolatory function or intent in Hebrews, even labeling some units specifically as “consolations,” but these units have not been analyzed in light of ancient consolatory rhetoric.<sup>23</sup> By scrutinizing how these authors were engaged in ancient consolatory discourse, we gain fresh exegetical, theological, and historical insights that can substantively contribute new knowledge to the study of Judaism in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, of the Pauline Letters and Paulinism, and of ancient consolation at large.

I analyze 2 Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon, 1 Thessalonians, and Hebrews against the background of ancient biblical and Greco-Roman consolation, examining their rhetoric, arguments, motifs, and appeals in light of the various consolatory strategies used by ancient Jews, Greeks, and Romans to process loss and to urge the distressed to resume normal life. Because consola-

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*dition of Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 57–59; Stanley K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 145.

<sup>22</sup> 2 Maccabees: e.g., Robert Doran, *2 Maccabees*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 170–71; Arie van der Kooij, “The Use of the Greek Bible in II Maccabees,” *JNSL* 25 (1999): 127–38; Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, AB 41A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 292–97.

Wisdom of Solomon: e.g., Armin Schmitt, “Der frühe Tod des Gerechten nach Weisheit 4, 7–19 und die griechisch-römische Konsolationsliteratur,” in *Der Gegenwart verpflichtet: Studien zur biblischen Literatur des Frühjudentums*, ed. Christian Wagner, BZAW 292 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 204–22; Helmut Engel, *Das Buch der Weisheit*, NSK-AT 16 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998), esp. 98–101; Chrysostome Larcher, *Le Livre de la Sagesse ou La Sagesse de Salomon*, EBib 1 (Paris: Gabalda, 1983–1985), 2:330–39; Giuseppe Scarpata, *Libro della Sapienza*, 3 vols. (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1989–1999), esp. 2:325–39.

<sup>23</sup> On a consolatory function in Hebrews, see, e.g., Kenneth Schenck, *A New Perspective on Hebrews: Rethinking the Parting of the Ways* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2019), 21, 93–125; Gabriella Gelardini, “Hebrews, an Ancient Synagogue Homily for Tisha be-Av: Its Function, Its Basis, Its Theological Interpretation,” in *Deciphering the Worlds of Hebrews: Collected Essays*, NovTSup 184 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 92–112, esp. 105; Gelardini, *Verhärtet eure Herzen nicht*; Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, esp. 67, 77–78; Otto Schmitz and Gustav Stählin, “παρκαλέω, παράκλησις,” *TDNT* 5:788–99, esp. 796–97; Ceslas Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, EBib 1–2, 2 vols. (Paris: Gabalda, 1952–1953), 1:260.

Walter G. Übelacker designates Heb 6:13–20 and 12:4–13 as “consolations,” which he defines as “exhortations ... intend[ed] both to encourage and comfort the readers” (“Paraenesis or Paraclesis – Hebrews as a Test Case,” in *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context*, BZNW 125 [New York: de Gruyter, 2004], 319–52, esp. 342). For other units labeled as consolation, see Schmitz and Stählin, “παρκαλέω, παράκλησις,” *TDNT* 5:796–97; Phillip A. Davis Jr., *The Place of Paideia in Hebrews' Moral Thought*, WUNT 2/475 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 212–13, 241; Luke Timothy Johnson, *Hebrews: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 320; Brent Nongbri, “A Touch of Condemnation in a Word of Exhortation: Apocalyptic Language and Graeco-Roman Rhetoric in Hebrews 6:4–12,” *NovT* 45 (2003): 265–79, esp. 265; N. Clayton Croy, *Endurance in Suffering: A Study of Hebrews 12:1–13 in Its Rhetorical, Religious, and Philosophical Context*, SNTSMS 98 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 162.

tion was first and foremost a social practice, the arguments, motifs, and assumptions of ancient consolation are not confined to a particular form of literature, but appear in various genres, including letters, philosophical treatises, sermons, funeral speeches, tragedies, epics, histories, apocalypses, prophecies, and epitaphs. Theodicy, that is, the justification of the divine in the face of undeserved suffering and evil, may appear in Greek and Roman consolations, but it is a standard and developed component of the consolatory works of Jews. The Jewish belief in one sovereign, good, and just God made instances of the suffering and premature death of seemingly righteous people particularly difficult to comprehend. According to the covenants God had established with Israel, following God's laws should result in abundant blessings and long life (e. g., Deut 30:16). For the Hellenistic Jewish authors of the texts under consideration in this project, then, explaining God's purposes in relation to his people's suffering was an essential component of their attempts to console readers who had suffered on account of and in spite of their fidelity to their God.

The biblical and Greco-Roman sources are in essential agreement about the consoler's role in what may be called "popular consolation," that is, the attempts of ordinary individuals (as opposed to prophets, seers, philosophers, and orators) to comfort friends and family members in grief.<sup>24</sup> In the case of bereavement, biblical, Greek, and Roman sources agree that loved ones should be present (if possible) and first participate in the mourning rituals to express their sympathy (e. g., Job 2:11–12). But after initially sharing in grief, the role of the consoler was to encourage the bereaved to stop mourning and return to normal life. This encouragement typically included rational arguments, advice, imperatives, and a meal. Greek and Roman sources frequently part ways with biblical voices, however, concerning the role of professional consolers, that is, those called upon to address calamities of communal or even national importance. How did Hellenistic Jews navigate the diverse roles and expectations of consolers presented by their multicultural identities?<sup>25</sup>

To console readers facing the effects of persecution, the authors of my case studies utilized the tools of both their biblical heritage and the Greco-Roman culture in which they were immersed. Through modeling proper responses and through direct exhortation, these authors also convey ideals and instructions for how readers should behave in times of calamity. How do these Hellenistic Jewish authors not only pick and choose from the resources of their multicultural heritage, but also creatively recombine them in order to alleviate readers' grief and spur them on to faithful living? What elements of the biblical heritage

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<sup>24</sup> In distinguishing "popular consolation" from the consolation offered by prophets, seers, philosophers, and orators, I am building upon the categorization of Paul Holloway, who contrasts "more technical philosophical strategies" with "popular consolatory arguments and techniques" ("Consolation, Greco-Roman Antiquity," *EBR* 5:670).

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of the roles of a consoler, see chapter 1, § 1.4.1 Compatibility.

do these authors view as bedrock? What elements of the biblical heritage are these authors willing to elide, subtly transform, or outright reject in the attempt to offer more appealing consolation to audiences who also embraced Greco-Roman values and cultural assumptions? These are the guiding questions of this inquiry.

### 1. *The Goals of Ancient Consolatory Rhetoric*

Ancient consolers operated with two interrelated goals: one concerning a transformation of the emotions and another regarding a transformation of visible behavior. Paul Holloway aptly captures the first goal of consolatory rhetoric in his statement of “the goal of consolation”: “to defeat grief, one of the four cardinal passions, and to replace it as far as possible with its contrary, joy (*χαρά*, *gaudium*, *laetitia*).”<sup>26</sup> The opposition of grief (*λύπη*) and joy (*χαρά*) is proverbial, finding its place in ancient Jewish, Greco-Roman, and early Christian writings.<sup>27</sup> In conceptualizing “joy and sorrow” as “two ‘ends’ of an emotional spectrum,”<sup>28</sup> consolers utilized both argument and exhortation to guide the distressed from grief (*λύπη*) to joy (*χαρά*).<sup>29</sup> Consolatory arguments (*παραμυθία*) attempted to change how the distressed evaluated their circumstances, while consolatory exhortation (*παραίνεσις*) consisted of imperatives and encouragement for the distressed to take up a certain course of action. In most cases, ancient consolers did not expect that those under their care would end up entirely free from grief and full of joy. Rather, they exerted their efforts to move the distressed person as close as possible to the pole of joy. The second goal of consolatory rhetoric was to encourage the distressed to behave admirably in the midst of their adverse circumstances. In striving to fulfill this second goal, consolers not only issued imperatives but also utilized the tools of persuasion to coax suffering people to rise to the occasion and prove their character.

<sup>26</sup> Paul A. Holloway, *Philippians: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2017), 2–3.

<sup>27</sup> The opposition of *λύπη* and *χαρά* in all three corpora is treated by Rudolf Bultmann in “*λύπη*, *λυπέω*, *ἄλγος*, *περίλυπος*, *συλλυπέομαι*,” *TDNT* 4:313–24.

<sup>28</sup> Christina M. Kreinecker, “Emotions in Documentary Papyri: Joy and Sorrow in Everyday Life,” in *Emotions from Ben Sira to Paul*, ed. Renate Egger-Wenzel and Jeremy Corley, *DCLY* 2011 (Boston: de Gruyter, 2012), 450–72, esp. 452.

<sup>29</sup> I am expanding upon Donovan J. Ochs’s identification of “the rhetorical situations” of consolatory discourse: “one attempted to argue, in a written composition, that a bereaved individual should replace grief with reasoning or other emotional states” (*Consolatory Rhetoric: Grief, Symbol, and Ritual in the Greco-Roman Era*, SRC [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993], 104). More recently, see Troy W. Martin, “Emotional Physiology and Consolatory Etiquette: Reading the Present Indicative with Future Reference in the Eschatological Statement in 1 Peter 1:6,” *JBL* 135 (2016): 649–60, esp. 653–59.

These two goals are meant to work together to achieve the ultimate desired outcome, “a calm and cheerful” person who is fulfilling their routine duties and obligations (professional, familial, social, religious, etc.).<sup>30</sup> A person who has achieved the first goal by rationally finding a way out of their grief should be able, however gradually, to abandon the behaviors associated with grieving and exhibit courage in hardship (the second goal). At the same time, achieving the second goal also contributes to achieving the first, because consolers believed that adopting certain behaviors (e.g., giving thanks) and avoiding others (e.g., lamenting) would facilitate and expedite the sufferer’s journey from grief to joy. This study critically investigates how Greek-speaking Jews of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods employed the tools of persuasion in their attempts to achieve these goals of consolation. What vocabulary, methods, expressions of sympathy, consolatory arguments, and consolatory exhortations did they deem constructive toward empowering suffering people to rise above their calamities and hold fast to the God of Israel, irrespective of the costs of their allegiance?

Hellenistic Jewish consolers were highly selective in their processes of invention, and the authors of each of my case studies navigated the different options in Greco-Roman culture, their Bible, and Second Temple Judaism in their own ways. Notwithstanding their individuality as authors and consolers, we can describe their collective tendencies in several trends. I argue that Hellenistic Jewish consolers made ample use of the *methods* of Greco-Roman consolatory rhetoric, freely applying these methods alongside those of their biblical heritage. Similarly, Hellenistic Jewish consolers often juxtaposed select *consolatory arguments* derived from Greco-Roman culture with consolatory arguments of biblical origin. When analyzing their *expressions of sympathy*, Hellenistic Jewish literary consolers usually rejected the most common expression of sympathy within Greek and Roman sources, a statement of the consoler’s own grief over what had occurred.<sup>31</sup> They preferred other expressions of sympathy (also found in Greco-Roman consolation) that were more amenable to their theology, such as referring to when they had experienced the same sort of misfortune as their addressees or naming others who had experienced or were currently experienc-

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<sup>30</sup> My own understanding of the twin rhetorical goals of consolation builds on the work of Stählin, who explains that when the sense of *παραμυθέομαι* is “to console,” “also implied ... are the further senses ‘to exhort’ – for comfort often consists in the admonition to bear what is suffered in a calm and cheerful spirit – and ‘to alleviate’ – for often the chief aim of comfort is to lessen grief” (“*παραμυθέομαι, παραμυθία, παραμύθιον*,” *TDNT* 5:816–23, esp. 819).

<sup>31</sup> This rejection was theologically motivated. See chapter 4, §4.7.1 Expressions of Sympathy within Greco-Roman and Hellenistic Jewish Consolation, esp. n. 210. I limit my claim to literary consolers because expressing grief alongside the mourner was expected for people who were physically present with the mourner. Sirach writes, “Do not lag behind those who weep, but mourn with those who mourn” (*μη ὑστέρει ἀπὸ κλαιόντων καὶ μετὰ πενθούτων πένθησον* [7:34]). Cf. Rom 12:15: “weep with those who weep” (*κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων*).

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