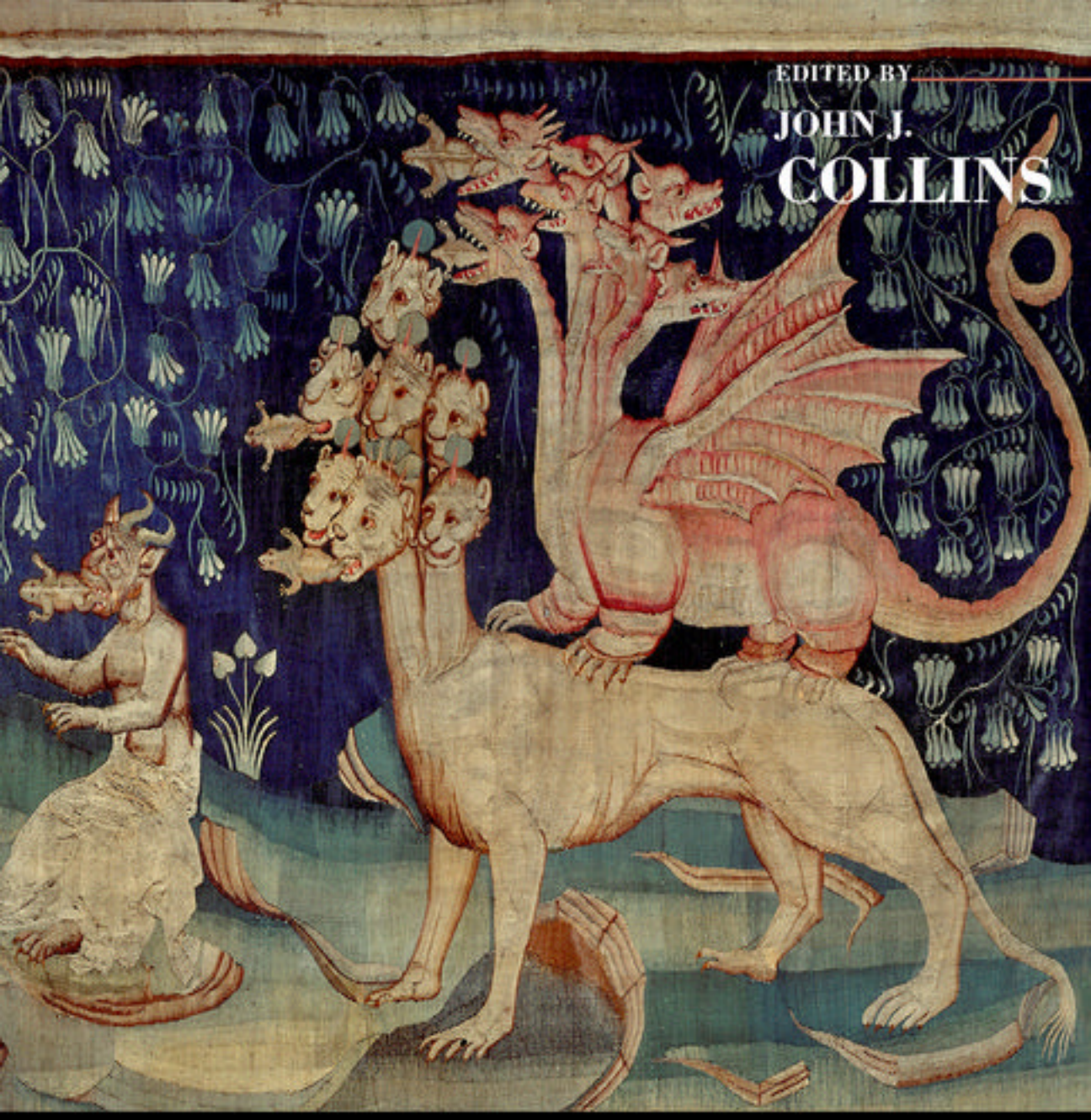


EDITED BY
JOHN J.
COLLINS

The Oxford Handbook *of*
APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

Edited by

JOHN J. COLLINS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide.

Oxford New York
Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in
Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by
Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

© Oxford University Press 2014

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a
retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior
permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law,
by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reproduction rights organization.
Inquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the
Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
The Oxford handbook of apocalyptic literature / edited by John J. Collins.
pages cm. — (Oxford handbooks)
Includes index.
ISBN 978–0–19–985649–7 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Apocalyptic literature.
I. Collins, John J. (John Joseph), 1946– editor of compilation.
BS646.O94 2014
220′.046—dc23
2013033083

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2
Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

Contents

Preface ix
List of Contributors xi

1. What Is Apocalyptic Literature? 1
John J. Collins

PART I. THE LITERARY AND PHENOMENOLOGICAL CONTEXT

2. Apocalyptic Prophecy 19
Stephen L. Cook

3. The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse 36
Hindy Najman

4. Wisdom and Apocalypticism 52
Matthew Goff

5. Scriptural Interpretation in Early Jewish Apocalypses 69
Alex P. Jassen

6. Apocalyptic Literature and the Study of Early Jewish Mysticism 85
Ra'anan Boustan and Patrick G. McCullough

7. Dreams and Visions in Early Jewish and Early Christian Apocalypses and Apocalypticism 104
Frances Flannery

PART II. THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

8. Social-Scientific Approaches to Apocalyptic Literature 123
Philip F. Esler

9. Jewish Apocalyptic Literature as Resistance Literature 145
Anathea Portier-Young

10. Apocalypse and Empire 163
Steven J. Friesen

11. A Postcolonial Reading of Apocalyptic Literature 180
Daniel L. Smith-Christopher

PART III. LITERARY FEATURES OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

12. The Rhetoric of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature 201
Carol A. Newsom

13. Early Christian Apocalyptic Rhetoric 218
Greg Carey

14. Deconstructing Apocalyptic Literalist Allegory 235
Erin Runions

PART IV. APOCALYPTIC THEOLOGY

15. Apocalyptic Determinism 255
Mladen Popović

16. Apocalyptic Dualism 271
Jörg Frey

17. Apocalyptic Ethics and Behavior 295
Dale C. Allison, Jr.

18. Apocalypse and Torah in Ancient Judaism 312
Matthias Henze

19. Apocalypticism and Christian Origins 326
Adela Yarbro Collins

20. Descents to Hell and Ascents to Heaven in Apocalyptic Literature 340
Jan N. Bremmer

21. Apocalypses among Gnostics and Manichaeans 358
Dylan M. Burns

22. The Imagined World of the Apocalypses 373
Stefan Beyerle

PART V. APOCALYPSE NOW

23. Messianism as a Political Power in Contemporary Judaism 391
Motti Inbari

24. Apocalypticism and Radicalism 407
Christopher Rowland

25. Apocalypse and Violence 422
Catherine Wessinger

26. Apocalypticism in Contemporary Christianity 441
Amy Johnson Frykholm

27. Apocalypse and Trauma 457
Dereck Daschke

28. Apocalypticism and Popular Culture 473
Lorenzo DiTommaso

Scriptural and Ancient Texts 511
Subject Index 533

Preface

Apocalyptic literature takes its name from the book of Revelation in the New Testament. "Apocalypse" means "revelation," but the name is reserved for revelations that deal either with eschatology (the end of history and the fate of the dead) or the heavenly and infernal regions, or both.

This kind of literature first appears in Judaism at the end of the Old Testament period, in the book of Daniel. The main corpus of Jewish apocalypses (books of Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, etc.) was not included in the Hebrew Bible and was mainly preserved by Christians in translation in various languages (Latin, Syriac, Old Church Slavonic, Ethiopic). The view of the world that is characteristic of apocalypses, however, was also found more broadly in other genres. The Dead Sea Scrolls, for example are to a great degree informed by an apocalyptic worldview. This worldview is characterized by eschatological expectation and by the prominence of supernatural agents. It is also often characterized by dualism and determinism, and by the use of mythological symbolism. The genre died out in Judaism after the failure of the Jewish revolts in the late first and early second centuries BCE, but it was revived to some degree in the Middle Ages.

The New Testament is also informed by an apocalyptic worldview, although Revelation is the only New Testament book in the form of an apocalypse. It has even been claimed that "apocalyptic is the mother of Christian theology." Again, the main body of Christian apocalypses is found outside the canon, in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature of the early centuries of the common era. The genre continued to flourish in Christianity down through the Middle Ages. The apocalyptic worldview, however, has been adapted and adopted by conservative Christians in the modern world, especially in North America.

Apocalyptic literature has been studied extensively. There was a spate of conferences around the turn of the millennium, which produced volumes of essays on the topic. Most of these volumes, however, were not systematic treatments of the topic, but somewhat random collections of essays. The exception was the *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, in three volumes, edited by John J. Collins, Bernard McGinn, and Stephen Stein (Continuum, 1998), which described the entire history of apocalyptic thought in the Western world, from ancient Iran to modern fundamentalism, with some attention also to the Islamic tradition.

The present proposal differs from the encyclopedia in two ways. First, in scope, the handbook will be restricted to ancient Judaism and Christianity, down to approximately 500 CE, and will attend to other traditions (Near Eastern, Hellenistic, Iranian)

only insofar as they impinge on Judaism and Christianity. Second, whereas the approach of the encyclopedia was historical and descriptive, with articles on particular corpora of literature, the approach in this volume will be thematic and analytical, with articles on various aspects of apocalyptic literature, and different ways in which it can be construed. These include the following:

The literary and phenomenological context: Apocalyptic literature in relation to other categories, such as prophecy and wisdom, to which it is related, or with which it overlaps.
Social function, and questions raised by postcolonialism.
Literary aspects of this literature, especially apocalyptic rhetoric.
The theology or thought world of apocalyptic literature: The role of dualism and determinism, but also the place of apocalyptic thought in relation to the dominant theological traditions in both Judaism and Christianity.
Finally, the modern legacy of apocalypticism, and how the phenomenon of apocalypticism has been transformed in its latter-day adaptations.

This kind of thematic and analytical study is intended to complement the historical overview that is already available in the *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*.

I am grateful to Elisabeth Nelson, who initiated the project, Theo Calderara, who saw it through to publication, and Cathleen Chopra-McGowan, who helped with the editing.

John J. Collins

List of Contributors

Dale C. Allison, Jr., is Professor of New Testament at Princeton Theological Seminary. He is the author of, among other books, *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet* and *Constructing Jesus: Memory, History, and Imagination*.

Stefan Beyerle is Professor of Old Testament at the University of Greifswald. His books include *Die Gottesvorstellungen in der antik-jüdischen Apokalyptik* and *Beyond Biblical Theologies* (coedited with Heinrich Assel and Christfried Böttrich).

Ra'anan Boustan is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is the author of *From Martyr to Mystic* and has coedited six volumes, including *Jewish Studies at the Crossroads of Anthropology and History*.

Jan N. Bremmer is Emeritus Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Groningen. His books include *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East* and *The Rise of Christianity through the Eyes of Gibbon, Harnack and Rodney Stark*.

Dylan M. Burns is Leitender Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter at Universität Leipzig, Ägyptologisches Institut. He is the author of *Apocalypse of the Alien God: Platonism and the Exile of Sethian Gnosticism* and a contributing editor to *Gnosticism, Platonism, and the Late Ancient World: Essays in Honour of John D. Turner*.

Greg Carey is Professor of New Testament at Lancaster Theological Seminary. His books include *Sinners: Jesus and His Earliest Followers* and *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature*.

Adela Yarbro Collins is the Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation at Yale. Her books include *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* and *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalypticism*.

John J. Collins is Holmes Professor of Old Testament at Yale. His books include *The Apocalyptic Imagination* and *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (coedited with Bernard McGinn and Stephen J. Stein).

Stephen L. Cook is Catherine N. McBurney Professor of Old Testament at Virginia Theological Seminary. His books include *The Apocalyptic Literature* and *Conversations with Scripture: 2 Isaiah*.

Dereck Daschke is Professor of Philosophy and Religion at Truman State University. His books include *City of Ruins: Mourning the Destruction of Jerusalem through Jewish Apocalypse* and *A Cry Instead of Justice: The Bible and Cultures of Violence in Psychological Perspective* (coedited with D. Andrew Kille).

Lorenzo DiTommaso is a Professor in the Department of Religion at Concordia University (Montreal). He is the author of several books, including *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature*.

Philip E. Esler, a specialist in the social-scientific interpretation of biblical texts, is the Portland Chair in New Testament Studies at the University of Gloucestershire in Cheltenham, UK. His books include *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* and *Sex, Wives, and Warriors: Reading Biblical Narrative with Its Ancient Audience.*

Frances Flannery is Associate Professor of Religion at James Madison University in Virginia. She is author of *Dreamers, Scribes and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras* and coeditor of *Experientia*, volume 1: *Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*.

Steven J. Friesen is the Louise Farmer Boyer Chair in Biblical Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. His books include *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins*, and *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (coedited with D. Schowalter and J. Walters).

Jörg Frey is Professor of New Testament, with specialization in Ancient Judaism and Hermeneutics, at the University of Zurich. His books include *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (with Michael Becker) and *Die Johannesapokalypse: Kontexte, Konzepte, Wirkungen* (with James A. Kelhoffer and Franz Tóth).

Amy Johnson Frykholm is Associate Editor of *The Christian Century*. Her books include *Rapture Culture: "Left Behind" in Evangelical America*.

Matthew Goff is an Associate Professor of Religion at Florida State University. Among his publications are *The Heavenly and Worldly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* and *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

Matthias Henze is the Watt J. and Lilly G. Jackson Professor of Biblical Studies at Rice University. His books include *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, and *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*.

Motti Inbari is an assistant professor of religion at the University of North Carolina at Pembroke. His books include *Messianic Religious Zionism Confronts Israeli Territorial Compromises* and *Jewish Fundamentalism and the Temple Mount: Who Will Build the Third Temple?*.

Alex P. Jassen is associate professor of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University. He is the author of *Scripture and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* and

Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism.

Patrick G. McCullough is a doctoral candidate in Early Christianity at the University of California, Los Angeles. His dissertation is entitled "Apocalypse and Society: Boundary Making and Cultural Participation in Early Christian Letters."

Hindy Najman is Associate Professor of Ancient Judaism in the Department of Religious Studies at Yale. Her books include *Seconding Sinai* and *Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra*.

Carol A. Newsom is the Charles Howard Candler Professor of Old Testament at Emory University. She is the author of *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* and *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations*.

Mladen Popović holds the chair for Old Testament and Early Judaism and is director of the Qumran Institute at the University of Groningen. He is editor of the *Journal for the Study of Judaism* and *Dead Sea Discoveries*. His books include *Reading the Human Body* and *The Jewish Revolt against Rome*.

Anathea Portier-Young is Associate Professor of Old Testament at Duke Divinity School, and author of *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in early Judaism*.

Christopher Rowland is Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture at the University of Oxford. His books include *The Open Heaven* and *Blake and the Bible*.

Erin Runions is Associate Professor in the Department of Religious Studies at Pomona College. She takes up analysis of apocalypse and politics in her book *The Babylon Complex: Theopolitical Fantasies of War, Sex, and Sovereignty*, as well as in her articles "Biblical Promise and Threat in U.S. Imperialist Rhetoric, before and after 9.11," in *The Scholar and Feminist Online*, and "Desiring War: Apocalypse, Commodity Fetish, and the End of History," in *The Bible and Critical Theory*.

Daniel L. Smith-Christopher is Professor of Old Testament at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, where he is also Director of Peace Studies. Among his publications are the commentary on the book of Daniel for the New Interpreter's Bible Commentary and *A Theology of Exile*.

Catherine Wessinger is the Rev. H. James Yamauchi, S.J. Professor of the History of Religions at Loyola University of New Orleans. Her books include *How the Millennium Comes Violently: From Jonestown to Heaven's Gate*. She is editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. She has published a number of books and articles on the Branch Davidians.

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE?

JOHN J. COLLINS

The word "apocalyptic," or rather the corresponding German nominal form *Apokalyptik*, was introduced into scholarly discussion by Gottfried Christian Friedrich Lücke in 1832, in the context of an introduction to the Apocalypse of John, or Book of Revelation (Lücke 1832). Prompted in part by the recent publication of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, Lücke grouped together such works as 1 Enoch 1, 4 Ezra and the Sibylline Oracles to reconstruct a literary context for the Christian apocalypse. The corpus would be enlarged in the following century, as more ancient "apocalypses" were discovered in a range of ancient languages, including Greek, Syriac, and Old Church Slavonic. Some of these texts are actually labeled "apocalypses" or "revelations" in the manuscripts, but many are not (Smith 1983). "Apocalypse" and "apocalyptic" are modern analytical categories that coincide only partially with ancient generic labels. There was little sustained generic analysis in either ancient Judaism or early Christianity.

A Literary Genre

From the beginning, it was not clear whether *Apokalyptik* designated a literary genre or a kind of theology. While the word invariably indicated some degree of resemblance to the Book of Revelation, the actual resemblance was often no more than a

shared motif. Only in the 1970s was there a systematic attempt to impose order on the usage of the term. Klaus Koch argued that "if we are to succeed at all in the future in arriving at a binding definition of apocalyptic, a starting point in form criticism and literary and linguistic history is, in the nature of things, the only one possible" (1972: 23). Koch did not deny that apocalypticism could also be discussed from historical and sociological perspectives, and he offered preliminary demonstrations of both "apocalypse" as a literary type and "apocalyptic" as a historical movement, but he made a basic point about the need to clarify what literary evidence we are talking about. In the wake of Koch's work, Paul Hanson proposed distinctions between "apocalypse" as a literary type, "apocalypticism" as a social ideology, and "apocalyptic eschatology" as a set of ideas and motifs (1976). Both apocalypticism and apocalyptic eschatology could find expression in other genres besides apocalypses. The use of "apocalyptic" as a noun was largely abandoned in American scholarship, although it persists in the United Kingdom (Grabbe 2003).

The attempt to define a literary genre that would serve as the touchstone of what might be called "apocalyptic" culminated in the publication of a definition and morphology of the genre in the journal *Semeia*, in 1979 (Collins 1979; compare Collins 1998: 2–9). An "apocalypse" was defined as

> a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural world.

This definition was based primarily on Jewish and Christian writings from the period 250 BCE to 250 CE, but also included analysis of Gnostic, Greco-Roman, Persian, and some later Jewish writings. Moreover, the analysis distinguished different types of apocalypses. The most important distinction was between "historical" apocalypses, of the type known from the Book of Daniel, that survey a broad sweep of history culminating in a final judgment, and otherworldly journeys, involving visions of heaven and hell, that are associated with Enoch in Jewish tradition but that come to predominate in early Christianity after the New Testament period.

This definition has won wide acceptance (DiTommaso 2007; Reynolds 2012: 28–32; Murphy 2012), but it has also been, and continues to be, controversial in some respects. To begin with, there is ongoing controversy in literary circles as to how, or even whether, genres can be defined at all.

Carol Newsom, who has written the most intelligent and helpful critique of the project, characterizes the approach as "one of definition and classification," which was "characteristic of genre studies of the time" (2005: 438). This approach to the study of genres has encountered resistance in literary circles.

One objection arises from acute appreciation of the individuality of every text, and the fear that this individuality will be lost if a work is viewed as a member of a genre. Jacques Derrida allows that "a text cannot belong to no genre," but would

prefer to "speak of a sort of participation without belonging—a taking part in without being part of, without having membership in a set" (2000: 230). Newsom comments that this kind of approach "accommodates better not only the multigeneric nature of many apocalypses but also their irreducible particularity" (2005: 439). The objection seems to me to apply, not to classification as such, which I think is simply unavoidable, but to rigidity in its application. To say that a text is an apocalypse is not to exclude the possibility that it may be simultaneously something else; or to put it another way, the fact that a text can be profitably grouped with apocalypses does not exclude the possibility that it may be also profitably grouped with other texts for different purposes. It is also true that every text has an individual character, and conveys its meaning in large part through the ways in which it modifies generic conventions (Fowler 1982: 24).

Some scholars object to classification on the basis of a list of characteristics, which they see as simply a list of things that happen to be found in apocalypses. This objection was often brought against older treatments of "apocalyptic" such as that of Philipp Vielhauer (1965). Newsom invokes George Lakoff's idea of an "idealized cognitive model": " 'elements' alone are not what trigger recognition of a genre; instead, what triggers it is the way in which they are related to one another in a Gestalt structure that serves as an idealized cognitive model. Thus the elements only make sense in relation to a whole. Because the *Gestalt* structure contains default and optional components, as well as necessary ones, individual exemplars can depart from the prototypical exemplars with respect to default and optional elements and still be recognizable as an extended case of 'that sort of text' " (Newsom 2005: 444; cf. Lakoff 1987: 68). But as she also notes that the analysis of the genre apocalypse in *Semeia* 14 was not based just on a list of elements, but on something like a Gestalt notion of the way these elements related to each other. Many elements in the grid against which the texts are measured are optional, but some bear structural weight, as they shape an implied view of the world. These were the elements singled out in the definition, by reference to the manner of revelation and to the transcendent reality, both spatial and temporal. The content of the genre implies a distinctive worldview. (Compare Vines 2007, who emphasizes the "temporal and spatial unboundedness of apocalypse," which "affords a divine perspective on human activity.")

Perhaps the most widespread objection to the kind of definition offered in *Semeia* 14 rests on the assumption that genres cannot actually be defined, although we may know one when we see it. At the end of Uppsala conference on apocalypticism, a resolution *contra definitionem, pro descriptione* was carried (Hellholm 1983: 2). This was not, however, the outcome of systematic discussion; it was simply a diplomatic evasion of the issue at the end of a stimulating but exhausting conference. There is, however, resistance to definitions in literary criticism on more principled grounds. Appeal is often made to Wittgenstein's idea of family resemblance, although the philosopher did not have literary genres specifically in mind. Wittgenstein argued, with regard to the category "games," that there is no essential common element, but "we

see a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail" (1958: 31–32). This approach was adapted to the study of genres by Alastair Fowler: "Literary genre seems to be just the sort of concept with blurred edges that is suited to such an approach. Representatives of a genre may then be regarded as making up a possible class whose septs [clans or classes] and individual members are related in various ways, without necessarily having any single feature shared in common by all" (1982: 41–42).

But this approach has also encountered criticism. In the words of John Swales, "a family resemblance theory can make anything resemble anything" (1990: 51). The Oxford English Dictionary definition of games, "A diversion of the nature of a contest, played according to rules, and decided by superior strength, skill or good fortune," fits the vast majority of games quite well, although there is some unaccounted-for residue in the case of children's games. The crucial point to note here is that any definition is an abstraction, and the higher the level of abstraction, the more material will fit. Of course, a definition may be so abstract as to be useless, and that is a matter of judgment. But it is not the case that genres or categories cannot be defined on the basis of shared features. It is rather the case that most definitions of genres, and of categories, admit of some problematic borderline cases. This is certainly true of the genre apocalypse as we defined it. There is a difference, however, between saying that a genre admits of borderline cases and denying that it is possible to define a genre at all. "Family resemblance" is too vague to be satisfactory as a basis for genre recognition, but the discussion highlights a persistent problem with attempts at classification: the difficulty of drawing a clean line between a genre and closely related works.

The most successful attempt to address this problem, insofar as I am aware, is "prototype theory" developed in cognitive psychology. As described by John Frow:

> the postulate is that we understand categories (such as *bird*) through a very concrete logic of typicality. We take a robin or a sparrow to be more central to that category than an ostrich, and a kitchen chair to be more typical of the class of chairs than a throne or a piano stool. Rather than having clear boundaries, essential components, and shared and uniform properties, classes defined by prototypes have a common core and then fade into fuzziness at the edges. This is to say that we classify easily at the level of prototypes, and with more difficulty—extending features of the prototype by metaphor and analogy to take account of non-typical features—as we diverge from them. (2006: 54)

Membership in a category may be a matter of degree. It should be noted that prototypical exemplars of a genre are not necessarily historical archetypes: classic works that became models for later writers. Late exemplars may also be prototypical, if they exemplify especially well the typical features of the genre.

This approach to genre has considerable appeal. In the words of Swales: "It allows the genre analyst to find a course between trying to produce unassailable definitions

of a particular genre and relaxing into the irresponsibility of family resemblances" (1990: 52; compare Newsom 2005: 443).

As Newsom recognizes, the analysis of the genre apocalypse in *Semeia* 14 has much in common with the prototype model. It started from a list of apocalypses that were regarded as prototypical, and distinguished between central and peripheral characteristics. The main difference is that prototype theory would refuse to establish a strict boundary between texts that are members of the genre and those that are not. It rather distinguishes between texts that are highly typical and those that are less typical. And this, I think, is an improvement that might have saved us some agonizing about boundary cases.

The definition offered in *Semeia* 14 identified apocalypses on the basis of both form and content. Other scholars have argued for a purely formal definition. So, for example, Christopher Rowland writes, "to speak of apocalyptic . . . is to concentrate on the theme of the direct communication of the heavenly mysteries in all their diversity" (1982: 14). Other scholars have argued for a thematic definition. E. P. Sanders (1983: 447–59) would define "apocalyptic" as a combination of the themes of revelation and reversal (of the fortunes of a group). Since definitions are analytical tools, the question is not whether one is uniquely right, but which is more useful, and which captures better the nature of the corpus evoked by the term "apocalyptic." In fact, the classic Jewish and Christian apocalypses are characterized not only by the theme of revelation but also by the prominence of the supernatural world and of eschatology. Eschatology is not only concerned with the end of the world or history in the manner of the historical apocalypses, but also with the fate of the dead. The pervasive importance of the latter concern is sometimes missed by critics who think of "eschatology" only in historical terms (e.g., Fletcher Louis 2011: 1578–79). Eschatological concerns are not adequately described as the theme of reversal.

The Question of Function

The aspect of *Semeia* 14 that was most controversial at the time was the failure to specify a function for the genre. As David Hellholm asked: "Why were apocalypses ever written?" (1986: 26). The omission was intentional. Our conviction was that function was best discussed at the level of individual texts, in their specific contexts, and that the commonly accepted idea that apocalypses were intended to comfort and exhort a group in crisis (so Hellholm 1986: 27) did not necessarily hold true in all cases. A follow-up volume *Early Christian Apocalypticism*, in *Semeia* 36 (1986), emended the definition by adding that an apocalypse is "intended to interpret present, earthly circumstances in light of the supernatural world of the future, and to influence both

the understanding and the behavior of the audience by means of divine authority" (Yarbro Collins 1986: 7). This formulation is considerably more abstract than the idea that an apocalypse is addressed to a group in crisis. Here again, the level of abstraction makes a difference, and one has to decide what level of abstraction is most helpful for one's purpose.

The question of function has also figured in theoretical discussions of literary genre. John Swales contends that "the principal criterial feature that turns a collection of communicative events into a genre is some shared set of communicative purposes" (1990: 46). The real issue here is whether there is a simple correlation between form and function, and I would argue that there is not. An obvious consideration here is the possibility of parody or ironic usage: think for example of the parodies of Lucian, or of the *Testament of Abraham*, which includes a heavenly journey that is formally similar to the journeys of Enoch but serves a very different purpose. More fundamentally, literary forms are adaptable. Many of the Jewish and Christian apocalypses are subversive and revolutionary (Collins 2002), and resistance to empire, whether Seleucid or Roman, figures prominently in some major apocalypses, notably Daniel and Revelation (Portier-Young 2011). But there is also what Bernard McGinn has called an imperial apocalypticism, in which the coming judgment reinforces the authority of imperial power (1979: 33–36). This appears especially in the Middle Ages, but the journey of Aeneas to the Netherworld in the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*, with its promise of glory for Rome, may perhaps qualify as an early example. Apocalypses, like other genres, could be bent to more than one purpose, even if some functions are more typical than others.

The Broader Category of Apocalyptic Literature

In the present volume our concern is not so much with the genre apocalypse narrowly defined as with the broader category of analogous literature. In this context, the significance of the genre is that it provides a reference point for the analogies. Other material may be called "apocalyptic" insofar as it bears some resemblance to the core features of the genre apocalypse. This point is not universally appreciated. It is still not uncommon to find "apocalyptic" treated as "a theological concept" in which the thought of Jesus or Paul takes precedence over the literary apocalypses (e.g., Sturm 1989: 37. Sturm regards much of the noncanonical apocalyptic literature as "abstruse and fantastic"). That way only confusion lies. The range of material that can be regarded as apocalyptic by analogy with the apocalypses is confusing enough without making the use of the word completely arbitrary. More broadly, many scholars associate "apocalyptic" or "apocalypticism" exclusively with the historical type

of apocalypse that is focused on the end of history. Michael Stone, who has contributed more than most to the study of apocalyptic literature, argued early in his career that "there are some books which are conventionally regarded as apocalypses which are for all practical purposes devoid of apocalypticism" and that "truly apocalyptic apocalypses are the exception rather than the rule" (1976: 440, 443). But this too is to invite semantic confusion. "Apocalypticism" and "apocalyptic" are recognized only by analogy with the apocalypses, and there is no reason to limit them to the historical type of the genre.

The extension of the adjective "apocalyptic" to other material besides the formal apocalypses presupposes that the genre has a distinctive conceptual structure, in which supernatural revelation, the heavenly world, angels and demons, and eschatological judgment play essential parts. This conceptual structure may reasonably be said to constitute a worldview. The distinctiveness of this worldview in ancient Judaism and early Christianity is sometimes disputed. Lester Grabbe (2003: 22) considers apocalyptic/apocalypses a subdivision of prophecy. There is no doubt that there is continuity between biblical prophecy and apocalypticism, but there are differences too. The differences pertain especially to the degree to which the visionary has access to the supernatural world. Isaiah or Jeremiah may have stood in the council of the Lord, but there are no descriptions of ascents of prophets through the heavens such as we find in the case of Enoch. Most crucially, the apocalypses are distinguished by the belief in the resurrection and judgment of the individual dead, a hope that is first clearly attested in the Hellenistic period, in the books of Enoch and Daniel. (Stephen L. Cook, in this volume, argues for the emergence of a belief in resurrection already in the Persian period, and if this were accepted it would blur the line between prophecy and apocalypticism.) More surprising than Grabbe's position is the argument of Richard Horsley that there are "no defined boundaries" between wisdom literature, as exemplified by Ben Sira, and apocalyptic literature as exemplified by Enoch and Daniel (2007: 4). Horsley argues that symbolic visions are not distinctively apocalyptic (although they are entirely lacking in the wisdom literature), and he denies that a belief in the judgment of individuals after death was of any significance (2007: 198–99), claiming that it was "vague and elusive" (250). For him, both sapiential and apocalyptic literature are indiscriminately forms of anti-imperial resistance. It is difficult to argue with someone who denies that a belief in a meaningful afterlife (as opposed to shadowy existence in Sheol or Hades) makes a difference to one's worldview: it only determines the goal of life and the basic values by which one should live in the present. Horsley's preoccupation with anti-imperial resistance (which is far more prominent in apocalyptic than in sapiential literature) seems to render him oblivious to the literary and conceptual nuances of the ancient literature.

In fact, both the literary genre and the worldview that it articulated were quite novel in ancient Judaism, and stand in sharp contrast to the traditional worldview of covenantal nomism. In the formulation of Seth Schwartz: "The covenant constituted only one of the central ideological axes of Judaism in the first century; the

other intersecting ideological axis was constituted by a mythological complex that received its classic literary formulation in some of the so-called apocalyptic books" (2001: 74–75). Schwartz refers to his complex as "the apocalyptic myth." It was not peculiar to Judaism. Both historical apocalypticism and otherworldly journeys are well attested in Persian tradition, and the otherworld journeys are found in both Greco-Roman and ancient Near Eastern sources. The present volume, however, is not concerned with the historical spread of these themes and motifs, although lines of development can certainly be traced, at least in the Western world. (For a wide-ranging historical overview see Collins, McGinn, and Stein, 1998.) Rather we are concerned with a phenomenon that has persisted, in manifold forms, from antiquity to the present, and that cannot be entirely explained by the influence of the classical apocalyptic texts.

Myth

Schwartz's reference to "the apocalyptic myth" draws attention to another aspect of ancient apocalypticism that is germane to the question of genre, although it does not figure in the structural or morphological analysis presented in *Semeia* 14. This is the use of mythic paradigms, and more generally the use of symbols drawn from ancient myths. This aspect of apocalypticism was noted already by Hermann Gunkel at the end of the nineteenth century (Gunkel 2006). Much light has been shed on the books of Daniel and Revelation by the recovery of ancient myths from Babylon and Ugarit, which depict a great conflict that is resolved by the victory of a particular god (Marduk in the Babylonian texts, Baal in the Ugaritic. On the mythic background of Revelation see Yarbro Collins 1976). These mythic patterns are most obvious in the "historical" type of apocalypse, and they are not an invariable feature of the genre. (See Reynolds 2011: 378–79 for a list of "non-symbolic apocalypses.") Nonetheless, because of their prominence in the canonical apocalypses of Daniel and Revelation, they have had far-reaching influence.

It is not the case that all apocalypses draw their myths from one cultural tradition. The ancient Near Eastern combat myths from Ugarit and Babylon are one major source of apocalyptic imagery, although they differ in details. The dualism of the two spirits found in the Dead Sea Scrolls is a distinctly different myth, derived from Zoroastrianism. More important than the specific cultural tradition is the pattern of the myths, which suggests that the world conforms to a metanarrative, in which the forces of light and goodness ultimately triumph over evil and darkness. Much of the emotional force of the historical apocalypses comes from the evocation of these myths, which suggests that the trials of the day are not just mundane events but

reenactments of a cosmic pattern, whose outcome is inevitable. The mythic language serves to magnify the significance of historical events and provide a perspective that transcends the limitations of history.

Entailed in the use of mythic patterns is the sense that the course of history is not controlled by human actions but by greater, supernatural, forces. This may heighten the terror of history, but it does so to cathartic effect, since it also reassures the reader that the outcome is assured. At the end, deliverance and vindication are guaranteed. At least some of the ancient myths spoke already of triumph over death and some form of resurrection, even if only on the part of a god (Baal, in the Ugaritic texts, who triumphs over Mot, Death). Most important is the definitive nature of the triumph, which again transcends the limitations of history.

Finally, it should be noted that mythic patterns preserve a sense of mystery in history. Myths are by nature multivalent. They admit of multiple fulfillments, and any literal decoding of them is of necessity provisional. Consequently, ancient apocalypses like Daniel and Revelation retain a literary quality that engages the imagination long after the events to which they originally referred have receded in history.

Modern Apocalypticism

The genre apocalypse in its classic form presupposed some form of ancient cosmology, with various layers of heavens and otherworldly abodes for the blessed and the damned (Wright 2000; Yarbro Collins 1997). The rise of modern science undermined this view of the cosmos. Yet the apocalyptic heritage lives on, although the analogies with the ancient apocalypses are often attenuated.

Perhaps the most obvious way in which apocalypticism persists in the modern world is the recurring expectation of an imminent end of history or of the world itself. Calculation of the end, whether of an immediate crisis or of history as a whole, is at most a minor motif in the ancient apocalypses, but there is a fateful precedent in the Book of Daniel, which calculates the time remaining as a specific number of days. In the context of Daniel, the "end" in question is the end of the profanation of the temple and persecution of the Judeans by Antiochus Epiphanes. Moreover, Daniel offers not one but several calculations of the remaining time, even juxtaposing contradictory numbers: "From the time that the regular burnt offering is taken away and the abomination that desolates is set up, there shall be one thousand two hundred ninety days. Happy are those who persevere and attain the thousand three hundred thirty-five days" (Dan 12: 11–12). The simplest explanation of the two numbers is that the first one passed and the author recalculated, a phenomenon well known in the case of modern predictions (Collins 1993: 401). Daniel also offered a broader schema for

calculating the duration of history, in the form of a prediction that the time from the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians to the "end" would be seventy weeks of years, or 490 years. The author evidently believed that this time would be fulfilled in the Maccabean era, around 164 BCE. His calculation was off by almost seventy years.

Daniel's calculation was already an allegorical reinterpretation of the prophecy of Jeremiah that Jerusalem would be desolate for seventy years. Later interpreters applied a similar method to Daniel's predictions, often reinterpreting days as years. By such a calculation the upstate New York farmer William Miller calculated that the world would end about the year 1843. (He interpreted Dan 8: 14, "two thousand three hundred evenings and mornings," as 2,300 years, and, somewhat arbitrarily, took 458 BCE, the mission of Ezra, as his point of departure.) When 1843 came and went, some of his followers settled on a new, more specific date, October 22, 1844. The failure of this prediction became known as "The Great Disappointment." His followers eventually gave rise to the Seventh Day Adventist movement. Paul Boyer has argued that Miller's calculation was an archaism in its time, and that he became an example of the perils of date-setting (Boyer 1992: 82). Nonetheless there have been several high-profile calculations in recent years, notably Harold Camping's prediction that the world would end on May 21, 2011 (Camping 2005) and the much-publicized end of the Mayan calendar on December 21, 2012.

The main "apocalyptic" tradition in modern America is premillennial dispensationalism, which is based on a system formulated by John Nelson Darby, the founder of the Plymouth Brethern. It is based not so much on the classic apocalyptic texts as on all of scripture construed as prophecy about the end time, and the continual attempt to identify and decode biblical proof-texts. Hal Lindsey's best-selling book, the *Late Great Planet Earth* (1970), is a classic formulation, which has been revised through multiple editions without any apparent loss in credibility among its readers. The mindset was popularized in the *Left Behind* series of novels. The main tenets of dispensationalism are characterized as follows by Paul Boyer:

> According to this scheme, as history nears its climax, probably very soon, a series of "signs" will alert the faithful that the end is near. Wickedness and natural disasters will increase. The founding of the state of Israel in 1948 and Israel's recapture of the Old City of Jerusalem in 1967 are considered prophetic signs of the first importance. These signs will culminate in the Rapture, a doctrine drawn from 1 Thessalonians 4:16. In this event of cosmic import, set to occur at some unknown future time . . . all true believers will join Christ in the air. (1999: 151)

In the eyes of the secular world and of liberal Christians and Jews, and indeed of anyone who accepts a modern scientific view of the world, dispensationalism, which is often accompanied by political and social conservatism, appears as irrational superstition. Many people tend to equate it with apocalypticism at large. Is this equation fair to the ancient texts?

Dispensational "prophecy belief" is in some crucial respects a highly reductive variant of apocalypticism. While Hal Lindsey and the *Left Behind* series look forward to life in heaven ("how many times," asks Hal Lindsey, "have we wondered what heaven will be like, " 1970: 167) and so may be said to affirm the apocalyptic hope for transcendence of death, they are mainly preoccupied with the signs of the end. Their writings lack the allusive depth of mythic symbolism, or the imaginative range of the ascent apocalypses. The literalistic decoding of biblical passages seems simplistic. Where the ancient apocalypses often arose out of crisis and persecution, their modern counterparts often seem smugly self-congratulatory on the part of a presumed elect. They lack the sense of anomie and existential Angst that characterizes the classic apocalyptic texts (Wilder 1971: 440).

That said, there are points of continuity too. From the dispensationalist perspective, the world is in crisis, although that perspective may seem paranoid to outsiders. Decoding interpretation, which "involves presenting the meaning of the text in another, less allusive form, showing what the text really means, with great attention to the details" (Kovacs and Rowland 2004: 8), has a long history, dating back to the *pesharim* in the Dead Sea Scrolls and even to the Book of Daniel. It has proven impervious to falsification over the centuries. The ancient apocalypses, too, are prone to dualism, to the division of the world between the elect and the damned, and are often gleeful in their anticipation of eschatological vindication. Undeniably, the ancient writers too pinned their hopes on divine intervention that did not materialize when they expected that it would.

Consequently, some modern commentators see apocalypticism as a tradition beyond redemption. Rejecting Amos Wilder's affirmation of "the healthy function of genuine transcendental apocalyptic" 1971: 440), Lorenzo DiTommaso writes that "Apocalypticism is an *unhealthy* worldview, particularly in its biblical form. It is inimical to a mature vision of human destiny, or any social order founded on humanistic ideals. It is hostile to life on Earth, especially in light of the nature and needs of contemporary society" (2011: 236). Critics are especially troubled by the violence of apocalyptic rhetoric, which does not directly incite violent action but is widely perceived as promoting polarization and intolerance. "The apocalypse," writes Tina Pippin, à propos of Mark 13, "is to occur by mass murder and destruction; whatever it takes . . . why did I ever think that this apocalypse was ethically acceptable?" (1995: 166). David Frankfurter dismisses arguments that the violence in Revelation was "directed either to spark revolutionary justice for the subaltern or to rail against a tyrannical Roman empire—reading the text in either case as advocating justice, equality, and hope rather than brutality, misogyny and vengeance" is an attempt to "rationalize" it, and "canonical special pleading for a very problematic text" (2007: 121).

Critics like Frankfurter and Pippin are right to object to the revisionist exegesis that tries to salvage canonical apocalypticism by denying or minimizing its potential for violence. (For a recent example, see Hays and Alkier 2012.) This is indeed

problematic literature. But it is also reductive to see only "brutality, misogyny and vengeance" in apocalyptic literature. This is a complex tradition that has contributed to Western culture in manifold ways.

The argument that texts like Revelation advocate justice and hope (not always equality!) is not without substance. As Elisabeth Fiorenza has argued, the author of Revelation was "clearly on the side of the poor and oppressed" (1981: 173; cf. Fiorenza 1985). She charges that those who are critical of the violence in the Apocalypse "do not suffer unbearable oppression and are not driven by the quest for justice" (Fiorenza 1981: 84–85). Even a critic like Scott Appleby, who is much less sympathetic towards apocalypticism than Fiorenza, grants that "apocalyptic or millenarian fervor takes on a decidedly therapeutic role in the lives and imagination of the 'modern anti-modernists.' The anticipated reversal of 'ordinary history' is a source of great comfort for millions of true believers living in conditions of squalor, relative deprivation, or moral decadence. The fundamentalists' present suffering is but a prelude to a profoundly satisfying reward for their perseverance, whether they live in the putrid refugee camps of Gaza or southern Lebanon, or amid the relative affluence of the spiritually sterile suburbs of Dallas" (Appleby 2002: 75). In many cases, apocalyptic visions, which affirm a radical reversal of the present order, give hope to people who otherwise would have no hope at all. If these visions are violent, they are at least honest in bringing to expressions feelings that are almost inevitable for people who have suffered at the hands of a conquering power. Anger and fantasies of violence may be life-giving for the powerless. This is not to deny that they may also be brutally violent. In the postmodern world we should have learned that human actions are seldom entirely pure, and that justice and brutality all too often go hand in hand.

Not all applications of apocalyptic fantasies, however, are violent in nature. Christopher Rowland writes about another kind of "radical Christianity" that also has apocalyptic roots: "Throughout Christian history—and particularly at times of crisis and social upheaval—there have emerged writings which, reflecting the values of the Kingdom, have engaged in searching critiques of the political order and promoted change in social and economic relations, most commonly by advocating or enacting equality of wealth, power, gender, or status" (Bradstock and Rowland 2002: xvi; compare Rowland 1988). This too is part of the effective history of biblical apocalypticism, as exemplified by Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers (Rowland 1988: 102–14). It is easy enough to see why the expectation of an imminent end of this world should inspire a view of radical equality. Consider the so-called apocalypse of Isaiah, one of the late prophetic texts that anticipates the themes of cosmic destruction in the apocalypses:

> Now the Lord is about to lay waste the earth and make it desolate,
> and he will twist its surface and scatter its inhabitants.
> And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest;
> as with the slave, so with his master;

> as with the buyer, so with the seller;
> as with the lender, so with the borrower;
> as with the creditor, so with the debtor.
> The earth shall be utterly laid waste and utterly despoiled. (Isa 24: 1–3)

Or the advice of Paul to the Corinthians:

> The appointed time has grown short; from now on, let even those who have wives be as though they had none, and those who mourn as though they were not mourning, and those who rejoice as though they were not rejoicing, and those who buy as though they had no possessions, and those who deal with the world as though they had no dealings with it. For the present form of this world is passing away. (1 Cor 7: 29–31)

If the world as we know it is passing away, then the social distinctions of the present order lose their significance.

It remains true that belief in an imminent eschaton has not always led to the abolition of earthly distinctions. Even communities that share possessions are often highly authoritarian and hierarchical, as can be seen already in the Dead Sea Scrolls. But here again apocalyptic traditions are open to more than one kind of interpretation.

Perhaps the most far-reaching legacy of apocalypticism, however, is in the store of images and motifs that it bequeaths to the imagination both in art (e.g., Seidel 1998; Mennekes 2007) and in literature. Images of beasts rising from the sea persist from the ancient myths to modern times because they articulate the sense of a world beyond human control. Modern "apocalyptic" novels, such as Cormac McCarthy's *The Road*, often focus on desolation and destruction. There is a long tradition, going back at least to Qoheleth, of writers who try to "shrink" apocalyptic eschatology to make it fit our mundane experience. (See Sherwood 2002.) But as Amos Wilder (2007) noted more than forty years ago, the full apocalyptic scenario should include salvation as well as judgment, the new age. The persistence of apocalyptic themes, however, even in secular writings, should warn us against any dismissal of this tradition as something humanity has outgrown. Apocalypticism is born of fears and hopes that are endemic to the human condition.

It is perhaps unfortunate that apocalyptic literature is so often invested with theological authority, with an eye to coded messages and instructions, rather than being read as an exuberant product of the human imagination. Even more unfortunate is the modern proclivity to reduce the symbolic to propositional truths. In the hands of literalists, apocalyptic literature distorts human experience and may be ethically dangerous. But the tradition is too rich and multiform to be left to the literalists. It is a resilient tradition that continues to haunt our imaginations and remains an indispensable resource for making sense of human experience.

Bibliography

Appleby, Scott (2002). "The Unholy Uses of Apocalyptic Imagination: Twentieth Century Patterns," in Abbas Amanat and John J. Collins, eds., *Apocalypse and Violence*. New Haven: Yale Center for International and Area Studies and Council on Middle East Studies, pp. 69–87.

Boyer, Paul (1992). *When Time Shall Be No More. Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

—— (1999). "The Apocalyptic in the Twentieth Century," in Christopher Kleinhenz and Fannie J. LeMoine, eds., *Waiting in Fearful Hope: Approaching the New Millennium*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 149–69.

Bradstock, Andrew and Christopher Rowland (2002). *Radical Christian Writings: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Camping, Harold (2005). *Time Has an End: A Biblical History of the World, 11,013 BC–AD 2011*. New York: Vantage.

Collins, John J., ed. (1979). *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre. Semeia* 14. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.

—— (1993). *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress.

—— (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

—— (2002). "Temporality and Politics in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in Christopher Rowland and John Barton, eds., *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 26–43.

Collins, John J., Bernard McGinn, and Stephen Stein (1998). *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*. 3 vols. New York: Continuum.

Derrida, Jacques (2000). "The Law of Genre," in David Duff, ed., *Modern Genre Theory*. Harlow, Essex: Longman, pp. 219–31.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo (2007). "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I)." *Currents in Biblical Research* 5.2: 235–86.

—— (2011). "The Apocalyptic Other," in Daniel C. Harlow et al., eds., *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 221–46.

Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler (1981). *Invitation to the Book of Revelation*. New York: Doubleday.

—— (1985). *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment*. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Fletcher Louis, Crispin (2011). "Jewish Apocalyptic and Apocalypticism," in Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, eds., *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus. Vol. 2. The Study of Jesus*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1569–607.

Frankfurter, David (2007). "The Legacy of Sectarian Rage: Vengeance Fantasies in the New Testament," in David A. Bernat and Jonathan Klawans, eds., *Religion and Violence: The Biblical Heritage*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, pp. 114–28.

Frow, John (2006). *Genre*. London: Routledge.

Fowler, Alastair (1982). *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grabbe, Lester L. (2003). "Introduction and Overview," in Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak, eds., *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships*. New York: Clark, pp. 2–43.

Gunkel, Hermann (2006). *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton: A Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 1 and Revelation 12*. Trans. William Whitney.

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. Originally published as *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzei*t. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895.

Hanson, Paul D. (1976). "Apocalypse, Genre" and "Apocalypticism," in Keith Crim, ed., *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplement Volume*. Nashville: Abingdon, pp. 27–34.

Hays, Richard and Stefan Alkier, eds. (2012). *Revelation and the Politics of Apocalyptic Interpretation.* Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.

Hellholm, David, ed. (1983). *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

——(1986). "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre," in Adela Yarbro Collins, ed., *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting. = Semeia* 36: 13–64.

Horsley, Richard A. (2007). *Scribes, Visionaries and the Politics of Second Temple Judea*. Louisville: Westminster.

Koch, Klaus (1972). *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*. Naperville: Allenson. Originally published as *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik*. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1970.

Kovacs, Judith and Christopher Rowland (2004). *Revelation*. Blackwell Bible Commentaries. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lakoff, George (1987). *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lindsey, Hal with C. C. Carlson (1970). *The Late Great Planet Earth*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Lücke, Gottfried Christian Friedrich (1832). *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis und die gesamte apokalyptische Literatur*. Bonn: Weber.

McGinn, Bernard (1979). *Visions of the End*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mennekes, Friedhelm (2007). *Gerhard Trieb Dürervariationen*. Cologne: Wienand.

Murphy, Frederick J. (2012). *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Grand Rapids: Baker.

Newsom, Carol A. (2005). "Spying Out the Land: A Report from Genology," in R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel. and D. R. Magary, eds., *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 437–50. Reprinted in Roland Boer, ed., *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies*. Semeia Studies 63. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 19–30.

Pippin, Tina (1995). "A Good Apocalypse Is Hard to Find: Crossing the Apocalyptic Borders of Mark 13." *Semeia 72*: 153–71.

Portier-Young, Anathea (2011). *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Reynolds, Bennie H. (2012). *Between Symbolism and Realism: The Use of Symbolic and Non-symbolic Language in Ancient Jewish Apocalypses 333–63 B.C.E.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Rowland, Christopher C. (1982). *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity*. New York: Crossroad.

——. (1988). *Radical Christianity: A Reading of Recovery.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.

Sanders, Ed P. (1983). "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 447–59.

Schwartz, Seth (2001). *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E to 640 C.E.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Seidel, Linda (1998). "Apocalypse and Apocalypticism in Western Medieval Art," in Bernard McGinn, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Vol. 2. Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture.* New York: Continuum, pp. 467–506.

Sherwood, Yvonne (2002). " 'Not with a bang but with a whimper': Shrunken Eschatologies of the Twentieth Century—and the Bible," in Christopher Rowland and John Barton, eds., *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 94–116.

Smith, Morton (1983). "On the History of *Apokalypto* and *Apokalypsis*," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 9–20.

Stone, Michael E. (1976). "Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature," in F. M. Cross et al., eds., *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, pp. 414–54.

Sturm, Richard E. (1989). "Defining the Word 'Apocalyptic': A Problem in Biblical Criticism," in Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards, eds., *Apocalyptic and the New Testament.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 17–48.

Swales, John (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vielhauer, Philipp (1965). "Apocalypses and Related Subjects," in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha II.* Trans. and ed. R. McL. Wilson. Philadelphia: Westminster, pp. 581–607.

Vines, Michael E. (2007). "The Apocalyptic Chronotope," in Roland Boer, ed., *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies.* Semeia Studies 63. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 109–17.

Wilder, Amos (1971). "The Rhetoric of Ancient and Modern Apocalyptic." *Interpretation 25*: 436–53.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig (1958). *Philosophical Investigations. 2nd ed. Trans. G. E. M. Anscombe.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Wright, J. Edward (2000). *The Early History of Heaven*. New York: Oxford.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1976). *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.

——, ed. (1986). *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting. Semeia 36*.

—— (1997). *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Leiden: Brill.

PART I

THE LITERARY AND PHENOMENOLOGICAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER 2

APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY

STEPHEN L. COOK

The rubric *apocalyptic prophecy* makes some biblical scholars raise their eyebrows. Serious puzzlement and even passionate debate continues over this terminology and over the relationship of apocalypticism and prophecy (see, e.g., Stephens 2011: 48–50; Polaski 2001: 49–51). Is this nomenclature meaningful and useful? In what sense can we speak of "apocalyptic prophecy" within the Hebrew Bible?

Prophetic texts such as Ezekiel 38–39, Isaiah 24–27, Joel, and Zechariah differ from recognized *apocalypses* such as *1 Enoch* and Daniel (see, e.g., Collins 2003: 47, 49–50). At the same time, these exilic and postexilic works stand out from preexilic prophecy. Here, good and evil clash at a primal level. The focus is far from this or that piece of history, ideological program or movement, no matter how significant (against all *zeitgeschictliche,* history-moored interpretations, e.g., that of Horsley 2010: 1–4). Core tensions of existence emerge in black and white, come to a head. The long-range purposes of God, demanding resolution, come into their own. "The ultimate concern," Jindo writes, is "not history as such, but the predetermined ending of world history, i.e., the reign of God" (Jindo 2005: 413). What are we to make of such material? The deeper one probes, the more the adjective "apocalyptic" appears to fit.

The Apocalypse Genre and "Apocalyptic" Literature

Within the Hebrew Bible, the book of Daniel (especially chapters 2, 7–12) is the primary *apocalypse* (Cook 2003: 124–47). The book, in its final form, dates from the tail end of the Bible's composition history (the years leading up to 164 B.C.E.;

Portier-Young 2011: 229–33). It understands the Seleucid leader Antiochus IV as evil incarnate. It fits the genre "apocalypse" (on this genre, see Collins 1979). The seer Daniel, like the visionary heroes of other apocalypses, relies on angels' help to grapple with a transcendent reality parallel to human experience and on a collision course with history.

Daniel's book is a type of writing attested more fully in the wider Jewish and Christian world of Hellenistic and Greco-Roman times. Outside the Hebrew Bible, some generally recognized apocalypses include Revelation, *1 Enoch* 1–36, *2 Enoch, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, Jubilees* 23, *4 Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the *Testament of Levi* 2–5, the *Testament of Abraham* 10–15, and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. Like Daniel, these writings expose embedded, transpersonal evil, uncover primal conflicts of existence, and evoke humanity's awe before God. The Greek verb *apokalyptein*, which means "unveil," "reveal," "disclose," provides a fitting rubric for such texts, since they grant readers entrée, even immersion, in the Absolute.

Immersion in the Absolute, however, was not something radically new in Israel with the rise of the apocalypses. *Prophetic* texts from before Daniel's era such as First Zechariah (chs. 1–8; 520–518 B.C.E.) likewise peer past quotidian reality, glimpsing the veiled Beyond. (On the particular relevance of *prophecy* in apocalypticism's rise, see, e.g., Sweeney 2005: 239–40). From the start of his vision cycle, Zechariah peers into "the Deep" (NJPS), into a transcendent realm outside the created order (Zech 1:8). From this startling vantage point, his gaze penetrates farther than the perspective of traditional prophecy, piercing obscure darkness, even discerning colors "in the night." Only angelic interpreters are able to explain the mysteries that he sees (Zech 1:9; 2:3–4; 4:1, 5; 5:5).

Zechariah increasingly apprehends the world's immediate future on a collision course with the transcendent. The Absolute is penetrating the world through cosmic gateways (Zech 6:1). Thus, the world should brace for God's fiery presence (Zech 2:5; 4:2), God's war chariots (Zech 6:1–8), and an ideal David, the "Branch" (Zech 3:8; 6:12).

Zechariah's book and similar late prophetic texts display a lively apocalyptic imagination but lack the standardized genre-features of the Hellenistic apocalypses (Childs 1993: 317–18; cf. the approach to Revelation's genre of Bøe 2001: 40–41). These texts presuppose a cognitive grid for interpreting the world where the contested reign of God verges on manifesting itself in open power, breaking in from above, ushering in a transformation of existence. Their eschatological hope centers on God's realization of the world's destiny. They await the imminent flowering of God's ideals for embodied life.

Again, the question confronts us: What makes these prophecies "apocalyptic"? They envision a fundamental change in reality—a physical change. It is imminent, not far-flung. It ushers in a marvelous world beyond anything that humans have known (see, e.g., Zech 14:6–7; Isa 25:8; 26:19). Before these visions, few indeed have glimpsed God's resurrected world (but see 2 Kgs 2:11–12). Up until now, even prophets have struggled to accept a vision of Sheol's defeat (but see 2 Kgs 2:16–18).

Naturally, some scholars' primary interest is the Hellenistic genre *apocalypse*. Even these scholars, however, may refer to related, sometimes earlier material using the cognate adjective "apocalyptic." The later term may refer to texts or other communications that resemble the apocalypses in significant respects. The defined contours of the Hellenistic genre need not, and should not, confine our discussion of the many *apocalyptic perspectives* found within biblical history. Scholars such as John J. Collins who focus on the apocalypse genre do not dispute this. (Some New Testament scholars, such as J. Louis Martyn, use the word "apocalyptic" without considering the apocalypses at all. Some readers find this confusing.)

Even though John the baptizer penned neither an apocalypse nor any surviving literature at all, he did adopt the cosmological and eschatological perspective of the apocalypse genre (Madigan and Levenson 2008: 8–10). Members of the New Testament guild debate the historical probability of an "apocalyptic Jesus." However, they do not contest the meaningfulness and propriety of the debate. Jesus wrote no apocalypse proper, but approximately half the guild currently affirms the historicity of Jesus' apocalyptic preaching of the reign of God (Madigan and Levenson 2008: 11–20; Cook 2003: 148–67).

Definitions, Scope, and "Mythopoeic" Nature

Consider some of the epistemological, theological, and even psychoanalytic issues at play in the debate over the propriety of the idea of "apocalyptic prophecy." One may hesitate to bring disciplines other than historical-critical scholarship into our discussion. Scholars will continue to talk past each other about "proto-apocalyptic" texts, however, until they come clean on some foundational issues at stake (on the term "proto-apocalyptic," see, e.g., Carey 2005: 50; Polaski 2001: 1 n. 2, 6; Carter 1999: 318).

To understand the apocalyptic worldview *on its own terms*, critics must imagine the viability of certain presuppositions about existence and knowing. Chief among these is a supposition of the reality of a preternatural Beyond, an assumption of a transcendent realm truly separate from the empirical world. Only rarely do most human beings consciously experience this alternate reality. It may reveal itself through our shared "mythologems," through the archetypes of the collective unconscious and their symbolic expression in dreams and mythologies (Boadt 1996: 217–18; Cook 2004).

Apocalypticism relies *heavily* on the images and oppositions of mythology. One might justly call it "mythopoeic," since it insists on applying language of mythological proportions to a new work of God. Apocalyptic prophecy actively portrays a literal divine re-creation on its way, which recapitulates and extends God's primeval work (*Endzeit gleicht Urzeit*; see Boadt 1996: 219; Polaski 2001: 288; Hibbard 2006: 63; Jindo 2005: 413).

The work of Jesuit theologian Karl Rahner (1904–1984) is particularly illuminating of the above remarks. Rahner is keenly concerned with transcendence, powerfully aware of "the infinite counterpart of this earthly emptiness," of "the frail and narrow frame of . . . present existence" (Rahner 1999: 48, 57). He explains that the truths of transcendent reality have a backdoor entrée into perception via the archetypes known to comparative religion and psychoanalytic study. In his philosophy, archetypes are a prethematic, "natural" witness to the transcendent plane. If this is true, no wonder apocalyptic literature avails itself of them as windows or openings out into the Absolute.

Rahner's thinking correlates well with Carl Jung's depth psychology and Mircea Eliade's phenomenology (see Steinmetz 1998). For these trailblazers, mythic symbolism is of no mere antiquarian interest. It is of pressing relevance, because, as Eliade puts it, the images provide openings into the transhistorical world. They have a transcendental quality that extends humans beyond themselves (Steinmetz 1998: 75).

Rahner articulated particularly well the thought of a transcendent reality beyond the pale of the quotidian world. He described normal human knowledge as but a tiny floating island adrift in a vast unknown sea. The sea represents infinite mystery and the island is borne by it. So is all life and consciousness on the island (Rahner 1978: 22). The lamp of observation and common sense illuminates the island in a relatively acceptable manner. Most people live primarily or exclusively by this light, but it can reveal little of the sea that undergirds the island. The apocalyptic visionary plunges into the sea of mystery, observes how things look from the perspective of transcendence, and is shaken to discover a coming impact of transcendence on history.

The apocalyptic visionaries of the Scriptures assert extraordinary illumination in understanding the world and its fate. (Unlike mystics, they illumine *this* world. Their interest is the corporeal, material transformation of life, not escape from physical reality into fantasy or ethereal bliss.) They claim vision far clearer than even the lamp of prophecy allows. Their gaze penetrates obscuring darkness; they even see in color "in the night" (Zech 1:8). They communicate their insights (again, unlike the mystic).

Prophets take up the role of sentinels or coast guards, burdened with warning island inhabitants of storms (cf. Jer 6:17; Ezek 3:17–21; 33:7–9; Hab 2:1). Unlike apocalyptic visionaries, however, prophetic watch keepers do not claim to be aquanauts. The prophets have not labored at developing sea legs or producing ocean charts.

The aquanauts of Scripture (the apocalyptic visionaries) have laid eyes on the cosmic deep (*Abgrund*) and have discovered it churning (Isa 27:1; Dan 7:2). The winds have whipped up a great storm, whose waters will engulf the island. Note the difference from a utopian perspective, where visions concern a far-flung future, not an imminent shaking of earth and heaven. The cosmic shaking of proto-apocalyptic texts such as Haggai 2:6 and 2:21 contrasts markedly with the "one-fine-day, not-now" perspective of a utopian passage such as Micah 4:1–5, where the final verse calls us back into banal life.

The sovereign finality of absolute reality will imminently prove incontestable, apocalyptic visionaries believe. Earth's fragility, afloat amid the crashing breakers, is apparent to the seer. Its prospects are nil for riding out the storm. Just "one moment yet" (NAB), the Hebrew idiom of Haggai 2:6 specifies, and God shakes the sky and the earth, the sea and the dry ground. "I am about to shake the heavens and the earth," God reiterates in Haggai 2:21. Isaiah 56:1 sounds the same note: salvation is "soon." Joel 2:1 echoes the theme: "The day of the LORD is about to come. Indeed, it is near!" (NET).

Island reality stands no chance; the cosmic deep scoffs at all tokens of resistance, such as sandbags and pumps. Submerged and baptized by the sea, the world of the island will soon completely invert—literally! Exiles will return, and Wickedness will be exiled (Zech 5:5–11). Eunuchs will take their place in the sacred congregation (Isa 56:3). Foreigners will become Levites and priests (Isa 66:21). This is all unheard of.

The light of the apocalyptic lamp reveals the prototypical spirits and archetypal dimensions that infuse all God's worldly enemies. The foes of God typically appear in apocalyptic literature as a sinister horde swarming against Zion (the *Völkersturm*, see Ezek 38:9, 16; Zech 12:3, 9; 14:2). "The vats overflow, for their wickedness is great" (Joel 3:13). Here we are up against the "either-or" of good and evil as it is known from the binary world of myth, the polar opposition so apparent in the contest of Baal and Mot, of Marduk and Tiamat, and of Gandolf and Sauron.

Apocalyptic prophecy is "mythopoeic," that is, myth creating, in its new creative visioning of mythic archetypes come to physical life in the end times. "Mythic realistic" entities—archetypes that are tangibly real, not symbols of something else or ideal types—emerge on the earth (on "mythic realistic," cf. Collins 1984: 6; Cook 2003b: 102–3). By way of illustration, consider two examples: Zechariah 6:1–8 and Ezekiel 39:11–16.

In Zechariah 6:1–8, several symbolic temple structures morph into cosmic-scale realities. The prophet sees sun chariots associated with Jerusalem's temple (see 2 Kgs 23:11) transfigure into preternatural war machines. Hitched to God's horses (cf. Zech 1:7–17), they enter the world of history through twin peaks on earth's horizon, freshly mutated from temple pillars (see 1 Kgs 7:15–16). Particularly in the north, the fabled terrain of evil (cf. Zech 2:6; Ezek 39:2; Joel 2:20), they "vent the

anger of [God's] spirit" (v. 8; NRSV, "set my spirit at rest"). They win apocalyptic victory.

An earlier visionary observed the Valley of Hinnom at Jerusalem morph into a cemetery for God's archetypal-yet-real foe, Gog. Ezekiel's book calls the freshly mutated locale the "Valley of the Departed Dead/Obarim" (Ezek 39:11; see Pope 1981: 171). The verb *ʿābar* behind the name may signal passing on to the grave (see Job 33:28; 33:18; cf. Block 1998: 469). Ezekiel 16:21, 20:26, 23:36–42 all use the verb *ʿābar* to describe passing children to the Beyond at the Valley of Hinnom (alluded to in 39:11, see Odell 1994: 485). Gog's apocalyptic horde thus consists of "passers-on," those traversing the boundary between earth and underworld. They travel to a city on the Other Side called Hamonah / "Crowd Town" (39:16), a name reflecting Sheol's immense population (cf. Isa 26:15; see Hays 2011: 324, 326, who translates the final colon, "You have expanded all the boundaries of the underworld"). Fascinatingly, a Ugaritic text (KTU 1:22 1:12–17) links *ʿbrm* with *mlkm*, that is, with living shades of departed kings (*rephaim*).

Upon reflection, it appears fully natural that an apocalyptic imagination first arose in Israel within the Ezekiel group and its wider circle of adherents (e.g., Zechariah; Sweeney 2005: 239–40, 243). Richly educated for duty as a Zadokite central priest, Ezekiel exhibits sweeping familiarity with world cultures and archetypes. Powerfully perceptive and right-brained, his prophetic vision characteristically peers beyond observable reality to recognize transhistorical structures and truths (cf. Boadt 1996: 219).

Ezekiel even describes a "likeness" or "semblance" of God (Ezek 1:26; cf. Ezek 8:2 LXX), an affront that would horrify other biblical authors (see Isa 40:18, 25; 46:5). In his visionary travels to Jerusalem (chs. 8–11), Ezekiel sees the un-see-able. At 8:3 he peers across time to observe an Asherah that King Manasseh set up (2 Kgs 21:7) but that was removed by his own time (2 Kgs 23:6). His visionary gaze penetrates the depths of the underworld (Ezek 32:17–32). He finds Assyria relegated to the deepest, uttermost recesses of the Pit (32:22–23; cf. Isa 14:15). Long before the Hellenistic apocalypses, Ezekiel knew that the wicked have a distinctive fate set aside for them after death.

The observation should give us pause, since it dispels a commonplace scholarly notion. Let the misunderstanding cease that the Hebrew Scriptures assume an undifferentiated afterlife with all souls haphazardly consigned to Sheol. Many scholars now dispute this (see Barr 1992: 29–30; Johnston 2002: 79–83; Levenson 2006: 67–81; Cook 2007). Sheol is best viewed as the fate of lives gone awry. Sinister people end up there, not the godly (though when in dire peril the latter may feel Sheol-bound). Rarely, if ever, do the biblical texts imply that all humanity is fated for Sheol's imprisonment.

The Variety of Writings of Apocalyptic, Millennial Groups

Apocalyptic writings bear a family resemblance to each other. Characteristic literary motifs go hand in hand with overlapping material features, including overlapping and crisscrossing concepts of cosmology, otherworldly salvation, and the consummation of history. The ideas of apocalypticism are hardly secondary in understanding the phenomenon. Apocalyptic revelations transmit specific content from the Beyond, unveiling the churning sea of mystery about to engulf our island world.

A thought-complex is central to the phenomenon of apocalypticism, which has proved capable of manifesting itself outside of the genre apocalypse. The War Scroll of Qumran is no apocalypse, but surely exhibits an apocalyptic "symbolic universe" or "imagination." A family resemblance to the thought-world of the apocalypses also appears in late prophetic texts, such as Zechariah and Joel. They are surely proto-apocalyptic literature, although, like Qumran's sectarian documents, they do not fit the consensus definition of the genre apocalypse proper.

Such conclusions find solid confirmation in a social-scientific approach, which compares the biblical apocalyptic visionaries with what anthropologists term *millennial* (or *millenarian*) groups and movements (Grabbe 1989; Cook 1995). Cross-cultural comparison reveals that such groups use a great variety of literary and oral forms to express an apocalyptic imagination. That is not to say that millennial groups across cultures have avoided the genre apocalypse. They do indeed produce apocalypses.

Confirming our assumptions about the modus operandi of biblical visionaries, millennial groups may pen *both* apocalypses *and* a variety of other texts as expressions of a literal belief in a fast-approaching judgment and salvation of this world. It is hard to underestimate the significance of this evidence. It justifies us in applying the adjective *apocalyptic* to millennial prophetic groups, such as the prophetic circles of Ezekiel and Zechariah, even though they never seem to have penned an apocalypse per se.

Grabbe provides two clear examples of millennial groups expressing their worldview in *both* apocalypses *and* other literature (Grabbe 1989: 30, 37–38). He cites an apocalypse by Rabbi Nathan of Gaza, associated with the millennial movement surrounding the seventeenth-century C.E. Jewish messiah, Sabbatai Zvi. Jumpstarting the Sabbatian movement, Rabbi Nathan penned a pseudepigraph describing revelations of a celestial mentor to an aged rabbinic sage named Abraham from four centuries earlier. These revelations identified Sabbatai Zvi as the true messiah who would subdue the chaos dragon and usher in an eternal kingdom on earth. Beyond writing this apocalypse, Nathan expressed his apocalyptic message through many alternative vehicles, including conversations, preaching, letters, and commentaries.

Grabbe also describes the apocalypses of the Seneca Native American figure known as Handsome Lake. The code of Handsome Lake's millennial movement, the *Gaiwiio* ("Good Message"), records certain commissioning visions of the prophet that fit the apocalypse genre proper. In these visions, which occurred between June 1799 and February 1800 C.E., Handsome Lake tours heaven and hell with three beautiful messengers acting as guides and interpreters. The guides summon him to preach repentance to his people, based on a coming fiery end of the earth. Beyond its sections on Handsome Lake's visionary journeys, the apocalyptic content of the Good Message takes other forms than the genre apocalypse. It contains moral teaching on social life, ceremonial regulations, and a great deal of the biography behind the prophet's visions.

The Question of Persian Influence

Scholars have long wrestled with the role played by Zoroastrianism in the rise of Jewish and Christian apocalypticism. From the beginning of the twentieth century, researchers have recognized the possibility of Persia's influence on Western scriptural traditions (e.g., Lawrence Mills, George Carter, Hubertus Von Gall). The History of Religions School adopted the position that such influence was thoroughgoing. The view is far from dormant today, although not as widespread as in the 1950s (Polaski 2001: 3).

We should not dismiss out of hand the thesis of an Iranian shaping of Israelite apocalypticism. Apocalyptic beliefs, such as a dualism of good and evil, a coming resurrection of the dead, and an eschatological judgment of every human individual, appear to have characterized Zoroastrian religion already during Israel's restoration era. Central to the logic and coherence of its religious system, such ideas appear integral to Zoroastrianism, not late accretions. Significantly, Plutarch, in the first century C.E., attests to apocalyptic Zoroastrian thinking, and he attributes his understanding of the religion to the fourth-century B.C.E. historian Theopompus (see, e.g., Collins 1998: 31).

Other Greek writers corroborate the legitimacy of using Theopompus as a source of knowledge about early Zoroastrianism. Persian apocalypticism, it would appear, was early enough to have influenced the development of apocalypticism in the Judeo-Christian tradition. There were many opportunities for it to have done so too, for religious and cultural contacts with Zoroastrian belief would have been inevitable in the Second Temple period, when Jews and Persians interacted at many levels.

It makes little sense to isolate apocalypticism's rise from the influences of its milieu, including a Zoroastrian stimulus. To take one example, it is fairly easy to imagine Zoroastrianism's vision of a fiery purification of all souls at the eschaton exerting an influence in the presentation of smelting/purgation in Zechariah 13:7–9 (cf. Mal 3:2–3). We should probably assume that Persian imagery came to mind for many of this text's first readers, as its authors may have intended. Would Zechariah's authors not have wanted to drive home their message in the vibrant idiom of the contemporary religious milieu?

The real possibility of stimulus does not, however, warrant a thesis that Scripture has "lifted" or "borrowed" chunks of alien theology without discrimination. Zoroastrianism's distinctive understanding that fiery purgation is a stage in the resurrection experience of each soul is conspicuous by its absence in Zechariah 13:7–9 and Malachi 3:2–3. The biblical visionaries stick to their own alternative eschatological scheme, betraying no interest in Iranian patterns of faith. What is more, the biblical writers had reason to feel at home with the idea of purification by smelting. The Zechariah authors had the image in their own Zadokite traditions of the Torah (see Num 31:23, a text of the Zadokite Holiness School strand). Using this motif in no way betrayed their heritage.

Some biblical scholarship asserts that the hope of bodily resurrection in the early Jewish apocalypses is discontinuous with preceding biblical tradition. It is not found in so-called apocalyptic prophecy. Contact with Zoroastrianism is sometimes posited as the impetus behind resurrection faith (e.g., see Lang 2008). This particular hypothesis, however, is unnecessary (see Hays 2011: 331; Levenson 2006).

The idea that the dead can rise is native to Israel, as preexilic stories of individual resurrections show (1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:18–36; 13:20–21). More than one Near Eastern deity was able to raise the dead, including some of the ones with whom the Lord is compared. The Lord is the one with true power to kill and make alive, even in Sidonian territory—Baal's backyard. Note further a telling observation of John Collins. He notes that "resurrection" in several early Jewish apocalypses entails elevation to life with the angels. Such astral/angelic resurrection does not derive from Zoroastrianism.

The Judeo-Christian notion of a resurrection of interred bodies is not found in Zoroastrianism, which shuns the burial of corpses as potentially defiling of the earth. The Persians did not imagine the rising of buried corpses, but a recreation of bodies from the bare elements of nature. Three centuries before a Jewish apocalypse describes a resurrection, Herodotus attests to the Zoroastrian practice of exposing dead corpses to be picked clean by vultures and dogs (*Hist.* 1.140).

The Rise of Resurrection Faith in Israel

The roots of resurrection faith, at least in poetic potential, are arguably discoverable in proto-apocalyptic literature. Texts such as Isaiah 26:19; 53:11 (see NIV, DSS); and Psalm 22:29 (see NAB) all appear ripe and ready to birth the doctrine. Israel was comfortable with the idea of resurrection by the time of the exile, long before Theopompus's era and even long before Palestine first began to settle into Achaemenian rule (Hays 2011: 331). Take the example of Ezekiel 37, which stems from Babylonia around 580 B.C.E.

Ezekiel 37 makes a figural presentation, but the ramifications of Ezekiel's use of resurrection *even as a figure* are nothing short of startling (Levenson 2006: 156–65). The prophet clearly assumed his audience would relate to his figure and perhaps be inspired by it. He would hardly have chosen resurrection as the imaginative vehicle of his message if the idea would have proved little more than a foreign and unintelligible distraction to his compatriots. Ezekiel's use of resurrection language is symbolic, but it demonstrates how rising from death was not an anomalous idea in his era.

From a later, postexilic time, Isaiah 24–27 again speaks of the dead rising to life (Hays 2011: 328, although Hays dates this passage to *preexilic* times). According to 26:14–15, God will squash the enemy dead (as also in Isa 29:4). In 26:19, by contrast, the dead who rely on God are saved and will rise and stand (Hays 2011: 331). Isaiah 26 shows marked resonances with the phrasing and hope of Daniel 12, where reference to individual, bodily resurrection is clear-cut.

Isaiah 26 is more mythopoetic and imagistic than Daniel 12, of course, but that does not obviate the larger point of the similarity. Jon Levenson mounts compelling arguments against thinking of a mere metaphor of the nation "rising" from exile here (Levenson 2006: 197–200). No, a people forlorn, up against insurmountable sterility, powerlessness to infuse Israel's family tree with life, are encouraged: "But friends, your dead will live!" Their loved ones, dead and buried, hear the command: "Wake up! Sing!"

Daniel 12:1–4 did not interpret Isaiah 26:19 as mere politics, sensing instead the expansive, potent valence of its poetic language. For Isaiah 26, the rules of the old age are collapsing; the land of shades is catching its first rays of sun. Rising to life, it is giving birth to the dead. The exuberant poetic mood of the text resists dissection, pushes back against distinctions between rebirthing Israel and rebirthing individual bodies. The point is the radical passing away of the present age, including death's silent, dusty darkness.

The reference to "rephaim" at v. 19's end is significant. In the wider Semitic world, the "rephaim" were group founders, royal patrons. In their persons, individual and

group interests coincided. To think about group identity and hope was necessarily to think about the fate after death of these individuals. Isaiah 26 also likely finds communal and individual prospects to be coincident (cf. Madigan and Levenson 2008: 198). Compare how NT texts bend over backwards to insist that Jesus' resurrection was both an individual and a collective phenomenon (Matt 27:51–53; 1 Cor 15:20; Col 1:18).

One concern of Isaiah 26 is repatriation from exile, but it would be reductionist to reify 26:19 as bare politics. God's salvation in Isaiah's book—even in the preapocalyptic Second Isaiah—goes well beyond political dimensions. It encompasses a stupendous flourishing of both nature and human vitality. This salvation is a true miracle, one that embraces fundamental human and ecological transformation. Second Isaiah envisions God's deliverance as life springing up from the earth (44:3–5). Isaiah 26:19 repeats this very language, but goes much farther. It presents a shockingly literal reading. The earth, awash in God's dew, will push up nothing other than Israel's buried dead.

Isaiah 26:19 also builds on and transforms another theme of Second Isaiah, that of Daughter Zion's astonishment at her new preternatural fecundity. As Hibbard argues, the joyful shouting (*rānan*) of the resurrected in Isaiah 26:19 is an intertextual allusion to Isaiah 54:1, where Zion, no longer barren, shouts for joy (Hibbard 2006: 151). Joy at effortless fertility in Isaiah 54 becomes joy at apocalyptic victory over sterility and death in Isaiah 26. Israel must rejoice at the ultimate victory of the God of Life over dusty, barren death's threat to lush, verdant human community. Daughter Zion is in labor (Isa 26:17), and miracle children will be (re)born. The God of history *and* nature is about to triumph decisively.

As Madigan and Levenson write, "Death . . . is one of the enemies, or even the ultimate enemy . . . , and no victory of . . . God can be complete until this lethal foe is finally eliminated" (Madigan and Levenson 2008: 188). Thus, the proto-apocalyptic vision of Isaiah is God's eventual destruction of death's torrid, parched plague. Death will not forever cast its shroud over the joy of human, embodied togetherness. Isaiah 25:8 declares that death, well known for a voracious appetite (cf., e.g., Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Hays 2011: 122), is about to get its payback. It is going to be swallowed up forever.

Apocalyptic beliefs, including beliefs in resurrection, are attested by ethnographic study as arising *autochthonously*. Thus, Trudy Thomas's thorough study establishes the growth of the millennial Ghost Dance tradition out of native religious building blocks, especially archetypal symbols of creation (Thomas 1988: 3, 191, 201–2; cf. Cook 2003b: 103–4). That is not to say that foreign influences never come into play within millennial movements. They do, and the instances of bricolage are fascinating to observe. However, the Ghost Dance, with its vision of a messiah on earth and a resurrection of ancestors, initially developed *indigenously* (for the anthropological debate, see Cook 1995: 70). In parallel fashion, Israel's developed faith in resurrection grew up from roots in native apocalyptic prophecy.

The Origins of the Apocalyptic Imagination in Israel

Apocalyptic prophecy emerged in Israel when the transcendent potentials of Israel's traditional theological ideals and symbols finally came into their own. Intimations of otherworldly salvation embedded in biblical tradition now asserted their tension with mundane reality in the starkest possible fashion and with shocking immediacy. Contradictions aplenty surfaced as a series of unbearable antitheses. Finally, lines got drawn in the sand. A rising apocalyptic imagination bore the germs of a fundamental refusal to tolerate this world's ugliness, sterility, and strife. Moltmann writes, "In apocalyptic the whole cosmos becomes interpreted in the light of truth learned from God's revelation in Israel's history" (Moltmann 1967: 137).

The first appearances of apocalyptic prophecy date to the exilic and postexilic eras. The exilic period, when Israel's entire world was inverted, brought an intense, focal concentration of Israel's eschatological hopes. It reawakened Israel's primal fears and poetic dreams, and it provoked a new orientation toward Israel's archetypes of creation and divine blessing. At this time, the traditional expectations and spiritual goals of Israel's Torah, the classical prophets, and the sapiential literature blossomed under the new, imaginative "sheltering canopy" of apocalypticism.

Facilitating all this, the postexile era saw the emergence of a new medium of revelation that relied on the mantic study and cross-referencing of Scripture (Polaski 2001: 4–5, 9–12, 22). A corpus of authoritative, sacred writings was in place by postexilic times, to which Israel's new apocalyptic visionaries made ready reference. Apocalyptic prophecy forged a compelling new imagination from allusions to the corpus. Allusions "play a key role in every proto-apocalyptic text" (Sweeney 2005: 240).

Hibbard (2006) shows how Isaiah 24–27, for example, reaches into the new sacred corpus to reuse earlier texts such as Hosea 4:9, Amos 5:2, and Isaiah 17:6. God's purposes are received as constants, but now extend in a radically totalizing fashion. I cite the example of Isaiah 24–27, since we just saw how Isaiah 26:19 was inspired by Isaiah 44:3–5. On this mantic foundation, it included resurrection within Israel's restoration hope. So too, we saw that Isaiah 26:19 reaches back to Isaiah 54:1 in building a vision of Zion's end-time labor pangs and subsequent birthing of new miracle children, Israel resurrected.

Social-scientific study of millennial groups reveals that their apocalyptic imaginations may coalesce in many varieties of social arenas (Cook 1995). Apocalypticism emerges in eras of calm and in eras of disruption, in stable societies and amid the encounters and clashes of cultures, in peripheral or colonized peoples and in dominating or colonizing powers. The sixth-century B.C.E. apocalyptic texts of Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 arose in a milieu of international calm and Persian benefaction. Persia's tolerant patronage was

appreciated in Yehud for decades. When Persia and Greece later clashed, the writers of Deutero-Zechariah found it natural to take Persia's side (Zech 9:13).

Throughout the Persian-I period Yehud's population was very small (ca. 10,850), Jerusalem's was tiny (ca. 500). The community was decimated, fractured, and striving to survive under adverse circumstances (Finitsis 2011). The new stability under Darius and a new influx of returnees from Babylonia suggested new possibilities. What is more, learned study of Jeremiah 25:11–12 and 29:10 left no doubt that God's prescribed seventy years of exile were concluding, that God was now coming into Jerusalem's midst (Hag 1:13; 2:4–7; Zech 8:3). All this supported an apocalyptic proclamation, but an even more significant stimulus was present.

As the new temple rose on its foundations, the people of Yehud might expect the transcendental potentials of its iconography to finally reveal themselves in power. Now, the temple menorah might actually emerge in literal truth as the cosmic tree (*Weltbaum*), a tangible conduit of divine presence and bounty (Zech 4; cf. Dan 4:12). Oriented around it, the community could become children of bounty, "children of fresh oil" (Zech 4:14, my translation).

Earthshaking events *sometimes* stimulate apocalyptic thinking and arouse apocalyptic hopes. Millennial groups may experience heightened expectations when members observe powerful omens presaging the end or witness outbreaks of chaos heralding God's final duel with evil. Some within Haggai's audience may have been waiting for signs or disruptions before rebuilding the temple to usher in God's reign. They were saying, "The time has not yet come to rebuild the LORD's house" (Hag 1:2). Their language of "timing" is emphatic in the Hebrew; they are determined to align any rebuilding efforts with the eschatological consummation. Proper synchronization would ensure that their efforts paid off in radical blessing.

International turbulence surely fueled the apocalyptic fervor of Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi. At their time of composition, the Greco-Persian wars were upturning the world. Persia's defeats at Marathon in 490 B.C.E. and at Salamis in 480 B.C.E. shook the empire and called the present order into question. Egypt revolted in the 450s. It must have felt as if God had begun to "shake all the nations" just as Haggai 2:7 had anticipated.

The Varied Group Provenances of Scripture's Apocalyptic Literature

The priestly, Zadokite theology of the Holiness School thoroughly infuses the book of Ezekiel, and the apocalypticism of Ezekiel 38–39 relies on it. Reliance on the Holiness School source is apparent in expansions of the Gog oracles in Ezekiel 38:18–23 and

39:11–16 that reflect a radical apocalyptic excitement. In these verses Gog's attack entails a collapse of cosmic order (Ezek 38:20; cf. Joel 2:10, 30; Zech 14:4–5) and, in its aftermath, an ordeal of burying and removing enemy dead from the holy land (Ezek 39:12–15). Holiness School traditions stand behind the emphasis on the defiling effect of corpses (Lev 21:1; Num 5:2–3; 9:6; 19:11, 13). So too, the stress on how God's indwelling holiness lays claim to the entire land evinces a close reading of Holiness School texts (Num 35:34).

The early apocalyptic book of Malachi comes from an entirely different priestly line. It lies squarely within the tradition stream of Deuteronomy and the Elohist (E) strand of the Pentateuch, which many scholars associate with the Levitical priesthood. The Levites are the heroes of the E strand, as texts such as Exodus 32:26–29 (E) show. Deuteronomy is a remarkable advocate of the Levites (e.g., Deut 12:12, 19; 14:27; 17:18; 18:6–8; 26:12), and Jeremiah, whose book strongly connects with Deuteronomy, seems to have been a Levitical priest.

Malachi 3:1–6 exemplifies the book's expression of apocalyptic eschatology from the viewpoint of Deuteronomy and E. First, the passage announces the imminence of a coming angel/messenger preparing for God's advent. This is the same angel whom the E strand describes leading the Israelites on the exodus from Egypt (Exod 14:19; 23:23; 32:34; Num 20:16; cf. Josh 5:14). Marked verbal parallels between our text and Exod 23:20 and 33:2 betray Malachi's reliance on E in describing the angel.

The presence of the Lord is manifest in the angel, yet the angel's mission is merely preparatory. Malachi 3:1 stresses the sudden, momentous arrival of the Lord in a distinct epiphany, which generates E's desired human response of reverent "fear" of God on earth (see Mal 3:5; cf. Gen 20:11 [E]; 22:12 [E]; 28:17 [E]; Deut 4:10; 5:29; 8:6).

In addition, the passage announces the arrival of a third eschatological figure, "the messenger of the covenant" (Mal 3:1). He plays the role of the Mosaic prophet described in Deuteronomy 18:15–19 and Numbers 12:6–8 (E). Such a messenger guides the people as they encounter God's numinous appearance, which fills all mortals with dread (see Deut 5:26; 18:16). The overpoweringness of God's appearance requires a mediator to offer guidance and protection; it is a day of "a refiner's fire" (Mal 3:2).

The apocalyptic prophecies within Isaiah's book have held special interest for the investigation of the rise of apocalypticism in Israel since Paul Hanson's study of Isaiah 56–66 in *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (1975). Schramm (1995) has mounted an impressive case against Hanson's view that pitted these chapters against a hostile priestly elite. He has shown how the Isaiah tradition allies itself instead *with* the priestly traditions of the Pentateuch in combating an age-old syncretism of Yahwism and polytheistic religion.

I would extend Schramm's argument and link Third Isaiah to the circle of Aaronide priests that stands behind the Priestly Torah source (see Cook 2008). In texts such as Genesis 28:1–2, 6 and Numbers 25:6 within the Priestly Torah we have the selfsame opposition to cultic syncretism that reappears in Isaiah 57:4–8; 59:12–13; 65:3–5; and 66:17. The authors of the Priestly Torah are surely Aaronides, since this corpus

identifies Israel's official priests as all the living descendents of Aaron. This includes full priestly rights for the line of Ithamar, which is separate from the Zadokites' lineage (Exod 28:1; Lev 10:12; cf. 1 Chr 6:1–8). The Holiness School, by contrast, subordinates Ithamar's line to that of Eleazar, the ancestor of Zadok.

Isaiah 66:18–24, a sample text of nascent apocalypticism in Third Isaiah, bears obvious marks of the Priestly Torah's characteristic thought. Universal awe before God's glory is history's goal in this text (vv. 18–19), a notion foreign to the Holiness School and Ezekiel but conspicuous in the Priestly Torah strand (see Exod 8:16–19; 9:8–12; 14:17; 16:7). At God's reign, old hierarchies topple and foreigners become priests (v. 21; cf. Isa 56:6), a development barely conceivable within the tradition of the Holiness School and Ezekiel (see Ezek 44:7, 9; Num 18:1–10, 22) but fully in line with the Priestly Torah's propensity to level artificial distinctions (e.g., Gen 17:27). A universal congregation bows to the Lord at the eschaton (v. 23), an eventuality in keeping with the Priestly Torah's vision of Jacob spawning a cultic assembly of nations (Gen 35:11).

These probes of proto-apocalypticism among the Zadokites, Levites, and Aaronides are merely illustrative of the variety of apocalyptic prophecy that arose during and after the exile. Without a doubt, we must reckon with a diversity of provenance and streams of tradition behind Israel's earliest apocalyptic literature.

Bibliography

Barr, James. (1992). *The Garden of Eden and the Hope of Immortality*. London: SCM.

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. (2006). *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Block, Daniel I. (1998). *The Book of Ezekiel*, vol. 2, *Chapters 25–48*. NICOT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Boadt, Lawrence, C.S.P. (1996). "Mythological Themes and the Unity of Ezekiel," in L. J. de Regt, J. de Waard, and J. P. Fokkelman, eds., *Literary Structure and Rhetorical Strategies in the Hebrew Bible*. Winona Lake, IN.: Eisenbrauns. Pp. 211–31.

Bøe, Sverre. (2001). *Gog and Magog: Ezekiel 38–39 as Pre-Text for Revelation 19,17–21 and 20, 7–10*. WUNT 2.135. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Carey, Greg. (2005). *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature.* St. Louis: Chalice.

Carter, Charles E. (1999). *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Childs, Brevard S. (1993). *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Collins, John J. (1979). "Towards the Morphology of a Genre: Introduction." *Semeia* 14: 1–20.

——. (1984). *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature.* FOTL 20. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

——. (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature.* 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

——. (2003). "Prophecy, Apocalypse and Eschatology: Reflections on the Proposals of Lester Grabbe," in L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak, eds., *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships.* JSPSup 46. London: T&T Clark. Pp. 44–52.

Cook, Stephen L. (1995). *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting.* Minneapolis: Fortress.

——. (2003a). *The Apocalyptic Literature.* IBT. Nashville: Abingdon.

——. (2003b). "Mythological Discourse in Ezekiel and Daniel, and the Rise of Apocalypticism in Israel," in L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak, eds., *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships.* JSPSup 46. London: T&T Clark. Pp. 85–106.

——. (2004). "Cosmos, Kabod, and Cherub: Ontological and Epistemological Hierarchy in Ezekiel," in Stephen L. Cook and Corinne L. Patton, eds., *Ezekiel's Hierarchical World: Wrestling with a Tiered Reality*. SBL Symposium Series 31. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature. Pp. 179–97.

——. (2007). "Funerary Practices and Afterlife Expectations in Ancient Israel." *Religion Compass* 1/6: 660–83. http://bit.ly/1dBC5fD.

——. (2008). *Conversations with Scripture: 2 Isaiah*. Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse.

Finitsis, Antonios. (2011). *Visions and Eschatology: A Socio-Historical Analysis of Zechariah 1–6*. Library of Second Temple Studies 79. New York: T&T Clark.

Grabbe, Lester L. (1989). "The Social Setting of Early Jewish Apocalypticism." *JSP* 4: 27–47.

——. (2003). "Introduction and Overview," in L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak, eds., *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships.* JSPSup 46. London: T&T Clark. Pp. 2–43.

Grabbe, Lester L., and Robert D. Haak, eds. (2003). *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships.* JSPSup 46. London: T&T Clark.

Hanson, Paul D. (1975). *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Hays, Christopher B. (2011). *Death in the Iron Age II and in First Isaiah*. FAT 79. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Hibbard, James Todd. (2006). *Intertextuality in Isaiah 24–27: The Reuse and Evocation of Earlier Texts and Traditions.* FAT 2/16. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Hill, Craig C. (2002). *In God's Time: The Bible and the Future*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Horsley, Richard A. (2010). *Revolt of the Scribes: Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Jindo, Job Y. (2005). "On Myth and History in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Eschatology." *Vetus Testamentum* 55: 412–15.

Johnston, Philip S. (2002). *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity.

Lang, Bernhard. (2008). "A Zoroastrian Prophecy of Resurrection." Pages 83–91 in Bernhard Lang, ed., *Hebrew Life and Literature: Selected Essays of Bernhard Lang.* SOTSMS. Farnham, England: Ashgate.

Levenson, Jon D. (2006). *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Madigan, Kevin J., and Jon D. Levenson. (2008). *Resurrection: The Power of God for Christians and Jews*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Moltmann, Jürgen. (1967). *Theology of Hope.* Translated by J. W. Leitch. New York: Harper & Row; London: SCM.

Odell, Margaret S. (1994). "The City of Hamonah in Ezekiel 39:11–16: The Tumultuous City of Jerusalem." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 56: 479–89.

Oswalt, John N. (2009). *The Bible among the Myths*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Polaski, Donald C. (2001). *Authorizing an End: The Isaiah Apocalypse and Intertextuality.* Biblical Interpretation Series 50. Leiden: Brill.

Pope, Marvin H. (1981). "The Cult of the Dead at Ugarit," in G. D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect: 50 Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns. Pp. 159–79.

Portier-Young, Anathea E. (1999). *Encounters with Silence.* South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press.

——. (2011). *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Rahner, Karl. (1978). *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity.* Translated by W. V. Dych. New York: Crossroad.

Schramm, Brooks. (1995). *The Opponents of Third Isaiah: Reconstructing the Cultic History of the Restoration*. JSOTSup 193. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Steinmetz, Paul B. (1998). *The Sacred Pipe: An Archetypal Theology*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Stephens, Mark B. (2011). *Annihilation or Renewal? The Meaning and Function of New Creation in the Book of Revelation*. WUNT 2.307. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Sweeney, Marvin A. (2005). *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature.* FAT 45. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Thomas, Trudy Carter. (1988). "Crisis and Creativity: Visual Symbolism of the Ghost Dance Tradition." Ph.D. dissertation. Columbia University.

Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C. (1996). *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers, and Apocalyptic.* OtSt 35. New York: Brill.

CHAPTER 3

THE INHERITANCE OF PROPHECY IN APOCALYPSE

HINDY NAJMAN

In this essay I want to consider two intertwined theses that shape the way scholars think about the transition from prophecy to apocalypse. I will refer to these two theses as (1) the genre thesis and (2) the chronological thesis. After I explain each of these theses, I will explain how each can be understood as linked to the other. Then I will consider maintaining the genre thesis while modifying and even at times suspending the chronological thesis.

The Genre Thesis

Many scholars will agree that it is helpful to classify the texts composed in ancient Israel and ancient Judaism as belonging to distinct genres or categories. Some would go so far as to suggest that this is not only a retrospective classification, but that writers conformed to generic and literary expectations regarding compositional form and worldview. For the purpose of this essay, I will refer to the specific view that prophecy and apocalypse are distinct genres of ancient Jewish literature as "the genre thesis" (on prophecy: Koch, 2000; Wahl, 1994; on apocalypse: Collins, 1979b).

Prophecy is often identified with forms of prophetic speech, such as unmediated revelation from the Lord; oracle or inspired speech, reported by the phrase "thus says the Lord"; prophetic announcement; dialogues where prophets speak with

God (Westermann, 1991; Peterson, 2002; Sweeney, 2005) Additionally, the figure is often named and characterized as a divinely appointed Navi'. Form critics have distinguished subtypes by context (e.g., oracle of doom). Visions are also common, with subtypes such as symbolic vision, for example, Jeremiah's vision of the stick in chapter 1; or mythic-realistic vision, for example, Ezekiel's throne vision in chapter 1. Prophecy is primarily concerned with divine judgment, leading either to salvation or to destruction in this world and is less concerned with other worlds or heavenly journeys.

The genre "apocalypse" is defined by a different set of features. (See Collins 1979a, 1979b and Yarbro Collins 1986.) Typically apocalypse includes revelation that is mediated. Angels, heavenly visions, and other worldly journeys often play a role in the narrative. John Collins describes two axes of transcendent reality within the genre of apocalypse, one spatial and the other temporal. The spatial axis concerns the transcendent reality whereby God rules the visible world, while the temporal axis concerns the end of days, at which time justice will be done and divine rule will become visible (Collins, 1979a). While prophetic visions are often developed in apocalypses (Koch, 1989; Niditch, 1983), we no longer find prophetic oracles. We also find new forms of otherworldly journeys, which are not to be found in the prophetic corpus. While these new forms can be said to be developing the heavenly ascent represented in the prophetic corpus (e.g., they might include a throne vision), the new otherworldly journeys in apocalypses are developed in new and innovative ways. There are also dialogues in apocalypses that are far more elaborate (e.g. 4Ezra) than the dialogues found in the prophetic corpus. With respect to content, apocalypses are also largely concerned with judgment and consequences in this world, but also with the judgment of the individual after death, which is not found in the prophets. The formal features of apocalypse are often characterized deliberately in contrast with those of prophecy.

The Chronological Thesis

Some of the significance of the genre thesis comes from its association with what I will call the "chronological thesis": the thesis that, as prophecy came to an end, apocalypse increasingly flourished. Thus apocalypse—along with scribalism and interpretation—may be seen as a successor to prophecy or as "the child of prophecy" in H. H. Rowley's phrase (Rowley, 1963).

Clearly, the chronological thesis presupposes some version of the genre thesis. If there were no distinction of genres, there would be no point in saying that one declined as the other ascended. However, the genre thesis does not presuppose a

chronological divide. There might be a purpose served by generic distinction even if no large-scale tendency were discernible. Indeed, the genre thesis, as stated, does not necessarily claim that distinct genre classifications are mutually exclusive. A single text may exhibit some features of both genres.

The genre thesis enjoys general consensus, although there may be disagreement about the details. In recent years, however, the chronological thesis has been challenged by many scholars on a variety of grounds. In what follows, I want first to consider reasons for revising the chronological thesis. I will then consider the implications of this revision for the genre thesis.

Pluriformity and the Current Revolution

Challenges to the chronological thesis—and, more generally, to various versions of "the end of prophecy"—should be seen in the context of the revolution, brought about by study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in our understanding of late ancient Jewish text- production and of the development of scripture. It is now clear that it is anachronistic to speak of "the Bible"—and, accordingly, of "apocryphal" or nonbiblical texts and traditions, and of "rewritten Bible"—during the Second Temple period, and probably until some point in the Rabbinic or early Christian periods, certainly after the Bar Kokhba revolt.

There was no generally accepted *canonical list* of scriptural books in the Second Temple period (Najman, 2012). Additionally, the traditions that would later become the Bible and the Apocrypha did not exhibit textual fixity or canonical fixity. Instead, the situation has been characterized in terms of "pluriformity" (García Martínez, 2013). Moreover, it has been forcefully argued that this was not only a feature of sectarian Jewish life, as if the texts found at Qumran were all to be assigned to a marginal group, while uniformity was to be found at some Jerusalem-based center. Rather, pluriformity characterized the textual situation in general, and no clear boundaries between center and periphery may be demarcated (García Martínez, 2013). Thus, for example, Mladen Popović has shown that the eventual form of the biblical book of Ezekiel was shaped in part by the so-called Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments (Popović, 2010). It is also notable that important features of prophecy and the production of revelatory literature continued well into the late Second Temple period as exhibited by many of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Brooke, 2005 and 2006; Jassen, 2007).

At the same time, this did not mean that, in the Second Temple period, "anything went." On the contrary, it is equally clear that there was a notion of authoritative scripture, even if that notion was not applied exclusively to a canonized and fixed set of texts (Najman, 2012). Scriptural traditions were regarded as worthy of quotation and interpretation, and a principal way of composing new texts involved "rewriting" or, more generally, imitating textual traditions to which authority was already attached. Not every community may have agreed on a list of these traditions, let alone on their textual form, but there appears to have been a considerable amount of overlapping consensus.

One of the greatest challenges confronting scholars is to maintain both of the fruits of Dead Sea Scrolls research: the pluriformity of textual traditions *and* the scriptural authority of many of these traditions. Since the texts classified as prophetic in genre were all eventually included in the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, and since most of the texts classified as apocalyptic in genre were not included, the question arises whether the chronological thesis has been influenced by the anachronistic assumption that prophetic texts were earlier and central, while apocryphal texts were later and marginal, flourishing only after some supposed event of canonization and textual fixation.

One aspect of the genre thesis, and thereby of the chronological thesis, is directly affected by the current revolution. There is no longer good reason to assume that, in general, texts that did not find their way into the Bible are later and less authentic than texts that did. Consequently, there is no simple way to apply the distinction between pseudepigraphic works, some of which are apocalyptic, and prophetic works. That said, it is undeniable that all of the texts classified as apocalypses in Semeia 14 are later than the prophetic books in the Hebrew Bible, even if one thinks that some of the prophetic books were modified in the final centuries or even decades of the Second Temple period. Of course, it is a formative discovery in biblical studies that biblical books themselves developed over time, and that at least some portions of the prophetic books must have been added after the death of the original prophetic figures. In short, so-called pseudepigraphy is to be found both in texts that have been classified as prophetic and in texts that have been classified as apocalyptic. Indeed, even if it were possible to identify the oldest, "original" core of a certain prophetic tradition, this could hardly show that the alleged Urtext was written by its purported prophetic author, rather than by someone writing in his name. Thus, pseudepigraphy is not a defining feature that could distinguish prophecy and apocalypse. Rather it is a feature that both classifications share.

Still, it is possible to revise the chronological thesis. For it is extremely striking that, from the vast array of newly accessible texts, no new prophetic names emerge. Even if writing in the name of a prophet is an old practice, it is highly noteworthy that, in the late Second Temple period, texts continued to be produced in the names of venerable and long-established prophets, while no texts—at any rate, no *extant* Jewish texts—were produced in the names of more recent or contemporaneous figures claiming to

be prophets. Apparently, new texts could be presented as authoritative only insofar as they actively *inherited* the authority of established figures and traditions. One could claim to inherit established authority by quotation and interpretation. But one could also stake one's claim by means that seem more problematic to contemporary readers, who tend to assume that authorial identities and textual traditions are to be conserved, and that those who tamper with them are guilty of imposture or even fraud. In other words, one could claim authority by writing in the name of a established prophet, or by recasting an established textual tradition in a way that incorporated one's preferred legal or theological position. Better yet, one could do both.

There may have been no rupture marking "the end of prophecy," but there were certainly discernible trends, and it is reasonable to speak of an increasing emphasis on old figures and texts as sources of authority during the Second Temple period. Similarly, although angelically mediated revelation may be found in some early texts, we may discern a trend towards mediated revelation and otherworldly visions and journeys, and a corresponding movement away from prophetic claims to serve as divine mouthpieces for direct revelation. In a process whose limits are Hosea and Amos as the earliest and 4Ezra and 2Baruch some of the latest in the first century CE, there is a gradual decline in emphasis on some characteristic features of prophetic literature and an increased emphasis on the forms that are more characteristic of apocalyptic literature.

In short, the prophetic project in which humans served as the means whereby God spoke to the people with which God was bound by covenant, continued. But it increasingly relied on *strategies of inheritance*, and it is in the context of such *strategies* that the relationship between prophetic and apocalyptic texts should be seen. One is in need of strategies of inheritance precisely when a legacy is not straightforwardly bequeathed, but must be actively won against all odds.

Daniel 7–12

Daniel 7–12, dating to the second century BCE, is the only full-scale apocalypse within the Hebrew Bible (Collins 1979b). To be sure, as Collins points out, there are Jewish apocalypses that predate Daniel and that are not included in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Apocalypse of Weeks and the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries).

Was Daniel a prophet? Daniel 9:24 claims to fulfill an earlier prophecy of Jeremiah. "Seventy weeks have been decreed for your people and your holy city until the measure of transgression is filled and that of sin complete, until iniquity is expiated, and eternal righteousness ushered in; and prophetic vision ratified, and the Holy of Holies anointed." Whether Daniel's vision should also be considered prophetic is

unclear. It is notable that Koch argued that the book of Daniel was originally regarded as a prophetic book and whose status and classification was altered later as reflected by rabbinic discussions (Koch, 1985; see also Barton, 1986).

Yet texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls down to Josephus ascribe prophetic status to Daniel. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, we find, for example, 4Q174 II.4: "This is the time of which it is written in the book of Daniel, the prophet." In *Antiquities* 10.11.4 [249]), Josephus writes, "Darius . . . took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honored him very greatly, and kept him with him." Later in the same passage, Josephus continues: "that all things happened to him in a marvelously fortunate way as to one of the greatest prophets . . . and whereas the other prophets foretold disasters . . . Daniel was a prophet of good tidings (*Antiquities* 10:11.7 [266, 268]) The biblical book of Daniel seems to have been included in the category of the prophets often referred to as "the law and the prophets" (Barton, 1986). Only at some later point was the book of Daniel classified as one of the nonprophetic "writings" in the tripartite collection of rabbinic Judaism. In the Christian tradition, however, Daniel retained his prophetic status. Even then, the classification was hardly unequivocal. A Talmudic passage (BT Megillah 3a) states that Daniel was not a prophet, but in a context where Daniel is ascribed a greater visionary capacity than the prophets accompanying him. On the question whether Daniel is included among the forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses who prophesied to all Israel, the rabbinic commentators are divided. (BT Megillah 14a mentions all of the prophetesses; Seder Olam Rabbah, ch. 20 mentions Daniel, but also Baruch and Mordechai, so it is fairly inclusive; see also PT Berachot 7:3 [13a], where Daniel is mentioned along with Moses and Jeremiah.) In any event, there is no earlier evidence that Daniel was denied prophetic status.

Let us now consider the relationship between Daniel and the generic features of apocalypse. The most pertinent chapters, 7–12, are generally regarded as later than the first six. The earlier chapters are written in the third person, anonymously, and so the question of pseudepigraphy does not arise. In light of what was said above, however, it would be hard to argue that this distinguishes the book from works classified as prophetic.

Daniel experiences revelation, not as prophetic oracles, but in visions (e.g., 9:1) and through angelic mediation (e.g., 8:15). This certainly distinguishes Daniel from some portions of Jeremiah and Isaiah, among others. Yet it is notable that Jeremiah also experiences visions (e.g., Jeremiah 1), which must then be interpreted, and that angelic mediation is also found in prophetic writings, for example, Zechariah. Again, it is certainly reasonable to speak of a trend from immediate to mediated revelation as a significant change. So, while mediated revelation becomes more common, it is nevertheless the case that both modes of divine access seem to have coexisted from the beginning, and the absence of immediate revelation in Daniel does not signify any rupture. There is demonstrable use of older prophetic texts, which are then given

new meanings. Thus, there is both continuity and discontinuity between prophecy and apocalypse in the book of Daniel.

Transcendent reality, both spatial and temporal, is the topic of much of the book of Daniel. But, even here, the use of imagery from earlier texts may indicate, not only that the visionary or writer is working within a tradition, but also that this text is claiming authority through its association with acknowledged scripture. Thus, for example, Daniel 7:9–10, in which Daniel sees the Ancient of Days upon the throne, "belongs to the tradition of biblical throne visions, attested in such passages as 1 Kgs 22: 19; Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1; 3: 22–24; 10:1 and paralleled in writings of the Hellenistic period such as *1En* 14: 18–23; 60: 2; 90:20" (Collins, 1993: 300) Similarly, the vision of the end time in Daniel 12:1–4, the time when "the wise will shine like the splendor of the firmament, and those who lead the common people to righteousness like the stars forever and ever," (12:3; cf. 11:32) draws upon Isaiah 52–53. As the reference to "the wise" suggests, the apocalyptic theme of transcendent reality also alludes to—and perhaps inherits authority—from earlier wisdom texts. It is worth noting that, as Ben Wright has recently argued, the claim to wisdom and the claim to prophetic status could go together, as they did in the case of Ben Sira (Wright, 2009 and 2010b). It is notable that Von Rad and more recently Lange have argued for the derivation of apocalypse from wisdom (Von Rad, 1965 and 1972).

My point here is not to challenge the identification of Daniel 7–12 as exhibiting the generic features of apocalypse. Nor do I want to deny that Daniel may be seen as a prototype for later apocalyptic texts, or that there is a discernible tendency towards mediated revelation and an increasing preoccupation with transcendent reality that starts with Daniel and culminates in Revelation. What I want to emphasize, however, is that the apocalyptic genre is, in a variety of ways, an inheritance of prophecy and, to that extent, a continuation of the prophetic project (Wright 2010a).

Jubilees

Must a text fit into only one genre? Here the example of Jubilees is helpful and illuminating. Formally, Jubilees has the features of apocalypse. Its content, however, with the important exception of chapter 23, focuses mainly on law and calendar within the framework of the lives of the patriarchs, and not on transcendent reality. Jubilees is a useful test-case for determining what one thinks the *status* of genre is (Wright, 2009; Collins, 2011; Najman, 2009). To my mind, Jubilees is deeply engaged in strategies of inheritance. That it did not simply claim authority for its preferred legal and calendrical positions on the basis of immediate revelation tells us a great deal about the time in which it was written. So anxious was Jubilees about its own authority in an age of

crisis, that it employed multiple strategies where other texts employed only one. Let us consider the Prologue to Jubilees:

> These are the words regarding the divisions of the times of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of the weeks of their jubilees throughout all the years of eternity as he related (them) to Moses on Mt. Sinai when he went up to receive the stone tablets—the law and the commandments—on the Lord's orders as he had told him that he should come up to the summit of the mountain.

Thanks to this Mosaic attribution, Jubilees presented itself as the Torah given at Sinai. However, Jubilees departed from pentateuchal portrayals of Sinai by depicting Moses as an authorized amanuensis, transcribing the divine revelation dictated to him by the angel of the presence. The divine encounter was still accessible, but it was now mediated by an angel. At the same time, Jubilees betrayed the anxiety of its writers about legitimacy by deploying no less than four self-authorizing strategies. Not only did it express the divine encounter at Sinai, not only did it claim to be transcribed by Moses, and not only did it purport to follow the instruction of the angel of the presence, but it also claimed to present laws and teachings inscribed on the heavenly tablets (Najman 1999). In any event, the mediated character of revelation is a feature suggesting the classification of Jubilees as an apocalyptic text. At the same time, Jubilees attaches itself pseudepigraphically to the revelation given at Sinai to Moses. While Deuteronomy, on which Jubilees' strategy is based, is not usually classified as prophetic, Moses is surely the prophet par excellence (Deut. 34:10) and Jubilees was surely claiming prophetic status for itself by associating itself with the figure of Moses and the text of Mosaic Torah.

It is in the light of Jubilees' strategies of inheritance that we should see its relationship to what it calls "the first law." I have argued elsewhere that, like its model, Deuteronomy, Jubilees does not seek to supplant or replace the earlier version of the revelation of Sinai. Rather, the relationship is reciprocal: Jubilees provides earlier traditions with their proper interpretive context, and the earlier traditions, already acknowledged as authoritative, provide Jubilees with authority. Thus it is no accident that the most extensive reference to "the book of the first law" (6:22) occurs when Jubilees is giving its interpretation of the significance and date of the holiday of Shavuot. This was clearly a very controversial issue in the Second Temple period, and Jubilees needs all the help it can get.

Embedded in the book of Jubilees, in chapter 23, is what scholars have called an apocalyptic text (Collins, 1979; Kugel, 1994). Here alone does Jubilees exhibit the content-related features of apocalypse. Departing from its general preoccupation in grounding its interpretation of laws in the retelling of patriarchal narratives, Jubilees describes "the day of the great judgment"—although, even here, the preoccupation shows itself in the prediction that, when the worst is over, "the children shall begin to study the laws."

Certainly, Jubilees has elements of apocalypse. But it also exhibits prophetic elements and no doubt elements of other classifications too. How should the situation

be characterized? To suggest that Jubilees is ironically employing the genre of apocalypse in order to subvert it (Hanneken, 2012) would only be warranted if there were some evidence that the idea of an apocalyptic genre was consciously known by the writers of Jubilees, in the way that the idea of tragic and comic genres was consciously known by writers in ancient Greece (Collins, 2011). Someone who submitted a play for performance at the Dionysian festival had to conform to certain norms. Tragedies were submitted to the archon. Only if he accepted the submission was a chorus granted for performance. (See Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1449b.) To submit a comedy for performance as a tragedy would have shown the author's incompetence. To submit a hybrid tragicomedy could perhaps have been an ironic act. But, in ancient Judaism, we have no evidence of any such genre-enforcing institution. The ideas of genre with which we work are results of our scholarly classification. Even if ancient writers and their readers may be said to have been aware in some sense of generic norms, they need not have been *consciously* aware of them as such, and they may not have regarded them as strict rules—in the way that speakers of a language may be said to be aware of grammatical norms, although they may not be able to formulate them explicitly and although they may often "break the rules" without becoming unintelligible. John Collins writes, "The conventions, expectations and intentions of ancient authors are certainly a worthy subject of investigation, but there was no systematic reflection on literary genre in ancient Judaism. Such genre labels as we find are quite inconsistent . . . So, while I do not dispute the value of emic analysis of the self-presentation of texts, this does not invalidate the use of analytic categories, based on the commonalities we now perceive between ancient texts, whether their authors perceived them or not" (Collins, 2009: 3). Accordingly, to say that a work that meets generic expectations in some ways but not in others is ironic, is like saying, on encountering one's first black swan, that it is being a swan ironically. To my mind, what Collins has called the "hybrid" case of Jubilees shows that genres are fluid (Collins, 2010). Generic features often occurred in clusters. But they were not bound together by any golden cord. Creative writers could reassemble features into new clusters in order to meet their needs. The mark of their success lay, not only in whether the resulting texts were treated as scripture by some communities, but in whether they were imitated, giving rise to new scriptures.

4Ezra

For my final example, I turn now to 4Ezra, recognized as apocalyptic literature in much of the scholarly literature (Collins, 1979; Henze, 2011). The fifth and sixth visions of 4Ezra also demonstrates a profound and explicit connection with the apocalyptic material in the book of Daniel. Throughout the seven visions there is language of

end time, vision, and otherworldly journey in Ezra's dialogue with the angel Uriel, along with extensive discussion of eschatological upheaval. But there are also many important aspects of 4Ezra that call upon the prophetic tradition of the past and that are inserted into the present.

The key to 4Ezra's strategies of inheritance is the naming of the protagonist, who is repeatedly named "Ezra." Yet there are frequent allusions, both explicit and implicit, to other figures. As in the case of Jubilees, association with earlier prophetic figures serves both to authorize 4Ezra and to render divine encounter accessible in an age of anxiety. Written after the destruction of the second temple, the text imagines an Ezra who lives in the aftermath of the destruction of the first temple. Even in the absence of new prophetic figures, even in a period where the institution of prophecy had ceased, it was still possible to renew the covenant and to participate in the prophetic project. Indeed, 4Ezra makes this point in its opening lines, which inherit Ezekiel 1 in order to express the possibility of revelation in exile.

> In the thirtieth year of the collapse of our city. I, Shealtiel, who is Ezra, was in Babylon. And as I lay on my bed I was disturbed, and thoughts rose upon in my heart. Because I saw the devastation of Zion and the prosperity of the dwellers of Babylon. And, my spirit was quaked. And with fearful words, I began to invoke the Most High. (4Ezra 3.1–3.3)

The material within 4Ezra's vision sequence draws from wisdom traditions and prophetic traditions, as well as Daniel 7–12. However, in the midst of the Daniel-like revelations and interpretations (4Ezra 12.42), "Ezra" is explicitly called a prophet. In fact, Ezra is referred to as a prophet in a manner that likens him not to Jeremiah or Daniel, but to Moses. The community fears that when "Ezra" steps away to receive divine revelation, they will lose him: "Only you are left to us from among the prophets." This recalls the Israelites' loss of faith when Moses left the Israelites to receive the law at Sinai. "Ezra" is not only a prophet. He is an echo of *the* prophet par excellence.

"Ezra" becomes the figure of Moses while awaiting not only the first Torah, but also the esoteric regifted Law of Moses. Through the merging of Ezra and Moses, the Sinai pericope is deliberately conflated with Nehemiah 8:1–8, in which Ezra regives the Torah to the people who have returned from exile. Ezra participates in the genre of apocalypse but also calls upon the long-established tradition of prophets who receive esoteric traditions, whether it is the flying scroll of Zechariah chapter 5, or Isaiah of chapter 8.

The twelfth through fourteenth chapters of 4Ezra continue to invoke both Mosaic and Ezrean elements, while insisting that the new "Ezra" is himself a prophet.

> "For your law has been burned, and so no one knows the things which have been done or will be done by you. If then I have found favor with you, send the holy spirit

> into me, and I will write everything that has happened in the world from the beginning, the things that were written in your law, so that people may be able to find the path, and that those who want to live in the last days may do so." He answered me and said, "Go and gather the people, and tell them not to seek you for forty days. But prepare for yourself many writing tablets, and take with you Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ethanus, and Asiel—these five, who are trained to write rapidly; and you shall come here, and I will light in your heart the lamp of understanding, which shall not be put out until what you are about to write is finished. And when you have finished, some things you shall make public, and some you shall deliver in secret to the wise; tomorrow at this hour you shall begin to write." Then I went as he commanded me … "But let no one come to me now, and let no one seek me for forty days." (4Ezra 14:21–36)

Here we see an emphasis on textuality that is typical, not of prophetic texts in the narrow sense, but of Second Temple and post-70 CE texts, written at a time when revelation was understood as mediated.

In the fifth and sixth visions, it is as if Ezra is taken on a tour of Daniel's earlier visions, but this time Ezra is told that he will understand them. Now, 4Ezra, chapter 12 is clearly related to Daniel.

> Make me strong and let your servant know the meaning and the explanation of this vision that I saw so that you can give comfort to my soul completely. (4Ezra 12.8)
>
> This is the interpretation of the vision that you saw: The eagle you saw who came up from the sea: this is the fourth kingdom that was shown in a vision unto your brother Daniel. But it was not interpreted to him as I am interpreting to you now or as I have interpreted to you. (4Ezra 12.10–12)

The explanation of the vision continues:

> Look! The days are coming and there will arise a kingdom upon the earth and it will be more fearful than all the kingdoms that were before it. There will rule in it 12 kings one after the other but the second when he will reign he will hold a time longer than the 12 of them. This is the interpretation of the 12 wings that you saw. (4Ezra 12.13–16)
>
> And when you saw a voice who was speaking and did not come out from the head of the eagle but from the middle of his body this is the word: because in the midst of the time of that kingdom there will be many divisions and danger and it will fall but it will be re-established for its first headship. And as to the fact that you saw eight little wings that were under his wings, this is the word: there will arise in it eight kings and their times will be small and their epochs will be hurried and two of them will be destroyed. (4Ezra 12.17–20)

I want to highlight three things: (1) There is an explicit reference to an older scripture that is subject to interpretation. (2) The subject of inspired interpretation here is not the figure or personality of Daniel, but rather the text of Daniel's revelation. (3) Unlocking earlier scripture with angelic instruction provides divine access, albeit at a remove, even in or after the time of destruction. This is essential to the claim that "Ezra" makes

throughout the text: there are angelic and divine visions, communications and signs. Relatedly, the kind of inspiration invoked by the authorial voice of 4Ezra is authorized by being linked in a secondary way to an already authorized scripture (Najman, 2007; 2009). What we see in 4Ezra is a persistent revelation. However, it presents itself, not as entirely new but rather as already established and yet relevant to the present. Thus the protagonist derives his own authority from the scriptural authority of the past. The textualization that occurs in ancient Judaism might be said to effect a kind of closure (Kugel, 1986), but it ends revelation by continuing to realize it, even and especially in the face of destruction. The presence of these prophet-like figures throughout 4Ezra aspires to forge continuity between the prophetic past and the apocalyptic present.

Throughout chapters 9–10 of 4Ezra (the fourth vision) Ezra must learn to mourn for the temple. "Ezra" is at once a prophet, a writer, and an angel. He is a prophet insofar as he is like Moses at Sinai, like Ezekiel receiving revelation after the destruction of the temple, and like Jeremiah, who learns how to lament. He is a writer insofar as he is a divine amanuensis, like Moses in Jubilees, or Baruch who wrote for Jeremiah and God. And he is an angel insofar as he is fused with Uriel and is ultimately, according to the Syriac version of the seventh vision, "taken up with the ones who resemble him" like Enoch and Elijah. This fusing together of multiple biblical personalities creates a new and redefined, authoritative figure, retrospectively creating a new precursor (Najman, 2007). Moreover, this fusing invokes the past and reinforces a connectedness to scriptural authority that at once reinforces the past texts in an authorized and definitive context and creates a new scriptural work that responds to the newest crisis.

In the seventh vision there are numerous allusions to the visions given to prior figures, but now the message is delivered to Ezra.

> On the third day, while I was sitting under an oak, suddenly a voice came out of a bush opposite me and said, "Ezra, Ezra!" And I answered, "Here I am, Lord," and I rose to my feet. Then he said to me, "I revealed myself in a bush and spoke to Moses when my people were in bondage in Egypt; and I sent him and led my people out of Egypt; and I led him up on Mount Sinai, where I kept him with me many days. I told him many wondrous things, and showed him the secrets of the times and declared to him the end of the times. Then I commanded him, saying, 'These words you shall publish openly, and these you shall keep secret.' And now I say to you: Lay up in your heart the signs that I have shown you, the dreams that you have seen, and the interpretations that you have heard; for you shall be taken up from among humankind, and henceforth you shall live with my Son and with those who are like you, until the times are ended…" (4Ezra, vision 7: 14.1–48)

The above excerpt demonstrates extensive invoking of the earlier biblical figures and traditions that the text of 4Ezra inherits, transforms, and invokes in a manner that continues the prophetic trajectory with conviction and creativity.

In closing, I return to the generic thesis. It is clear, I think, that it is worthwhile to study genres in ancient Jewish literature, and that prophecy and apocalypse are among these classifications. Semeia 14 and the subsequent literature on the genre of

apocalypse have helped to define what was remarkable and distinctive about the apocalyptic imagination of ancient Jewish communities. However it is important to note that features associated with the prophetic project continue well into the late Second Temple period as well as in post-70 CE literature. Many of the features associated with apocalypse have a precedent within prophetic literature, albeit many of these generic features are changed in the hands of the apocalyptic writers. So, for example, one could perhaps argue that accounts of resurrection and judgment draw on prophetic language, but change the meaning. To take this argument one step farther, one might argue that the prophet in the heavenly council or a vision of the divine throne is extended and continued in the motif of the heavenly journey in apocalyptic literature.

Thus the prophetic and the apocalyptic classifications should be understood as internally related (Wright, 2010a). Apocalypse is one way of inheriting the prophetic project and continuing that project in the face of the destruction of what would have appeared to be its necessary conditions. To neglect the continuity between prophetic and apocalyptic literature—to focus exclusively on the distinctions between them—would be to misrepresent the ancient Jewish self-understanding. According to that self- understanding, the past continued to live in and inform the present, even after the destruction of the first and second temples, and it did so in such a way that the present could channel and thus re-present the past (Najman, 2012). The apocalyptic deployment of figures and themes from prophetic literature was part of a deliberate strategy of inheritance, intended to sustain the relevance of prophecy. This is one of many strategies that contributes to the composition and dissemination of apocalypses in the late Second Temple and post-70 CE periods.

While the institution of prophecy came to an end, prophetic figures and narratives continued to shape literature and later forms of Judaism (Himmelfarb, 1986; VanderKam, 2000a). This has been discussed in many recent studies of late Second Temple works such as the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C (Tigchelaar, 2012), Ben Sira (Wright, 2012), Pseudo Ezekiel (Brady, 2005; Popović, 2010), and the broader category of Rewritten Bible (Brooke, 2005). To understand how later Jewish writers could employ earlier texts and attribute their works to earlier figures is also to understand these writers' commitment to make sense of a Judaism that never succumbed to the destructions of the past, but that also never fully overcame them (Najman, 2011; Brooke, 2012).[1]

Note

1. Many thanks to Sonja Anderson, Joel Baden, John Collins, Steven Fraade, Paul Franks, Florentino García Martínez, Kathryn Lofton, Ishay Rosen-Zvi, Konrad Schmid, Myles Schoonover, Eibert Tigchelaar, Benjamin Wright III, Robin Young.

Bibliography

Baltzer, Klaus (1987). *Die Biographie der Propheten*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

Barton, John (1986). *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brady, Monica L. W. (2000). "Prophetic Traditions at Qumran: A Study of 4Q383–391." Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame.

——. (2005). "Biblical Interpretation in the 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' Fragments (4Q383–391) from Cave Four." In M. Henze, ed., *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 88–109.

Brooke, George J. (2005). "Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process." In E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements, eds., *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 85–104.

——. (2006). "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards." In M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak, eds., *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*. LHB/OTS. New York: T. & T. Clark, pp. 151–65.

——. (2012). "La Prophétie de Qumrân." In J. D. Macchi, C. Nihan, T. Römer, and J. Rückl, eds., *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible: Origines, milieux et contexte proche-oriental*. Le Monde de la Bible 64. Geneva: Labor et Fides, pp. 480–510.

Collins, John J. (1979a). "Towards the Morphology of a Genre." In John J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*. Semeia 14. Missoula: Scholars Press, pp. 1–20.

——. (1979b). "The Jewish Apocalypses." In John J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*. Semeia 14. Missoula: Scholars Press, pp. 21–49.

——. (1993). *Daniel. A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress.

——. (2009). "The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered." Paper presented at the Symposium on Forms of Ancient Jewish Literature in its Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Setting. University of Manchester, January 19–21.

——. (2011). "The Genre of the Book of Jubilees." In E. F. Mason et al., *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C.* VanderKam. Volume 2. JSJSup153. Leiden: Brill, pp. 737–55.

García Martínez, Florentino (2013). "Parabiblical Literature from Qumran and the Canonical Process." *Review de Qumran* 25: 525–556.

Hanneken, Todd (2012). *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees*. EJL 34. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Henze, Matthias (2006). "Invoking the Prophets in Zechaiah and Ben Sira." In M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak, eds., *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*. LHB/OTS 427. New York: T. & T. Clark, pp. 120–34.

——. (2011). *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel: Second Baruch in Context*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Himmelfarb, Martha (1986). "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Book of Watchers and Tours of Heaven." In A. Green, ed., *Jewish Spirituality from the Bible through the Middle Ages*. New York: Crossroad, pp. 145–70.

Jassen, Alex P. (2007). *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*. STDJ 68. Leiden: Brill.

Knibb, Michael A. (1976). "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period." *Heythrop Journal 17*: 253–72.

——. (1983). "Exile in the Damascus Document." *JSOT 25*: 99–117.

Koch, Klaus (1972). *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and Its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy*. Translated by Margaret Kohl. Naperville: A. R. Allenson.

——. (1983). *The Prophets, volume 1: The Assyrian Period*. Translated by Margaret Kohl. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

——. (1985). "Is Daniel Also among the Prophets?" *Interpretation 39*: 117–30.

——. (1989). "Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht." In David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 413–46.

——. (2000). "Profetenbuchüberschriften. Ihre Bedeutung für das hebräische Verständnis von Profetie." In Axel Graupner, ed., *Verbindungslinien, Festschrift für Werner H. Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, pp. 165–86.

Kugel, James L. (1986). "Early Interpretation: The Common Background of Late Forms of Biblical Exegesis." In James Kugel and R. A. Greer, eds., *Early Biblical Interpretation*. LEO 3. Louisville: Westminster Press, pp. 11–106.

——. (1994). "The Jubilees Apocalypse." *Dead Sea Discoveries 1*: 322–37.

Lange, Armin (2005a). "Weisheitsliteratur: Altes Testament." *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart 8*: 1366–69.

——. (2005b). "Weisheitsliteratur: Antikes Judentum." *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart 8*: 1369–70.

Najman, Hindy (2003). *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism.* JSJSup 77. Leiden: Brill.

——. (2007). "How Should We Contextualize Pseudepigrapha? Imitation and Emulation in 4 Ezra." In A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar, eds., *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez.* SJSJ 122: Leiden: Brill, pp. 529–36.

——. (2009). "Reconsidering Jubilees: Prophecy and Exemplarity." In G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba, eds., *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 229–43.

——. (2011). "The Idea of Biblical Genre." in J. Penner, K. M. Penner, and C. Wassen, eds., *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 308–21.

——. (2012). "The Vitality of Scripture within and beyond the Canon." *Journal for the Study of Judaism 43*: 497–518.

Niditch, Susan (1983). *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 58. Chico: Scholars Press.

Peterson, David (2002). *The Prophetic Literature: An Introduction.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

Popović, Mladen (2010). "Prophet, Books and Texts: Ezekiel, Pseudo-Ezekiel, and the Authoritativeness of Ezekiel Traditions in Early Judaism." in M. Popović, ed., *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*. JSJSS 141. Leiden: Brill, pp. 227–51.

Rowley, Harold Henry (1963). *The Relevance of Apocalyptic: A Study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to the Revelation*. London: Lutterworth.

Schaper, Joachim (2006). "The Death of the Prophet: The Transition from the Spoken to the Written Word of God in the Book of Ezekiel." In M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak, eds., *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*. LHB/OTS 427. New York: T. & T. Clark, pp. 63–79.

Steck, Odil (2000). *The Prophetic Books and Their Theological Witness*. Translated by James D.Nogalski. Atlanta: Chalice Press.

Sweeney, Marvin A. (2005). *The Prophetic Literature*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Tigchelaar, Eibert (2012). "Classifications of the Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of Apocryphon of Jeremiah C." *Journal for the Study of Judaism 43*: 519–50.

VanderKam, James C. (2000a). "The Prophetic-Sapiential Origins of Apocalyptic Thought." In idem, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible & Second Temple Literature*. JSJSup 62. Leiden: Brill, pp. 241–54.

——. (2000b). "Prophecy and Apocalyptics in the Ancient Near East." In idem, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible & Second Temple Literature*. JSJSup 62. Leiden: Brill, pp. 255–75.

Von Rad, Gerhard (1965). *Theologie des Alten Testaments*. 4th ed. Munich: Kaiser Verlag.

——. (1972). *Wisdom in Israel*. Translated by James Martin. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Wahl, Harald-Martin (1994). "Die Überschriften der Prophetenbücher. Anmerkungen zu Form, Redaktion und Bedeutung für die Datierung der Bücher." *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 70*: 91–104.

Westermann, Claus (1991). *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*. Translated by Hugh Clayton White. Louisville: Westminster Press.

Wilson, Robert (1979). "Prophecy and Ecstasy: A Reexamination." *Journal of Biblical Literature 98*: 321–37.

——. (1980). *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

——. (1998). "The Prophetic Books." In John Barton, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 212–25.

Wright III, Benjamin G. (2009). "*Jubilees*, Sirach and Sapiential Tradition." In G. Boccaccini and G. Ibbaeds., *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of the Book of Jubilees*.. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, pp. 116–30.

——. (2010a). "Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts." *Dead Sea Discoveries 17*: 289–314.

——. (2010b). "Conflicted Boundaries: Ben Sira, Sage and Seer." In Martti Nissinen, ed., *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*. VTSup 148. Leiden: Brill, pp. 229–53.

Yarbro Collins, Adela, ed. (1986). *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting*. Semeia 36. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

CHAPTER 4

WISDOM AND APOCALYPTICISM

MATTHEW GOFF

Introduction

In 1857 Ludwig Noack, a professor at the University of Giessen, described apocalypticism as originating out of a kind of "Weisheitslehre" of the Hellenistic period (Noack 1857: 240). Affinities have been observed for a long time between the apocalyptic and sapiential traditions. Contemporary scholarly reflection on the issue, however, begins with Gerhard von Rad (1965). He argued in the 1960s that apocalypticism is a child of the wisdom tradition, not prophecy. Von Rad's claim, which he first laid out in a brief and unsystematic fashion in his *Old Testament Theology*, has spawned a great deal of scholarly discussion (for surveys see García Martínez 2003; DiTommaso 2007: 374–81; Goff 2009: 386–88). There is even an ongoing working group of the Society of Biblical Literature (of which I am a member) that is devoted to wisdom, apocalypticism, and their intersections (Wright and Wills 2005). The value of von Rad's thesis is not its veracity. Most scholars have rejected it. Rather, at a time when the Dead Sea Scrolls sparked renewed interest in apocalyptic literature, and the late Second Temple period in general, von Rad's bold formulation spurred scholars to think about the origins of apocalypticism, its affinities with the wisdom tradition, and the relation between them. Such issues have also had a significant impact on the study of the New Testament, in particular the sayings source Q and the view, championed by John Kloppenborg, that it should be understood as a kind of sapiential text. In this essay I will sketch out von Rad's ideas and how they have impacted scholarship with regard to both early Judaism and the New Testament. Wisdom and

apocalypticism are distinct traditions. There is, however, no inherent aspect of either genre that prevents one of these traditions from influencing the other. Moreover, in the late Second Temple period both wisdom and apocalypticism are shaped by the same broad intellectual currents of the Hellenistic age.

Apocalypticism and Apocalypse

Wisdom and apocalypticism are modern scholarly terms intended to classify a range of diverse ancient texts. The term "wisdom" can signify both the form and content of a text. "Apocalypticism" and "apocalyptic" are employed to characterize the content of the text and the related term "apocalypse" denotes a literary genre.

The term "apocalypse" literally means "uncovering." This highlights the centrality of supernatural revelation in the genre apocalypse. Typically in apocalypses a visionary purports to receive knowledge from a heavenly source, such as an angel. The description of the genre provided by the SBL taskforce led in the late 1970s by John Collins, published in *Semeia 14* (1979), is still important. They defined the apocalypse as a "genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework" that had both a temporal dimension focused on eschatological salvation and a spatial dimension concerned with the supernatural or heavenly world (Collins 1998: 5). Apocalypses are often pseudepigraphic, attributed to a venerable figure from the past, such as Enoch or Ezra. Ancient Jewish texts routinely categorized as apocalypses include *1 Enoch*, Daniel, *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham, 3 Baruch*, and *2 Enoch*. There are also Christian apocalypses, the most well known being the New Testament book of Revelation.

The term "apocalypticism" is used to characterize the content of ancient texts of various genres (not only apocalypses). Such texts are said to have an apocalyptic worldview. An apocalyptic worldview includes not only appeals to supernatural revelation, but also motifs such as eschatological judgment, life after physical death, and a concern with the angelic world (Collins 1998: 12–14). A concern with angels or revelation is often not driven solely by an abstract or intellectual curiosity about the heavens but rather by the conviction that the world is somehow out of balance or overrun by destructive or evil forces. The visions that are revealed typically provide a theological backdrop against which reality should be understood, according to which God will distribute recompense to the wicked and the righteous in the eschatological future. An apocalyptic worldview is evident, for example, in the book of Daniel, which is an apocalypse, and in the Qumran War Scroll, which is not. The latter composition can be said to have an apocalyptic worldview since it provides a detailed account of an eschatological clash between the forces of light and darkness, at which

time the dominion of Belial, a supernatural opponent of God, and his Gentile minions, is overthrown.

Wisdom

Wisdom as a marker of content has a broad semantic range. It can signify something that is learned or a desire to acquire knowledge, either in a general sense or a specific kind of learning. The book of Exodus employs the term חכמה ("wisdom") to describe the expertise of Bezalel and Oholiab, who are skilled in crafts such as metalworking, wood carving, and embroidery (35:30–35; cf. 28:3). Wise King Solomon famously possesses encyclopedic knowledge on various topics, including flora and fauna (1 Kgs 5:13 [Eng. 4:33]). Wisdom in this expansive sense is found in both sapiential and apocalyptic texts, not to mention other genres. Ben Sira encourages students to acquire wisdom from the Torah. The texts that comprise the apocalypse *1 Enoch* describe the heavenly revelation transmitted by Enoch as wisdom (e.g., 82:2–3; 104:12). Illustrating the wide range of content that can be classified as wisdom in both sapiential and apocalyptic literature, Collins divides wisdom into five categories of material: (1) wisdom sayings, the aphorisms of the sort one finds in Proverbs; (2) theological wisdom, including reflection on creation of the world and concerns such as theodicy; (3) nature wisdom, such as the interest in the elements of the natural order in Job 38–41; (4) mantic wisdom (divination and dream interpretation, as in Dan 1–6); and (5) higher wisdom through revelation, as one finds in the apocalypses (1997a: 388; see also below).

As a formal term, "wisdom" is used to classify several books of the Hebrew Bible—Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and, in the Apocrypha, Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon. One could speak loosely of wisdom as a genre, but it is perhaps better to speak of wisdom as a broad category that encompasses a variety of literary forms. The wisdom texts can be understood as "instructions," in that they were designed for pedagogical purposes. Wisdom comprises specific literary forms, including exhortations, proverbs, and admonitions that serve the overarching pedagogical goal of the material—the instruction of students by teachers. Understanding the literary forms that constitute wisdom literature thus also relates to the issues of function and social setting. The link between the literary classification of wisdom and its pedagogical function is explicit in the case of Ben Sira, whose exhortations extol the value of wisdom in part to attract students (24:34; cf. 51:23–28). The didactic speeches uttered by Woman Wisdom in Proverbs likewise encourage people to acquire wisdom and study under her (e.g., 2:2; 8:10–11).

Crenshaw's definition of biblical wisdom literature, originally put forward in 1981, is still influential: "formally wisdom consists of proverbial sentence or instruction, debate, intellectual reflection; thematically wisdom comprises self-evident intuitions about mastering life for human betterment, gropings after life's secrets with regard to innocent suffering, grappling with finitude and quest for truth concealed in the created order and manifested in Dame Wisdom" (2010: 12). This definition emphasizes that sapiential literature exhibits a distinct worldview—that the world is coherent and has regular patterns, both at a cosmological and social level, and that human wisdom comprises the individual's intellectual capacity to discern these structures and live in harmony with them, allowing him or her to lead a successful, long, and fulfilling life (Crenshaw 2010: 11). Job and Ecclesiastes famously engage this worldview, which is best represented by the book of Proverbs, by expressing skepticism about the extent to which attaining wisdom reliably results in this-worldly benefits. Crenshaw's definition understands the term "wisdom" by appealing to both form and content. He asserts that "when a marriage between form and content exists, there is Wisdom literature" (Crenshaw 2010: 12). The literary forms of wisdom literature, in that they are pithy and didactic, are understood as themselves expressive of a sapiential worldview.

Wisdom Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Dead Sea Scrolls enrich and complicate our understanding of wisdom literature (Goff 2007, 2010; Kampen 2011). The scrolls include some texts that are widely recognized as sapiential, such as 4QInstruction (1Q26, 4Q415–18, 4Q423), 4Q184, 4Q185, and 4Q424, but there is no solid consensus among scholars regarding how many Qumran texts should be considered sapiential. When the Dead Sea Scrolls are incorporated into our knowledge of the wisdom literature of ancient Judaism, it is no longer clear that a "sapiential worldview" can be viewed as the ingredient that binds all wisdom texts together, as Crenshaw argued with regard to biblical sapiential literature. The Qumran texts commonly regarded as wisdom have a variety of worldviews (Collins 1997b). 4Q424 contains exclusively practical advice about kinds of people who should be hired or not. The text is fully consistent, in terms of worldview and form, with Proverbs 10–30. 4QInstruction similarly contains extensive teachings on practical topics that resonate with Proverbs, such as marriage and the payment of debts. However, unlike both 4Q424 and Proverbs, the pedagogical ethos of 4QInstruction resonates much more with the apocalyptic tradition than does biblical wisdom. This composition is the longest wisdom text of the Dead Sea Scrolls and

the last major work from the Qumran corpus to be published, appearing in 1999 (Goff 2003; 2013). 4QInstruction is widely and justly regarded as sapiential in terms of genre. The composition is explicitly pedagogical, written by a teacher to a student, who is called a *mebin* ("understanding one"), and its literary style is characterized by didactic admonitions. While much of the text is consistent with traditional wisdom, at the center of 4QInstruction stands the *raz nihyeh*, which can be translated the "mystery that is to be." The student is repeatedly (over twenty times) urged to study and contemplate this mystery, a focus that has no parallel whatsoever in the book of Proverbs. God created the world by means of the *raz nihyeh* (4Q417 1 i 8–9; cf. Prov 3:19). The phrase signifies the inherent order of the cosmos and the deity's dominion over it. The *raz nihyeh* is the means by which the *mebin* acquires wisdom, the knowledge and acumen needed to be successful in the world (4Q417 1 i 6–7). The mystery that is to be is much more in line with the apocalyptic tradition than traditional wisdom. While the trope is alien to biblical wisdom, the apocalypses and other early Jewish texts use the term *raz* to denote revealed, supernatural knowledge. Not unlike 4QInstruction, Daniel 2 repeatedly uses the term to denote heavenly revelation in the story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and the word has a similar function in the Aramaic Enoch scrolls (4QEn^{c} 5 ii 26–27; *1 En.* 106:19; cf. 1QS 3:23; 1QpHab 7:4–5). 4QInstruction also includes other themes that are more in keeping with apocalypticism, such as eschatological judgment, an addressee with elect status, and a concern with the angelic world (e.g., 4Q416 1; 4Q418 69 ii; 4Q418 81). The composition is the best example available of a wisdom text with an apocalyptic worldview. While 4Q424 accords with Crenshaw's understanding of a sapiential worldview, 4QInstruction does not.

Collins, observing the diversity of worldviews in the Qumran wisdom texts, quips that Crenshaw's "marriage between form and content," his key to defining wisdom literature, "seems to end in divorce" (Collins 1997b: 280). The coherence of the category wisdom literature, when one includes the Dead Sea Scrolls in the analysis, is not to be found in a consistent worldview evident in all the relevant texts but rather in their function "as instructional material" (Collins 1997b: 281). Reflecting a pedagogical intent, the texts of this corpus encourage one to love learning and search for knowledge, as in biblical wisdom (e.g., 4Q298 3–4 ii 3–6; 4Q418 221 2–3). Moreover, compositions classified as wisdom engage extensively in what can be called sapiential discourse—they draw from and reformulate ideas, literary forms, and terminology transmitted in the sapiential tradition of ancient Israel, as represented by the book of Proverbs (Goff 2010: 299). Ben Sira, the Wisdom of Solomon, 4QInstruction, and Job all, for example, in different ways reformulate and utilize material in Proverbs.

The Late Wisdom of Gerhard Von Rad

For most of his career Gerhard von Rad was not known for his views on wisdom vis-à-vis apocalypticism but rather for his "historical credo," as presented in his famous 1938 essay "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch." He understood the statement in Deuteronomy 26:5–9 that "A wandering Aramaean was my father" to be the oldest layer of tradition in the Hexateuch (the Torah plus Joshua), around which other blocs of tradition were assembled in the compilation of the text. Von Rad presented this "credo" and others, such as Deuteronomy 6:20–24 and Joshua 24:1–13, as cultic recitals of Israel's history. History thus becomes a sort of confessional category, in that the liturgical articulation of past events is the means by which ancient Israelites expressed their commitment to and worship of God. This perspective dominates volume 1 of von Rad's *Old Testament Theology* (1962; German, 1957).

The wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible is given substantial treatment in von Rad's *Theology*, in a section entitled "Israel Before Yahweh (Israel's Answer)" (1962: 1.355–459). The inclusion of the sapiential literature of the Hebrew Bible under the rubric of historical theology is somewhat surprising, given that this material shows scant interest in Israel's national traditions. Von Rad himself came to realize the flaws in a historical approach to the faith of ancient Israel as a means to explicate the wisdom literature. In 1964 he observed that it was too "einseitig" ("one-sided") to approach the theology of the Old Testament exclusively in a historical vein (cited in Clines et al. 2003: v-vi).

The final stage of von Rad's scholarly career is devoted to wisdom literature. His last major book, *Wisdom in Israel* (1970; ET 1972), seeks to establish the place of sapiential literature in the Yahwistic piety of ancient Israel. Crenshaw credits the popularity of this book as a major factor in the rise of interest in wisdom literature during the past generation (2010: 1). In *Wisdom in Israel* von Rad argues that sapiential texts construe creation, not history, as the medium by which God was known and affirmed in ancient Israel. The sages who produced these texts thus become not simply teachers who espouse practical instruction on debts and moderation with food. They are profound theologians who ponder the nature of existence. Through reflection upon the natural world one comes to understand God better. The contemplation of reality becomes a sort of pious act. Today von Rad is known more for his contribution to wisdom literature than his historical credo. A conference, for example, that commemorated his posthumous one hundredth birthday in 2001 focused on sapiential topics and never substantively engaged the credo (Clines et al. 2003).

Von Rad never gave the relationship between wisdom and apocalypticism extensive treatment. In volume 2 of his *Theology*, in a chapter on Daniel and apocalypticism, he argues that it "is completely out of the question" that apocalypticism should be considered "a child of prophecy" (2.303). In his opinion the two traditions

have completely different conceptions of history. The prophets are concerned with *Heilsgeschichte* (salvation history), the manifestation of God's special relationship with Israel in history (as evident, for example, in Second Isaiah's appropriation of the Exodus event). By contrast, apocalyptic literature is concerned with eschatology, focusing on the last generation of Israel rather than its full history (2.304). In the fifth edition of his *Theology*, which remains untranslated, he observes that apocalyptic literature is also concerned with history in a broader sense, as evident in the stages of world history in the visions of Daniel 2 and 7 (2.322). Nevertheless for von Rad knowledge, not history, is the key to apocalyptic literature. It is its "nerve-center" (ET 2.306). Von Rad characterizes Jewish apocalypticism as the "eschatologization of wisdom" ("Eschatologisierung der Weisheit"), a product of the sages who developed the wisdom literature (4th German ed.; 2.329). Their thought evolved over time, he argued, and they eventually directed their thirst for knowledge to the final stage of history.

In *Wisdom in Israel* von Rad develops the theme of the eschatologization of wisdom in an excursus on "the divine interpretation of times" (1972: 263–83). He begins with the traditional sapiential idea that the wise person knows the right time to carry out a particular action. Ecclesiastes develops this motif theologically, in the book's famous poem in chapter 3 about God having established the right times for various events (264; cf. 1965: 2.307). The instruction of Ben Sira attests further elaboration of this trend, in its emphasis that God decreed "from the beginning" what will happen (39:25; cf. 23:20). The sage espouses the idea that creation unfolds according to a divinely preordained plan. Von Rad goes on to assert that core apocalyptic texts such as Daniel and *1 Enoch* (citing also *Jubilees* and the Treatise of the Two Spirits [1QS 3:13–4:26]) are "later didactic writings" that appropriate the deterministic conception of history found in Ben Sira and apply it to the final stage of history (268; cf. 278).

The Reception of von Rad's Thesis

Von Rad's views on wisdom and apocalypticism engendered a great deal of scholarly reflection. In 1972 Hans-Peter Müller attempted to nuance von Rad's argument by suggesting that mantic wisdom (defined above), rather than wisdom in a general sense, is an important source of apocalypticism (1972: 268–93). It is difficult to deny that mantic or divinatory knowledge influenced apocalypticism (compare Daniel 2 and 7), but such material is not a major element of the sapiential tradition. Learning of this sort is not in Proverbs and is in fact rejected by Ben Sira (34:1–8). Müller's emphasis on mantic wisdom is not that helpful in terms of understanding the interrelations between the sapiential and apocalyptic traditions.

Michael Stone, discerning von Rad's emphasis on knowledge and learning in apocalypticism, argues that catalogs of specific fields of knowledge, such as astronomy, geography, and meteorology, are fundamental to the apocalypses (1974). *2 Baruch* 59:5–11, for example, contains an elaborate list of cosmological and eschatological phenomena, revealed by God to Moses (cf. *1 En.* 60:14–22; *2 En.* 40:1–13 [J]). Stone speculates that such lists in apocalypses may derive from "interrogative Wisdom formulations," evident in texts such as Job 38 and Ben Sira 1, which reflect the sapiential tradition's interest in the structure of the world and the cosmos (1974: 435, 438). Stone stresses, however, that specific lines of development from wisdom to apocalypticism cannot be sufficiently reconstructed.

In the 1970s John Collins contributed to this debate with an article on the Wisdom of Solomon (1997a: 317–38). Von Rad never gave this sapiential text substantive treatment when he described the relationship between wisdom and apocalypticism. This is presumably because its late date, probably circa 40 CE, weakens its value for the thesis that apocalypticism is a child of wisdom. Nevertheless the Wisdom of Solomon is quite germane to the discussion. It is a sapiential text that not only proclaims eschatological judgment but also imagines wisdom as a divine spirit that pervades the universe, reflecting the conviction that the cosmos expresses the will of God, who can thus be experienced and contemplated through comprehension of the natural world (e.g., 3:7; 1:7). The text's emphasis on the natural order is not only in continuity with the creation theology of Proverbs (ch. 8) but is also compatible with the apocalypses, as evident in *1 Enoch* 2–5, which stresses that the regular motion of heavenly bodies should be attributed to God.

In 1975 Jonathan Z. Smith offered a comparativist perspective of the issue, focusing not on Jewish apocalypses but ancient Near Eastern materials from Babylon and Egypt (1993: 67–87). Wisdom and apocalypticism should both be viewed as "essentially scribal phenomena" (85). The two genres originated out of a scribalist "trajectory," with roots in royal propaganda and the interpretation of oracles and sacred texts by scribes. The development of apocalypticism is presented as a consequence of the radicalization of such scribal circles, triggered by the demise of native kingship in the ancient Near East during the Hellenistic period. This is evident, Smith suggests, in the Egyptian *Potter's Oracle*. Apocalypticism is for him "wisdom lacking a royal patron" (81). 4QInstruction by no means supports his view that sapiential authors have royal patrons, since the composition is written to an addressee who is poor and marginalized (e.g., 4Q416 2 iii 2, 8; 4Q417 2 i 17–18). Smith's analysis of texts from disparate cultures would have also benefited from clear definitions of the literary categories wisdom and apocalypse.

The reception of von Rad's views demonstrates that a thesis can have a substantive and positive impact on scholarship, even when there is a solid consensus that it is wrong. Most scholars have rejected von Rad's thesis, as originally formulated (for an exception, see Lange 1995: 306). The view that one should choose wisdom rather than prophecy to understand the origins of apocalypticism problematically minimizes

the view that the prophetic tradition is foundational in the development of apocalypticism. Postexilic prophecy shows a marked interest in eschatological judgment (e.g., Joel 2:1–11; Isa 65:17–25) and visions (Zech 1–8), both of which are central in the apocalypses. Moreover, it is not clear that one must choose wisdom over prophecy as the "mother" of apocalypticism; it draws on multiple traditions, including postexilic prophecy, Near Eastern myth, and Persian religion (Collins 1998: 23–34).

Moreover, the opinion that apocalypticism comes out of wisdom does not hold up well given what has been learned about ancient Judaism since von Rad. As discussed above, he understood apocalyptic literature as the elaboration of sapiential concerns and motifs found in Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira. The apocalypses were for him "later didactic writings" in relation to these texts. In 1976, a few years after von Rad's death, Józef Milik published Aramaic fragments from Qumran of scrolls that attest early versions of Enochic writings. They established that the oldest Jewish apocalypses, the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book* of *1 Enoch*, should be dated to the third century BCE. This dating is incompatible with the view that apocalypticism originates as a development of sapiential ideas attested in Ben Sira (ca. 180 BCE).

The Fluid Boundaries of Wisdom and Apocalypticism

While the wisdom and apocalyptic traditions can be recognized as distinct genres, in terms of content they can overlap. They have much in common. Von Rad was right to emphasize the centrality of knowledge and learning in the apocalypses. Wisdom and apocalypticism are both the product of learned men. Both genres endorse and transmit "wisdom," in the broad sense of the term. Ben Sira describes himself as an educated scribe who encourages students to seek wisdom and to acquire learning, primarily through the study of the Torah. Daniel is ranked among the wise men of the Babylonian court and the text emphasizes his education and his erudition, portraying him as a courtier who is not only skilled in dream interpretation but, like Solomon, endowed with the intelligence to be a leader in state administration (2:48; 5:29). Enoch is hailed in *1 Enoch* as a legendary scribe of the antediluvian age (e.g., 12:4; 15:1), who receives knowledge of the cosmos and history through revelation. The acquisition of knowledge is stressed in apocalyptic literature, as in wisdom literature, although the media by which it is obtained (typically angelic revelation) is quite different from traditional wisdom. This distinction collapses somewhat in the late Second Temple period since some wisdom texts from that era, most notably 4QInstruction, emphasize supernatural revelation (see further below). In both wisdom texts and apocalypses one finds an imperative to contemplate and study the

natural world. This theme is paramount in Proverbs and Ben Sira, and *1 Enoch*, as mentioned above, begins with a call for people to study the regularity of the motion of heavenly bodies as a way to become obedient to God's will (2:1).

Wisdom and apocalypticism can influence one another. This is illustrated by 4QInstruction, the best example available of a wisdom text with an apocalyptic worldview. The text, as reviewed above, extensively combines practical instruction that is in continuity with Proverbs 10–31 with an emphasis on supernatural revelation that is much more in keeping with apocalyptic literature. Elgvin argues that the composition was originally a work of practical instruction that was later expanded by apocalypticists, who added themes such as supernatural revelation and eschatological judgment (2000). The redactional critical approach posits the separation of the two traditions, but their presence together in 4QInstruction demonstrates the exact opposite point—that elements from the sapiential and apocalyptic traditions can be combined in a single text. Wisdom and apocalypticism are complementary influences in 4QInstruction. While the two comprise distinct literary categories, there is a priori no reason why they cannot influence and inform one another or take on characteristics from still other traditions.

Trajectories of Wisdom: Raz and Torah

Aside from 4QInstruction there are other examples of early Jewish wisdom texts with features that are more in keeping with apocalypticism than traditional wisdom. In the Wisdom of Solomon themes such as eschatological judgment are prominent, as mentioned above. Ben Sira includes assertions of divine judgment of a sort not found in older wisdom (e.g., 5:7; 16:17–21); however, a key example from the text may be secondary (36:1–22; Argall 1995: 211–47).

The Dead Sea Scrolls include several wisdom texts with apocalyptic themes apart from 4QInstruction. The Book of Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299–301) can be considered an instruction although it shows little interest in the practical instruction that characterizes Proverbs (Goff 2007: 93–99). Mysteries begins, as do 4QInstruction and *1 Enoch*, with an eschatological judgment scene (1Q27 1 i 1–12). The text is one of two compositions outside of 4QInstruction that attests the phrase *raz nihyeh* (the other being the Community Rule, 1QS 11:3–4). Mysteries also asserts that its elect audience has access to supernatural revelation (4Q299 8 6). Similarly, the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26) is an instruction but shows little interest in commonsensical advice. The work hinges upon several types of dualism, including an opposition of light and darkness, angels who encourage humans to be righteous or wicked, and diametrically opposed eschatological fates for these two types of people. These dualisms

are consistent with the dichotomy in traditional wisdom between wise and foolish people. But the Treatise's teaching on the nature of humankind, with its emphasis on eschatological judgment and a concern with the heavenly world, is permeated with an apocalyptic worldview. Other Qumran sapiential texts also accord more with the apocalypses than traditional wisdom. 4Q184, for example, betrays a conception of life after death for the elect and 4Q185 asserts the inevitability of final judgment (4Q184 7–8; 4Q185 1–2 i 8–9; Goff 2007: 115). 4QInstruction, as a wisdom text with apocalyptic themes, is not an isolated case.

These examples allow us to posit that one major type of wisdom in the late Second Temple period is characterized by substantial influence from the apocalyptic tradition. 4QInstruction is the best example of this broader type, which is also represented by Mysteries and the Treatise. This mode of wisdom is different from another kind, known before the scrolls, that is characterized by significant engagement with the covenantal tradition. The parade example of this type is Ben Sira, with its emphatic praise of the Torah as a source of wisdom. Other examples of this form of wisdom are Baruch (3:9–4:4) and 4QBeatitudes (4Q525), both of which explicitly identify wisdom and Torah (cf. 11QPs^{a} 18:11–12). The other type of wisdom also employs the Torah (see, for example, the use of Genesis 2–3 in 4Q423 1). But texts in this category do not exhibit the kind of Torah piety that is prominent in Ben Sira.

Sapiential Influence on the Apocalypses

The porous boundaries of wisdom and apocalypticisms are evident not only in the influence of the latter on the former. There are also instances of apocalypses drawing upon the wisdom tradition. The parade example of this phenomenon is in the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*1 En.* 37–71). The trope of wisdom personified as a woman is central in Proverbs, Ben Sira, and the Wisdom of Solomon. She makes a brief yet significant appearance in *1 Enoch* 42. This chapter states that she cannot find a permanent home on earth and then returns to heaven to live with the angels. This assertion directly contradicts Sirach 24:8–12, which states that she found a permanent home in Israel. Unlike Wisdom, the figure of Iniquity, a trope that may appropriate Dame Folly from Proverbs 9, has no problem locating a dwelling on earth (*1 En.* 42:3). The chapter bears some resemblance to Job 28, which also asserts that wisdom is unavailable on earth. Illustrating the sapiential emphasis on the human search for knowledge, the Joban chapter highlights people seeking items of great value, such as gems and gold deep in the earth, and their unsuccessful search for wisdom, which is more valuable than jewels (Prov 3:14–15). The *Similitudes of Enoch*, by contrast, emphasizes in *1 Enoch* 42 a concern with the heavenly world that is characteristic of

the apocalypses, focusing not on the human pursuit of wisdom but rather the earthly journey of personified, otherworldly wisdom and her return to heaven.

The apocalypses also contain examples of literary forms that resonate with the wisdom tradition. Sapiential sayings are placed in an apocalyptic context in Book 2 of the *Sibylline Oracles* (ll. 56–148). A Christian redactor added a substantial excerpt from Pseudo-Phocylides, a Hellenistic-Jewish collection of didactic and moral sayings that has affinities with traditional Jewish wisdom (Collins 1997b: 394). The *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 92–105) includes literary forms such as admonitions and rhetorical questions with a pedagogical bent (93:12–14). Enoch is portrayed as a teacher who celebrates the wise and rebukes fools. He urges people to retain and practice his teaching (94:4), using exhortations that are often consistent with the book of Proverbs. *1 Enoch* 98:9, for example, reads: "Woe to you, fools, for you will be destroyed because of your folly. You do not listen to the wise; and good things will not happen to you, but evils will surround you" (cf. 94:1; 99:13). This statement would not seem out of place if it were placed in the mouth of Woman Wisdom in her rebuke of fools in Proverbs 1 (esp. vv. 26–32). Also, there are sequences of beatitudes in *2 Enoch* and the form is found in other apocalypses (*2 En.* 52; *1 En.* 99:10). Such formal parallels are not necessarily evidence of sapiential influence in apocalyptic texts, but this remains a possibility.

Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Q

The assessment of wisdom and apocalypticism also bears on Q, the putative sayings source of the synoptic gospels (Goff 2005). As is well known, John Kloppenborg argues that the original layer of Q comprises six wisdom instructions, which include texts such as 6:20b–23b, 9:57–60, and 12:2–7 (1987: 342–45; 2000: 146). The second layer of Q in his estimation is characterized by eschatological judgment (e.g., 3:16b–17; 11:29–32). Kloppenborg avoids describing the first layer of Q as sapiential and the second as apocalyptic, on the grounds that utilization of these categories introduces theological confusion, whereas the redaction criticism of Q should be based on rigorous literary analysis (2000: 380). Other scholars illustrate that Kloppenborg's conclusions have indeed been taken in unfortunate directions. Burton Mack, for example, has argued that the thesis that the oldest layer of Q is sapiential indicates that the historical Jesus should not be thought of as an apocalyptic figure (1993: 37–38). Such conclusions rely upon an overly rigid notion of wisdom and apocalypticism as mutually exclusive categories. But one need not agree with Kloppenborg's avoidance of the genre labels wisdom and apocalypticism, as if they were incompatible with literary or redactional criticism.

The categories wisdom and apocalypticism can indeed contribute to the study of Q. It is useful to understand Q, or at least its putative formative layer, as a

sapiential instruction against the backdrop of the wisdom and apocalyptic traditions of early Judaism. If one grants Kloppenborg's redaction criticism, there is a mixture of the two traditions in both of Q's putative strata. There is imminent eschatology in each of his layers of the sayings source (10:9–11; 11:29–32). The first includes a belief in life after death, a motif in keeping with apocalypticism not traditional wisdom (6:23). The motif of personified wisdom, expressed by having the wisdom of God itself speak, appears in his second layer (11:49–51). Kloppenborg's six instructions are clearly pedagogical. They provide teaching on specific topics, such as judging people and speech (6:37; 12:2–4). The text offers admonitions that give moral advice on issues that include loving others (6:32–35). Beatitudes and didactic parables are deployed for pedagogical purposes (e.g., 6:20b, 39–42).

Kloppenborg describes the content of Q as "the wisdom of the kingdom," a charcterization that emphasizes the document's decisive break with traditional wisdom (1987: 319). Q does indeed constitute a departure from the instruction of Proverbs. The sayings source contains an ascetic call to focus on heavenly affairs rather than the basic necessities of this world. One should "not keep striving for what you are to eat and what you are to drink" but instead "strive for his kingdom and these things [such as food] will be given to you as well" (12:29, 31). Proverbs, by contrast, encourages one to be practical and self-sufficient with regard to basics such as food and shelter. In this book meeting one's basic material needs is compatible with piety. The abundant practical instruction of the document is prefaced by the assertion that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (Prov 1:7). The statement in Q 14:26 that one cannot follow Jesus without hating family and "even life itself" is antithetical to traditional wisdom, in which one of the central rewards of attaining wisdom is long life (Prov 3:18).

While the "wisdom of the kingdom" of Q is indeed sharply divergent from Proverbs, the sayings source is in continuity with a type of early Jewish wisdom represented by 4QInstruction. This composition provides a precedent for Q, as a sapiential text that prominently espouses eschatological judgment and a conception of the elect. Also, both 4QInstruction and Q understand their audience as poor (6:20; 4Q416 2 iii 8, 12). The Qumran text's intended audience includes farmers (4Q418 103 ii 2–9), and there is scant evidence that elite scribes were among the group's members. This is consistent with Q's focus on commonplace images and agricultural imagery, such as the production of grapes and figs, and bread baking (6:44; 13:18–21). One should not, however, overemphasize the affinities between the two texts. Q, for example, never gives prominence to the study of heavenly mysteries in a way that accords with the role of the mystery that is to be in 4QInstruction. The Qumran text encourages the poor person to be financially stable, not to ignore basic concerns about food and shelter. Nevertheless, Q was likely shaped by the trajectory of early Jewish wisdom best represented by 4QInstruction.

Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Hellenistic Age

One legacy of von Rad is a tendency to approach affinities between wisdom and apocalypticism as a question of one tradition influencing the other. While there are clearly instances in which this is the case (e.g., Woman Wisdom in *1 Enoch* 42), parallels between the two traditions should not necessarily be explained in this way. The intellectual currents of the Hellenistic age impact both wisdom and apocalypticism. The theme of revelation, for example, is a widespread motif in this era. It is attested not only in Jewish texts identified as sapiential or apocalyptic. Hengel has argued compellingly that "higher wisdom through revelation" is found throughout the Hellenistic era, in both Greek and Near Eastern texts (1974: 1.210–17). The Iranian *Oracle of Hystaspes*, for example, revolves around the eschatological interpretation of a dream by a Median king (named Hystaspes) and the Hellenistic Palestinian philosopher Menippus of Gadara (the namesake of Menippean satire; fl. 300 BCE) parodies the myth of the otherworldly journey, an indication that the trope was well known (1974: 211; Collins 1998: 34–35).

Determinism, the view that reality unfolds according to preordained divine plan, is another motif that was widespread in the Hellenistic period. Ben Sira construes the natural order in deterministic terms, as does 4QInstruction, and this perspective is presupposed in the visions of Daniel. The determinism of the Treatise of the Two Spirits is comprehensive, asserting that God ordained the plan for all things before they take place (1QS 3:15). Similar assertions of the divine stewardship of the natural order are not only found in Jewish literature. A demotic wisdom text from Hellenistic Egypt known as Papyrus Insinger, for example, attests a deterministic perspective, frequently asserting the refrain "The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them." Stoicism is a major philosophical school of the Hellenistic age and it puts forward a compatible conception of the natural order. The Stoic Cleanthes, for example, proclaims in his *Hymn to Zeus* that the entire cosmos obeys Zeus, who directs "the universal reason (*koinon logon*) which runs through all things," not unlike the conception of wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon (1:7). The cosmos is designed according to and guided by Zeus's will. Wisdom and apocalypticism in the late Second Temple period have similarities not only because the two traditions influence one another but also because they are both informed and shaped by broader intellectual currents of the Hellenistic age.

Wisdom and Apocalypticism Today

Scholarship today offers two different approaches to the study of wisdom and apocalypticism, with one perspective represented by John Collins and the other by George Nickelsburg, and the related work of the SBL program unit on wisdom and apocalypticism, which he helped found. The key issue is whether one's focus should be on clarifying or problematizing the categories of wisdom and apocalypticism. Collins understands the two as distinct genres, while stressing that there is no inherent incompatibility between them and that there is abundant evidence of sapiential material in apocalypses and vice versa (1997a: 393–401). He is also aware that when approaching the topic it is important to understand that the two genre types, while rooted in the ancient texts, are literary categories developed by modern scholars. While useful as heuristic models, a pure stream of either wisdom or apocalypticism never existed in antiquity. Nickelsburg takes up the point that wisdom and apocalypticism are modern categories and expresses serious doubts about their viability (Wright and Wills 2005: 17–37; cf. Horsley and Tiller 2012). In his programmatic essay that helped launch the SBL group on the topic, he asserts that we should approach the issue in effect by talking about neither wisdom nor apocalypticism—they are "flawed categories" (36). His point is that since our conceptions of genre are imposed on the material, such categories are simply not useful or even misleading when we try to understand the texts. Thus, he argues, we should not focus on the question of genre but rather the social location of texts, a more tangible topic, presumably, than literary categories. The topic of social setting has remained a focus of the SBL group.

In my own opinion, wisdom and apocalypticism are helpful categories. I would revise Nickelsburg's claim that they are "flawed categories" and emphasize not that they are flawed per se but that they are categories, developed by scholars to help make a wide range of various texts understandable (Goff 2010: 304). It is reasonable to posit that there was in ancient Israel a pedagogical tradition we call sapiential, but we do not have a precise sense of how ancient readers and writers understood the category. In contrast to the classical world, no ancient rhetorical manuals survive that contain clear definitions of distinct kinds of literature. There is no Quintilian of ancient Hebrew. We are forced to rely upon analysis of the texts themselves to develop our categories and conceptions of types of ancient Jewish literature. We can forge intelligible genre classifications that are not wholly imposed upon the material but based on patterns and assemblages evident in the texts. One must, however, honestly admit that the categories are modern constructs. This does not mean that they should be abandoned but rather employed with an awareness of this fact. One should consequently be cautious and careful in terms of how using these categories affects one's interpretation of ancient texts. One should not, for example, automatically assume that texts placed in the same genre reflect the same *Sitz im Leben*, contrary to classic

form criticism, as articulated by Gunkel. Affinities or claims of direct dependence between texts understood to belong to the same genre should be argued, not assumed on the basis of their literary classification.

While it is reasonable to understand wisdom and apocalypticism as distinct traditions, one must also acknowledge that the boundaries between are fluid and that there is no inherent reason that one genre can incorporate content from the other. Both traditions are also exposed to traditions and ideas that circulated widely in the Hellenistic period. Wisdom and apocalypticism are different kinds of literature that, in terms of content, can overlap.

Bibliography

Argall, Randall A. (1995). *1 Enoch and Sirach*. SBLEJL 8. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Clines, David J. A., Hermann Lichtenberger, and Hans-Peter Müller, eds. (2003). *Weisheit in Israel: Beiträge des Symposiums "Das Alte Testament und die Kultur der Moderne" anlässlich des 100. Geburtstags Gerhard von Rads (1901–1971), Heidelberg, 18.–21.Oktober 2001*. Münster: Lit-Verlag.

Collins, John J. (1997a). *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*. JSJSup 54. Leiden: Brill.

—— (1997b). "Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries 4*: 265–81.

—— (1997c). *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age.* Louisville: Westminster.

—— (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Crenshaw, James L. (2010). *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction*. 3rd ed. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo (2007). "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part II)." *Currents in Biblical Research 5*: 367–432.

Elgvin, Torleif (2000). "Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE—the Evidence of 4QInstruction," in L.H. Schiffman et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society / Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 226–47.

García Martínez, Florentino, ed. (2003). *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. BETL 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press / Peeters.

Goff, Matthew J. (2003). *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*. STDJ 50. Leiden: Brill.

—— (2005). "Discerning Trajectories: 4QInstruction and the Sapiential Background of the Sayings Source Q." *Journal of Biblical Literature 124* (2005): 657–73.

—— (2007). *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. VTSup 116. Leiden: Brill.

—— (2009). "Recent Trends in the Study of Early Jewish Wisdom Literature: The Contribution of 4QInstruction and Other Qumran Texts." *Currents in Biblical Research 7* (2009): 376–416.

——. (2010). "Qumran Wisdom Literature and the Problem of Genre." *Dead Sea Discoveries 17* (2010): 286–306.

—— (2013). *4QInstruction. Wisdom Literature from the Ancient World*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
Hengel, Martin. (1973). *Judaism and Hellenism*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
Horsley, Richard A., and Patrick A. Tiller. (2012). *After Apocalyptic and Wisdom: Rethinking Texts in Contexts*. Eugene: Cascade Books.
Kampen, John. (2011). *Wisdom Literature*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
Kloppenborg, John S. (1987). *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
Kloppenborg Verbin, John S. (2000). *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
Lange, Armin. (1995). *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*. STDJ 18. Leiden: Brill.
—— (2010) "Wisdom Literature and Thought in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 455–78.
Mack, Burton L. (1993). *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.
Müller, Hans-Peter. (1972). "Mantische Weisheit und Apokayptik." *Congress Volume: Uppsala 1971*. VTSup 22. Leiden: Brill, 268–93.
Noack, Ludwig. (1857). *Der Ursprung des Christenthums: Seine vorbereitenden Grundlegungen und sein Eintritt in die Welt*. F. Fleischer: Leizig.
Smith, Jonathan Z. (1993). *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
von Rad, Gerhard (1965). *Old Testament Theology*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Row.
—— (1972). *Wisdom in Israel*. London: SCM Press Ltd/Trinity Press International.
Wills, Lawrence M., and Benjamin G. Wright III, eds. (2005). *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*. SBLSymS 35. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

CHAPTER 5

SCRIPTURAL INTERPRETATION IN EARLY JEWISH APOCALYPSES

ALEX P. JASSEN

Apocalypse and Interpretation in the Context of Early Jewish Scriptural Interpretation

Jewish apocalyptic literature from the Second Temple period is infused with language, imagery, and themes drawn from the sacred scriptures of Judaism (on the corpus of apocalyptic literature, see Collins 1998). It shares with other Second Temple period Jewish literature a basic claim: the sacred scriptures are not static literary artifacts. Rather, through creative reinterpretation, these ancient texts continue to divulge important meaning about God, the world, and humanity. Jews in the Second Temple period engage in this interpretative process primarily through rewriting their sacred texts (Crawford 2008). For example, narrative and legal texts such as the book of *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* appropriate and rewrite the Mosaic books to offer a new and improved law and to respond to myriad literary, exegetical, and theological issues. Notwithstanding the implicit nature of the exegesis in rewritten

texts, one can clearly discern the exegetical motivation and techniques at play as the new texts rewrite the old texts. At the same time, explicit exegesis appears in the Second Temple period as an emerging medium of scriptural interpretation. Here, commentaries and proof texts isolate a specific scriptural passage and provide it with meaning while retaining the textual and structural integrity of the interpreted scriptural passage.

Scholars have long observed a similar pervasiveness of scriptural interpretation in apocalyptic literature (Hartman 1966; 1979; Nickelsburg 1995; Henze 2012). At the same time, scriptural interpretation in apocalyptic literature should be distinguished from broader Second Temple period trends in its ideological assumptions, content, and methods. As in other Second Temple literature, apocalyptic texts are presented as if they were composed by illustrious figures of the past (e.g., Enoch, Moses, Ezra). Pseudepigraphy in apocalyptic texts goes beyond merely co-opting an ancient celebrity and harnessing his authority. It is part of a broader claim to offer new meaning for old revelation. Apocalyptic literature presents itself as divulging mysteries about the world and especially its end time that were not fully revealed to Israel's prophets of old—or, at the very least, never fully understood. The employment of scriptural language and imagery in a new apocalyptic setting claims for apocalyptic writers knowledge of the full meaning of ancient revelation. Moreover, by harnessing the prestige and authority associated with ancient prophets, the new revelation granted to the apocalyptic seers—whether directly from God, through angelic mediators, or via heavenly books—is framed as part of the same chain of human access to divine mysteries (cf. Najman 2012).

Even as scriptural language and imagery is pervasive in apocalyptic literature, it rarely takes on the explicitly exegetical character that is found in other Second Temple period texts. Thus, rather than trying to *interpret* the scriptural language and imagery, it *appropriates* this language and imagery in a new setting. As observed by John Collins, "allusiveness encircles the language by building associations and analogies between the biblical contexts and the new context in which the phrase is used" (Collins 1998: 18; cf. Nickelsburg 1995: 334; Henze 2011: 113–15). Some of these features can be explained as an attempt in apocalyptic literature to preserve its own literary fiction. For example, when a text identifies Enoch as its author, it obviously cannot refer to the scriptural texts associated with the chronologically later Moses. But there is a deeper assertion at work here. Apocalyptic works claim to offer a revelation that far exceeds the quality of anything in Israel's past. This revelation is not based on a written text, but on direct revelation from God, angelic mediation, or heavenly books.

There are two ways that these texts engage in scriptural interpretation. The most prevalent method involves the use of allusive scriptural language and imagery. Literary forms, keywords, and terminology establish intertextual connections, which serve wider functions in the context of the literary and ideological framework of these apocalyptic texts. At the same time, some apocalyptic texts reflect a more overt interpretation of scripture. The broader goal of infusing ancient revelation with new

meaning is still very much at play in this setting. Yet, in so doing, the authors more clearly demonstrate their reliance on older scriptural traditions.

The entire enterprise must also be framed by our renewed understanding of the fluid nature of scriptural formation and scriptural interpretation in Second Temple Judaism. Interpretation does not merely happen once a text and canon is finalized. Rather, these processes often occur alongside one another and are mutually enriching. The claim of "fresh revelation" (Nickelsburg 1995: 348) by the apocalyptic seers is equally a claim for inclusion in the very scriptural heritage that they transform.

Allusive Pseudepigraphy

Apocalyptic works typically claim as their author a hero from ancient Israel's past. There are clear reasons for the choice of the individual pseudonym. For example, Enoch is a prime candidate to speak authoritatively on the inner working of the heavens, its angelic retinue, and God's plan for the world because Gen 5:21–24 imagines him as having been taken up to the heavens (VanderKam 1984). So too, Baruch and Ezra are good pseudepigraphic ciphers for apocalypses written in response to the destruction of the second temple. Each of these figures lived in the aftermath of the destruction of the first temple, and thus the authors of these texts can fashion their responses to the destruction of the first temple as a cipher for the present situation (Najman 2012).

Many apocalyptic works engage in a feature that I refer to as "allusive pseudepigraphy." Particular scriptural keywords or images relate the apocalyptic seer to other scriptural figures. Allusive pseudepigraphy seeks to draw attention to particular characteristics of the apocalyptic seer and further anchor them in the ancient tradition of Israel's prophets.

The originally independent compositions that comprise the book of *1 Enoch* provide a rich body of material to explore the apocalyptic interpretation of scripture (Hartman 1966; 1979; 1983; Nickelsburg 1995; VanderKam 2001; Alexander 2002; Knibb 2009). Much of the research has focused on the interpretation of the story of the fallen angels (Gen 6:1–4) in 1 En 6–11 (esp. Dimant 1974; Nickelsburg 1995, 334–37; VanderKam 2001, 131–40). The introduction to the *Book of Watchers* (1 En 1–36) and the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 93:1–10; 91:11–17) provide a good example of allusive pseudepigraphy in their presentation of Enoch as a new Moses and Balaam.

The *Book of Watchers*, one of the oldest sections of *1 Enoch*, opens with a superscription and introduction that was added as some point late in its literary development,

perhaps even after the *Book of Watchers* had been combined with other Enochic writings (see Nickelsburg 2001: 25):

> The words of the blessing with which Enoch blessed the righteous chosen who will be present on the day of tribulation, to remove all enemies; and the righteous will be saved. And he took up his discourse and said, Enoch a righteous man whose eyes were opened to God, who had the vision of the Holy One and of heaven, which he showed me. From the words of the watchers and holy ones I heard everything; and as I heard everything from them, I also understood what I saw. Not for this generation do I expound, but concerning one that is distant I speak. And concerning the chosen I speak now, and concerning them I take up my discourse. (1 En 1:1–3//4Q201 1 i 1–4; translation following Nickelsburg 2001)

As an introduction to the *Book of Watchers* and perhaps further Enochic writings, it is striking that this passage opens with little biographical data on Enoch. We would expect some reference to the mysterious description in Gen 5:21–24 as a background to his identity (cf. 1 En 12:1–2; 70:1–4). Instead, Enoch's identity is framed by scriptural language drawn from two other famous ancient prophets: Moses and Balaam.

The opening expression "the words of . . . " is commonly employed as a superscription for prophetic books (e.g., Jer 1:1; Amos 1:1). Its appearance in 1 En 1:1 frames the content that follows as based on revelation and the literary collection as a whole as continuing the legacy of the ancient writing prophets. More specifically, following the literary fiction of Enochic authorship, it becomes one of the oldest written records of revelation. As noted by many scholars, the superscription draws from the blessing of Moses in Deut 33:1: "And this is *the blessing, wherewith* Moses the man of God *blessed the* children of Israel before his death" (Hartman 1966: 112–14; VanderKam 1984: 115; Nickelsburg 2001: 135–36). The allusion to Deut 33:1 is appropriately modified for its apocalyptic setting. Thus, the object of Enoch's blessing is the "chosen" rather than the more universal "children of Israel."

The imagery alludes not to Moses the lawgiver as found for example in the pseudonymous Mosaic identity in the prologue to *Jubilees*, but rather to Moses the prophet. Deuteronomy 33:1 refers to Moses with the prophetic title "man of God." The author of the Enochic superscription likely saw an allusion to the fact that Enoch is described in Gen 5:24 as walking with God and being taken by God—hence he is now a man *of* God. Moreover, Deut 33 is understood as Moses's testament to the people of Israel before his death. As in other scriptural testaments, later readers understood Deut 33 as Moses's predictions for the future Israel (see *Testament of Moses*; cf. Gen 49 and the *Testament of the 12 Patriarchs*; 1 En 91:1–10, 18–19). Thus, Deut 33 and Moses's testament become the model for Enoch's testament. Further allusions to Deut 33:1–2 in 1 En 1:1–5, 9 reinforce this association (see Hartman 1966: 112–14; Nickelsburg 2001: 143–44).

The use of scriptural language from Deut 33:1 to make a connection between Enoch and Moses and the latter's final testament fulfills a much broader set of goals. The superscription seeks to prioritize Enoch's revelation over that of Moses. Here again, *Jubilees* is an instructive parallel. Whereas *Jubilees* claims to be the *rest* of the

revelation granted to Moses on Sinai, the *Book of Watchers* and other Enochic writings claim to be *older* and *more exclusive* revelation. Both *Jubilees* and the *Book of Watchers* simultaneously subvert and appropriate the central Mosaic revelatory claims. The *Book of Watchers* adopts the Mosaic voice to lend a potent authority to Enoch and his claim to have received revelation far before Moses. This strategy has the result of inverting the presumed literary dependence of the *Book of Watchers* on Mosaic writings. Enoch's testament becomes the "oldest" testament, and Mosaic revelation becomes another stage in God's revelation. In this sense, Enoch's revelation does not replace Mosaic revelation, as suggested by some scholars, but rather is intended to stand alongside it (on this issue, see Collins 2011).

In addition to the connections made with Moses, the Enochic writings repeatedly align Enoch with Balaam (see Hartman 1966: 112–14; VanderKam 1984: 115–19, 153; Jassen 2007: 265–66). In particular, Enoch is described as "taking up his discourse" in the introduction to the *Book of Watchers* cited above (1 En 1:2–3). This particular expression is a recurring formula in Balaam's oracles (Num 23:7, 18; 24:3, 15, 20, 21, 23). Nickelsburg observes how the twofold use of this expression at the beginning and end of 1 En 1:2–3 serves as bookends for a range of allusive language in these verses drawn from Num 24:15–17 (Nickelsburg 2001: 137–38). The allusive use of Balaam language appears again in the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks as preserved in Aramaic, which employs a similar twofold use of the formula "take up his discourse" (4Q212 1 iii 18–22//1 En 93:1–3; the Ethiopic has "read from the books").

The formulaic language from Balaam's oracles in the introductions to the *Book of Watchers* and the Apocalypse of Weeks frames the description of the nature of Enoch's receipt of heavenly knowledge and its content. 1 Enoch 1:2 describes Enoch as having his eyes opened by God, experiencing a vision of the Holy One, and hearing everything from the watchers and the holy ones. 1 En 1:2 recounts how Enoch was shown a vision of heaven, learned everything from the watchers and the holy ones, and read everything in the heavenly tablets. Enoch is introduced as the recipient of exclusive divine and heavenly knowledge. Balaam too is described as one who hears God's speech through visions (Num 24:6, 16) and has his eyes opened (Num 24:4, 16; see Jassen 2007: 243–45). The literary points of contact with Balaam authenticate Enoch's own revealed wisdom by appeal to a visionary whose own receipt of wisdom is strikingly similar (VanderKam 1984: 116–18; Jassen 2007: 266).

The Enochic writers likely also saw connections between the content of Balaam's oracles and Enoch's words. In Num 24:14, Balaam claims to report on Israel's experience in the "latter days," a term that in this context merely refers to the future. Second Temple period texts generally construe the term "latter days" as eschatological; hence, the common translation "end of days." Balaam's oracles were therefore understood as directed at eschatological circumstances (VanderKam 1984: 117–18). This matches closely the distinctly eschatological orientation of much of the content attributed to Enoch in both the *Book of Watchers* and especially in the Apocalypse of Weeks. Thus, in the same way as Balaam does, Enoch "takes up his discourse" to predict the unfolding of the eschatological future.

Enoch's eschatological predictions are closely tied to the testamentary nature of his words and the broader connections to Moses's testament. In this sense, Enoch is not merely a new Moses and a new Balaam; he is a pseudepigraphic amalgamation of both prophetic-visionary figures.

Allusive Anthologizing

Apocalyptic texts seek to present the "fresh revelation" offered by the apocalyptic seers as renewing older prophetic oracles and pronouncements. As in the examples treated above, this renewal is achieved through allusive scriptural language and imagery. The examples treated in this section differ in their employment of a broader patchwork of scriptural language, themes, and motifs—a phenomenon Michael Fishbane describes as the "anthologizing of old prophetic pronouncements." This approach fashions a "coherent formulation of an apocalyptic programme out of many earlier prophetic pronouncements" (Fishbane 1985: 515).

Allusive anthologizing appears in two particular approaches. In the first approach, one finds a web of scriptural material sprinkled throughout particular apocalyptic passages. This disparate scriptural material is unified by its role in the new apocalyptic setting. In a second approach, the anthologizing is much more focused. The apocalyptic text may narrow its pool of allusive language and imagery to one or two ancient Israelite prophets or even a limited set of scriptural passages. In so doing, the new apocalyptic framework is more explicitly identified as the renewal of a particular ancient prophet or prophetic experience. In many cases, however, one finds the broad anthologizing of allusive scriptural language woven together with the more narrow anthologizing approach.

Immediately following the introduction, the *Book of Watchers* describes a theophany in which a transcendent God comes into the world in order to execute judgment on the wicked and to bless the righteous (1 En 1:3b–9). This passage utilizes a dizzying array of scriptural language and imagery in its description of the divine theophany. No doubt some of the theophanic language results from simple incorporation of stock language for divine theophanies and is not the product of explicit engagement with scriptural material. At the same time, this passage shows evidence of the allusive use of language from the divine theophanies in Exod 19; Deut 33:1–3; Jer 25:30–31; Mic 1:3–4; Hab 3:6, 9 (Hartman 1966: 114–18; 1979: 23–26; VanderKam 2000; Nickelsburg 2001: 143–44). To highlight a few examples of this allusive language:

1 En 1:3: "The Great Holy One will come forth from his dwelling."

Mic 1:3: "For lo! The Lord is coming forth from his dwelling-place."

> **1 En 1:5–6**: "All the ends of the earth will be shaken, and trembling and great fear will seize them unto the ends of the earth. The high mountains will be shaken and break apart, and the high hills will be made low."
>
> **Hab 3:6**: "When he stands, he makes the earth shake; when he glances, he makes nations tremble. The age-old mountains are shattered; the primeval hills sink low. His are the ancient routes."
>
> **1 En 1:6**: "The high hills will be made low and melt like wax before the fire."
>
> **Mic 1:4**: "The mountains shall melt under him and the valleys burst open—like wax before fire, Like water cascading down a slope."

The theophany outlined in 1 En 1:3b–9 could easily fit alongside any of the scriptural theophanies from which it draws. God's emergence from his dwelling place is coupled with a portrait of the earth experiencing profound physical upheaval. What distinguishes the theophany in the *Book of Watchers* is its allusive anthologizing of earlier scriptural content, recast to fit the book's apocalyptic goals. Several of the scriptural theophanies are framed as prophetic predictions of God's future arrival to judge the wicked and vindicate the righteous (e.g., Mic 1; Hab 3). The weaving together of these theophanies to fashion the theophany outlined in 1 En 1:3b–9 serves to renew these ancient prophetic pronouncements for a distinct time and purpose. The allusive scriptural imagery is reoriented to the *eschatological* future in which God will appear in a decisive way to vanquish the wicked and provide everlasting reward for the righteous. Moreover, the allusive theophanic language exemplifies well the core themes outlined in the introductory material to the *Book of Watchers*—themes that run throughout the *Book of Watchers* and the Enochic writings. The scriptural theophanies no longer apply to their ancient contexts, but rather speak to the "distant generation" (1 En 1:2) and underscore how God will "remove the enemies" and "save the righteous" (1 En 1:1).

Allusive anthologizing is also commonplace in the book of Daniel (Ginsberg 1953; Fishbane 1985: 482–524; Knibb 1993; Henze 2012; Teeter 2012). This is especially apparent in Dan 10–12, Daniel's last vision containing a detailed *ex eventu* prophecy of world history. This vision can be divided into two broad sections: (1) a narrative summary of Daniel's vision (10:1–11:1) and (2) the report of the vision itself (11:2–12:4). The scriptural allusions sprinkled throughout these chapters frame Daniel's new apocalyptic vision as the realization of ancient prophecies. At the same time, the allusive anthologizing in these chapters evinces a tight focus on a narrow body of scriptural material. The narrative summary is indebted to the books of Isaiah and Ezekiel. The vision report continues to draw on Isaiah, while also showing secondary influence from other scriptural oracles.

The narrative summary draws heavily on the call narratives of Isaiah and Ezekiel. For example, the report that Daniel receives a vision (Dan 10:1) follows similar language from Isaiah (Isa 6:1) and Ezekiel (Ezek 1:1). Similar to Ezekiel's vision by the river Chebar (Ezek 1:1), Daniel experiences his vision by the Tigris river (Dan 10:4). The incredible appearance of the angel seen by Daniel (Dan 10:5–6) closely matches the similarly remarkable images of the heavenly beings seen by Ezekiel (Ezek 1:4–14;

9:2–3). Daniel falling and being lifted up by an angel (Dan 10:9–10, 18) follows a similar experience by Ezekiel (Ezek 1:28–2:1; 3:23). Similarly, an angel touches Daniel's lips (Dan 10:16) just as happens with Isaiah (Isa 6:7). Similar to the allusive pseudepigraphy treated above, this approach makes Daniel the apocalyptic seer the heir to these two great prophets and Daniel's visions the continuation of ancient prophetic revelation. Isaiah and Ezekiel are powerful models of precursors to the apocalyptic seer. Each has his prophetic experience uniquely shaped by angels and obscure visions. This explains why much of the literary correspondence with Daniel centers on the angelic experience in Isaiah and Ezekiel (cf. Nicol 1979). Notwithstanding these connections, Dan 10:1–11:1 does not follow the structure of the prophetic call narrative of Isa 6 and Ezek 1. Rather, Daniel's visionary experience is presented as new and distinct. The allusive anthologizing of the call narratives of Isaiah and Ezekiel make the claim for continuity even as the ancient prophecies are reinscribed for a new setting.

The vision report in Dan 11:1–12:4 broadens the scriptural fabric from which it draws. The influence of Isaiah, however, remains central. Andrew Teeter follows a host of earlier scholars in referring to Isaiah as "the structural scaffolding for the narrative whole" (Teeter 2012: 171). Throughout this final vision, the oracles of Isaiah are recast as the visions of Daniel and refashioned for their new apocalyptic setting. For example, allusive anthologizing in Dan 11:36 conflates two oracles from Isa 10:22–26:

> **Isa 10:22–23**: "Even if your people, O Israel, should be as the sands of the sea, only a remnant of it shall return. *Destruction is decreed*; retribution comes like a flood! For my Lord God of Hosts *is carrying out a decree of destruction* upon all the land."
>
> **Isa 10:25**: "For very soon my wrath will have spent itself, and my anger that was bent on wasting them."
>
> **Dan 11:36**: "The king will do as he pleases; he will exalt and magnify himself above every god, and he will speak awful things against the God of gods. He will prosper until wrath is spent, *and what has been decreed is accomplished*."

The first oracle in Isa 10:22–23 outlines the divine destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel. Isaiah 10 had earlier asserted that this destruction is accomplished through the agency of the Assyrians (cf. Isa 10:5–6). Yet Assyria is described as overstepping its role as divine agent of destruction and thus it too will be destroyed (Isa 10:7–19). The oracle in 10:24–26 indicates to the people of Judah that the rage of God will soon subside. Assyria's oppression is likened to that of Egypt (10:24), and as he did the Egyptians, God will utterly destroy the Assyrians (10:26). Daniel 11:36 draws on the language of Isa 10:22–23 (as marked by italics) in order to portray Antiochus's oppression as divinely ordained and devastating—matching the description of Assyria in Isaiah. As in Isaiah, however, the oppression is temporary. Daniel 11:36 employs the key phrase from Isa 10:25 (as marked by underlining) indicating that God's wrath has a determined endpoint. Thus, Antiochus's reign of terror will similarly end at the time ordained by God. In Isaiah, the ancient prediction of Assyria's demise is conceptualized

as reenacting the divine destruction of Egypt, the paradigmatic foe of Israel. In a similar way, Dan 11:36 views Isa 10:22–26 as programmatic for the eventual downfall of Israel's present archenemy—the Seleucids (cf. Dan 9:26–27, discussed below).

Daniel 11:36 is representative of the broad and sustained lemmatic reuse of Isaiah found throughout Dan 10–12. At the same time, Dan 10–12 builds upon the Isaianic scaffolding with further scriptural allusions. In three places, for example, Dan 10–12 alludes to Habakkuk's oracle of reassurance that the end time is near and that one must wait patiently for it:

> **Hab 2:3**: "For there is still a vision for the appointed time; it speaks of the end, and does not lie. If it seems to tarry, wait for it; it will surely come, it will not delay. Look at the proud!"
>
> **Dan 10:14** (the angel speaking): "And (I) have come to help you understand what is to happen to your people at the end of days. *For there is a further vision for those days*."
>
> **Dan 11:27**: "The two kings, their minds bent on evil, shall sit at one table and exchange lies. But it shall not succeed, *for there remains an end at the time appointed*."
>
> **Dan 11:35**: "Some of the wise shall fall, so that they may be refined, purified, and cleansed, until the time of the end, *for there is still an interval until the time appointed*."

Habakkuk 2:3 affirms that God is not blind to the suffering of Israel; the present suffering will be reversed at the appointed time. This same measure of consolation is now directed at the Danielic audience suffering from Antiochus's oppression (Fishbane 1985: 492). The prophetic appeal to a predetermined end time would have been especially attractive for the apocalyptic author of Daniel. Indeed, Fishbane suggests that readers would have regarded Daniel's visions of Antiochus's destruction as the realization of Habakkuk's vision of the long-anticipated end time (492). In this sense, the ancient prophetic pronouncements of both Isaiah and Habakkuk merge in their refashioned apocalyptic setting to outline the downfall of Antiochus and the rescue of Israel from its oppressors. To return to my use of Fishbane's language to describe allusive anthologizing: Daniel fashions a "coherent formulation of an apocalyptic programme" from the "prophetic pronouncements" in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk, and others.

Reproduction of Scriptural "History"

Many apocalypses are termed "historical" in the sense that their contents envision the apocalyptic seers recounting past historical events or outlining the future course

of history (Collins 1998: 6–7). In the latter case, these outlines are generally written after the fact, but placed in the mouth of an ancient figure and are thus presented as predictions of the future (*vaticinia ex eventu*). In crafting these broad sweeps of history, apocalyptic texts commonly draw their historical material directly from events and figures found in scriptural traditions. In some cases, the apocalyptic texts contain clear allusions to these events or figures. In other cases, the apocalyptic texts employ highly symbolic imagery to represent the scriptural material. In all settings, however, the scriptural source material is not simply replicated. Rather, as we have seen in the examples treated above, content drawn from scriptural traditions is infused with apocalyptic meaning.

Scriptural history is reformulated as a highly schematized march toward the end time, a feature not found in the scriptural material itself. Specific historical events—especially those from the beginning of time (e.g., the flood)—reappear at particular points in apocalyptic history to emphasize the cyclical nature of human action and divine response. This notion of time becomes a blueprint for the movement of apocalyptic history toward its predetermined endpoint. Moreover, the historical content from scripture is schematized into identifiable periods (see Collins 1998: 63–65, 155–57, 238–40). As noted by Collins, these periodizations serve a dual purpose: to establish a deterministic sense of history and God's control over it and for readers to be able to locate themselves in relation to the final redemptive phase of history (64).

1 Enoch 85–90 (part of the *Book of Dreams*) contains a highly symbolic outline of world history from creation until the Hellenistic period, in which humans are depicted as diverse types of animals—hence, its identification as the Animal Apocalypse (Tiller 1993). As noted by many scholars, the Animal Apocalypse divides history into three clearly defined eras (Hall 1991: 66–68; Tiller 1993: 15–20; Nickelsburg 2001: 354–56). The first era spans from creation until the flood (1 En 85:1–89:8), while the second extends from the flood the present age (1 En 89:9–90:27). The final era envisions the future renewal of Jerusalem (1 En 90:28–42). In spite of the symbolic imagery of the text, one can see the degree to which the author of the Animal Apocalypse draws upon scriptural events and figures in order to craft this symbolic historical outline (cf. Nickelsburg 1995: 340–42). For example, the passage, "and that black calf struck the red one and pursued it over the earth" (1 En 85:4) clearly refers to Cain's murder of Abel in Gen 4. This very example, however, highlights the deliberately selective nature of the author as he draws on Genesis to craft his prediluvian history. By ignoring the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden from Gen 3, the Animal Apocalypse makes murder the first act of human sin. The violence found in this first human sin is then typologically attached to the ensuing march of history, in which violence dominates and ultimately leads to the divine judgment of the flood (Nickelsburg 2001: 371).

The periodization of scriptural history into distinct eras in the Animal Apocalypse generates observable connections between past scriptural history and the present situation. The first two historical eras are presented as mirror images of one another.

The prediluvian first era is marked by ongoing human and angelic sin and its divinely orchestrated endpoint via the flood. The author of the Animal Apocalypse presents the march of history in the postdiluivian era as mimicking the themes of the cyclical nature of human sin and suffering and the assumption of a predetermined endpoint. In so doing, he assures his readers that notwithstanding the present widespread sin and suffering, this second era of history will end in the same way as the first. God will expel evil from the world and alleviate the suffering of the righteous just as he previously did in the generation of the flood.

2 Baruch employs scriptural material in a similar way in its historical overview (Hall 1991: 68–75; Henze 2011: 266–78). In 2 Bar 53, Baruch experiences a vision of a cloud that emerges from the sea full of black and white waters and with lightning on top of it. The cloud eventually covers the entire earth as the dark waters predominate. Bright waters sporadically emerge, but each time the dark waters overwhelm the bright waters. This process is repeated twelve times until even darker waters mixed with fire rain down upon the earth and bring utter devastation. At that point, the lightning on top of the cloud seizes it and casts it down to earth. The lightning then shines brightness over the earth and heals its devastation. Twelve rivers come from the sea and become subject to the lightning.

The cloud vision evokes scriptural language and imagery—particularly from Dan 7 (Henze 2011: 269–70)—and thus provides a further example of the extension of scriptural prophecies through allusive anthologizing. The interpretation of the vision, however, engages in more overt scriptural interpretation. The angel Ramael explains to Baruch that the vision encodes "the courses of times that have passed and those that are yet to pass" (2 Bar 56:2; cf. 14:1; 20:6). Ramael interprets each element of the cloud vision as part of a schematized course of scriptural history. Unlike the Animal Apocalypse, the scriptural events and figures in the cloud vision are clearly identified. The initial black waters on the cloud refer to the sin of Adam (56:5). The even greater darkness that dominates upon the waters alludes to the fallen angels (56:10–15). Human and angelic sin at the beginning of time is typologically applied to all of history.

But sin does not predominate in human history. It is balanced by an equal measure of righteousness and ongoing divine salvation. The twelve alternating dark and bright waters are identified with specific events and figures found in scriptural material. Beginning with the flood generation (the first black water) and Abraham (the first bright water), *2 Baruch* schematizes scriptural history as part of an alternating cycle of sinfulness and righteousness (chs. 56–69) (see Henze 2005). In each case, sinfulness leads to destruction while righteousness leads to reward. *2 Baruch* adapts the well-known Deuteronomic model of sin-exile-redemption for its apocalyptic setting.

This observable pattern from scriptural history becomes critical for the explanation of the final devastating dark waters and rehabilitating brightness. The utter devastation outlined in 2 Bar 70 is expected based on the course of history and is divinely orchestrated. The notice in 2 Bar 70:2 that "behold, the days are coming" situates

the reader at this point in the schematization of history. In spite of the despair that engulfs the world, the imminent turn to righteousness and salvation as outlined in 2 Bar 71–74 is assured based on the evidence of scriptural history.

Catalogs of Scriptural Examples

Catalogs of scriptural examples represent another instance of overt interpretation in apocalyptic texts. This technique is well known from other Second Temple period literature across diverse genres (Dimant 1988: 392–95). These catalogs consist of a carefully crafted list of paradigmatic individuals from scripture who are introduced alongside elements from their scriptural "biography." Scriptural referencing is usually done through isolated keywords that evoke larger scriptural passages. The lists and the highlighted "biographical" details lend rhetorical support to the broader literary goals of the text in which these catalogs appear.

4 Ezra provides a good example of the employment of catalogs of scriptural examples in apocalyptic literature. *4 Ezra*, as with *2 Baruch*, grapples with the destruction of the temple and the justice of God. Much of *4 Ezra* consists of dialogues between Ezra and an angel, reminiscent of Job. In 4 Ezra 7:100–15, Ezra and the angel consider whether an individual's salvation is determined solely on one's merits or can be vouchsafed through intercessionary prayer. This question strikes at the heart of the divine rubric employed for human reward and punishment. In the dialogue, the angel asserts that on the future day of judgment all humans shall be judged on their own righteousness or sinfulness, thereby rendering intercessionary prayer powerless (4 Ezra 7:105).

Ezra appeals to scriptural authority to bolster his argument by calling attention to a catalog of righteous individuals from scripture. In each case, a specific individual is named followed by the instance in which he prayed for others. Some of these refer to well-known scriptural events. For example, Abraham is described as praying for the people of Sodom (Gen 18), while Elijah intercedes in response to a drought (1 Kgs 18) and to revive the dead (1 Kgs 17:21–23). This catalog fulfils an important rhetorical role in Ezra's argument: if the intercessionary prayer of the righteous is effective in the present sinful and corrupt world, why will it not be in the future more perfect world? (4 Ezra 7:111). As noted by Michael Stone, the angel's answer turns Ezra logic on its head (Stone 1990, 249). The ability of the righteous to intervene in this world is indicative of its imperfection and the intermittent presence of God. The day of judgment marks the transition to a new world in which the glory of God is permanent and all individuals answer for their own righteousness or sinfulness (4 Ezra 7:112–15). In so doing, the angel uses the very catalog of scriptural examples furnished by Ezra to make his point. These individuals and their actions belong to a world with a much different model of reward and punishment than the one that will emerge after the day of judgment.

The Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 93:1–10; 91:11–17) and 2 Bar 56–69 provide further examples of catalogs of scriptural examples in apocalyptic texts. In these passages, the catalog is expanded beyond righteous individuals to also include wicked ones. 2 Bar 56–69 schematizes scriptural history as a series of alternating exemplary and sinful individuals. Each individual is introduced with specific elements drawn from his scriptural stories. The Apocalypse of Weeks follows a modified version of this model in its schematization of history. Although the catalog draws on scriptural figures, the Apocalypse of Weeks preserves the sense of literary chronology mandated by Enochic revelation. The list of righteous and wicked is anonymous because it cannot refer explicitly to later scriptural history. For example, in the third week, a "man will be chosen as the plant of righteous judgment." The chronology here suggests that this man is Abraham, and indeed the reference to him as "chosen" alludes to the similar identification of Abraham as "chosen" in Neh 9:7 (cf. Jub 12:19; 4 Ezra 3:13; Ap. Ab. 14). In both the Apocalypse of Weeks and *2 Baruch*, the catalog of righteous and wicked scriptural examples underscores the ordered and predetermined course of human history (see Henze 2005; 2011: 274–75). Moreover, the righteous individuals become exemplary models for the elect to ensure their own status as righteous and to secure their salvation.

Isolated Explicit Exegesis

The least commonly encountered method of interpretation in apocalyptic texts—as in Second Temple literature more broadly—is explicit exegesis. Explicit exegesis singles out a specific scriptural word, phrase, or passage and provides it with meaning through interpretation. In contrast to rewriting and allusion, explicit exegesis maintains a clear differentiation between the text that is the object of interpretation and the interpretation itself. Yet this method of interpretation shares with other approaches the same basic assumption that deeper meaning inheres in scriptural texts and that the interpreter has a unique ability to uncover this hidden meaning.

The most famous example of explicit exegesis in apocalyptic texts is the interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy weeks prophecy in Dan 9 (see Fishbane 1985: 482–90; Jassen 2007: 214–21). Daniel is described as finding in the sacred books Jeremiah's prophetic message that the desolation of Jerusalem would last seventy years (Dan 9:2). While the specific scriptural passage is not cited, Dan 9 likely has in mind Jer 25:9–12. The explanation of the prophecy by the angel Gabriel follows similar interpretive approaches encountered in apocalyptic literature. Gabriel asserts that the seventy years should actually be understood as seventy weeks of years (Dan 9:24). Jeremiah's prophecy affirms that the restoration will happen 490 years after the exile (contra 2 Chr 36:18–21). This rereading locates the final redemptive phase of history at the time of the Danielic author in the second century BCE, thereby renewing the prophecies of old for the present time.

Daniel 9 is also a good example of the apocalyptic periodization of history. In addition to rereading Jeremiah as referring to seventy weeks of years, the total of 490 years evokes the jubilee cycle in Lev 25, which is understood as seven weeks of years, hence forty-nine years (Lev 25:8; cf. 11QMelch 2). The framing of history as ten complete jubilees further adds to the sense of an ordered and predetermined course of history with an identifiable endpoint (for other similar examples, see Collins 1993: 352–53). As further noted by Collins, the jubilee year requires that land be returned to its ancestral owners and that indentured slaves be freed (352). The tenth and final jubilee would no doubt be assumed to affirm these same redemptive qualities. Moreover, Dan 9:25–27 schematizes the seventy "weeks" into identifiable periods. Sixty-two weeks (434 years) of relative calm will be followed by devastation and oppression—referring to Antiochus's persecutions. But the end of the seventy weeks—the time frame of the author and audience—represents the predetermined endpoint for both the devastation and the oppressor.

Daniel 9:26–27 also evinces another example of allusive anthologizing as the language of Isa 10:23 is reformulated to describe the anticipated downfall of Antiochus (Fishbane 1985: 489–90). As in the use of Isa 10 in Dan 10–12, Dan 9 asserts that the Isaianic word first articulated regarding the downfall of the Assyrians finds its full meaning as applied to the Seleucids, the current oppressors of Israel. Though Dan 9 employs different methods to explicate the meaning of the ancient words of Jeremiah and Isaiah, the end result is the same: these ancient prophetic words are recast as applying to the circumstances of the second century BCE.

Conclusions

Early Jewish apocalypses, as with Second Temple period literature more broadly, reflect a deep engagement with older scriptural traditions. Creative reinterpretation ensures the adaptability of ancient Israelite literature to manifold new contexts. Apocalyptic texts share with other Second Temple Jewish literature the basic claim that scripture preserves a hidden set of meanings only available to enlightened exegetes, but they evince a distinct set of interests and interpretive strategies. Apocalypses on the whole engage with scripture through the allusive adaptation of scriptural language and imagery. They lay claim both to renewing the ancient prophecies for their own time and to possessing far greater authority and prestige than the very scriptural traditions that they adapt. Furthermore, apocalyptic texts are uniquely interested in reframing scriptural content to inform particular apocalyptic ideas and ideologies. Scripture is mined for the many ways it can inform apocalyptic understanding of the nature of the end time, good and evil, and reward and punishment. This motivation

stands behind the widespread schematization and periodization of scriptural history. In this context, scripture both explains the present suffering that often stands behind apocalypses and confirms to the apocalyptic audience that the end of the oppression is near.

Bibliography

Alexander, Philip S. (2002). "The Enochic Literature and the Bible: Intertextuality and Its Implications," in E. D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*. London: British Library; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll, pp. 57–69.

Collins, John J. (1993). *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

—— (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

—— (2011) "Enochic Judaism: An Assessment," in A. D. Roitman, L. H. Schiffman, and S. Tzoref, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 219–34.

Crawford, Sidnie White (2008). *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Dimant, Devorah (1974). "The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them." Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University. (Hebrew)

—— (1988). "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in M. J. Mulder, ed., *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, pp. 379–419.

Fishbane, Michael (1985). *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Ginsberg, H. L. (1953). "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant." *Vetus Testamentum 3*: 400–4.

Hall, Robert G. (1991). *Revealed Histories: Techniques for Ancient Jewish and Christian Historiography*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Hartman, Lars (1966). *Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 par.* Lund: Gleerup.

—— (1979). *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*. Lund: Gleerup.

—— (1983). "An Early Example of Jewish Exegesis: 1 Enoch 10:16–11:2." *Neotestamentica 17*: 16–27.

Henze, Matthias (2005). "The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Architecture of the End Time," in G. Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Grand Rapids. Eerdmans, pp. 207–9.

—— (2011). *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

—— (2012). "The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel," in M. Henze, ed., *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 279–307.

Jassen, Alex P. (2007). *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*. Leiden: Brill.

Knibb, Michael A. (1993). " 'You Are Indeed Wiser Than Daniel': Reflections on the Character of the Book of Daniel," in A. S. van der Woude, ed., *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp. 399–411.

—— (2009). "The Use of Scripture in *1 Enoch* 17–19," in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 111–23.

Najman, Hindy (2012). "How to Make Sense of Pseudonymous Attribution: The Cases of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*," in M. Henze, ed., *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 308–36.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (1995). "Scripture in *1 Enoch* and *1 Enoch* as Scripture," in T. Fornberg and D. Hellholm, eds., *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts: Essays in Honors of Lars Hartman*. Oslo: Scandanavian University Press, pp. 333–54.

—— (2001). *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Nicol, George G. (1979). "Isaiah's Visions and the Visions of Daniel." *Vetus Testamentum 29*: 501–5.

Stone, Michael E. (1990). *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Teeter, Andrew (2012). "Isaiah and the King of As/Syria in Daniel's Final Vision: On the Rhetoric of Inner-Scriptural Allusion and the Hermeneutics of 'Mantological Exegesis,'" in E. Mason et al., eds., *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 169–99.

Tiller, Patrick A. (1993). *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

VanderKam, James C. (1984). *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America.

—— (2000). "The Theophany of Enoch I 3b–7, 9," in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature.* Leiden: Brill, pp. 332–53.

—— (2001). "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch," in P. W. Flint, ed., *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 129–48.

CHAPTER 6

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE AND THE STUDY OF EARLY JEWISH MYSTICISM

RA'ANAN BOUSTAN AND
PATRICK G. MCCULLOUGH

Under the influence of Gershom Scholem in the mid-twentieth century (Scholem 1954, 1965), work in the field of early Jewish mysticism has been informed by the hypothesis that there existed within ancient Judaism a continuous tradition of ecstatic mysticism. Scholem traced a direct historical trajectory from the Second Temple apocalypses to the early rabbinic teachings in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Palestinian Talmud about the divine chariot-throne (*merkavah*) and, finally, to Hekhalot literature of late antiquity. Yet, over the past three decades, this powerful paradigm has gradually come unraveled, due in no small part to contemporaneous developments in the study of the apocalyptic texts from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Rather than approaching these various textual corpora as evidence for a single, unbroken tradition of Jewish mysticism, many scholars now emphasize the significant linguistic, formal, and conceptual differences among them (e.g., Halperin 1980; Schäfer 1984b, 2009; Himmelfarb 1988, 1993, 2006; Boustan 2007, 2011; Mizrahi 2009).

This fundamental reassessment of the dynamics of continuity and innovation in the exegetical, speculative, and ritual traditions surrounding Ezekiel's vision of the *merkavah* has gone hand-in-hand with a decidedly historicist, discursive, and

materialist "turn" within the study of religion more generally. In the wake of critical inquiry into the popular and scholarly genealogy of the concept "mysticism" (de Certeau 1984; Katz 1978; Proudfoot 1985; Sharf 1998), specialists in the field of Jewish mysticism have increasingly questioned the assumption that the literatures they study are best interpreted as a Jewish variant of a universal "mystical" experience or state of consciousness. Indeed, it has been suggested that, for Scholem and many others in the field, the term mysticism represents an ideologically and even theologically laden category masquerading as a generally applicable analytical term (Huss 2007, 2012).

In this essay, we consider what is at stake in studying apocalyptic literature within the framework of "early Jewish mysticism." We explore how this analytical framework continues to inform scholarship on apocalyptic literature and its relationship to subsequent forms of Jewish revelatory and ascent traditions from late antiquity, even as some have begun to question its applicability and utility. We argue that comparison of early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic writings with rabbinic and Hekhalot materials ought to be carried out under the sign of difference, rather than as an operation aimed at demonstrating the essential unity of the religious phenomena supposedly behind the texts (Smith 1990, 36–53; 2004, 230–322).

The essay begins by analyzing the thoroughgoing impact that critical scholarship on the modern genealogy of mysticism has exerted in recent years on the field of early Jewish mysticism. We then consider a number of alternative approaches taken in the field to the patterns of similarity and difference between early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature and Jewish ascent texts from late antiquity, especially Hekhalot literature. Scholars have variously reconstructed the social location of the producers of these diverse corpora. The social imaginary of these bodies of texts differs in basic ways, and we believe that this points to significant changes in the institutional contexts out of which the texts emerged. These shifts in the institutional settings of apocalyptic, rabbinic, and Hekhalot literatures align with differences in the forms of textual production and authority, suggesting important developments in the core aims and functions of these different corpora. Thus, we end the essay by examining the analytical implications of examining textual production and literary representation in apocalyptic and Hekhalot texts.

1. Apocalyptic Literature and the Discourse of "Mysticism" in Religious Studies

In recent years, scholars of religion have become increasingly sensitive to the concern that many of their interpretative tools are in fact parochial normative categories

and not legitimate analytical terms. In this section, we trace this reevaluation as it relates to the concept of "mysticism" in religious studies generally. Precise relationships proposed between apocalyptic literature and Hekhalot texts depend on how one considers "early Jewish mysticism" as a discursive category. "Mysticism" typically denotes ecstatic religious *experience*. As such, when academics apply the category to these two corpora, they often seek to identify how their common motifs indicate shared experiential practices. Yet consideration of the ideological assumptions embedded within the category of "mysticism" raises potent challenges to any simplistic account of the commonalities between apocalyptic literature and Hekhalot texts.

The category of "mysticism," as it has long been used within the discipline of religious studies, belongs to the history of modern European theology and philosophy. The term at its most general refers to a private, interiorized, and unmediated encounter with the divine, thereby valorizing individualized, anti-institutional, and indeed anticlerical forms of piety. As recently as 1980, Margaret Smith could define mysticism as "the most vital element in all true religions, rising up in revolt against cold formality and religious torpor" (1980, 20). This definition is, of course, only the latest reflex of the two-century-old approach inaugurated by Friedrich Schleiermacher, who saw the essence of religion as "neither thinking nor acting, but intuition and feeling" (1996, 22). It was this tradition of post-Enlightenment liberal theology that permanently severed the "mystical" from its ancient and medieval antecedents, which had centered on communal rituals of initiation into the "mysteries" (Gr. *mystēria, myeō*), often with the promise of postmortem salvation. Influenced by the emphasis on subjective individual consciousness in Schleiermacher, William James at the dawn of the twentieth century helped to crystallize the scholarly study of mysticism as philosophical and psychological inquiry into the private realm of "experience" (James 2012).

These classic conceptions of "mysticism" that inaugurated the field have undergone radical reevaluation in the past three decades by both philosophers and historians of religion. Most damningly, a growing chorus of scholars has argued that the study of mystical experience itself constitutes an ideological exercise: not only does the language of mystical union (*unio mystica*) naturalize the forms of piety valorized in post-Reformation and post-Enlightenment Christianity, but its application to the so-called world religions is part and parcel of the history of European missionizing and colonialism (King 1999, 7). This deconstructive tendency reflects the discursive approach of scholars such as Talal Asad, who has argued compellingly that "there cannot be a universal definition of religion, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes" (1993, 29). Moreover, Wayne Proudfoot and others have diagnosed the inner contradiction of using the notion of religious or mystical "experience" to stipulate an object of academic inquiry. For, if "experience" is defined as

purely private and unmediated, it cannot be studied. And, as soon as a mystical experience should lose these features, it ceases to be an experience so defined. The discourse of "experience" thus intentionally evades critical analysis, while also establishing the experiential as the very "essence" of religion that underwrites the discipline's institutional position in the academy (Sharf 1998, 95; see also Katz 1978; de Certeau 1984).

The academic study of Jewish mysticism has followed much the same arc, from the universally applicable "essences" of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the deconstructive critiques of the late twentieth. Scholem generated a "myth of neglect" on the part of his nineteenth-century forebears toward mysticism and magic, although many of them were the first to publish these materials in critical editions and to subject them to scholarly analysis (Myers 2008). But, despite his exaggerations, as early as the 1920s, Scholem correctly sensed that the time was ripe to challenge the excessive reliance in Jewish studies on normative categories and traditions. Indeed, his voluminous studies demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that even the most "marginal" magical, mystical, apocalyptic, hagiographic, or paraliturgical text does not simply draw on more authoritative textual traditions, but represents constitutive elements of those traditions.

Scholem's studies of Jewish sources from antiquity sought to recover the roots of a specifically Jewish mystical experience with its own distinctive features. By locating a shared network of images, symbols, and themes across apocalyptic, rabbinic, and Hekhalot literatures, he believed he had unearthed the experiential substrate behind these corpora. Scholem thus hoped to "rescue" discussions of mysticism "from the welter of conflicting historical and metaphysical arguments" preceding him (1995, 3). Scholem saw early Jewish mysticism developing across three historical stages, connected by their interest in ascent to heaven, the *merkavah* (Ezekiel's chariot-throne), and related motifs: "the anonymous conventicles of the old apocalyptics; the Merkabah speculation of the Mishnaic teachers who are known to us by name; and the Merkabah mysticism of late and post-Talmudic times" (1995, 43). The simplicity of Scholem's narrative belies the complexity with which he understood the inner dialectic between the mystical and halachic-normative dimensions within a single but multifaceted Judaism. Nevertheless, his three-stage schema delimited the contours of the field of "early Jewish mysticism"—and continues to do so even for those skeptical of its methodological underpinnings.

Scholem's legacy has inspired scholars interested in maximizing commonalities across the various textual corpora that purportedly represent the history of "early Jewish mysticism." For example, Christopher Rowland and Christopher Morray-Jones explicitly articulate their maximalist aims: "One function of this work is to seek to consider together that which scholarship has often kept apart" (2009, 3). Rowland and Morray-Jones acknowledge that a typical understanding of mystical union, along with traditional readings of New Testament texts, may lead many to believe that hardly any mystical union might be found within the NT texts. Yet these authors prefer a broad view of mystical union, in which it is

for Christians "about identification with, infusion with, or being clothed with, the divine Christ. It is a divine enfolding or indwelling, in which human and divine worlds meet, and is mystical in its intensity and conviction" (6). Thus, Rowland and Morray-Jones blend together mysticism and apocalypticism, employing a sweeping and inclusive conception of "mystical union" broadly linked to the visionary imagination. Such projects continue Scholem's legacy of studying diverse genres and textual corpora within an analytical frame heavily invested in the concept of mysticism.

Others have sought to reevaluate Scholem's legacy, validating some elements of his paradigm while questioning others. Moshe Idel has been critical of Scholem's emphasis on the speculative or theosophical aspects of Jewish mysticism, emphasizing instead the centrality of embodied praxis within the tradition (e.g., 1988, 2005), though he has largely affirmed the early roots and continuity of the Jewish mystical tradition. More fundamental still has been Elliot Wolfson's emphasis on the hermeneutical dimension of mystical experience. For Wolfson, Jewish mysticism represents a continuous tradition in which "each mystic receives something from his or her predecessor, but that legacy is enriched by personal experiences" (1994, 53). He adds, moreover, that, "the imagination produces symbols of the spiritual entities that act as interpretive filtering screens through which these entities appear in human consciousness" (1994, 62). Wolfson's hermeneutics of imagination resists the reduction of mysticism either to a nondiscursive private experience or to a public script governed by linguistic or literary conventions. He thus brilliantly deconstructs the regnant dichotomies that have plagued analysis of early Jewish mystical literature, such as the distinction between the "psychological" and the "real" or between "exegetical activity" and "ecstatic experience." In that respect, Wolfson attempts to identify a "genealogy" for the Jewish mystical tradition, while also questioning simplistic paradigms of mystical experience itself.

Philip Alexander, for his part, continues to define mysticism in experiential terms, but questions the placement of apocalyptic literature within the development of early Jewish mysticism. Instead, Alexander gives the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* found among the Dead Sea Scrolls and at Masada pride of place as the earliest precursor in the "genealogy of Christian as well as of Jewish mysticism" (2006, 143). He claims that the *Songs* represent evidence of mystical practice as true experience, and not mere literary construction. Indeed, Alexander's very definition of mysticism relies on experience: "the experience of a transcendent divine presence which stands behind the visible, material world" (2006, 8). While Alexander does argue that Jewish mysticism began at Qumran, he does not include apocalyptic literature in this progression. He simply states in a single footnote that "although apocalyptic may testify indirectly to mysticism, it is not in itself mystical" (2006, 11n5).

Peter Schäfer's analytic interventions represent perhaps the most thoroughly revisionist perspective on Scholem. Schäfer does find a common denominator undergirding the various literatures typically used to study early Jewish mysticism

(Ezekiel, ascent apocalypses, Hekhalot literature, Qumran texts, Philo, and the rabbis), namely, an image of a God who remains approachable in his heavenly sanctuary to those deemed worthy and who continues to care for his earthly community. At the same time, such common themes should not indicate a progression originating in Ezekiel and reaching their culmination in the *merkavah* mystics of Hekhalot literature. According to Schäfer, interpreters must learn to accept "the polymorphic and even chaotic evidence that our sources confront us with" (2009, 354). Early Jewish mysticism—as found in these texts—should be viewed as the variegated application of similar themes and literary forms within particular historical situations. Yet, while Schäfer problematizes the title of his own book (*The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*), he largely remains within the conventional parameters of the field as it has been constituted since Scholem. It, therefore, remains to be seen whether the field will radically reconfigure its own evidentiary contours and conceptual framework, as scholars debate whether to reconsider its definition(s) of "early Jewish mysticism" or whether to discard the category altogether.

2. Continuity and Rupture in the Jewish Discourse of Heavenly Ascent

At the center of debates regarding the unity of the field of "early Jewish mysticism" stands a diverse set of literary motifs that have been taken as evidence for or against historical and phenomenological continuity. In this section, we offer an overview of these motifs and explore how patterns of literary similarity or difference have served as proxies for claims regarding continuity in religious practice and experience. In particular, we consider how the theme of ascent to heaven—in which a visionary (usually pseudonymous) is given access to the heavenly realm—has figured in scholarly discourse concerning the development of early Jewish mysticism.

The centrality of heavenly ascent within the Hekhalot corpus and early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature has led some to view both groups of sources as literary expressions of a common tradition of ecstatic mysticism (Scholem 1954, 40–79; Gruenwald 1980; Morray-Jones 1992, 2002; Elior 2004). In addition, both build upon Ezekiel's vision of the *merkavah* (Ezek 1, 10). Moreover, Ezekiel's vision exerted an influence on such Second Temple texts as the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385 and other fragments). Some early rabbinic texts likewise address Ezekiel's vision of the *merkavah* (e.g., *m. Ḥagigah* 2:1). Finally, *Hekhalot Rabbati, Hekhalot Zutarti*, and other texts from the Hekhalot corpus display further developments of the *merkavah* vision. Thus, Scholem and those following him have seen in these visions of the *merkavah*, amid such diverse evidence from different periods, a trajectory of mystical experience termed "*merkavah* mysticism."

Yet fundamental methodological objections have been raised to the reading practices and historical assumptions upon which this line of scholarship has constructed its claims of literary, sociological, and even phenomenological continuity. In a programmatic essay on the problem of comparison, Peter Schäfer argues that literary motifs or themes in Hekhalot texts cannot be properly understood outside of the specific—and often shifting—literary context(s) and thought-system(s) in which they are deployed. He, therefore, suggests that scholars should resist the temptation to make use of *decontextualized* literary parallels as positive evidence of continuity between sources, practices, or groups far removed from each other in space or time (1984b). Below, after a discussion of relevant literary similarities and how they are deployed in scholarship, we highlight the work of Martha Himmelfarb in her attempts to better contextualize these similarities and differences.

The description of an ascent in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* contains many of the motifs one might use to highlight the continuity between apocalyptic and Hekhalot literatures. As with other apocalyptic and Hekhalot works (e.g., *1 En.* 14; *1 En.* 60, 71; *Test. Levi* 5; *Apoc. Abr*. 18), the vision of God in *2 Enoch* evokes the spectacular *merkavah* (throne-chariot) vision of Ezekiel 1 and 10 (cf. Dan 7). In addition, Andrei Orlov has suggested that there may be angelological traditions especially linked to the tradition of Metatron that also point to lines of continuity between this early Jewish apocalypse and subsequent Hekhalot traditions in which Metatron is more fully developed (Orlov 2005). Though the date of *2 Enoch* is uncertain, the work appears to have originated relatively early, perhaps among Alexandrian Jews in the first century C.E. Long before its translation into Old Church Slavonic and its transmission in the Russian Orthodox tradition, versions of the text circulated in other languages and among other communities during late antiquity (Orlov et al. 2012, 37–126).

In this work, "two huge men" come to Enoch as he lies on his bed asleep. Attempting to assuage his fears, the two men inform Enoch that the "eternal God has sent us to you. And behold, you will ascend with us to heaven today" (1.8; trans. Andersen 1983). These men guide Enoch on a heavenly journey until the throne of God is visible, leaving Enoch there to enter into a new phase in his journey:

> And on the 10th heaven, Aravoth, I saw the view of the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot in a fire and brought out, and it emits sparks and is incandescent. Thus even I saw the face of the Lord. But the face of the Lord is not to be talked about, it is so very marvelous and supremely awesome and supremely frightening. And who am I to give an account of the incomprehensible being of the Lord, and of his face, so extremely strange and indescribable? And how many are his commands, and his multiple voice, and the Lord's throne, supremely great and not made by hands, and the choir stalls all around him, the cherubim and the seraphim armies, and their never-silent singing. Who can give an account of his beautiful appearance, never changing and indescribable, and his great glory? And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the Lord. And the Lord, with his own mouth, said to me, "Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and stand in front of my face forever." (22.1–5)

At this point, Michael lifts Enoch up in front of God's face, where God invites him to "join in" with "the Lord's glorious ones." Michael strips Enoch of his "earthly clothing," according to God's instructions, and Enoch notices his transformation: "And I looked at myself, and I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference" (22.10).

This account of Enoch's ascent in *2 Enoch* displays the core themes and motifs that many scholars have used, with varying degrees and emphases, to trace a trajectory of "early Jewish mysticism" from apocalyptic literature to Hekhalot texts. These include a vision of God enthroned, certain terminology associated with that throne, Enoch's participation in the angelic liturgy, his angelification, and, finally, his enthronement ("And I placed for myself a throne, and I sat down on it"; 25.4).

The ascent narrative of *2 Enoch* also highlights the journey and transformation of the pseudepigraphic seer, a theme shared in both apocalyptic and Hekhalot literature. Apocalyptic literature typically uses biblical heroes (e.g., Enoch, Abraham, Levi), while Hekhalot texts utilize early rabbinic figures (e.g., Rabbi Ishmael, Rabbi Akiva, Rabbi Nehunya ben ha-Qanah) as *merkavah* visionaries. Through a series of interactions with otherworldly beings, the figure ascends to the throne of God, while receiving revelations of cosmological and eschatological significance. Upon entering the throne room, the seer observes and participates in the angelic liturgy ("their never-silent singing"), is transformed into angelic form ("I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference"), and sits upon a throne ("And I placed for myself a throne, and I sat down on it"). Some consider this transformation the heart of the "mystical" experience. Elliot Wolfson has refined this position, suggesting that the "enthronement" of the seer represents "a form of quasi-deification or angelification," what "most precisely qualifies these texts as mystical" (1994, 84; also 1993). Wolfson sees the enthronement of the visionary as a common link between apocalyptic and Hekhalot texts.

Following Scholem's basic paradigm, the pervasiveness of shared themes and motifs (e.g., *merkavah*, ascent, angels and angelification, liturgy, enthronement, related terminology) indicates for many scholars a continuous tradition of ecstatic, mystical experience. Christopher Rowland, for example, suggests that the reinterpretation of Ezekiel's *merkavah* vision was "probably not just the subject of learned study but a catalyst for visionary experience, in which expounders saw again what had appeared to the prophet, but in their own way and in a manner appropriate for their own time" (2010, 347). For Rowland and others, the goal of apocalyptic literature is to record the actual mystical experiences of the visionary, and the goal of Hekhalot literature is to record and prescribe how to repeat those experiences; both groups of texts essentially represent the same experiential paradigm, which is democratized in Hekhalot works.

In contrast to those who find a continuous trajectory of ecstatic experience, but fully cognizant of these patterns of similarity, Martha Himmelfarb offers a close reading of ascent narratives as variegated literary traditions. Himmelfarb has made the powerful case that there are significant differences and shifts from one body of literature to another—and sometimes even within those bodies of literature. In her reading, the ascent accounts found in Ezekiel, Enochic literature, and Hekhalot texts differ fundamentally in their details. Early apocalyptic works narrate the hero's passive rapture. Hekhalot literature, on the other hand, instructs the hearer on how to actively embark on the treacherous journey to the heavenly chariot—explicitly developing ritual language and thematizing the ritual recitation itself. Himmelfarb notes that, in mentions of ascent (or descent), Hekhalot texts "only occasionally" discuss heavens and generally lack "a full-scale narrative that describes the process of ascent"—distinguishing them from ascent depictions in apocalyptic literature. Himmelfarb contends that *3 Enoch* remains an exception to this rule (1988, 80). Conversely, features common in Hekhalot texts—hostile angelic gatekeepers and instructions on the use of seals with these gatekeepers—are quite rare in apocalyptic literature (the *Ascension of Isaiah* is a notable exception). Thus, angels generally serve as guards in Hekhalot literature, while they typically serve as guides in apocalyptic texts.

Furthermore, differences exist not only between the two corpora (apocalyptic and Hekhalot), but also within the bounds of each corpus itself. For example, some ascent apocalypses contain visions of multilayered heavens (e.g., *2 Enoch, Apocalypse of Abraham*), while others only depict a single heaven (e.g., *Similitudes of Enoch, Apocalypse of Zephaniah*). While some apocalypses idealize the visionary hero (e.g., *Book of the Watchers*), the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* depicts its hero as imperfect, making foolish blunders, "an ordinary soul that can serve as a model for all readers" (Himmelfarb 1993, 55). For Himmelfarb, outlining the cumulative differences between various ascent texts allows us to observe major structural shifts between them. Such shifts indicate rich literary strands amid both apocalypses and Hekhalot them, between which she sees no tannaitic bridge.

The field remains divided over how to explain the patterns of similarity between apocalyptic literature and the Hekhalot corpus—whether the two constitute a continuous trajectory, and whether the texts represent literary strands or witness to actual ecstatic experience. While the question of actual experience remains fundamentally unanswerable, the commonalities between these texts raise legitimate questions of continuity. At the same time, the rich diversity of these texts requires that any explanation of literary continuities must account for their very real discontinuities.

3. Textuality and Textual Practice in the Study of Early Jewish Mysticism

As we have seen, some scholars of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature and the later ascent materials found in the Hekhalot corpus have grown wary of approaching these texts as representations of private religious experience or even as straightforward prescriptions for ritual practice. For this tradition of scholarship, attention to the closely related issues of *textual production* and *literary representation* challenges the study of apocalyptic literature as "early Jewish mysticism." Hekhalot literature not only presents a conception of heavenly ascent different from that found in earlier apocalyptic writings, but also offers a markedly distinct approach to esoteric knowledge and textual practice. Hekhalot texts underscore proper ritual recitation as a means by which prospective seers might navigate the dangerous journey of heavenly ascent or, at times, highlight textual recitation of the journey as a ritual practice in itself. Apocalyptic texts, on the other hand, envision the public dissemination of the seer's vision as revealed proclamation from the divine king.

Even the most casual reader of early Jewish and Christian apocalypses will note the heavenly book or tablet as a recurring image. The motif appears across various Near Eastern literatures, including the Hebrew Bible, as well as in other types of early Jewish and Christian literature (Nickelsburg 2001, 478–80; Baynes 2012, 27–61). By the second century B.C.E., heavenly writings had come to play a pivotal role within the apocalyptic genre as a central object—indeed, medium—of revelation. Thus, in what appears to be the earliest extant apocalyptic work, *The Astronomical Book* (*1 En.* 72–82), the angel Uriel instructs Enoch to look

> "at these heavenly tablets, and read what is written on them, and learn every individual (fact)." And I looked at everything on the heavenly tablets, and I read everything that was written, and I learned everything. . . . all the deeds of men and all the sons of flesh that will be upon the earth until the generations of eternity. . . . And then I said, "Blessed is the man who dies righteous and pious, concerning whom no book of iniquity has been written, and against whom no guilt will be found." (*1 En.* 81:1–4; trans. Nickelsburg 2001, 333)

This passage provides early and clear evidence for the textualization of revelation that is at the heart of so many apocalyptic works. As elsewhere in apocalyptic literature (Dan 7:10, 10:21, 12:1; Rev 3:5, 20:12–13; *4 Ezra* 6:20; *2 Bar.* 24:1), the heavenly tablets revealed to Enoch record the verdicts—either favorable or condemnatory—to be meted out at the final judgment. This book of deeds is similar to the more deterministic books of fate that also figure in Second Temple literature (*Jub.* 1:26–29, 5:13–18;

4Q180 1, 3–4; 1QH^{a} ix.24; 4Q417 2 i.14–18), although infrequently within the apocalyptic genre itself (Baynes 2012, 109–34).

In addition to utilizing the heavenly book as a means of textualizing revelation, several apocalyptic and related works also glorify the scribal process that is imagined to produce such heavenly books of deeds. In the *Testament of Abraham*, a work more akin to apocalypses than to other "testaments" (Mueller 1992, 43), Abraham is treated to the scene of the heavenly tribunal in which a pair of angels records the righteous and sinful deeds of souls in two books during the patriarch's otherworldly journey to the places of judgment (*Test. Abr.* 12:4–13:14 A; cf. *Test. Abr.* 10:7–11 B). Significantly, a parallel scene found in the second recension of the *Testament* assigns the task of recording the deeds of those being judged to Enoch (*Test. Abr.* 11:1–10 B). The image of Enoch serving in the same role elsewhere assigned to an angelic scribe echoes the long-standing characterization of the famous seer in *The Book of the Watchers*, where he is likewise described as "scribe of righteousness" (*1 En.* 12:4, 15:1; also *Jub.* 4:23–24). The notion that a human might serve scribal functions in heaven, as he issues written communications among God, the angels, and human beings, complements the thoroughgoing association between visionary activity and scribal expertise embodied in the figure of Daniel (esp. Dan 5, 9:2, 12:4). The skills of writing, reading, and interpretation—alongside imagery associated with prophetic and priestly activity—are thus integral to the idealizing portraits of the visionary heroes of early apocalyptic works (Himmelfarb 1993, 23–25).

Some apocalypses develop this association between scribal expertise and access to secret knowledge recorded in heavenly books, scrolls, or tablets one step further by describing the process whereby their heroes produced written records of their otherworldly travels. Particularly noteworthy is the repeated mention in *2 Enoch* of Enoch's writings in which "he wrote about his marvelous travels and what the heavens look like" (*2 En.* 23; cf. *2 En.* 33:5–9, 64:5; *4 Ezra* 14:19–26, 43–48). These books, written in the handwriting of the visionary and transmitted from generation to generation by their families and followers (*2 En.* 33:5–9), are undoubtedly meant to resemble the very apocalypses that readers hold in their hands. The veracity of the knowledge revealed in heaven to the scribal visionary is in this case transferred to the earthly text, which offers an authoritative account of specific elements of revealed knowledge. Ultimately, then, most early apocalypses do not demonstrate an interest in—and, in some cases, are deeply wary of—inviting the reader to imitate the visionary's journey, let alone to speculate about his private experience (Reed 2005, 24–57).

Several apocalypses in fact thematize their own status as publicly transmitted scripts that are to be read performatively before their audiences. Such directions for public recitation are reminiscent of the prophetic representation of the oracular utterance as a "royal" decree issued by God. Thus, Habakkuk announces, "the Lord answered me and said: Write the vision; make it plain on tablets, so that a runner may read it. For there is still a vision for the appointed time; it speaks of the end, and

does not lie. If it seems to tarry, wait for it; it will surely come, it will not delay" (Hab 2:2–3; cf. Jer 36; Bar 1). The prophet delivers the divine message to an audience, which must in turn respond to it properly. This pattern is perhaps most pronounced in the prologue to the New Testament book of Revelation (1:1–8), which frames itself as well as the "letters" to the seven churches in Asia that it contains (1:11, 2:1–3:22) as a prophecy to be read out loud: "Blessed is the one who reads aloud the words of the prophecy, and blessed are those who hear and who keep what is written in it; for the time is near" (Rev 1:3). Revelation also constructs its seven "letters" as a collection of "proclamations" in the style of imperial edicts. The book thus imagines a communal setting in which a reader recites the text before an audience as public proclamation and as part of collective worship (Aune 1997, 28–29, 126–30). Similarly, the author of *4 Ezra* stresses the transmission of the visionary's writings to his contemporaries, although here the books are to be divided between those intended for the general community and those restricted to the "wise" (*4 Ezra* 14:19–26, 43–48). While most apocalypses do not index their performative function as divine messages intended for public recitation, this literature, broadly speaking, presents itself as texts to be read rather than ritual scripts to be enacted. It is, therefore, essential for scholars to recognize the fundamental difference between the practices of writing and public recitation that inform the discourse of textuality in the apocalypses, on the one hand, and ritual practices intended to induce ecstatic or mystical states of consciousness, on the other.

As we have noted, Scholem sought to bridge the divide between the Hekhalot corpus and the early apocalypses in an effort to root the Jewish mystical tradition in the oldest stages of Judaism. Scholars of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity, however, have most often begun with the analytical challenges presented by apocalyptic literature and moved forward in time to Hekhalot literature in search of support for their "experientialist" interpretations. Stated differently, if Hekhalot literature can be read as instructions for praxis aimed at achieving heavenly ascent, angelification, enthronement, and even divinization, then this corpus might serve as "background" to the mysticism of the early apocalypses. But two significant obstacles stand in the way of this comparative enterprise. First, like the apocalypses, Hekhalot literature presents the scholar with the epistemological problem of moving from literary artifact to embodied practice and experience. Second—and perhaps more interestingly—close attention to the specific rhetoric of writing, reading, and recitation in Hekhalot texts reflects the significant historical developments in the textual culture of Judaism that had occurred in the course of late antiquity.

The Hekhalot text that most closely resembles the earlier apocalypses is *3 (Hebrew) Enoch* (§§1–80 in Schäfer 1981 = *Synopse*; trans. Alexander 1983). The introductory frame of this composition (*Synopse* §§1–3) employs technical vocabulary (e.g., *hekhalot* = heavenly palaces) and characters (e.g., Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha the High Priest) characteristic of Hekhalot literature. Yet, apart from its opening, the text is dominated by many of the central features of the apocalyptic genre, taking the form of a heavenly tour led by an angelic guide who reveals hidden knowledge

concerning the historical fate of Israel (Collins 1979). Moreover, the text seems to be in dialogue with older Enoch traditions and perhaps even incorporates textual materials from *The Book of the Watchers* (Reed 2001). *3 Enoch*, therefore, represents a kind of hybrid form, integrating motifs from Hekhalot literature into the apocalyptic form (Himmelfarb 1988, 98; Kuyt 1995, 161–63; Boustan 2005, 43–45).

In light of the unusually dense use of apocalyptic forms in *3 Enoch*, we ought not to be surprised that it is here, in this text, that we find the closest affinities to the conception of heavenly books characteristic of the earlier apocalypses. Thus, this rather atypical Hekhalot text offers the following vision of the heavenly courtroom described by Metatron to Rabbi Ishmael:

> Above the seraphim is a prince . . . Radweri'el YHWH is his name, and he is in charge of the archives. He takes out the chest of writings in which the book of records (*sefer zikhronot*) is kept, and brings it into the presence of the Holy One, blessed be he. He breaks the seals of the chest of writings, opens it, takes out the scrolls and puts them in the hand of the Holy One, blessed be he. The Holy One receives them from his hand and places them before the scribes, so that they might read them out to the Great Law Court which is in the height of the heaven of 'Aravot, in the presence of the heavenly household. (*Synopse* §43; trans. Alexander 1983, 281–82)

Much like the heavenly courtroom scenes in several early apocalypses discussed above, this passage offers the visionary—and thus the reader—a glimpse into the process of divine judgment in which angelic scribes record the righteous and sinful deeds of humanity in books to be used at the time of final judgment. Indeed, only several paragraphs later, *3 Enoch* connects its vision of the heavenly courtroom to the (by then) authoritative version of such scenes in the book of Daniel, explicitly citing the phrase "a court was held, and the books were opened" (Dan 7:10).

Such heavenly trial scenes and their interest in the scribal activities of God's angelic courtiers are found virtually nowhere else in Hekhalot literature, the other notable exception being the equally atypical "martyr-narrative" found in *Hekhalot Rabbati* (*Synopse* §§107–21). But, in both of these cases, these scenes are largely constructed from preexisting building-block materials found in either late rabbinic midrashim or contemporaneous Hebrew narrative literature (Boustan 2005, 182–97). Thus, despite the formal and thematic continuities between early Jewish and Christian apocalypses and early medieval texts like *3 Enoch*, we find this pattern of similarity precisely in that strand of Hekhalot literature least reflective of its novel emphasis on ritual techniques for achieving proximity to the divine.

By contrast, in those strata of the Hekhalot corpus that would seem to describe those forms of "mystical praxis" that some scholars wish to see behind the earlier apocalypses, we find a starkly different approach to such "textual practices" as writing, reading, and recitation. Here, scholastic or scribal activity is no longer situated primarily in the context of the heavenly realms, but represents ritual techniques transmitted with a community of initiates. This novel discourse of ritual power

participates in the broader scribalization of Jewish "magic" in late antiquity (Bohak 2008, 183–96, 283–85). Moreover, this conception of the acts of writing or, in other cases, recitation as ritually efficacious likely reflects the emergent scholastic norms that were increasingly coming to define the nature of religious authority and ritual expertise in late antiquity (Swartz 1996; Vidas 2013).

The detailed description of the "mystical" fellowship (*ḥavurah*) found at the heart of *Hekhalot Rabbati* (*Synopse* §§198–268) is perhaps the best-known articulation of this new emphasis on the transmission of esoteric knowledge as indispensable for successful access to the heavenly realms (Schäfer 2009, 268–82). Embedded at various points in this composite account are brief narrative vignettes that purport to describe the historical context in which the master of secret lore Rabbi Nehunya ha-Qanah transmitted this knowledge to his various disciples. Scribal activities figure prominently within this imaginatively constructed social world.

As the narrative progresses, for instance, the reader learns that Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel has accused his colleague Rabbi Ishmael of having failed to transmit from their master a key piece of information necessary for completing the heavenly journey, that is, the names of the angelic guardians of the last of the seven palaces that make up the divine realm (*Synopse* §238). Greatly distressed by this accusation, Rabbi Ishmael seeks out his teacher, Rabbi Nehunya ha-Qanah, who implies that he has waited until now to reveal these names because of their special potency (*Synopse* §§239–40). The master then reconvenes the disciples to whom he had taught most but not all of the necessary information, instructing them as follows:

> "come stand on your feet, and each and every one of you—when the name of each [of the guardians of the seventh palace] goes forth from my mouth—kneel and fall upon your faces." Immediately, all the heroes of the fellowship and all the leaders of the academy came and stood on their feet before R. Nehunya ben ha-Qanah. And (when) he speaks, they fall upon their faces, while the scribes record. (*Synopse* §240; our trans., following MS Vatican 228; cf. T.-S. AS 142.94 in Schäfer 1984a, 76–81)

There are several notable features of this account that differ fundamentally from what we find in apocalyptic literature. Instruction within the disciple-circle is imagined to be oral, in keeping with its fictionalized rabbinic setting. Moreover, the group of scribes (*soferim*) tasked with recording the master's instructions appear to stand outside the inner circle of disciples. Indeed, on the whole, Hekhalot literature does not describe its rabbinic heroes as scribes or otherwise celebrate scribal identity, as do the early apocalypses (e.g., Enoch as prototypical scribe). Instead, this narrative seeks to demonstrate that ritual prescriptions can be recorded in writing and thus preserved for posterity. The instructional materials that make up the rest of the *ḥavurah*-account are authorized not because they come from heaven, but because they successfully lead to heaven, as Rabbi Nehunya ha-Qanah's own journey to the *merkavah* demonstrates.

Other passages in the Hekhalot corpus present this literature not so much as a transcription of efficacious ritual techniques, but as texts to be recited. Thus, Himmelfarb has argued that, for the creators of Hekhalot literature, "[t]he actual performance of the acts is attributed to a mythic past, the era of the great rabbis of the Mishnah; recitation itself has become the ritual" (Himmelfarb 1993, 113). The introductory framework of the poorly redacted text known as *Hekhalot Zutarti* exemplifies this particular "register" of ritual discourse.

> If you wish to single yourself out in the world, so that the mystery of the world and the secrets of wisdom are revealed to you, recite this teaching (*mishnah*) and be careful with it until the day of your passing. Do not (seek to) comprehend what is after you and do not examine the sayings of your lips; (seek to) comprehend that which is in your own heart and keep silent, so that you may be worthy of the beauty of the divine chariot-throne (*merkavah*). Be careful with the glory of your Creator and do not "descend" to it. But if you do "descend" to it, do not take enjoyment from it—your fate will be to be driven from the world. *The glory of God: conceal the matter* [Prov 25:2, in adapted form], lest you be driven from the world! (*Synopse* §335; our trans., following MS Oxford 1531)

According to this programmatic statement, most people will never merit direct experience of the divine; and even those few who, through correct practice and proper discipline, do successfully encounter the glory of God are enjoined to keep their heavenly knowledge secret, or suffer the consequences. But the text—part warning label and part advertisement—also integrates a promise of power into its threat of danger. Knowledge of divine secrets and the power this knowledge confers are the fruit of ongoing and repeated engagement with Hekhalot texts. The passage's shrewd juxtaposition of the language of revelation with the rhetoric of secrecy is deftly calibrated to lend an air of authority and authenticity to the larger literature of which it is a part.

Significantly, however, this passage does not instruct the reader to engage in any of the ritual practices that are otherwise so characteristic of Hekhalot literature. The passage instead invests the very act of textual recitation with ritual power. The passage is thus striking for the way it points to the literariness of the Hekhalot texts themselves. This self-reflexive gesture suggests that, in the course of its literary evolution, Hekhalot literature took an interest in the potential ritual applications of its own textuality.

In this regard, Hekhalot units like this one broadly resemble the introductory instructions for communal recitation found at the opening of the Apocalypse of John. Yet there is no indication in apocalyptic texts that the public disclosure or reading of their narratives will serve as a ritual technique for ascending to the divine realm. While both groups of texts often convey a similarly consoling message regarding God's abiding presence in heaven and his enduring concern for his people, it is difficult to locate in the early apocalypses a comparable interest in ritual practice

as a path for encountering the divine. Thus, even if we think it productive to study Hekhalot literature through the analytical lens of mysticism—a matter very much open for debate—it seems wholly unwarranted to apply that category (even at its most expansive) to apocalyptic literature.

4. Conclusion

This essay has highlighted and explored the persistent—and vertiginous—gap between the literary artifacts that make up apocalyptic and Hekhalot literatures, on the one hand, and ritual practice and religious experience, on the other. We have suggested that accounts of continuity between the two corpora must be balanced by attention to differences in literary form and rhetorical aims. Rather than begin with a priori assumptions about the essential nature of mystical thought and practice, comparative work ought to give due weight to the shifting institutional and cultural contexts that produced these literatures and to fine-grained analysis of the conceptual and formal features that characterize specific works.

Yet, provided that appropriate care is taken with the textual evidence, scholarship need not confine itself to formal literary analysis. As public and socially meaningful expressions of Jewish and Christian piety, all of the texts discussed in this essay emerged from and participated in the creation and maintenance of specific religious cultures. In that respect, they must be studied not only as more or less authoritative texts, but also in relation to nontextual forms of religious life. Thus, we ought neither pit texts against practice nor ignore the literary texture of written artifacts in the search for the "lived experience" that supposedly lies beneath their surface. The textual practices that produced these literary artifacts offer historians of ancient Judaism and Christianity precious evidence for the dynamic process through which authoritative traditions as well as the norms and aspirations they encode were made and remade in the course of their reception and transmission. The integration of formal textual analysis with attention to the entire range of nontextual forms of expression, such as public reading and recitation, regimes of ascetic discipline, and architectural contexts and iconographic programs, can help to account for the capacity of these textual traditions to endure over time.

Bibliography

Alexander, Philip S. (1983). "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch." In *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth, 223–315. New York: Doubleday.

—— (2006). *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts*. New York: T. & T. Clark.

Andersen, F. I. (1983). "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch." In *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth, 91–221. New York: Doubleday.

Aune, David E. (1997). *Revelation 1–5*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Baynes, Leslie (2012). *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses, 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.* Leiden: Brill.

Bohak, Gideon (2008). *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boustan, Raʿanan S. (2005). *From Martyr to Mystic: Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Boustan, Raʿanan S. (2007). "The Emergence of Pseudonymous Attribution in Heikhalot Literature: Empirical Evidence from the Jewish 'Magical' Corpora." *Jewish Studies Quarterly 14*: 18–38.

—— (2011). "Rabbinization and the Making of Early Jewish Mysticism." *Jewish Quarterly Review 101*: 482–501.

Collins, John J. (1979). "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre." *Semeia 14*: 1–20.

de Certeau, Michel (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by S. F. Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Elior, Rachel (2004). *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*. Translated by David Louvish. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.

Gruenwald, Ithamar (1980). *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*. Leiden: Brill.

Halperin, David J. (1980). *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature*. New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society.

Himmelfarb, Martha (1988). "Heavenly Ascent and the Relationship of the Apocalypses and the Hekhalot Literature." *Hebrew Union College Annual 59*: 73–100.

—— (1993). *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. New York: Oxford.

—— (2006). "Merkavah Mysticism since Scholem: Rachel Elior's *The Three Temples*." In *Mystical Approaches to God: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, edited by Peter Schäfer, 19–36. Munich: Oldenbourg.

Huss, Boaz (2007). "The Mystification of the Kabbalah and the Myth of Jewish Mysticism" (Hebrew). *Peʿamim 110*: 9–30.

—— (2012). "The Theologies of the Research of Jewish Mysticism." In *Jewish Thought and Jewish Belief*, edited by Daniel Lasker, 33–54. Beʾer Sheba: Ben Gurion University Press.

Idel, Moshe (1988). *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

—— (2005). *Enchanted Chains: Techniques and Rituals in Jewish Mysticism*. Los Angeles: Cherub Press.

James, William (2012). *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Katz, Steven T., ed. (1978). *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

King, Richard (1999). *Orientalism and Religion: Post-colonial Theory, India and "The Mystic East."* New York: Routledge.

Kuyt, Annelies (1995). *The "Descent" to the Chariot: Towards a Description of the Terminology, Place, Function, and Nature of the Yeridah in Hekhalot Literature*. Tübingen: Mohr.

Mizrahi, Noam (2009). "The Supposed Relationship between the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Hekhalot Literature: Linguistic and Stylistic Aspects" (Hebrew). *Meghillot 7*: 263–98.

Morray-Jones, Christopher R. A. (1992). "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition." *Journal of Jewish Studies 43*: 1–31.

—— (2002). *A Transparent Illusion: The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticism*. Leiden: Brill.

Mueller, James R. (1992). "Abraham, Testament of." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David Noel Freedman, 43–44. New York: Doubleday.

Myers, David N. (2008). "Philosophy and Kabbalah in *Wissenschaft des Judentums*: Rethinking the Narrative of Neglect." *Studia Judaica 16*: 56–71.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2001). *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Orlov, Andrei A. (20050. *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Orlov, Andrei, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason Zurawski, eds. (2012). *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only*. Leiden: Brill.

Proudfoot, Wayne (1985). *Religious Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Reed, Annette Yoshiko (2001). "From Asael and Šemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 (§§7–8) and Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch." *Jewish Studies Quarterly 8*: 105–36.

——(2005). *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rowland, Christopher (2010). "Apocalypticism." In *Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, edited by John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow, 345–48. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Rowland, Christopher, and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones (2009). *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament*. Leiden: Brill.

Schäfer, Peter, ed. (1981). *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

——, ed. (1984a). *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

—— (1984b). "New Testament and Hekhalot Literature: The Journey into Heaven in Paul and in Merkavah Mysticism." *Journal of Jewish Studies 35*: 19–35.

—— (2009). *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Scholem, Gershom G. (1954). *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. 2nd ed. New York: Schocken.

——(1965). *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminar of America.

Schleiermacher, Friedrich (1996). "Second Speech: On the Essence of Religion." In *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, edited by Richard Crouter, 18–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sharf, Robert H. (1998). "Experience." In *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, edited by Mark C. Taylor, 94–116. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Smith, Jonathan Z. (1990). *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

—— (2004). *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Smith, Margaret (1980). "The Nature and Meaning of Mysticism." In *Understanding Mysticism*, edited by Richard Woods, 19–25. New York: Image Books.

Swartz, Michael D. (1996). *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Vidas, Moulie (2013). "Hekhalot Literature, the Babylonian Academies, and the *tannaʿim*." In *Hekhalot Literature in Context: Between Byzantium and Babylonia*, edited by Raʿanan Boustan, Martha Himmelfarb, and Peter Schäfer, 141–76. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Wolfson, Elliot R. (1993). "*Yeridah la-Merkavah*: Typology of Ecstasy and Enthronement in Ancient Jewish Mysticism." In *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics, and Typologies*, edited by Robert A. Herrera, 13–44. New York: Peter Lang.

—— (1994). *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

CHAPTER 7

DREAMS AND VISIONS IN EARLY JEWISH AND EARLY CHRISTIAN APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM

FRANCES FLANNERY

Dreams and visions appear in the majority of early Jewish and early Christian texts commonly identified as apocalypses. Apocalyptic visionary materials elaborate on traditional functions of dreams and visions—imparting extraordinary knowledge, divine sanction, or healing—in a distinctive matrix of meaning. Through a dream or vision, the favored dreamer/visionary in apocalyptic literature gains special access to the presence of divine beings, receiving revelation that provides consolation about the present plight of the righteous.

In "apocalyptica," (i.e., apocalypses and closely related texts, without reference to precise boundaries of the genre "apocalypse"; DiTommaso 2007: 242), this special access to divinity is the result of an expansive use of "dream logic" or "vision logic," in which the dreamer or visionary is freed from the temporal, spatial, and physiological constraints of the ordinary world. Apocalyptically oriented texts explore this freedom by creating new motifs of the oneiric and visionary experience, including sweeping revelations of eschatological and/or primordial secrets (the temporal dimension), elaborate soul journeys or otherworldly journeys (the spatial and

physiological dimensions), and transformations of the dreamer/visionary into an angel (the physiological axis of reality).

Apocalyptically oriented literature also stresses the intensity of oneiric/visionary experiences to a greater extent than do many antecedent and contemporary sources, save for a few influential biblical visionary examples, (Isa. 6, Ezek. 1–3, 8–10, 40–48, and Zech. 1–8). The potency of the dreamer's or visionary's experience is emphasized by including descriptions of strong physiological and psychological effects of the dream or vision, interactions with angelic messengers and interpreters of dreams and visions, and the performance of visionary rituals similar to those practiced in pagan incubation cults.

A significant trend in scholarship on early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature explores whether the oneiric/visionary descriptions reflect genuine experiences to some degree (DiTommaso 2007: 263–65; Stone 2011). Such investigations mainly focus on resemblances between textual descriptions in apocalyptically oriented visionary texts and evidence from neurophysiology, psychology, and investigations of cultic practices from the ancient Near East and Mediterranean world. By highlighting the importance of dreams and visions in apocalyptic literature, some scholars have suggested that the origins of the apocalyptic worldview may lie in visionary practice.

Dream and Vision Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean

While we post-Freudians generally think of dreams and visions as private, subjective, false experiences much like hallucinations, ancient peoples did not. For them, dreams and visions constituted a privileged contact with the divine realm that testified to the veracity of the information relayed in the oneiric/visionary episodes. Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean peoples held that divinely sent dreams and visions communicated factual truths about the future or otherwise unknowable information, such as matters pertaining to death, normally undisclosed realms like the underworld, and dispensations of the gods (Butler 1998: 15–24). Literary accounts of dreams and visions are well attested throughout cultures of the ancient Near East and Mediterranean, as are incubation reports for royalty and priests. However, the source material for folk incubation in the ancient Near East is rarer by comparison and depends on location. Incubation was clearly practiced at Mari by nonroyalty, and Dan'el practices incubation in the Ugaritic *Legend of Aqht* (Butler 1998: 219–20). By the Hellenistic age, dream incubation cults for healing and oracles that practiced visionary incubation flourished on both official and folk levels of society throughout the Hellenistic empire (Avalos 1995: 41–46).

Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean peoples viewed dreams and visions as existing on a continuum of hypnagogic, altered states of perception, all of which allowed one to "see" a divine reality that was not ordinarily perceptible. Since dreams and visions were considered to be actual communications from the divine, one did not subjectively "have" a dream or vision, as we would commonly say. Rather, in antiquity one "saw" a dream or vision, as one would see a thing that was objectively existent (Butler 1998: 31, 36). For instance, in Egypt, "a dream," *rswt,* derives from the root *rs* "to awaken," suggesting that a dream is something seen upon awakening during sleep, "or is perhaps the very state of being aware, while asleep" (Szpakowska 2003: 16).

Some cultures thought of dreaming as an activity in which one hovered between sleep and waking, as conveyed by the Akkadian term *munattu*, meaning something like "waking dream" and "early morning," the time when one would be most apt to dwell between sleep and wakefulness (Butler 1998: 32–33). Some reports describe a "dream" seen while asleep, often in bed, while others specify that a "vision" is something seen while awake. Generally, however, ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures view these as closely related phenomena, and the terms are often used interchangeably within the same text to denote a hypnagogic state of visual perception of divine matters (Butler 1998: 31–35; Szpakowska 2003: 20). This is also true in the Hebrew Bible, when Daniel expresses a visionary experience by grouping together the roots for "dream" ח.ל.מ, "to see" ר.א.ה, and "vision" ח.ז.נ, when the hero "saw a dream" (*ḥēlem ḥăzāh*) and "visions of his mind" (*wĕḥezwê rēʾshēh*) (Dan. 7:1).

Oppenheim identified several categories of dreams in the ancient Near East that are consistent across many cultures, including Israel (Oppenheim 1956). These categories have influenced later scholars, with emendations (Flannery-Dailey 2004; Husser 1999; Butler 1998: 15–20), although some note that the typology is not without imprecision (Noegel 2001: 47). In the main, these dream types also obtain for literary and cultic materials of ancient Greece and Rome (Flannery-Dailey 2004: 57–110; Harris 2009: 41–46). In a *message dream* a deity, or more rarely, a deceased person, appears and stands by the head of the dreamer to impart a clear, readily understandable message. Although these highly standardized, culturally constructed dream types may or may not reflect the content of actual dreams, many extant ancient Near Eastern message dream reports in historical texts purport to be genuine records of dreams seen by important men, especially kings, priests, and heroes. Such records may function as propaganda (Oppenheim 1956: 186; Noegel 2001: 47–49). In a variety of Greek types of literature, both men and women receive message or "epiphany dreams" that feature deities or the dead as messengers (Harris 2009: 41–44).

Symbolic dreams required decoding by an expert such as a priest or priestess, both to provide an interpretation and for apotropaic purposes. Extant professional *Dream Books* for Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria organized real people's dreams into thematic categories, with accompanying interpretations (Noegel 2001: 51; Butler 1998: 97–102). Symbolic dreams are more prevalent in Mesopotamian sources than are message

dreams and appear mostly in epic literature, as opposed to historical records (Noegel 2001: 49). The majority of dreams recorded for women in the ancient Near East were symbolic dreams (Oppenheim 1956: 186–90), although men had them as well (Butler 1998: 19).

Vision types seem to parallel these traditional dream types, including *message visions*, in which a deity appears in order to impart a clear message, and *symbolic visions*, consisting of symbols that require deciphering by an expert. Other visions in literature are more straightforwardly *oracular*, such as in the *Odyssey* when the *mantis* Theoclymenus foresees Penelope's suitors spattered in gore (*Ody.* 15.525–34). In such cases, the seer does not interpret his own vision (Flower 2004: 78).

Oppenheim also identifies another category, the *Wecktraum* or "waking dream," a kind of liminal hybrid between a dream and vision (Oppenheim 1956: 189). In this dream type, a deity or representative of the deity (such as a minor god) appears and utters the dreamer's name in order to wake him/her, so that the message may continue plainly in a visionary waking state. Such categories are helpful for illustrating the diachronic development of certain literary forms and concepts but should not be viewed rigidly, since dreams and visions overlapped in antiquity.

Taken as a whole, the divinely sent dreams or visions that appear in cultic and literary materials of the ancient Near East and Mediterranean, including both prose and poetry from Greece and Rome, function in surprisingly consistent ways. Divinely sent dreams and visions impart extraordinary knowledge (usually of the future), dispense healing (or the converse, illness), or convey divine sanction for the dreamer/visionary (or the opposite, divine punishment) (Flannery-Dailey 2004: 38, 53, 76, 93; Noegel 2001: 55). Since dreams and visions communicated divine messages, dream interpreters of some cultures also engaged in other kinds of divination. In Mesopotamia, the same priest or priestess appears to have been responsible for dream interpretation as for libanomancy, necromancy, augury, and other divination (Flannery-Dailey 2004: 30–32; Noegel 2001: 54).

Two important traits distinguish dreams and visions of the ancient Near East and Mediterranean on the one hand, and the Hebrew Bible on the other. Whereas the ancient Near East and Greco-Roman sources sometimes portray the Underworld or the God of Dreams as the source of dreams, the Hebrew Bible only portrays God as the source (Butler 1998: 22; Noegel 2001: 55). Also, ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean sources rarely portray the deceased as messengers in dreams, but the Hebrew Bible never does (Hasan-Rokem 1999: 214; Flannery-Dailey 2004: 27–28, 49, 65–67, 90–93). A few exceptions appear in later non-canonical Jewish literature (e.g., 2 Macc. 15), but a grave unease with any communication with the dead still generally stands even in late Second Temple Judaism.

The singular case of *ovot* or necromancy in the Hebrew Bible, wherein the medium of Endor conjures an apparition of the dead prophet Samuel, may or may not have been considered to be a vision and thus deserves special consideration (1 Sam. 28:3–23). Hasan-Rokem interprets this scene as an apparition marked by a strange

sensory separation in which only the conjuror sees the dead figure, while the client Saul can only hear the ghost (Hasan-Rokem 1999: 214–15). However, since necromancers "chirp and mutter" (Isa. 8:19) and "inquire on behalf of the dead" (Deut. 18:9–12), Saul may be "hearing" Samuel through the medium's voice, channeled in a divinatory perceptual mode distinct from a regular vision (1 Sam. 28:13–14). In any case, the Hebrew Bible considers the practice of necromancy to be illicit (e.g., Isa. 19:3), distinguished from divinely sent dreams, and forbidden by Saul, even as he himself seeks it out in a desperate moment (1 Sam. 28:6-9). Perhaps this is one reason why Genesis and Daniel take pains to distance Israelites' mantic wisdom of true dream interpretation from foreign practices of magic (Noegel 2001: 55; e.g., Gen. 40–41, Dan. 2, 4).

Incubation, or the ritualistic attempt to provoke divinely sent dreams or visions, particularly by sleeping in a sacred space, is well attested for kings in a range of ancient Near Eastern cultic sources, including the Sumerian king Gudea, the Hittite king Murshili, the Baylonian king Nabonidus, the Akkadian king Naram-Sin, a priest in the stead of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal, and the Egyptian king Sethos (Oppenheim 1956: 188–250; Leibovici 1959: 80–81; Flannery-Dailey 2004: 35; for an exception at Mari, Butler 1998: 17). The account of King Solomon of Israel incubating a dream at the shrine at Gibeon places him squarely in this tradition (1 Kings 3:5–15; cf. Husser 1999: 172–75).

In Greece, incubation dream cults existed at least by the sixth century B.C.E., preceded by even earlier oracles, such as those of Amphiaros and Trophonius at Lebadeia, which also practiced incubation (Wacht 1998: 184–87). Dream and vision incubation cults rose in popularity in the fifth century B.C.E., and by the Hellenistic era, they filled the empire (Harris 2009: 41; Betz 1983: 577). In fact, Asklepios alone was worshipped at hundreds of cultic sites in the Hellenistic world; at many of these sites supplicants could sleep in the hopes of obtaining a dream of this god of healing and mantic wisdom, or at least a dream of his companion dog or totemic snake (LiDonnici 1995; Avalos 1995). At Rome, Asclepius was worshipped for at least six centuries (Renberg 2006: 88), well into late antiquity.

The Hebrew Bible shares much with the dream and vision traditions of the ancient Near East, including the types of dreams and visions as well as the belief that they are genuine communications from the divine. In pre-exilic biblical texts, message and symbolic dreams are usually short and simple in nature (e.g., Gen. 37:5–9, 46:4; 1 Sam. 3:2–15; Num. 22:9–13), and the place incubation is likewise basic (e.g., 1 Kings 3:5–15). Some symbolic visions in the Hebrew Bible are closely related to divination, such as when ordinary objects are infused with a new, divinatory meaning in prophetic texts such as Amos 8:1–3 (Niditch 1980:12–18).

Dream and Vision Traditions in the Early Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature

Biblical visions resemble apocalyptic dreams and visions in several ways, including the relative length of the vision report, the close attention to sensory perception, the detail of the scene—especially of the interaction with angels—and the indication of a visionary transport that allows the prophet to see extraordinary scenes unfolding in a divine locus. Although Isaiah 6 stems from the Assyrian period, it shares these features with three postexilic biblical texts that deeply influence apocalyptic visionary traditions: Ezekiel 1–3, 8–10, 40–48; Zechariah 1–8; and Daniel 7–12. Ezekiel and Daniel impressively expand on the theme of visionary transport in complex ways that also allow access to the divine throne, while Zechariah describes intricate visions in which the seer encounters angelic figures of a variety of types (Niditch 1980:73–175, 215).

Early Jewish and Christian texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including examples from the Apocrypha, Jewish and Christian pseudepigrapha, Qumran scrolls, and several texts in the New Testament, share a deep interest in dreams and visions with these passages from Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah. This fascination is apparent in the number of dreams and visions, their complexity, and their elaboration on earlier motifs.

All of the early Jewish texts identified as apocalypses in *Semeia* 14 prominently feature dreams or visions, including "The Book of the Watchers" in *1 En.* 1–36; "The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries" in *1 En.* 72–82; "The Dream Visions" in *1 En.* 83–90; The "Apocalypse of Weeks" in *1 Enoch* 93; 91:12–17; "The Parables of Enoch" in *1 En.* 37–71; Dan.; *2 Bar.*; *3 Bar.*; 4 Ezra; *Apoc. Abr.*; *2 En.*; *Greek T. Levi, T. Abr., Apoc. Zeph.*, and *Jubilees* (J. J. Collins 1979: 28; 2001: 28). Twenty of twenty-four commonly identified early Christian apocalypses also contain dreams or visions, including texts such as *Apoc. Peter, Shep. Hermas, 5 Ezra, Test. Isaac, Apoc. Paul*, and *Apoc. Mary.* However, the book of Revelation has by far been the most influential on a global, historical scale (A.Y. Collins 1979: 104). Numerous other texts in the "apocalyptica" also contain dreams or visions, including several texts from Qumran (*4QEn., 4QAram. Levi; 4QVis. Amram, 1QGen. Apocry., 4QJub., 11Q Targ. Job, 4QBk. Giants, 4QVis. Sam.*), other Jewish pseudepigrapha (e.g., "The Epistle of Enoch," esp. *1 En.* 106, 108) and several texts of debatable provenance (e.g., *T. Napht.*, Add. Esther, *T. of Job, Jos. and Asen.* and *Ezek. Trag*). Notably, only a handful of Gnostic apocalypses contain dreams or visions (*Dial. Sav.; Apoc. Paul; Zost.; P.S. IV; Apoc. Peter*; and *Allog.*); in the remaining Gnostic apocalypses, revelation occurs by way of epiphanies, (Fallon 1979: 148), a distinction that may be significant.

Like the Hebrew Bible, early Jewish and early Christian apocalypses viewed dreams and visions as genuine communications with the divine realm. Oftentimes, a dream acts as a cushion to ease a seer into an angelic theophany by means of an angelic "*Wecktraum*" (e.g., 4 Ezra 6:35–7:2; *2 En.* 1:3–10). By contrast, the relative absence in Gnostic apocalypses of dreams and visions may in itself be a claim about the Gnostic hero's advanced capacity for absorbing revelation. He or she is not "asleep" (a common Gnostic metaphor for ignorance), nor even in need of an altered state, when meeting a divine being and gaining gnosis/knowledge.

As throughout the ancient Near East and Mediterranean, early Jewish and non-Gnostic Christian apocalypses use the vocabulary for dreams and visions interchangeably. The nouns for "dream" and "vision" illustrate this interrelationship, as follows: for example, Hebrew (*ḥălôm, ḥāzôn, ḥizzāyôn*, rarely *maḥŏzeh, marʾâ*), Aramaic (*ḥēlem, ḥelmāʾ, ḥĕzû, ḥezwāʾ*), Syriac (*ḥelmo, ḥlem, ḥezwon, ḥezwono*), Geʿez (*ḥelm*), Greek (ὀνείρος, ὄναρ, ἐνύπνιον, ὁράματι, ὅραμα, ὕπαρ, κατ᾽ ὄναρ), and Latin (*somnium, visionis, visiones somniorum*). Some early Jewish texts do employ the verb "to dream" (Hb. *ḥālam*, Syr. *ḥlam*), but as in the rest of Mediterranean antiquity someone in an apocalypse usually *sees* a dream or vision: Hebrew (*wāʾerʾeh beḥāzôn*), Geʿez (*reʾiku ba-rāʾey*), Greek (ὄνειρον ἐθεάσατο), Latin (*vidi somnium*).

Transformations of Visionary Traditions in the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses

While sharing many features of dreams and visions with other ancient cultures, early Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic texts also transform the three traditional narratival functions of dreams and visions in a particular fashion: seers who gain or possess *divine favor* receive *extraordinary knowledge* (an eschatological or cosmological revelation) that provides *emotional/psychological healing* and, often, *national consolation* for Israel. The accent on *physical healing* through dreams and visions, quite pronounced in the therapeutic dream cults of the ancient Hellenistic Mediterranean, mostly falls away (save for the occasional strengthening by an angelic touch), largely to be replaced by psychological consolation on behalf of the righteous / Israel / the Church.

An example from 4 Ezra aptly illustrates the experiential role that dreams and visions play in imparting extraordinary knowledge, divine sanction, and psychological healing in apocalypses. For the first half of 4 Ezra, Ezra grieves deeply over Israel's fate, as well as the fate of most of humanity, lamenting: "because of my grief I have spoken; for every hour I suffer agonies of heart" (e.g., 4 Ezra 3:1, 5:20, 34; cf. 9:23–27).

After various incubation rituals, Ezra sees several angelic message dreams in which Uriel imparts revelation, yet he remains as depressed as ever (4 Ezra 9:14).

The angel gives him new vision incubation instructions: to eat special flowers in a sacred field. In his resulting dream vision he sees a mourning woman representing Zion who subsequently gives rise to an eschatological city. This overwhelms him, but Uriel awakens him in a classic *Wecktraum* and gives him a *healing* touch to help him arise (4 Ezra 10:8–33). Ezra subsequently undertakes a visionary tour of the city, a numinous eschatological reality, after which he receives two more symbolic dream visions that impart *extraordinary knowledge* through experiential confirmation of Uriel's earlier revelations (4 Ezra 9:26–56, esp. 55). The Most High explains to Ezra that "You alone have been enlightened about this," clearly implying that God has bestowed his *divine sanction* on Ezra through the dreams and visions (4 Ezra 13:54). It is the visionary experiences of the eschatological buildings that Ezra tours (Stone 2007), as well as the potent impact of his subsequent symbolic dreams (Flannery 2012), that result in Ezra's eventual *consolation and psychological healing* on behalf of the righteous, who are assured an eschatological reward. As a result, Ezra progresses from lying on his bed in total depression to walking around and praising God for his wonders (4 Ezra 13:57).

As this example shows, early Jewish and Christian apocalypses often stress that dreams and visions are profound, transformative experiences. In large measure, this depends on the full use of a "dream logic" or "vision logic" that erases ordinary temporal, spatial, physiological, and epistemological limits for the experients.

In the ancient Near East and Mediterranean, a dream or a vision typically predicts the future life of the dreamer or visionary; rarely, it may predict the immediate future of the nation. However, in apocalypses, the full suspension of *temporal constraints* on the dreamer/visionary results in extraordinary knowledge that is temporally cosmic in scope. Sweeping temporal revelations might include the revelation of primordial secrets (e.g., *1 En.* 70:4), information about the nature of the periods throughout the whole course of history (e.g., *1 En.* 14:1–7; *2 Bar.* 53:1–12, 56:1–16), and most often, eschatological revelations.

The total suspension of *spatial constraints* and *physiological limits* in apocalyptic dreams and visions means that apocalyptic dreamers/visionaries can travel to remote regions of heaven and earth without physical limitations (e.g., *1 En.* 13:7–36:3; 4 Ezra 7:78–101; *T. Levi* 3:1–8; *4QEnoch; Greek T. Levi* 2–5, 8–10; *4Q Aram. Levi* frag. 1, col. II; Rev. 4:1–2). In other words, they are able to travel to angelic realms, as Enoch says: "the [angels] took me and led me away to a certain place in which those who were there were like a flaming fire . . . and I departed for where no flesh walks" (*1 En.* 17:1–7).

This suspension of spatial and physiological limits results in complex otherworldly journeys in some apocalypses. The scope and detail of Enoch's otherworldly journey in "The Book of the Watchers" far exceeds earlier Near Eastern and Mediterranean otherworldly journeys (e.g. *Vision of the Descent of Ishtar, Plato's Myth of Er*), and even

outstrips Ezekiel's tours, prefiguring Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*. In *1 Enoch* 14, Enoch the dreamer rises through space and the stars, ascending through multiple layers of heaven that are probably rooms in the heavenly *hekhal*. He describes in detail the appearance of each level and his interaction with angels, at last drawing near to the Holy of Holies itself to receive a divine commissioning (*1 En.* 14:8–16:4). His dream journey does not conclude with this ascent; angels then lead him in an elaborate dream journey around hidden parts of the earth, including Eden, the underworld, and the edges of space, all of which are described in stunning detail for almost twenty chapters (*1 En.* 17:1–36:3).

In some apocalyptically oriented texts, dreamers and visionaries explicitly transform into angels, another means of overcoming physiological limits (*2 En.* 22:8–10; *T. Levi* 8:2–19; Morray-Jones 1992, 1993; cf. Zech. 3:4–5). In the *Testament of Levi*, the patriarch dreams and ascends through the heavens, as he is gradually transformed into a priestly angel capable of dwelling there (*T. Levi* 8:2–17). Similarly, in *2 Enoch*, Enoch has a dream that announces his subsequent ascent to heaven, where he is transformed into an angelic scribe (*2 En.* 22:8–11). A. Segal's suggestion that Paul thought of himself as ascending to heaven as an "angelic alter-ego" should be viewed in the light of these examples (Segal 2007: 19).

Another way in which apocalypses stress the experiential impact of the revelatory dream or vision is through vivid descriptions of the bodily impact made on the seer. Frequently, the dreamer or visionary trembles or shakes; at the conclusion of the dream-vision he might "lay there like a corpse" (4 Ezra 5:14, 10:30) or "lay sick for many days" (Dan. 8:27). The formulaic "swoon-touch-stand" episode in apocalypses shows a dreamer or visionary swooning from the force of the experience and an angel touching him (always a he) and thereby strengthening him so that he may stand again (e.g., Dan. 8:17–18; 4 Ezra 5:15, 10:29–31). This "touch" motif may draw on iconography and cultic descriptions of the actions of Asklepios, the "physician god" who sometimes heals an ill incubant through touch. However, in the apocalyptic formula the ailment occurs as a result of the overwhelming visionary experience itself.

Apocalypses also stress the strong affective impact that dreams and visions make. The visionary or dreamer may become severely frightened during or after the experience (e.g. Dan. 7:28; *2 Bar.* 53:12), be strangely comforted (*T. Levi* 5:7), or become confused about the nature of the visionary experience: "whether in or out of the body I do not know" (2 Cor. 12:1–3). In the *Ladder of Jacob*, a Jewish or Christian text of unknown provenance, the dreamer explains that a former dream enabled him to be brave when encountering an angel in a subsequent vision: "the vision which I had seen in my dream was more terrible than he. And I did not fear the vision of the angel" (*Ladd. Jac.* 3:4–5).

The apocalypses frequently portray a dreamer or visionary as interacting with angels. Early Jewish and Christian dreams and visions replace the traditional priestly role of the symbolic dream interpreter with the interpreting angel or *angelus interpres*, a character that was developed as early Zechariah 1–8. As a heavenly figure with

immediate access to the divine realm, the *angelus interpres* can provide the seer with a superior interpretation of a dream or vision (e.g. Dan. 7:16).

In addition, apocalypses often highlight the dreamer or visionary's intense experience of *seeing* the divine messengers of their revelations, which stands in contrast to biblical descriptions of dream messengers. Since in the ancient Near East divine beings impart messages in dreams (Oppenheim 1956: 189–90), in the Hebrew Bible "God/Elohim/El" or "YHWH" similarly fulfills this role (e.g., Gen. 15:12–21, 20:3–7, 26:24, 31:24; Num. 22:9–13, 22:20–21; 1 Sam. 3:2–15; 1 Kings 3:5–15; Flannery-Dailey 2004: 42–45). Given the biblical prohibitions on divine iconography (e.g. Exod. 20:4, 33: 20), biblical dreams do not describe God/YHWH's appearance. In the rare instances in which an angel acts as the main dream messenger in biblical dreams (and not as an interpreter, as in Daniel 7:16), a description of the angel's appearance is similarly absent. An "angel of God" speaks once to Jacob in an auditory message dream, in which a voice is heard but no form appears (Gen. 31:10–13), a vague "spirit" glides past Eliphaz to deliver a message (Job 4:12–21), and a messenger or angel (*mal'ak*) simply wakes Elijah in a *Wecktraum* and tells him to eat food and to drink (1 Kings 19:5–7).

Apocalypses instead seem to follow biblical visions that describe visionary messengers as an important part of the revelation. Isaiah's vision of "my Lord (*adonai*)" (Isa. 6:1) includes a brief description of the Lord's skirts and of the seraphs (Isa. 6:2–7). Postexilic biblical visions go even farther. The overwhelming content of some of the Ezekiel's visions includes not only the appearance of the *merkabah* and its angels (Ezek. 1–3, 8–10), but also the description of the accompanying messenger of Ezekiel's revelations, variously identified as "the *kavod* of YHWH" (e.g., Ezek. 1:28), "the *kavod* of the God of Israel" (e.g. Ezek. 8:4, 10:18), "the word of YHWH" (e.g., Ezek. 3:16; 6:1; 7:1; 11:14; 12:8, 17, 21), "the Lord YHWH" (e.g., Ezek. 5:5, 11; 7:5), "the spirit (*ruach*) of YHWH" (e.g., Ezek. 11:5), and the "hand of YHWH" (e.g., Ezek. 3:22). The vision in Zechariah 1:8 contains an intriguing depiction of the "angel of YHWH" (*mal'ak YHWH*) as a "man, mounted on a bay house, standing among the myrtles in the Deep" (Zech. 1:8). This "man standing among the myrtles" functions briefly as a visionary messenger who also aids the *angelus interpres,* who in turn explains visionary symbols to the prophet (e.g., Zech. 1:11–2:2).

In their vivid descriptions of angels, it is thus the biblical visionary traditions, and not the biblical dream traditions, that seem to have profoundly influenced the dreams and visions of early Jewish and Christian apocalyptica (Niditch 1980:215). In addition to YHWH and Adonai, here angels serve as dream messengers (e.g., *2 En.* 37:1; *T. Abr. 7:5*; 2 En. 1:3; *Ladd. Jac.* 3:4; Dan. 7:9, 13, 8:15, 9:21), and vivid descriptions of the angels constitute a major revelation, as in Ezekiel and Zechariah. Apocalyptic dreams and visions detail the angels' names, appearances, activities, sounds, and even descriptions of their clothing (e.g., *T. Levi* 8:1*; L.A.B.* 9:10; Dan. 10:5, 12:6–7; Flannery-Dailey 2004: 122–24). The pre-eminent example is perhaps the book of Revelation, which begins with a spectacular description of a visionary messenger, the "one like a son of man" (e.g., Rev. 1:12–17).

While certainly reflective of a general rise in angelology in Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity, this phenomenon should also be seen as part of a larger trend to emphasize the experiential nature and intensity of apocalyptic revelations by relating the dreamer/visionary's potent sensory impressions. The growing popularity of incubation cults and oracles in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean world from the fifth century B.C.E. onward, which featured the appearance of a god as the pinnacle of the oneiric/visionary/oracular experience, may have also influenced this emphasis on seeing the divine messenger in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic dreams and visions.

As compared with the Hebrew Bible (1 Kings 3:5; 2 Chron. 1:5), early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic texts reflect a strong interest in dream incubation. They portray incubation in multiple sacred spaces, including the ruins of the Jerusalem Temple (*2 Bar.* 34:1; cf. mass incubation at the Temple in Josephus's *Ant.* 11:326–27), the Temple at Shiloh (*L.A.B.* 23:1), antediluvian altars (*2 En.* 69:3), and the field where the eschatological Temple will be revealed (4 Ezra 9:26–27). In addition, apocalyptically oriented texts describe precise incubatory rituals, including mourning, weeping, praying, chanting, fasting, ingesting sacred foods, and sacrifice. The descriptions of these practices accurately reflect dream incubation and visionary activity that was widespread across many social circles in the ancient Mediterranean, especially at hundreds of cultic sites of Asklepios (LiDonnici 1995; Flannery-Dailey 2004: 99–105). Some apocalypses are even set in the same location as Greek incubation cults (Nickelsburg 2001: 238–47). Furthermore, early Jewish and Christian apocalyptically oriented texts also mention other ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean practices associated with the conclusion of successful dream or vision incubation. These include recording the visionary episode or nullifying its negative aspects by writing it down, requesting interpretations of symbolic dreams and visions from a proper interpreter, sacrificing animals, praying, and dedicating oneself to promoting the god (Flannery-Dailey 2004: 153–64).

Trends in Scholarship on Dreams and Visions in the Apocalypses

Of the texts identified in *Semeia 14* as apocalypses, dreams or visions impart revelation in 100% of the early Jewish apocalypses (J. J. Collins 1979: 28, with the emendation of the whole of *Jubilees*, Collins 2001: 28), 83% of early Christian apocalypses (A. Y. Collins 1979: 104), and less than a third of the Gnostic apocalypses (Fallon 1979: 148). Accordingly, numerous scholars have recognized the profound role that

dreams and visions play in the apocalyptic literature of early Judaism and (non-Gnostic) Christianity (J. J. Collins 1979: 6; esp. Rowland 1982: 9, 14–17; Rowland 2006: 33–54; Wolfson 1994: 29; Carmignac 1979: 3–33; Carmignac 1983: 163–70). Dreams and visions are so integral to apocalypses that Flannery proposes that "apocalypse" could fruitfully be considered to be an eschatologically oriented subgenre of a larger corpus of visionary or revelatory literature (Flannery-Dailey 2004: 276–77; 2006: 246). In this approach, the apocalypses portray dreamers or visionaries who overcome the normal limits of time, space, and/or physiology in order to gain access to the divine presence and perspective, which experientially imparts eschatological and cosmic solutions that redress the present plight of the righteous (Flannery-Dailey 2004: 272–76; 2006: 241).

A major focus of scholarship has been whether and to what extent any "actual" visionary activity lay behind the dreams, visions, and other altered states that are subsequently stylized in apocalyptically oriented literature (Stone 2003: 167–80; Stone 2011: 92–96, 104; Rowland 1983). Notably, insights have come from studies of neurobiology, since some neurological stimuli and effects recorded for altered states of consciousness closely resemble those described in apocalyptic visionary literature (Merkur 1989; Segal 1990, 2004; Pilch 2011; Shantz 2009). Improved scientific understandings of the physiological and psychological mechanisms of genuine visionary activity shed increasing light on the personal and collective experiences behind the stylized reports of dreams and visions in apocalypses. For example, in his psychoanalytic investigation of the apocalypticists, Dan Merkur shows that the motifs of mourning and praying to incubate dreams and visions, so prevalent in the apocalypses, are in fact effective techniques in inducing ecstatic alternate visionary states. This leads him to conclude: "It is . . . untenable that ancient authors, writing fictions, could have invented a psychological syndrome that anticipated superego theory so very well. The theoretic coherence of their visionary practice is a testament to its reality" (Merkur 2004: 343; see also Stone 2011: 104; A. Y. Collins 1996: 17–19; Tiemeyer 2008).

Two program units of the Society of Biblical Literature, namely, the SBL Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity program unit (Flannery, Werline, and Shantz 2007; Werline and Shantz 2012), and the SBL Early Jewish and Early Christian Mysticism Group, now the Esotericism and Mysticism in Antiquity unit (DeConick 2006), have stimulated recent investigations on experiential elements of the apocalyptic visionary traditions (e.g., Segal 2004: 322–50, Segal 2006: 27–40; Rowland 2006: 41–56; Davila 2006: 105–26; Morray-Jones 2006: 145–78; Flannery-Dailey 2006: 231–48; Fletcher-Louis 2007: 125–46). Pauline studies continues to serve as a lightning rod for some groundbreaking work on visions and religious experience, given that the only autobiographical account of a visionary altered state by an early Jewish or Christian apocalyptic thinker is Paul's account in 2 Corinthians 12:1–4 (e.g., Engberg-Pedersen 2007: 147–58; Lietaert Peerbolte 2007: 159–76; Segal 2007: 19–40; Shantz 2007: 193–205; Shantz 2009). Collective support in the academy

for these endeavors and the methodological rigor of the new approaches suggest that exploration of the experiential elements of visionary and oneiric apocalyptic texts in early Judaism and Christianity will continue. Cross-disciplinary methods will likely feature prominently, drawing on neurobiology, ritual studies, and cross-cultural ethnographies.

A Suggestion for the Search for Apocalyptic Origins

Multiple lines of evidence suggest that genuine visionary practice, or at least familiarity with visionary practice, probably lies at some level behind the production of the early Jewish and Christian apocalypses and closely related texts (Flannery 2012: 63–67; 2004: 153–64).

First, there are close parallels between rituals in apocalyptically oriented visionary texts and ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean incubation cults (Flannery-Dailey 2004: 153–64). Second, numerous studies have explored the close coherence between contemporary neurophysiological studies on altered brain states and descriptions in the apocalyptic visionary traditions (e.g., Shantz 2009; Segal 2004). Third, scholars have noted that genuine psychological mechanisms appear to be at play in the descriptions of the activities of apocalyptic seers, with correspondences that are too close to explain other than by genuine familiarity (Merkur 2004: 343; Stone 2011: 91–109; A. Y. Collins 1996: 18–19).

This evidence speaks to what Barr calls "the world behind the text" (Barr 2006: 85), which in this case appears to be apocalyptically framed visionary practice. H. D. Betz's earlier investigation of the Oracle of Trophonius sketches one way in which mythology developed from visionary practice. Betz showed that the language of oracular mythology grew out of oracular dialogues derived from originally short oracular inquiries. Eventually, in a time of crisis, eschatological versions of the mythology became attached to older Greek oracles and mystery cults (Betz 1983: 577–96).

In a similar vein, Israelite/Jewish visionary circles may have practiced simple dream and vision incubation, framing their experiences around various pseudepigraphic heroes whom they retrospectively cast as model visionaries. By the postexilic era, certain members of the visionary circles began to express their practices from this "world behind the text" in writing, through an emerging visionary, religio-political Zeitgeist articulated through the literary convention of an expanded, stylized dream/vision report crafted into a narrative (e.g., Ezek. 1–3, 8–10; Zech. 1–8). With the rise of Hellenistic Judaism and by the time of the "Book of the Watchers," Jewish dream and visionary traditions included a genre "apocalypse" with a coherent "world within the

text." In this literary setting, a pseudepigraphic hero sees a dream or vision that allows him to transcend previous temporal, spatial, physiological, and purity limits, thereby gaining access to the divine presence and an eschatological and cosmic perspective that solves some present plight.

In the ancient "world in front of the text" of audience reception of the apocalypses, the stress on multiple aspects of the literary dreamer or visionary's intense experiences functioned imaginatively to create a vivid experience for audience members, whether or not the readers/hearers were practitioners themselves (Aune 1986: 89; Flannery 2012). Whether "really" experienced, partly experienced and partly imagined, or wholly imagined but based on familiarity with visionary activity, the apocalyptic dreams and visions were thereby able to bring the audience imaginatively into the visionary's experiential world, as well as to impart revelation that carried divine authority (A. Y. Collins 1986: 7). This ability to convince the audience experientially through relating dreams and visions greatly added to the popularity of apocalyptic literature and furthered its propagation, even reaching into our own contemporary "world in front of the text."

Bibliography

Aune, David (1986). "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre," in Adela Yarbro Collins, ed., *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting.* Semeia 36. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 65–96.

Avalos, Hector (1995). *Illness and Health Care in the Ancient Near East: The Role of the Temple in Greece, Mesopotamia, and Israel.* Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

Barr, David (2006). "Beyond Genre: The Expectations of Apocalypse," in David Barr, ed., *The Reality of Apocalypse: Rhetoric and Politics in the Book of Revelation.* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 71–90.

Berchman, Robert M., ed. (1998). *Mediators of the Divine: Horizons of Prophecy, Divination, Dreams and Theurgy in Mediterranean Antiquity.* Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

Betz, Hans Dieter (1983). "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre in Greek and Hellenistic Literature: The Case of the Oracle of Trophonius," in D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, Aug. 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, pp. 577–98.

Butler, Sally A. L. (1998). *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals. AOAT* vol. 258. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.

Carmignac, Jean (1979). "Qu'est-ce que l'apocalyptique?" *Revue de Qumran 10*: 3–33.

—— (1983). "Description du phénomène de l'Apocalyptique dans l'Ancien Testament," in D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 163–70.

Collins, John J. (1979). "The Jewish Apocalypses," in John J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre. Semeia* 14. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, pp. 21–60.

—— (1984). *Daniel: with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature.* FOTL 20. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

—— (1993). *Daniel.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress.

—— (2001a). "Apocalyptic Literature," in L. Perdue, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*. Malden, MA.: Blackwell, pp. 432–47.
—— (2001b). *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism.* Boston: Brill.
—— (2005). "Response: The Apocalyptic Worldview of Daniel," in G. Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 59–66.
Davies, Philip R. (2008). "Divination, 'Apocalyptic,' and Sectarianism in Early Judaism," in Ingo Kottsieper, Rüdiger Schmitt, and Jacob Wöhrle, eds., *Berührungspunkte: Studien zur Sozial-und Religionsgeschicte Israels und Seiner Umwelt.* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, pp. 409–23.
Davila, James R. (2006). "The Ancient Jewish Apocalypses and the *Hekhalot* Literature," in April D. Deconick, ed., *Paradise Now*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 105–26.
DiTommaso, Lorenzo (2007). "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I)." *Currents in Biblical Research* 5.2: 235–86.
Engberg-Pedersen, Troels (2008). "The Construction of Religious Experience in Paul," in F.. Flannery, R. Werline, and C. Shantz, eds., *Experientia*, vol. 1.Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, pp. 147–58.
Fallon, Francis T. (1979). "The Gnostic Apocalypses," in John J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre. Semeia* 14. Missoula, MT: Scholar Press, pp. 123–58.
Flannery, Frances (2012). "Esoteric Mystical Practice in Fourth Ezra and the Reconfiguration of Social Memory," in R. A. Werline and C. Shantz, eds., *Experientia*, vol. 2. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 45–70.
Flannery-Dailey, Frances (2004). *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman Eras.* JSJSup 90. Leiden: Brill.
——(2006). "Lessons on Early Jewish Apocalypticism and Mysticism from Dream Literature," in A. DeConick ed., *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism.* Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 231–48.
Fletcher-Louis, Crispin (2008). "Religious Experience and the Apocalypses," in F. Flannery, R. Werline, and C. Shantz, eds., *Experientia, vol. 1.* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, pp. 125–46.
Flower, Michael Attyah (2004). *The Seer in Ancient Greece.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Frankfurter, David (2005). "Voices, Books, and Dreams: The Diversification of Divination Media in Late Antique Egypt," in S. I. Johnston and P. T. Struck, eds., *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 233–54.
Hanson, John S. (1980). "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," in W. Haase, ed., *Religion, Aufsteig und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, II: Principat* 23.2. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 1395–1427.
Hanson, Paul D. (1975). *The Dawn of Apocalyptic.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.
——(1976). "Apocalypse, Genre" and "Apocalypticism," in *K. Crim, ed., Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume.* Nashville: Abingdon, pp. 29–34.
Harris, William V. (2009). *Dreams and Experience in the Classical World.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Hasan-Rokem, G. (1999). "Communication with the Dead in Jewish Dream Culture," in D. Shulman and G. Stroumsa, eds., *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 213–232.
Himmelfarb, Martha (1993). *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Husser, Jean-Marie (1999). *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World.* Sheffield: Sheffield University Press.

Lange, Armin (2005). "Dream Visions and Apocalyptic Milieus," in G. Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 27–34.

Leibovici, Marcel (1959). "Les songes et leur interprétation à Babylone," in S. Sauneron, ed., *Les songes et leur Interpretation. Sources Orientales* 2. Paris: Seuil, pp. 63–86.

LiDonnici, Lynn (1995). *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions: Text, Translation and Commentary.* Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations 36. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

Lietaert Peerbolte, Bert Jan (2008). "Paul's Rapture: 2 Corinthians 12:2–4 and the Language of the Mystics," in F. Flannery, R. Werline, and C. Shantz, eds., *Experientia, vol. 1.* Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, pp. 159–76.

Merkur, Daniel (1989). "The Visionary Practices of Jewish Apocalyptists," in L. B. Boyer and S. A. Grolnick, eds., *Psychoanalytic Study of Society.* Vol. 14. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, pp. 118–48.

—— (2004). "The Visionary Practices of Jewish Apocalyptists," in J. H. Ellens and W. G. Rollins, eds., *Psychology and the Bible, vol. 2, From Genesis to Apocalyptic Vision.* Westport, CT: Praeger, pp. 317–47.

Miller, John B. F. (2010). "Exploring the Function of Symbolic Dream-Visions in the Literature of Antiquity, with Another Look at 1QapGen 19 and Acts 10," *Perspectives in Religious Studies 37*, no. 4: 441–55.

Morray-Jones, C. R. A. (1992). "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition." *Journal of Jewish Studies 43*: 1–31.

—— (1993). "Paradise Revisited (2 Cor 12:1–2): The Jewish Mystical Background of Paul's Apostolate, Part 1: Jewish Sources, Part 2: Paul's Heavenly Ascent and Its Significance." *Harvard Theological Review 86*: 177–217, 265–92.

—— (2006). "The Temple Within," in A. Deconick, ed., *Paradise Now*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 145–78.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2001). *1 Enoch 1.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Niditch, Susan (1980). *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition.* Harvard Semitic Monographs 30. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.

Noegel, Scott (2001). "Dreams and Dream Interpreters in Mesopotamia and in the Hebrew Bible," in K. Bulkeley, ed., *Dreams: A Reader on the Religious, Psychological and Cultural Dimensions of Dreaming.* New York: Palgrave, pp. 45–71.

—— (2007). *Nocturnal Ciphers: The Allusive Language of Dreams in the Ancient Near East.* American Oriental Series 89. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society.

Oppenheim, Leo (1956). *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East: With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book.* TAPS 46, 3. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Pilch, John J. (2011). *Flights of the Soul: Visions, Heavenly Journeys, and Peak Experiences in the Biblical World.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Renberg, Gil H. (2006–2007). "Public and Private Places of Worship in the Cult of Asclepius at Rome," in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 51/52*: 87–172.

Rowland, Christopher (1982). *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity.* New York: Crossroad.

—— (1983). "Apocalyptic Visions and the Exaltation of Christ in the Letter to the Colossians." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament 19*: 73–83.

—— (2006). With P. Gibbons and V. Dobroruka. "Visionary Experience in Ancient Judaism and Christianity," in A. Deconick, ed., *Paradise Now*. Atlanta. GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 41–56.

Segal, Alan F. (2004). *Life after Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West.* New York: Doubleday.

—— (2006). "Religious Experience and the Construction of the Transcendent Self," in A. Deconick, ed., *Paradise Now*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 27–40.

—— (2008). "The Afterlife as Mirror of the Self," in F. Flannery, R. Werline, and C. Shantz, eds., *Experientia*, vol. 1. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, pp. 19–40.

Shantz, Colleen (2008). "The Confluence of Trauma and Transcendence in the Pauline Corpus," in F. Flannery, R. Werline, and C. Shantz, eds., *Experientia*, vol. 1. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, pp. 193–206.

—— (2009). *Paul in Ecstasy: The Neurobiology of the Apostle's Life and Thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sofia-Tiemeyer, Lena (2008). "Through a Glass Darkly: Zechariah's Unprocessed Visionary Experience." *Vetus Testamentum 58*: 573–94.

Szpakowska, Kasia (2003). *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt.* Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.

Stone, Michael E. (1990). *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

—— (2003). "A Reconsideration of Apocalyptic Visions." *Harvard Theological Review 96*, no. 2: 167–80.

—— (2007). 'The City in 4 Ezra.' *Journal of Biblical Literature 126,* no. 2: 402–7.

—— (2011). *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Stroumsa, Guy (1999). "Dreams and Visions in Early Christian Discourse," in D. Shulman and G. Stroumsa, eds., *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Camparative History of Dreaming.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 189–212.

Wacht, M. (1998). "Inkubation." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 18*: 179–265.

Wolfson, Elliot (1994). *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1979). "The Early Christian Apocalypses," in John J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre. Semeia* 14. Missoula, MT: Scholar Press, pp. 61–122.

——(1986). "Introduction," in Adela Yarbro Collins, ed., *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting.* Semeia 36. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 1–12.

—— (1996). *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism.* JSJSup. 50. Leiden: Brill.

PART II

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

CHAPTER 8

SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC APPROACHES TO APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

PHILIP F. ESLER

The Apocalyptic Literary Genre and Social-Scientific Interpretation

An interest in "apocalyptic" texts goes back to the early nineteenth century and experienced a surge of interest several decades ago that was stimulated especially by Klaus Koch (1972), Paul Hanson (1975) and Christopher Rowland (1982). (See the survey by DiTommaso 2007a and 2007b). The existence of this volume, however, testifies to a widespread recent view among scholars of biblical and extra-biblical texts that it makes sense to speak of "apocalyptic literature" as a literary genre. At its root this means that there is a group of texts extant from the ancient Mediterranean world with certain characteristics to which the word "apocalypse" can appropriately be applied. The primary effort to identify those characteristics originated in the Apocalypse Group within the broader Society of Biblical Literature Genres Project in the mid-1970s and culminated in 1979 with the publication of *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, edited by John Collins. Although Collins offered a detailed taxonomy of this genre, he also proposed that, at the most general level,

> "Apocalypse" is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world. (1979: 9)

While refined by Collins subsequently and although details are disputed, this definition has provided a useful focus for subsequent discussion. This is not to deny, however, that it has attracted some probing critiques. Lester Grabbe (2003) argues that it is not so easy to differentiate apocalyptic texts from others, especially prophetic texts. Richard Horsley criticizes the definition as "highly abstract" and as constituting a "macro-genre" that is of questionable usefulness in relation to texts "from widely different times and circumstances," especially when some of these texts are composites of other genres (2010: 5–6). More limited issues involve its mixing of formal and substantive elements, the use of the term "eschatological," which is problematic in its vagueness and because it presupposes modern views of time (Esler 2003: 251–60) and the extent to which worlds mentioned in these texts are always "supernatural." In spite of these criticisms, the idea of apocalypse as a genre remains a useful one for analyzing a group of texts that do share, in varying ways, some striking characteristics. These include works by Judean authors such as various parts of 1 Enoch and Daniel, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and the Apocalypse of Abraham and others written by Christ-followers, such as the Apocalypse of John and a number of apocryphal texts.

My aim in this essay is to explain how social-scientific ideas and perspectives have and will shed new light on some of these apocalyptic texts, by critically reviewing the course of this project since the mid-1970s and also by charting some future directions. While the notion of apocalypse as a genre is accepted for this purpose, my preference (in line with Davies 1989: 253) is not to employ "apocalyptic" as a noun or "apocalypticism." Both of these expressions move away from the idea of literary genre so as to include an approach to understanding the content of these texts that is more appropriately dealt with in other ways, especially those that involve the social sciences. In particular, social-scientific research into "millennialism" provides a helpful mode of analysis for the content of these texts.

Social-scientific interpretation is an area of historical criticism that came into existence in the 1970s and involves utilizing ideas from anthropology, sociology, and social psychology to investigate the original meaning of biblical texts. It has two broad dimensions. First, it poses new questions to biblical and extra-biblical texts that are based upon rigorous investigation of social reality rather than on our implicit assumptions about how societies work. Second, it allows us to organize the answers to those questions, to "draw lines between the dots," in ways that, once again, depend upon the disciplined examination of social phenomena rather than on our own unexamined prejudgments. (For an explanation of social-scientific interpretation see Elliott 1993a.)

In 1984 John Collins published the first edition of a work that has rightly exercised considerable influence in the field: *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. While not himself essaying a social-scientific approach in the book, Collins acknowledged (1984: 29) that sociological and anthropological models "may well prove to be illuminating" and also correctly noted that their valid use "must presuppose an adequate literary understanding of the apocalypses" (cf. revised and expanded version, Collins 1998: 37). We must be wary of erecting any false dichotomy between a social-scientific interpretation and a literary reading since the social sciences repeatedly raise questions that can only be answered through a careful literary examination, while sometimes the social sciences themselves will have relevance to literary issues. In the essay that follows I will proceed by first reviewing the contribution of the social sciences to our understanding of apocalyptic texts so far and then indicate areas for possible future development.

Early Insights: The Sociology of Knowledge, Sectarianism, and Millennialism

Apocalyptic texts featured prominently in the methodological ferment that accompanied the widespread acceptance of the social sciences into biblical research in the 1970s. This meant that new ideas and perspectives derived from social-scientific research into contemporary contexts could be applied to biblical texts in socially realistic ways.

The sociology of knowledge, with its commitment to the study of the dialectical relationships between ideas/knowledge and social structures, influentially expounded in Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1966), provided key insights and legitimation for the whole project of social-scientific biblical interpretation. Berger and Luckmann showed that it was not just Marxists who could probe the connections between ideas and social forms.

Around that time a body of ethnographic research was also appearing that explored the responses of indigenous peoples to the disturbances caused by colonization. These included Peter Worsley's *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (1957), the collection of essays edited by Sylvia Thrupp, *Millennial Dreams in Action* (1962), and Kenelm Burridge's *New Heaven, New Earth* (1972). The interaction between native people and European colonizers or invaders usually meant some form of relative or absolute deprivation for the former as colonial rule was imposed (Aberle 1962).

Military defeat or the introduction of Western technology and customs resulted in the erosion of traditional lifestyles and a disruption of local culture. In this context, forms of social and religious expression appeared among the indigenous people that looked forward to the imminent transformation of the present unfavorable situation, the removal of the invader, and the restoration of traditional lands. Anthropologists referred to these movements as "millennial" or "millenarian." Particularly dramatic examples were the "cargo cults" of the South Pacific, typified by the Vailala madness of Papua (Williams 1976). This movement, so called because of the dramatic affective states of its adherents, broke out in the Vailala district of Papua in about 1919. Its adherents subscribed to a myth that told how a steamer was about to arrive bringing the ancestors and a cargo of tobacco, calico, knives, axes, food, and so on. Some versions included the feature that the steamer contained rifles to expel the Europeans from Papua. Yet the United States had experienced a millennial movement in the nineteenth century, in the form of the two Ghost Dances among native American Indians, in 1870 and 1890 (Wilson 1973: 292–306; Brown 1991: 431–36). The followers of the Dance were waiting for their lives to be transformed in the face of ever increasing white encroachment and oppression. Their beliefs were captured in a futurist myth that they enacted in a dance. This told how a cataclysm was about to occur that would eliminate white people and their civilization forever, while a select few Indians would then experience a new age, characterized by the arrival of a messiah figure, and the return of the ancestors and game.

In the same period, the study of sectarianism, some of it based on the ethnography of millennialism just mentioned, was being actively pursued by sociologists like the British researcher Bryan Wilson (1961; 1973). Ideas from both the sociology of knowledge and sectarianism were briefly but deftly applied by Wayne Meeks in his groundbreaking 1972 article on the man from heaven in John.

Exploring Apocalyptic Texts in a Sociology of Knowledge and Sectarian Perspective

In this context, in 1975, Paul Hanson's *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* was published. Hanson argued that the origins of the "apocalyptic eschatology" that appears in texts from the second century BCE lay in Israelite traditions extending back to the pre-Exilic period and was not a late, foreign import. His concern was thus not with apocalyptic texts themselves but with writings such as Second and Third Isaiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah 9–14. Hanson's book is a sociology-of-knowledge enterprise in connecting

texts to the changing political, religious, and social realities of Israel, especially by explaining them in terms of a tension between the central authorities ("church") and those who diverged from them ("sects"). In executing this aim he makes explicit and creative use of the thought of great sociologists such as Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, Talcott Parsons, and Ernst Troeltsch in relation both to the sociology of knowledge and of sectarianism (Hanson 1979: 211–17 *et passim*).

One of Bryan Wilson's important contributions to the sociology of sectarianism had been to argue, in *Magic and the Millennium* (1973), that sects always manifested some form of tension with the "world." Here "world" could mean a mother religion or society at large, so that each sect exhibited some response to the world that expressed what its members found unacceptable about the existing order through the beliefs, values, and behaviors they proposed in its stead. The seven responses (which were ideal constructs used for comparison and not a set of pigeonholes) that he identified were: conversionist, revolutionist, introversionist, manipulationist, thaumaturgical, reformist, and utopian. Wilson's typology was heavily influenced by Third World religious movements, some of them millennial in nature. These roughly accorded with his "revolutionist response," the adherents of which maintained that only the destruction of the existing social order, through some supernatural agency, could save mankind and that such salvation was imminent (Wilson 1973: 23).

These ideas provided a stimulus for much reflection on biblical texts, on the basis that Israel or Judaism represented the "world" that elicited various sectarian responses. John Elliott utilized Wilson's seven-part typology of sectarianism to interpret 1 Peter (1982: 73–78), an approach I followed in relation to explaining the communicative strategy in Luke-Acts in 1987. In relation to apocalyptic texts, Stephen Reid also made use of Wilson's sectarian typology, but for some reason not the ethnographies of millenarianism, in a book on Enoch and Daniel published in 1989. Reid described the typology and later applied it to Daniel and parts of 1 Enoch. He did so in a rather undeveloped manner (1989: 19–22), which was not surprising at that early point in the development of social-scientific interpretation. Thus he considered (1989: 52 and 68) that the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1–10; 91:11–17) exhibited a response to the world that one could safely designate as "utopian," as did the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90). On the other hand, he viewed Daniel 7–8 and 10–12 as "representing" the revolutionist response (1989: 77, 87, 104, 117, and 121). This seems more likely, but one still misses the use of the type in a detailed comparative exercise on the text, not just a blank assertion that the data "represents" the type. Particular millennial movements may, in fact, be comparable to more than one of Wilson's types.

In 1993 I proposed an approach to the Book of Revelation and to a number of "Jewish" apocalyptic texts (Daniel 7 and 8 and 10:1–12:4, 4 Ezra) that fixed upon the extent to which they represented responses to "political oppression" (either by the Seleucids or by Rome). To that extent they referred to events that were paralleled by the manner in which many modern indigenous peoples have also been subject "to the yoke of foreign oppression" (Esler 1993: 183). As far as Daniel was concerned, I argued

that although its *perspective* was millennial (or "revolutionist" in Bryan Wilson's typology), it was not possible to claim it was written for a millennial *movement*, since it seemed to reflect a group of educated people unhappy with the situation who purported to speak for faithful Israel (Dan 11:31–35). A central feature of the argument was that whereas texts written in close proximity to the removal of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, notably Daniel 7–8 and 10–12, could be fruitfully compared with millennialist ethnographies, the response of Judeans to the situation after 70 CE represented in 4 Ezra was very different. Here Wilson's "introversionist" response offered useful comparative material. This response to the world regards it as irredeemably evil so that salvation can only be achieved by withdrawal from it, which leads to the establishment of a separated community preoccupied with being saved in the present, even if some future realization is posited (Wilson 1973: 23–24).

Bryan Wilson's introversionist sectarian response, coupled with ideas on cognitive dissonance developed by Leon Festinger (1957) and R. B. Abelson (1968), formed the basis for a social-scientific reading of 4 Ezra, a reading that also acknowledged the truth of John Collins's warning mentioned above that such an exercise required adequate literary understanding of the work in question (Esler 1994c: 111). 4 Ezra was written some thirty years after the sack of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple by Titus and his legions in 70 CE, but its Judean author adopts a dramatic time of composition thirty years after the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem in 587 BCE. The author is struggling with the cognitive dissonance produced by trying to reconcile these catastrophic events (eloquently recounted in 4 Ezra 10: 21–22) with theological views on the election of Israel and the role of the Temple in the life of the people. Appropriate anthropological resources were found in two nineteenth-century phenomena having interesting parallels with this situation: the Ringatu church among the Maoris in New Zealand, who recently suffered military defeat at the hands of the British, and the religion of Handsome Lake among the Iroquois, who had seen their traditional way of life fragmented due to alcohol, disease, and loss of land occasioned by the spread of European settlements. Both adopted responses to experience that can usefully be compared with Bryan Wilson's "introversionist" response. The Ringatu church adopted a policy of ethnic isolation, whereas the Iroquois opted for "the acceptance of a separate way of life, and the quiet fulfillment of ethical obligations" (Wilson 1973: 396; Esler 1994c: 114). The reassertion of the Law, which is so prominent at the end of 4 Ezra, is helpfully comparable with these strategies: "The Law provides a mode of behaviour which will ensure the continued existence of a Jewish people and a Jewish identity at a time when the Temple, the other institution once central to that identity, lies in ruins" (Esler 1994c: 127). Central to the *literary* achievement of the work, finally, is the manner in which the orderly discussion concerning God's justice begun between Ezra and the angel and continued in his advice to a woman is overshadowed by her awesome metamorphosis into a city, which induces a moment of defamiliarization that allows him to see what he did not know. Understanding comes when rational discourse gives way to vision.

Apocalyptic Texts in a Millennial Perspective

An influential early attempt to apply millennial ideas to apocalyptic texts came in John Gager's 1975 book *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*. This was a trailblazing and open-spirited work where the author pioneered a number of social-scientific perspectives that would later be widely taken up by other scholars as the approach took off. Gager was inspired by an essay published by his colleague Sheldon Isenberg the previous year proposing that the Qumran community was a "millenarian" movement. He argued (1975: 20–37 and 49–57) that earliest Christianity could also be understood in such a manner and that the Apocalypse of John illustrated the attainment of "millennial bliss" through myth. A few years later, in 1979, an important conference on "apocalypticism" was held in Uppsala, Sweden, and papers from the proceedings were published in 1983, edited by David Hellholm. Some of the contributors, such as Wayne Meeks (1983) and George Nickelsburg (1983), utilized social-scientific ideas in their essays. No doubt partly prompted by this conference, interest in applying the ethnography of millennialism to biblical and extra-biblical apocalypses continued into the 1980s and 1990s, as described by Duling (1994). This continuing interest is evidenced in Robert Jewett's case for the Pauline church in Thessalonika being "millenarian" (1986) and Lester Grabbe's argument for the broad relevance to apocalyptic texts of the visions of Handsome Lake, a prophet among the Seneca Indians who founded the Gai'wiio' ("Good Word") movement in about 1800 (1989).

Daniel 7 provided significant data for an investigation using millennialism (Esler 1994b). The comparative examples chosen were the Vailala madness, the Ghost Dance, and the migrations of the Tupi-Gurani tribes of Brazil. Some of these migrations, described by Rene Ribeiro (1962), occurred in the precolonial period and provided a warning against regarding millennial movements as always driven by some form of relative or absolute deprivation. Nevertheless, for the people of Israel during 167–164 BCE there was a form of deprivation in that they were, to use a phrase of Sheldon Isenberg (1974: 29), in various degrees "denied access to the redemptive media" of Temple and Torah (although I now find this too "religious" an explanation; see below). This challenge elicited a variety of responses, from the armed resistance of the Maccabees (not dissimilar to the Maori Hau Hau movement of the 1860s) to the generation of visionary narratives of future events as in Daniel 7. Yet while Antiochus IV Epiphanes could be discerned in the text, in relation to the imagery of the fourth beast and the horn, it was necessary to respect the literary characteristics of the text and to avoid any crude one-for-one decoding by letting such features function as the metaphors they were. Numerous explanations exist for the primary referent(s) for "one like a human being" in Dan 7:13 and for the holy ones in Dan 7:21–22 who

were attacked by the beast but ultimately vindicated (Goldingay 1989: 159–82; Collins 1993: 304–10; 313–17). Following a line of reasoning probably more current among British than North American–based commentators (such as Collins and Goldingay), it was argued that the primary reference of the holy ones was to Israelites and not angels and that the figure in Dan 7:13 was a corporate image for those Israelites and not for a messiah, angelic or otherwise. Daniel 7 thus represented an example of millennial mythopoiesis having the function of reassuring the audience of the vision "that another order of reality exists and that the terrible events of their present and recent past are occurring within a context controlled by heavenly forces who will ultimately restore the fortunes of the holy ones" (Esler 1994b: 107).

Perspectives on millennialism (and relative and absolute deprivation) were central to Stephen Cook's 1995 investigation of the "proto-apocalyptic" texts Ezekiel 38–39, Zechariah 1–8, and Joel. This work represents the most sustained use of millennialism (which is delivered in the course of making a strong argument) in the field. Cook has gathered a large amount of data on a considerable number of movements he labels "millennial." While it would have been helpful if he had carefully modeled what he meant by that term—if he had not prioritized synthesis of the material so much over its analysis—in general he is interested in groups from a wide variety of settings that look forward to a coming and dramatic transformation of the world. So much data has he amassed that he is able to offer a useful typology of the phenomenon. This consists of six types for the purposes of the classification differentiated on the basis of whether the movement arose in groups that were "central" to society or "peripheral" to it, whether the phenomenon appeared in a culture disturbed by contact with another culture or not and, in the former case, whether it appeared among those who were colonizing or those being colonized (Cook 1995: 57). It is also unfortunate that he invests "apocalyptic" with a substantive content rather than just relying on it as a literary genre, in spite of the fact that he notes that Philip Davies "makes a good argument for confining the term apocalyptic to a literary category and using the term millenarian or millennial, a recognizable social-scientific category, for the associated social construct" (1995: 29; citing Davies 1989: 253).

Whereas most interpreters have focused on peripheral groups in settings disturbed by foreign control or colonialism (especially where various forms of "deprivation" are present), Cook's interest lies in groups associated with central power, such as the Israelite priesthood, even when exogenous disturbance was not a significant factor. He draws comparative material from a number of millennial groups from elite positions in various societies and downplays the role of deprivation in their genesis. This latter dimension may be overplayed. On the one hand, the notion that deprivation does not always feature in millennial movements is not new, as can be seen in the case of the precolonial Brazilian tribe, the Tupi-Gurani, mentioned above. On the other hand, absolute or relative deprivation is sometimes part of the causative matrix of a millennial movement, in a large number of cases in colonial settings for example, and should be incorporated into any explanation where it is a factor. Nevertheless, when

he comes to apply millennial perspectives to his chosen biblical texts, in a way that also grapples with existing secondary literature and employs close textual analysis, Cook produces significant new readings. *Prophecy and Apocalypticism* is an accomplished instance of social-scientific interpretation.

Mediterranean Anthropology

The enterprise of applying ideas and perspectives from Mediterranean anthropology to biblical texts began with the publication of Bruce Malina's *The New Testament World* in 1981. The primary role of honor in Mediterranean value systems has been used to explain how certain apocalyptic texts, especially 2 Baruch, respond to the tremendous dishonor occasioned to Israel and Israel's God by the sack of Jerusalem in 70 CE. In short, they generate a counterdiscourse that reaffirms God's honor (Esler 1995). Thus Baruch explicitly raises his concern for God's "great name" in light of the fact that idolatrous enemies have polluted the Temple (2 Baruch 5:1), only to have God reassure him that "My name and my glory shall last unto eternity" (5:2). Towards the end of 2 Baruch there is even a description of how the last hostile ruler will be bound and carried to Mount Zion, there to be convicted of his deeds by the Anointed One and killed (40:1–3). This is an obvious parody of the Roman triumph, not least that of Titus in 71 CE to celebrate his capture of Jerusalem in the previous year. Titus's triumph had involved Judean captives and culminated with the death of the Judean leader Simon Bar Giora. There is a remarkable *aureus* extant in the Flavian *Iudaea capta* coinage series actually portraying Titus in his triumphal chariot preceded by a fettered Judean apparently trudging to his death (Esler 1995: 255–58; see 253, illustration 11 for a drawing of this coin). A triumph was a status elevation ritual for the victorious general and a status degradation ritual for the vanquished.

Another aspect of the turn to Mediterranean anthropology has been the development of an interest in magic, sorcery, witchcraft and witchcraft accusations, evil eye beliefs, and so on in contemporary and ancient Mediterranean cultures, including among Judean and Christ-following communities. The resources used here also embrace anthropological work on witchcraft from beyond the Mediterranean such as Max Marwick's *Sorcery in Its Social Setting* (1965), Mary Douglas's *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (1970), and George Murdock's *Theories of Illness* (1980). John Elliott published an essay in 1993 exploring how certain data in the Johannine Apocalypse reflected such issues. Elliott was particularly concerned with the word *pharmakeia* ("sorcery") and its cognates in Rev 9:21, 18:23, 21:8, and 22:15. He showed how the author shared assumptions in his environment concerning magic but argued that his God displays the greatest magic of all, which empowered his loyal followers

to remain faithful and to share the final victory of the forces of evil (1993b). Shortly afterwards I developed this approach by arguing that the Apocalypse leveled a powerful witchcraft accusation against Rome itself, with the statement at Rev 18:23—"and all the peoples of the earth were deceived by your sorcery"—being merely the point where this theme burst to the surface (Esler 1994d). Having aligned my position with recent scholarship arguing against Roman oppression being a problem for the author's addressees, when the real issues seemed to be internal to the communities of Asia Minor, the question arose of why Rome was then included in a powerful cycle of myth in the text in league with Satan. An answer was found in comparison with an aspect of witchcraft accusations among groups such as the Navaho and the Lugbara, who lay the blame for internal misfortune upon witches or sorcerers beyond their boundaries. Portraying Rome as a sorcerer functioned to clarify and maintain the identity of the communities in response to an internal drift towards ennui and disintegration.

Empire, Resistance, and Ethnic Identity

Much recent work on the apocalypses construes them as a literature of resistance to imperial oppression. Yet the idea that apocalypses are a form of resistance literature actually goes back fifty years, to Samuel K. Eddy's book, *The King is Dead*, as recently noted by John Collins (2011: 1). When I observed some twenty years ago, however, that Daniel and 4 Ezra were texts where Judean authors "sought to situate the realities of imperial domination within the larger framework of divine justice and Israel's election using the apocalyptic genre" (Esler 1993: 195), I was reflecting the beginnings of what has since become an explosion of interest in the role of empire in relation to the Christ-movement in the first century CE (for example Horsley 1997 and Carter 2006) and also, to a lesser extent, the Judeans in the pre–Common Era. Accompanying this has been a growing utilization of research by social scientists, especially James C. Scott (whose work straddles anthropology and politics), into the ways in which subaltern peoples, peasants in particular, resist domination (Scott 1976, 1985, 1990, and 2009).

There is no denying that Rome features in certain Judean apocalyptic texts, such as 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the Apocalypse of Abraham (Esler 2005), while the Seleucid kings ruling from Antiochus IV Epiphanes are referred to in others. This is an area that has long attracted some attention from social-scientific viewpoints, including those derived from millennial and sectarian perspectives (Gager 1975; deSilva 1992; Esler 1993). One must begin to wonder, however, whether the current concentrated focus on empire is now becoming somewhat exaggerated, and will soon need to share the billing with other concerns. In *Christ and Caesar* (2008) Seyoon Kim has attacked what he regards as the excessive alignment of Paul and Luke with anti-imperial

themes among biblical scholars, but has been criticized for doing so in a way that is too theologically driven and pays insufficient attention to recent research by scholars following the imperial/resistance theme. From a sociology of knowledge viewpoint, on the other hand, the interest in empire among many US biblical critics seems to reflect a dislike in certain quarters of American foreign policy during the presidency of George W. Bush (2001–2009), while also providing scholars a framework within which to summon biblical support for moral positions they take on certain political and social phenomena. The major issue is whether the concentration on empire is to the detriment of other significant issues in apocalyptic texts, in particular that of ethnic identity. Before considering two works that apply social-scientific ideas, with varying degrees of success, to the connection between "empire" and apocalyptic literature, we must mention the recent turn to ethnicity.

Identity Matters was the title of a recent book on ethnic and sectarian conflict (Peacock et al. 2007). And so it does. The critical question of identity in this discussion relates to the people whom our ancient Greek sources call *Ioudaioi* (Latin: *Iudaei*) or *Israēlitai*. Until a decade or so ago these were widely regarded as "Jews," predominantly meaning adherents to a religion "Judaism." More recently various researchers have begun insisting that the *Ioudaioi/ Israēlitai* were members of an ethnic group. In 1969 a new era in the social-scientific study of ethnic identity began with the publication of an essay by Fredrik Barth, who rejected the "primordial" approach that regarded ethnic groups as constituted by the possession of a set of cultural features. In his view, their sense of themselves as a group interacting with other groups came first and that cultural *indicia* (which frequently changed over time) were deployed, as a boundary, to express that group identity. Thus ethnicity became a field of ascription and identification that groups used to organize their relationships with other groups. Yet this still left hanging the question of what distinguished ethnic groups from other groups. Barth himself provided a partial answer to this question by stating (1969: 13) that an ascription of someone to a social category was ethnic in character "when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, *presumptively determined by his origin and background*" (emphasis added). Since this was very general, there was still needed a reasonably limited repertoire of features that, if they were to cohere with Barth's ascriptive and interactive approach, had to be diagnostic and not constitutive of ethnic identity. John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith answered this need in 1996:

(a) a common proper name to identify the group;
(b) a myth of common ancestry;
(c) a shared history or shared memories of a common past, including heroes, events and their commemoration;
(d) a common culture, embracing such things as customs, language and religion;
(e) a link with a homeland, either through actual occupation or by symbolic attachment to the ancestral land, as with diaspora peoples; and
(f) a sense of communal solidarity (Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 6–7).

In this description, it is notable that religious issues form part of a larger, ethnic identity. Such a picture can be seen in Northern Ireland, where the dominant identities are ethnic: Unionist and Nationalist. The religious dimension, Protestant or Roman Catholic, forms part of these more inclusive identities, although it can often be a very prominent feature (Mitchell 2005, 2006a, 2006b). While the focus in this essay are groups in which religious issues are embedded in a larger ethnic identity, it is possible to have social situations where ethnic identity and religion intersect, rather than the latter forming part of the former. An example occurs in the Netherlands, where Turkish Muslims who have migrated to that country have varying degrees of attachment to Turkish vis-à-vis Dutch ethnicity (Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012). These examples show that the ethnic and religious dimensions of a group are distinct issues although the latter is sometimes embedded in the former, while sometimes intersecting with it. Another feature of recent research into ethnic identity that is applicable to the ancient Mediterranean world is ethnic conflict (Horowitz 1985; Eller 1999; Caselli and Coleman 2006), in which struggles over possession of territory often play a decisive role (Toft 2003).

When applied to data from the period 250 BCE to 100 CE, this approach to ethnic identity (where "religious" issues form part of a larger whole) allows us to recognize, especially from the picture clearly delineated in the *Contra Apionem* of Josephus, that the *Ioudaioi*/*Israēlitai* are best understood as one ethnic group among a large number of such groups in the Mediterranean. All of those mentioned in the *Contra Apionem* (bar a few anomalous cases, like the Hyksos) are named after their homeland, so that it is an unacceptably exceptionalist position to translate *Ioudaioi* as anything other than "Judeans." Religious issues, however, were very important to this ethnic group, just as they are to some other modern ethnic groups, such as the Unionist and Nationalist communities of Northern Ireland. Similar to Smith and Hutchinson's fourth criterion—a common culture—Josephus outlines in this text the broad culture of the Judeans, focusing on the Mosaic heritage and referred to with terminology such as *katastasis* or *politeuma* ("constitution"), or *epitēdeumata* ("institutions"), while the *nomoi* (laws and customs) and *eusebeia* (the proper attitude toward and worship of God), fall within this broad category (Esler 2009: 84). To speak of "Judaism," rather than Judean ethnic identity, highlights one aspect (mainly ethical and cultic beliefs and observances) of a larger identity at the expense of recognizing the whole. Similarly, to cite a New Testament example, the word *Ioudaismos* in Gal 1:13 and 14 should not be translated "Judaism" but "Judean tradition" in recognition of its denoting part of a larger Judean ethnic identity, not a religion. Yet it is not enough to maintain that ethnic identity is the more inclusive category for the peoples mentioned by Josephus, with "religious" aspects embedded in it. In addition, it should be added that "religion" itself as we understand it did not exist as a phenomenon in the ancient Mediterranean world (Smith 1962). In particular, modern notions of religion (more common, admittedly, in Europe than the United States) as largely private, and separate from the realms of politics and family, are hard to find in the ancient world

(Smith 1962; Malina 1986). For my initial presentation of this argument (except for Mitchell's articles), see Esler 2003: 7–12 and 59–74. Very similar points to mine now form the argumentative framework of Mason 2007. For more recent essays, see Esler 2007, 2009, and 2011).

Richard Horsley's *Revolt of the Scribes: Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins* (2010) investigates responses to the Hellenistic and Roman empires in a wide range of Second Temple Judean apocalyptic literature. Focusing on the central role of Judean scribes in the creation of these texts, he discerns in them the outline of a coherent movement of critique, defiance, and resistance to tyrannical regimes. He argues that the tales in Daniel, for example, provided Judean scribes with a model for how they could balance the conflicting demands of their duties as officials in the imperial service and their commitment to Judean traditions, demands that could easily clash with one another (2010: 33–45). In charting this course he employs the occasional social-scientific perspective, but does not adopt an explicitly social-scientific approach. Thus James C. Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990) aids him in illustrating how Judean scribes could have helped maintain the "hidden transcript" of their people away from the dominant transcript of the imperial power (2010: 44). Indeed, one senses his adherence to the "resistance" agenda throughout the book. Yet no attempt is made to model either of his key concepts—"empire" or "resistance"—in the systematic fashion that characterizes social-scientific interpretation. Nevertheless, except on a few occasions throughout the book, Horsley uses the word "Judean" and not "Jews" to designate the people in question. He also rightly opposes the idea of "Judaism" as a stand-alone religion during the Seleucid and Maccabean period and rejects the explanation of the crisis facing Israel in the period after 275 BCE as a "religious persecution" (2010: 4–5 and 21). These features probably indicate his recognition that the identity in question is ethnic (which often includes a religious dimension) and not religious. Yet ethnic identity is not considered in detail in the book, nor are the consequences of a shift to ethnicity, which are fundamental, explored in it. This may explain why he continues to employ the notion of a "Hellenizing" reform during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (2010: 25), even though that concept will not survive an investigation that is open to the full consequences of the turn to ethnicity. The main problem with the notions of "Hellenizing" is that it is too bound up with the notion that a religion, "Judaism," was being put at risk during this period, rather than a broader, ethnic identity, of which what we might call "religious" dimensions formed part. The same considerations apply equally to explanations of what was happening as "religious assimilation" or "religious apostasy," as we will now see.

In *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (2011) Anathea Portier-Young argues that a number of Judean apocalyptic texts contain "theologies of resistance" to the state oppression and terror of the Seleucid empire. A real strength of the book is the way she repeatedly deploys recent research by classical scholars to help her cast fresh light on numerous features of these apocalyptic texts. Portier-Young also brings to bear on her chosen texts a body of theoretical

perspectives, many of them social-scientific. These mainly comprise perspectives on resistance, including work by Michel Foucault (1995) and James C. Scott (1985 and 1990) and many other authors. Such work certainly allows her to make provocative connections with ancient texts. Nevertheless, she fails to interrogate the appropriateness of theoretical perspectives drawn from a wide range of modern contexts (where technology introduces so many new dimensions) in relation to data from the advanced agrarian economy of the ancient Mediterranean world. In addition, a surprising omission from the book, which she shares with Richard Horsley's work just discussed, is any sustained attempt to model her key concept, that of "empire." Important works on ancient "empires," such as by Kautsky (1982) and Lendon (1997), are absent from her bibliography. These two features indicate a somewhat insecure grip on the use of social-science perspectives in a cross-cultural and cross-temporal exercise, an impression strengthened by her treatment of ethnic issues. Well into the book (108–12), she offers an approach to ethnicity linking Fredrik Barth's interactionist approach to ethnic identity (1969) with John Smith and Anthony Hutchinson's indicators of ethnicity (1996), with the latter used diagnostically, a precise combination already established in this field (Esler 2003: 41–44; 2009: 7; 2011: 470–71). Having recognized the relevance of ethnic identity for understanding the peoples of the ancient Mediterranean, she fails, in a manner akin to that to that Horsley, to follow this insight to its natural conclusions. Symptoms of the problem are her use of both terms "Judean" and "Jew" interchangeably throughout the book and her frequent recourse to religious modes of explanation for what are better described as ethnic phenomena. Thus (to cite from numerous instances) she describes what was happening in Israel under the Seleucids as "religious assimilation" (112) and states that "Hellenizing reforms did not directly translate into religious apostasy" (316). The problem with such explanations is that they attribute causative significance to merely one aspect of a larger ethnic identity, other components of which may well have played an important role in how ancient Judeans and their oppressors experienced and understood what was going on. Rather than "religious apostasy" are we looking at something closer to treason, or, perhaps better, ethnic betrayal?

In the near future we are likely to see research into the social contexts of apocalyptic texts that takes more seriously the ethnic identity of the *Ioudaioi*. I will end by briefly setting out some of the implications of this development for the interpretation of this literature, focusing on the Seleucid/Maccabean period and parts of 1 Enoch as a test case. The dominant question that arises is the extent to which ancient Judeans of the Mediterranean world regarded the major problem they faced not as religious persecution by an evil empire, whether Seleucid or Roman (an issue, as noted above, that may be popular as a response to modern-day politics), but as a threat to the survival of their Judean ethnic group. This threat originated not only among other ethnic groups but also among some of their own people who were perceived to be abandoning their ethnic identity to become, typically, ethnic Greeks. In undertaking research in this area rich resources for understanding the various group identities

in play are likely to be found in the social identity theory of Henri Tajfel and John Turner. This theory has application to most types of group identity, not only ethnic, but also familial and, I would suggest, scribal identity. For an outline of social identity theory, see Tajfel 1972 and 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1979, and Esler 2003: 19–39. For a flavor of the expanding literature on scribes, see Heaton 1994 and the literature cited in Horsley 2010.

Close examination of certain relevant texts brings out the extent to which the "empire" interpretation misses a major component of what is actually going on, even if the notion of "empire," were it to be adequately modeled (as has not happened so far), retains interpretative power. The missing element is the role of ethnic identity and conflict between ethnic groups. The main evidence for the historical context comes from First and Second Maccabees. The former text (later but less tendentious than the latter) does at times mention the oppressive actions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (for example, at 1 Macc 8:18; 12:13; and 14:13). The major difficulty facing the Judean people, however, is portrayed as the threat to its ethnic survival, on its own ethnic territory, first, because certain "Judeans" are seeking to destroy the vital boundary that separates them from other ethnic groups (1 Macc 1:11–15) and, second, because the *ethnē* (foreigners / foreign peoples) are intent on destroying the people. In 1 Maccabees *ethnos* means an ethnic group that possesses a polity (including armed forces). Thus at 3:52 and 3:58, to cite only two instances among a wealth of data, it is the foreigners (*ethnē*), not the king, who are described as "assembled against us to destroy us." In the very next verse we find: "It is better for us to die in battle than to see the misfortunes of our *ethnos* and of the sanctuary" (3:59). The narrative of 1 Maccabees is clearly one of many *ethnē* against one *ethnos* that eventually triumphs over its enemies and is left secure on its own land. The currently fashionable "empire" explanation, probably encouraged by contemporary dislike for empires and imperial domination, is difficult to reconcile with the evidence of 1 Maccabees.

This position is also reflected in the very early apocalyptic text from 1 Enoch known as the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1–10; 91:11–17). This text is an extraordinary document, since it probably registers a major transition on the part of its scribal author (perhaps illustrative of a larger group transformation). In the Apocalypse of Weeks a movement has occurred from a probable scribal *social identity* (as explained by Henri Tajfel and John Turner) focused on the mastery of arcane knowledge that lies behind the Astronomical Book (= 1 Enoch 72–82) to a point where Judean ethnic identity has become salient. The Apocalypse of Weeks most probably reflects the earliest stages of the problem in the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes when certain Jerusalemite Judeans were, in effect, jettisoning their Judean ethnic identity in favor of Greek ethnic identity. This was not a "Hellenizing reform" but the voluntary adoption of Greek identity by one-time Judeans. These are the people referred to in 1 Enoch 93:9, where we learn that "After this, in the seventh week, there will arise a perverse generation, and many will be its deeds, and all its deeds will be perverse." Although Anathea Portier-Young, advocating an "empire" theme, finds here a reference to the

oppressive actions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 BCE (2011: 319), the more likely explanation is the earlier and voluntary abandonment of Judean identity recorded in 1 Macc 1:11–15.

The position is even clearer in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90), probably to be dated to the 160s BCE (VanderKam 1984: 163). Apart from animals who represent the Patriarchs or angels in 1 Enoch 85–90, all of the animals and birds appearing in this text stand for peoples in the surrounding milieu. They are really what we would call ethnic groups who possess polities (including armies). Initially Israel are sheep, who soon fall among the Egyptians, who are wolves (1 Enoch 89:12–14). Moses flees to a people who prove friendly, the Midianites, described as wild asses. During the period from the Judges to Solomon the Israelites are sheep attacked by dogs, foxes, and wild boars (1 Enoch 89:39–50). It is probable that the dogs represent the Philistines, the foxes are Ammon and Moab, and the wild boars are Edom and Amalek (Tiller 1993: 305). Later (1 Enoch 89:55) lions, tigers, and hyenas attack the sheep, where the lions probably denote Babylon, hyenas (or bears) denote Egypt, and the foxes, Ammon and Moab, while the hyenas and tigers are probably Assyria and Aram. The author does not envisage that Israel is in a different category from these peoples; they are all presented as animals, although Israel is of a gentle species and the others savage.

In the post-Exilic period, the sheep are blinded, and immediately they become mixed up with the wild beasts (1 Enoch 89:75), which is almost certainly a reference to intermarriage with non-Israelite peoples. The broader issue is the importance of the maintenance of boundaries for the preservation of ethnic identities, and these boundaries are presented as under threat. For the author of 1 Enoch blindness means a disregard for the vital boundaries that keep Israel separate and safe from the neighboring peoples. Since the author of 1 Enoch does not refer to the ban on intermarriage referred to in Ezra 9:1, he was probably of the view that the problem persisted, a view strengthened by his still indicating that the sheep are blind in the Seleucid period (1 Enoch 90:7). In the Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods, probably to indicate a change in the aggressors attacking Israel, and because he had probably run out of wild animals, the author introduces savage birds: eagles, vultures, kites, and ravens who attack the sheep (1 Enoch 90:2). Now we need to introduce a broader category, living creatures, that will embrace Israel and the peoples who are attacking it. In the Seleucid period the author describes discord within Israel, between those Israelites (sighted lambs) who, since they can see, are alive to the need for Israel's ethnic separation from surrounding peoples and those who are blind and do not recognize this problem (1 Enoch 90:6–7). These lambs are attacked by the ravens (= the Seleucids; 1 Enoch 90:8) but soon they are suffering an onslaught from eagles, vultures, ravens, and kites (1 Enoch 90:11). This is very similar to the picture in 1 Maccabees of one ethnic group being attacked by many others and does not support the proposal that the author is concerned with an evil *empire*.

At first sight, Daniel, chapters 7–12 in particular, may appear to be more susceptible to interpretation in terms of "empire" than 1 Maccabees, the Apocalypse of

Weeks, and the Animal Apocalypse, especially by reason of the numerous references to "kings" and "kingdoms/kingships" in this section of the text. Yet this is an area that would repay close examination. First, if the notions of "empire" currently being deployed were appropriately modeled, they might not relate so comfortably to the data relating to "king" and "kingdom/kingship" in Daniel as is commonly believed. Second, the royal court focus of Daniel makes it unsurprising that the author would view the situation from the perspective of central political and military power and the wielder of that power, whatever the bigger picture (including the engagement of ethnic groups) might be. Third, as is sometimes noted (for example, Goldingay 1989: 169, 208), these royal figures also represent particular peoples, or ethnic groups. Fourth, the existence of a text, the Animal Apocalypse, roughly contemporaneous with Daniel 7–12 indicates an awareness among Israelite scribes of the usefulness of animals to refer to ethnic groups in apocalyptic texts. Fifth, Israel is referred to as a "people" (Dan 8.24; 9:6, 15, 16, 19, 20, 24, 26; 10:14; 11:14; 12:1, 7), while "peoples," and not just kingdoms, are mentioned in Dan 7:14, thus creating a sense of Israel as one ethnic group in its context among many.

Another aspect of the failure among current scholarship to take ethnic identity seriously in this literature is the view among virtually all commentators on apocalyptic texts that they contain a "history" or a "historical survey" in their descriptions of what will transpire in the future. All of these are written by an author who selects some illustrious figure in the past to "predict" future events. It is surprising to see such accounts accorded the designation "history," which has little application to them, whether history is understood in a modern or ancient sense. These "historical" accounts do, however, make excellent sense as "narratives of ethnic identity" as described by Stephen Cornell in 2000. According to Cornell, when people take on, create, assign, or (one might add from his own data) defend an ethnic identity, part of what they do "is to take on, create, or assign a story, a narrative of some sort that captures central understandings about what it means to be a member of the group." While this story can be told in many ways, it can ultimately be reduced to something along the lines "we are the people who . . . " or "they are the people who . . . ," where the lacuna becomes a tale or record of events. The story has three elements:

1. A subject (the group in question)
2. Action ("what happened or will happen")
3. An evaluation of the subject, meaning that it makes group members adopt various feelings and attitudes about belonging to it

Texts like the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Apocalypse can be fruitfully read in relation to this model.

Conclusion

Social-scientific ideas and perspectives have been making a significant contribution to our understanding of apocalyptic literature in its social contexts since 1975. This process is likely to continue, as biblical critics increasingly engage with the insights into society and social relations offered by the steadily advancing research of social psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists. While I have suggested that ethnicity and social identity theory have a role to play, other developments will come from biblical interpreters engaging with whatever social-scientific approaches they find useful for the task. A very rich body of data awaits the creative application of the social sciences within the ongoing task of historical interpretation to discover what meaning apocalyptic texts conveyed to their ancient audiences.

Bibliography

Abelson, R. P. (1968). "Dissonance Theory: Progress and Problems," in R. P. Abelson et al., eds., *Theories of Cognitive Consistency: A Sourcebook*. Chicago: Rand McNally, pp. 5–27.

Aberle, David (1962). "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and Other Cult Movements," in Sylvia L. Thrupp, ed., *Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 209–17.

Barth, Fredrik (1969). "Introduction," in Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. London: George Allen and Unwin, pp. 9–38.

Brown, Dee (1991). *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. London: Vintage.

Burridge, Kenelm (1972). *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Carter, Warren (2006). *The Roman Empire and the New Testament*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Caselli, Francesco, and Wilbur John Coleman II (2006). "On the Theory of Ethnic Conflict." NBER Working Paper Series. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Collins, John J., ed. (1979). *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre. Semeia 14*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.

—— (1977). *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.

—— (1984, 1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*. New York: Crossroad, 1984. (A second, revised, and expanded edition was published in 1998 by Eerdmans with a different subtitle: *An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*.)

—— (2003 [1993]). *Daniel. A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

—— (2011). "Apocalypse and Empire." *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok 76*: 1–19.

Cook, Stephen L. (1995). *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Cornell, Stephen (2000). "That's the Story of Our Life," in Paul Spickard and W. Jeffrey Burroughs, eds, *We Are a People: Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp. 41–53.

Davies, Philip R. (1989). "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings," in R. E. Clements, ed., *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives. Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Studies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 251–71.

deSilva, David Arthur (1992). "The Revelation to John: A Case Study in Apocalyptic Propaganda and the Maintenance of Sectarian Identity." *Sociological Analysis 53*: 375–95.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo (2007a). "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I)." *Currents in Biblical Research 5*: 235–86.

—— (2007b). "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part II)." *Currents in Biblical Research 5*: 367–432.

Douglas, Mary (1970). *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Duling, Dennis (1994). "BTB Readers Guide: Millennialism." *Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology 24*: 132–42.

Eddy, Samuel K. (1961). *The King is Dead: Studies in Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 334–31 BC*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Eller, Jack D. (1999). *From Culture, to Ethnicity, to Conflict: An Anthropological Perspective on International Ethnic Conflicts*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Elliott, John F. (1982). *A Home for the Homeless: Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter and Its Situation and Strategy*. London: SCM.

—— (1993a). *What Is Social-Scientific Interpretation? Guides to Biblical Scholarship.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

—— (1993b). "Sorcery and Magic in the Revelation of John." *Listening: Journal of Religion and Culture 28*: 261–76.

—— (2005). *A Home for the Homeless: A Social-Scientific Criticism of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Esler, Philip F. (1987). *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—— (1993). "Political Oppression in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature: A Social-Scientific Approach." *Listening: Journal of Religion and Culture 28*: 181–99.

—— (1994a). *The First Christians in Their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation*. New York: Routledge.

—— (1994b). "Millennialism and Daniel 7," in Philip F. Esler, ed., *The First Christians in Their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation*. New York: Routledge, pp. 92–109.

—— (1994c). "The Social Function of 4 Ezra," in Philip F. Esler, ed., *The First Christians in Their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation*. New York: Routledge, pp. 110–30.

—— (1994d). "Sorcery Accusations and the Apocalypse," in Philip F. Esler, ed., *The First Christians in Their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation*. New York: Routledge, pp. 131–46.

—— (1995). "God's Honour and Rome's Triumph: Responses to the Fall of Jerusalem in Three Jewish Apocalypses" in Philip F. Esler, ed., *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in Its Context.* New York: Routledge, pp. 239–58.

—— (2003). *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

—— (2005). "Rome in Apocalyptic and Rabbinic Literature," in John Riches and David C. Sim, eds., *The Gospel of Matthew in Its Roman Imperial Context*. New York: T & T Clark International, pp. 9–33.

—— (2007). "From *Ioudaioi* to Children of God: The Development of a Non-ethnic Group Identity in the Gospel of John," in Anselm C. Hagedorn, Zeba A. Crook, and Eric Stewart, eds., *In Other Words: Essays on Social Science Methods and the New Testament in Honor of Jerome H. Neyrey.* Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, pp. 106–37.

——(2009). "Judean Ethnic Identity in Josephus' *Against Apion*," in Zuleika Rodgers, Margaret Daly-Denton, and Anne Fitzpatrick McKinley, eds., *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Sean Freyne*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 73–91.

——(2011). "Judean Ethnic Identity and the Purpose of Hebrews," in Andrew B. McGowan and Kent Harold Richards, eds., *Method & Meaning: Essays on New Testament Interpretation in Honor of Harold A. Attridge*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 469–89.

Festinger, Leon (1957). *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Evanston, IL: Peterson.

Foucault, Michel (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Second edition. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage.

Gager, John G. (1975) *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Goldingay, John E. (1989). *Daniel*. Word Biblical Commentary 30. Dallas, TX: Word Books.

Grabbe, Lester (1989). "The Social Setting of Early Jewish Apocalypticism." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha 4*: 27–47.

—— (2003). "Prophetic and Apocalyptic: Time for New Definitions—and New Thinking," in Lester Grabbe and R. D. Haak, eds., *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements 46. New York: T. & T. Clark International, pp. 107–33.

Grabbe, Lester, and R. D. Haak, eds. (2003) *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements 46. New York: T. & T. Clark International.

Hanson, Paul D. (1979 [1975]). *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*. Revised edition. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Heaton, E. W. (1994). *The School Tradition of the Old Testament: The Bampton Lectures for 1994*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hellholm, David, ed. (1983). *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Horowitz, Donald L. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California.

Horsley, Richard A., ed. (1997). *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International.

——(2010). *Revolt of the Scribes: Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Hutchinson, John, and Anthony Smith, eds. (1996). *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Isenberg, Sheldon R. (1974). "Millenarism in Greco-Roman Palestine." *Religion 4*: 26–46.

Jewett, Robert (1986). *The Thessalonian Correspondence: Pauline Rhetoric and Millenarian Piety.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Kautsky, John H. (1982). *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires*. Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press.

Kim, Seyoon (2008). *Christ and Caesar: The Gospel and the Roman Empire in the Writings of Paul and Luke*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Koch, Klaus (1972). *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*. Translated by M. Kohl. London: SCM Press.
Lendon, J. E. (1997). *An Empire of Honor: The Art of Advancement in the Roman World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Malina, Bruce J. (1981). *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology*. London: SCM Press.
—— (1986). "Religion in the World of Paul: A Preliminary Sketch." *Biblical Theology Bulletin 16*: 92–101.
Marwick, Max (1965). *Sorcery in Its Social Setting*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Mason, Steve (2007). "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History." *Journal for the Study of Judaism 38*: 457–512.
Meeks, Wayne A. (1972). "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism." *Journal of Biblical Literature 91*: 44–72.
—— (1983). "Social Functions of Apocalyptic Language in Pauline Christianity," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 687–705.
Mitchell, Claire (2005). "The Religious Content of Ethnic Identities." *Sociology 40*: 1135–52.
—— (2006a). "Behind the Ethnic Marker: Religion and Social Identification in Northern Ireland." *Sociology of Religion 66*: 3–21.
—— (2006b). "The Religious Content of Ethnic Identities." *Sociology 40*: 1135–52.
Murdoch, George (1980). *Theories of Illness: A World Survey*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press.
Nickelsburg, G. W. E. (1983). "Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypticism," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 641–54.
Peacock, James L., Patricia M. Thornton, and Patrick B. Inman, eds. (2007). *Identity Matters: Ethnic and Sectarian Conflict*. New York: Berghahn Books.
Portier-Young, Anthea (2011). *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
Reid, Stephen B. (1989). *Enoch and Daniel: A Form Critical and Sociological Study of Historical Apocalypses*. Berkeley, CA: Bibal.
Ribeiro, Rene (1962). "Brazilian Messianic Movements," in Sylvia L. Thrupp, ed., *Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 55–69.
Rowland, Christopher (1982). *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity*. London: SPCK.
Scott, James C. (1976). *Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in South East Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
—— (1985). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
—— (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
—— (2009). *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Smith, Wilfrid Cantwell (1991 [1962]). *The Meaning and End of Religion*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Tajfel, Henri (1972). "La categorization sociale," in Serge Moscovici, ed., *Introduction à la psychologie sociale*, volume 1. Paris: Larousse, pp. 272–302.

——, ed. (1978). *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations.* European Monographs in Social Psychology, 14. London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, Henri, and John Turner (1979). "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," in William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, eds., *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, pp. 33–47.

Toft, Monica Duffy (2003). *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Thrupp, Sylvia L., ed. (1962). *Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study*. The Hague: Mouton.

Tiller, Patrick A. (1993). *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch.* SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 4. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

VanderKam, James C. (1984). *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. CBQ Monograph Series, 16. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America.

Verkuyten, Maykel, and Borja Martinovic (2012). "Social Identity Complexity and Immigrants' Attitude Toward the Host Nation: The Intersection of Ethnic and Religious Group Identification." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 38*: 165–77.

Williams, Francis Edgar (1976). "The Vailala Madness," in Erik Schwimmer, ed., *Francis Edgar Williams: "The Vailala Madness" and Other Essays*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, pp. 331–84.

Wilson, Bryan R. (1961). *Sects and Society: A Sociological Study of the Elim Church*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

—— (1975 [1973]). *Magic and the Millennium. A Sociological Study of Religious Church. Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third-World Peoples*. London: Paladin.

Worsley, Peter (1970 [1957]). *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia*. London: Paladin.

CHAPTER 9

JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE AS RESISTANCE LITERATURE

ANATHEA PORTIER-YOUNG

Literature does cultural work, and has the capacity to transform social and political realities (Tompkins 1985). Literature can be an arena of political struggle (Harlow 1985: 2). It can enact and also mobilize resistance.

The origins of Jewish apocalyptic literature are complex and much discussed. Apocalypse is a hybrid genre (cf. Collins 2011: 3), combining narrative and vision and drawing elements from the sacred traditions of the Jewish people as well as from the Mesopotamian, Persian, and Greco-Roman worlds. Its precursors include Israelite and Judean prophecy as well as Babylonian oracular writings, dream visions, and other practices of divination (Collins 1998: 5, 23–29). But it is not accidental that the first extant examples of the literary genre apocalypse emerge in the Hellenistic period, an era marked by a new internationalism as well as by continuous warfare, military occupation, and reconquest of Judea and surrounding territories. Conquest created empire; ongoing military activity, occupation, taxation, tribute, and colonial power maintained it (Portier-Young 2011: 50). The earliest apocalypses did not merely take shape within this new imperial context. They resisted it.

The earliest exemplars of the genre apocalypse are frequently classified according to two types, the heavenly journey and historical apocalypse (Collins 1998: 6–7). Early exemplars of both types participate in discursive resistance against imperial hegemony and structures of domination (hegemony and domination are categories

I address in further detail below), challenging empire's claims about knowledge and the world and destabilizing and disempowering apparatuses of social control.

The Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36), widely considered to be the earliest extant heavenly journey apocalypse, refracted politically charged Hellenistic myths such as the gigantomachy through native traditions and employed a strategy of inversion to critique the warring rulers, generals, and armies of the Hellenistic empires. Its narrative of Enoch's heavenly journey countered imperial cartography and its ideology of dominance with alternative geography and cosmology (Portier-Young 2011: 13–27; 289–90).

The prophetic review of history that distinguishes the historical apocalypses embodies discursive resistance in its assertions that God governs time, that history unfolds according to God's plan, and that temporal powers are finite and transient (Portier-Young 2011: 27). Jin Hee Han has argued further that Daniel's symbolism and language offered its readers a mode of perception and representation, which Han calls a new apocalyptic literacy, to counter imperial hegemony (Han 2008).

The three earliest extant historical apocalypses, namely Daniel, the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 93:1–10 + 91:11–17), and the Book of Dreams (*1 En.* 83–90), also go a step beyond discursive resistance, joining vision to praxis. Each of these apocalypses advocated active resistance on the part of their readers and others within their communities. In each case an apocalyptic vision portrays those whom the visionary and writer(s) consider to be faithful Jews engaging in active resistance during the time of crisis. In the narrative frames that surround the visions, the heroes Enoch, Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael model further forms of resistance for the audience to emulate. Together, vision and narrative envision and promote a program of resistance to imperial domination.

Later apocalyptic literature could similarly embody discursive resistance as well as aim to motivate and sustain a program of resistance to domination and hegemony. But this was not a necessary function of the genre apocalypse. Resistance literature proves to be an apt category for some apocalyptic literature, but by no means all. For example, as John Collins has observed, in 4 Ezra and 2 *Baruch*, composed after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, "resistance is muted by resignation, and the focus is on mourning and consolation" (Collins 2011: 18).

Conceptualizing Resistance

"Resistance" frequently conjures images of armed rebellion or organized protest. In her seminal work on resistance literature, Barbara Harlow locates such literature within an organized, collective movement that engages in two struggles simultaneously, one

for political liberation and social transformation and the other "over the historical and cultural record" (Harlow 1985: 6–7). Yet resistance is a wider phenomenon even than this. Political scientist James C. Scott studies forms of "everyday resistance" that allow practitioners to gain or maintain privileges, goods, rights, and freedoms in a system of domination in which they have little ascribed power (Scott 1985; 1990).

Resistance in any form cannot be understood apart from power. J. M. Barbalet emphasizes the structural relationship between power and resistance in his definition of resistance as "those factors which in limiting the exercise of power contribute to the outcome of the power relationship." He understands power in terms articulated by Max Weber, as "the probability that one actor will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Barbalet 1985: 532).

But power alone does not provide an adequate frame for understanding the objects and aims of resistance and resistance literature. Resistance emerges within and responds to domination and hegemony. Domination can refer to directly political, economic, or physically coercive forms of social control. Examples include conquest and plunder, slavery, torture, or military occupation as well as exploitative economic practices. Hegemony refers to social and ideological structures that create and maintain conditions of subordination and to the strategies and actions that aim to establish, maintain, or augment these structures. These more subtle means of controlling thought and behavior include indoctrination through education and propaganda, ritual, systems of patronage, and other structured practices of everyday life. Domination and hegemony provide both the conditions for and objects of resistance (Portier-Young 2011: 11–12, 23–26). Literature that aims to limit, oppose, or reject hegemonic institutions and cosmologies and systems, strategies, and acts of domination can be called resistance literature.

Apocalypse as Resistance Literature

The study of apocalyptic literature as resistance literature owes no small debt to the pioneering work of Samuel Eddy, who examined "evidence for opposition to Hellenistic imperialism" in the ancient Near East and the ways that opposition "was advocated and justified" (Eddy 1961: vii). Eddy linked resistance (and also acquiescence) with theologies of kingship. He also identified a strong role for local cults in creating a sense of unity that was necessary for resistance to coalesce and gain momentum (Eddy 1961: 333).

Eddy's work helpfully places Jewish resistance within a wider cultural context. Others have raised the possibility that writers of early Jewish apocalypses adapted

traditions of resistance from other Near Eastern subjects of the Hellenistic empires. Joseph Ward Swain and David Flusser have inferred from later texts the existence of resistance traditions from Seleucid Asia Minor and ancient Persia that may have provided models for the visionary sequence of empires found in Daniel 2 and 7 (Swain 1940; Flusser 1978). Their arguments suggest that the apocalyptic review of history may have had roots in ancient Near Eastern traditions of resistance to Hellenistic imperial rule. This international and cross-cultural context can provide clues as to how early Jewish historical apocalypses functioned as resistance literature.

Recent monographs by Richard A. Horsley and Anathea E. Portier-Young locate the origins of Jewish apocalyptic literature within movements of resistance to empire (Horsley 2010; Portier-Young 2011). Horsley reads Daniel, the Book of Watchers, the Animal Vision (*1 En.* 85–90), and the Testament of Moses alongside other Jewish texts as "expressions and explanations" of resistance to imperial domination (Horsley 2010: 3). For Horsley, the texts testify to a uniquely scribal mode of resistance. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, members of the priestly class in Judea would frequently collaborate with the empire in matters of governance and administration. Yet other intellectuals in Judea rejected this collaboration and insisted on divine sovereignty over history and people. Their apocalyptic writings were acts of resistance that also aimed to mobilize further resistance on the part of their readers (Horsley 2010: 203).

To better understand this phenomenon, Horsley calls for greater attention to the social, political, economic, religious, and historical contexts of these and other apocalyptic texts, and criticizes approaches to apocalypse as genre that appear to privilege formal over historical analysis. While Horsley grudgingly retains the adjective "apocalyptic" in quotes throughout his study, he rejects the genre label apocalypse as a modern scholarly construct. His literary analysis of "apocalyptic" texts attends to narrative elements such as plot, character, and conflict, "the fundamental concerns and basic message" of each text, and the ways each text draws upon native traditions (8).

Despite Horsley's disavowal of the modern genre label, the importance of precisely these (and other) literary features for his analysis suggest that conventions of genre are what make it possible for these texts to function as resistance literature. A comparison from the study of modern literature helps illustrate how this is so. In her work on popular domestic novels of the nineteenth century, Jane Tompkins argues that their heavy reliance on generic conventions activated for audiences a shared set of attitudes, assumptions, and religious beliefs, made it possible for writers to redact one set of cultural narratives while subverting others, and "enact[ed] . . . a theory of power" (Tompkins 1985: 128). Their social efficacy "depend[ed] upon the audience's being in possession of the conceptual categories that constitute character and event" (126–27). While later critics have often dismissed these works as lacking in literary merit because of their heavy reliance on convention, Tompkins asserts that their very

generic conventionality enabled them effectively to represent and transform political and social realities. She writes:

> Once in possession of the system of beliefs that undergirds the patterns of sentimental fiction, it is possible for modern readers to see how its tearful episodes and frequent violations of probability were invested with a structure of meanings that fixed these works, for nineteenth-century readers, not in the realm of fairy tale or escapist fantasy, but in the very bedrock of reality (127).

In the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, that reality is structured typologically, according to a plan of redemption already revealed in sacred scriptures and therefore familiar to the audience (135). The eschatological vision driving *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was not realized, yet, in Tompkins's words, the novel "helped convince a nation to go to war and to free its slaves" (141; it has also been criticized for perpetuating racist tropes and stereotypes in the years that followed America's Civil War). I cite this example not to argue for similarities between nineteenth-century sentimental protest novels and early Jewish apocalyptic literature, but rather to highlight the crucial role of genre in enabling literature to do its cultural work, whether resistant or otherwise.

Genre is social, political, and historical. It is a product of culture and a shaping force within it. Genre provides a frame for viewing the world as much as it provides a frame for composition and reading (Colie 2000: 152). More than this, however, John Frow argues that genre is linked to situation. For Frow, the "patterns of genre" take shape in response to recurring situational patterns, or types. Genre "shapes strategies for occasions," offering a "'typified' action" in response to a situational type (Frow 2005: 14). Correlations between genres and settings do not remain fixed or frozen. Nonetheless, awareness of the generative link between situational patterns and genres suggests that the relationship between empire and apocalypse and the function of early apocalypses as resistance literature are not incidental, but rather fundamental to the origins of the genre.

A further clue to the importance of genre for understanding how early Jewish literature functioned as resistance literature relates to the generic hybridity and creativity of early apocalypses. In his study of "engaged resistance" in Native American aesthetic activism, Dean Rader distinguishes two types of resistance in the texts (literary and nonliterary) he examines, namely "contextual resistance" and "compositional resistance." A text may offer one or both forms of resistance. For Rader,

> The former refers to modes of resistance on the thematic level, while the latter denotes resistance on the structural one. By "compositional," I mean how the text is composed: the materials the artist uses, the organization or plot structure of a film or novel, or the inversions of Western poetic genres. Conversely, "contextual resistance" occurs when a text's message indicates defiance, even if its formal qualities do not. (Rader 2011: 5)

Horsley highlights contextual resistance in his analysis. But the early Jewish apocalypses also embody compositional resistance, and for this reason analysis of genre is vital to understanding how they resist hegemonic institutions and practices. By reshaping and joining received forms into new ones, the writers of apocalypses could invoke old expectations in order to respond to, subvert, and transform them. Such compositional resistance moves in and out of bounded generic spaces and logics, asserting freedom and creating new horizons of possibility and meaning, categories of classification, and codes for navigating and interpreting a fraught reality.

Terror, Trauma, and the Imaginary of Hope

The three historical apocalypses named above, Daniel, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and the Book of Dreams, responded to circumstances and events in Seleucid Judea in the first third of the second century BCE. The fifth Syrian war had brought hardship to Judea, including the heavy cost of provisioning Seleucid armies, personal injury, captivity, loss of life, and damage to land and structures, likely including the temple in Jerusalem. The war's conclusion in 200 BCE marked the beginning of Seleucid rule in Judea. Military occupation brought loss of land, displacement, and more slavery. During this period, imperial administration increasingly encroached into civic and cultic life within the provinces. As these developments exacerbated divisions in the Judean community, conditions were ripe for civil war. In 169 or 168 BCE, ousted high priest Jason marched against Jerusalem, hoping to take control of the city by force. This event provided Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV Epiphanes the opportunity to reconquer Judea, a common practice of Hellenistic kings who aimed at the recreation, solidification, and consolidation of empire by reconquering their provinces (Portier-Young 2011: 55–139). His campaign of reconquest entailed a program of state terror that culminated in religious persecution. According to 1 and 2 Maccabees, Antiochus terrorized Judeans through massacre, abduction, home invasion, and plunder of the temple, as well as through the spectacular display of imperial might. His soldiers built up the Akra, the fortress that provided the base of operations for occupying troops, and set fire to the city, destroying homes, and leveling city walls. The program of terror aimed at social control through force and through a climate of fear, insecurity, and shame. It also aimed to dismantle and replace structures of order and meaning. In 167 BCE an imperial edict outlawed the practice and confession of Jewish religion and instituted new religious practices. These measures aimed at the unmaking of world and identity for the inhabitants of Judea in order to assert the empire as sole power, reality, and ground of being (Portier-Young 2011: 140–216).

The Apocalypse of Weeks, Daniel, and the Book of Dreams resisted the attempt to unmake world and identity by offering new sight, naming terror and hope, insisting on the integrity of reality, and denying the ultimacy of imperial power. In its place they asserted the totality of heavenly rule, divine creation, and sacred knowledge. The combining of narrative and vision in this nascent genre provided both a necessary frame and story as well as a way forward into the future. Trauma and terror stopped time. These historical apocalypses resisted the fragmentation of time and self by means of a new literary form that unified past, present, and future, piecing time and people together again. Through the words of interpreting angels and seers they interpreted images, memories, and visions that defied linguistic codes, making it possible to transform memory and even perception.

Paired with this new sight was a corresponding praxis of resistance. The book of Daniel envisioned resistance through teaching and through faithfulness to Jewish religious practices. The *maskilim*, or "wise teachers," would convey the book's alternative vision of reality to "the many" to make them wise and righteous. They would not resist with violence, but would die as martyrs, falling to "sword and flame" (Dan 11:33). The book's program of resistance is further modeled by Daniel and his friends for the book's audience. They were to practice penitence and prayer, humbling themselves before God. Reading, interpreting, and writing scripture also plays a central role in the book's understanding of resistance.

The Apocalypse of Weeks is presented as a vision granted to Enoch (*1 En.* 93:2) in which he is shown all of history divided into ten weeks, followed by weeks without number. In the seventh week, he reports, the witnesses of righteousness will receive sevenfold wisdom and knowledge and "will uproot the foundations of violence, and the structure of deceit in it, in order to effect justice" (*1 En.* 91:11). Wisdom and knowledge were the key to defeating imperial hegemony, and resulted in transformative social action. In the week that follows, "a sword will be given to all the righteous, to execute righteous judgment on all the wicked, and they will be delivered into their hands" (91:12). After this time they would acquire possessions in righteousness and participate in the building of the new temple. This vision of a future just economy, temple, and kingdom of God provided a point of orientation. The description of the work of the witnesses of righteousness provided a call to engaged resistance through testimony and teaching and by actively working to overturn the physical structures and social infrastructures that supported Judea's domination. At a future time, the "righteous" would take up the sword.

The Book of Dreams counters imperial hegemony by calling the people of Judea to open their eyes and ears. As in Daniel and the Apocalypse of Weeks, so in the Book of Dreams, the transmission of revelatory traditions through apocalyptic text and preaching is central to the book's program of resistance. Meditation on the created order was also a source of wisdom. Sight and perception would lead to understanding and right action. The writer(s) of this apocalypse believed that the actions

of the righteous could change the fate of the world. Enoch's narrated response to the book's dream visions models for the audience lament and intercessory prayer as means of effective resistance, as well as praise, which affirmed an alternative cosmology and God's power to save. Prayer is further highlighted throughout the second dream vision. That vision, commonly referred to as the Animal Apocalypse, portrays the righteous as a group of lambs, sprouting horns. Led by a ram (commonly identified with Judas Maccabeus), they do battle beside the Lord and a heavenly scribe, achieving military victory against the foreign peoples that have attacked and devoured them. The book's vision of armed resistance yields to a vision of right worship and peace.

Revelation as Replication?

Studies of early Jewish apocalypses as resistance literature have grown up alongside similar study of the book of Revelation and other New Testament and Early Christian writings. Yet New Testament studies of apocalyptic literature as resistance literature have evolved more rapidly, passing through stages that suggest developments we are likely to see in future study of Jewish apocalyptic literature. While some have aimed to recover traditions of resistance as theological resources (e.g., Horsley 2008), others have highlighted a tendency of apocalyptic resistant discourse to project into the heavenly realm and future kingdom imperial structures of power and practices of domination.

As an example of the latter, Greg Carey argues that Revelation envisions Christ and the New Jerusalem, at least in part, in the image of an empire that purchases peace through conquest. This "symptom of resistance" draws our attention to the ways subjugation wounds both imagination and identity (Carey 2006). For Stephen D. Moore, this is "the fatal flaw in Revelation's theology." Revelation's apocalyptic imagination is parasitic on imperial ideology and ultimately is absorbed by it. Each features at its center the throne and its attendant attributes of glory, authority, and total power (Moore 2006: 119). The royal is thus mapped on to the divine, and vice versa. Strategic in the short term, this transfer of structures and attributes fails to achieve a truly liberating vision. Despite its call to nonviolent resistance, its discursive and theological assault on imperial hegemony, and its total rejection of collaboration with empire, Revelation's resistance is also, in part, replication. The difficulty Revelation exhibits in transcending known categories, symbols, and structures of power is found in Jewish apocalypses as well, and will undoubtedly receive further attention in future scholarly studies.

Ambiguities

This difficulty testifies to the power of imperial hegemony to structure the very perception and ordering of reality. Hegemony colonizes subjectivity, permeating, reshaping, and distorting ideas about self, God, world, and future. To understand how this shapes apocalyptic literature, scholars have increasingly turned to the concept of hybridity as expounded by cultural theorist Homi Bhabha (Moore 2006; Collins 2011). Bhabha writes:

> hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but re-implicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power. (Bhabha 1994: 159–60)

The book of Daniel is particularly sensitive to this phenomenon, and indeed, like other Jewish "court narratives" such as the stories of Joseph and Esther, thematizes the complexities of a hybrid identity in spaces shaped by the "narcissistic demands of colonial power." Even though the visions do not entirely succeed in transcending imperial symbols and structures of power, the stories and visions nonetheless grapple with the colonizing force of imperial hegemony that has embedded these symbols within apocalyptic theological imagination. Stories and visions alike look back at empire and endeavor to reveal the distortions it produces. For example, the quasi-Babylonian names placed upon Daniel's heroes acknowledge the ways in which they (and readers) are constituted as subjects by hegemonic colonial discourse and simultaneously exposes that discourse as a distortion of linguistic, ethnic, and religious identities. In this way "the presence of power is revealed as something other than what its rules of recognition assert" (Bhabha 1994: 160). The rules of recognition are further challenged in the apocalyptic visions, which seek to reveal and expose empire as monstrous, arrogant, deceitful, rapacious, and violent. If the visions fail to imagine a future without submission, even this ambivalence may help to expose and finally crack the edifice of imperial hegemony.

Not All Apocalyptic Literature Is Resistance Literature

Our earliest apocalypses were works of resistance. Yet, as noted above, the apocalypses did not always generate attitudes of resistance, and there is no necessary correlation between apocalyptic literature and resistance literature (cf. Henze 2011: 4–6). The history of effects reveals that apocalyptic texts originally written and received as works of resistance have frequently been reinterpreted to support the status quo and reinforce rather than challenge structures of domination (Lamont 1969). Moreover, some literature we classify as apocalyptic does not appear ever to have functioned as resistance literature in any obvious sense. Nothing about apocalyptic literature requires it to challenge injustice, free its readers from the chains of false consciousness, or incite political revolution or reform (cf. Bruce Lincoln's discussion of myth, which similarly need not always account for and uphold the status quo; Lincoln 1989: 49). The epistemological certainties and claims to heavenly authority that typically undergird apocalyptic writings can support agendas both radical and reactionary (cf. DiTommaso 2010: 465; Baumgarten 2005: 65).

William Adler has cautioned against approaches that posit a single ideological profile for all Jewish apocalyptic literature (Adler 1996: 2). In a similar vein, John Reeves is critical of those who reduce apocalyptic literature to resistance literature (Reeves 2005: 3). Each work must rather be examined, to the fullest extent possible, with attention to its particular ideological, theological, and ethical stances and to the ways it uses and creates language, myth, symbol, genre, and discourse. Context must receive similar attention. Adler and Reeves also challenge the common presumption that apocalyptic literature is the work of marginal, sectarian dissidents who occupy the religious, cultural, and political fringe of Jewish society (Adler 1996: 6; Reeves 2005: 3). The apocalyptic writings we possess more often suggest to the contrary that their writers stood close to the political and cultural heart of Jewish life. Yet in each case context cannot be presumed, but must be examined and argued.

This task is not always straightforward. Hallmarks of the genre include stylized periodizations of history and the creative redeployment of stereotyped forms, language, and symbolism found in other oracular, prophetic, and apocalyptic texts. These practices challenge even the most resourceful historian. Moreover, many of our texts, particularly those discovered in the caves of Qumran, are fragmentary. We thus frequently find ourselves at a loss to identify dates and settings of composition with any certainty.

An example that is as frustrating as it is tantalizing is 4Q246. The first column of this Aramaic fragment discovered at Qumran refers to a vision, coming wrath, a time of tribulation, and kings of empires, all stock elements of apocalyptic texts. Yet no

line of this column is complete, and it is impossible to reconstruct even the setting within the narrative, let alone that of the world outside it. The second column is more complete, and envisions a "son of God," battle between nations, divine intervention that brings an end to violence, and an eternal just kingdom. Yet this column ends mid-phrase, suggesting that the conclusion to the text is now missing. Scholars have variously identified the "son of God" figure as a Seleucid king, a Davidic messiah, a Hasmonean, and a heavenly being (Collins 1995: 155–57). Without a clearer understanding of the text's fuller form, its context, and its referents, it is impossible to determine whether this text functioned as resistance literature.

This fragment is one of many among the Aramaic texts from Qumran that may be classified as apocalyptic. According to Lorenzo DiTommaso,

> Of the ninety-odd Aramaic manuscripts recovered from the Dead Sea caves that contain literary compositions sufficiently preserved to warrant identification, approximately two-thirds contain portions of either formal apocalypses or texts that are otherwise informed by the fundamental axioms of apocalypticism. (DiTommaso 2010: 456)

Unfortunately, like 4Q246, most of the new texts are too fragmentary to allow detailed analysis of their sociopolitical context and ideological underpinnings (cf. Adler 1996: 1). Nonetheless, the publication of the Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* from Qumran has yielded a richer understanding of the matrix in which Jewish apocalyptic literature developed, including, for example, traditions of Mesopotamian mantic and scientific wisdom (DiTommaso 2010: 464). "Such traditions," argues DiTommaso, "were not indentured to contexts of social marginalisation, economic dislocation, or political oppression, nor were they necessarily incompatible with 'official' attitudes or 'priestly concerns.' " For DiTommaso it follows "that while apocalypticism might correlate to typical societal contexts, it could not be restricted to a single social movement or milieu. In other words, the element of social setting cannot define either the genre or the worldview" (464). A situational pattern of domination and resistance was formative for at least one subtype of the genre, the historical apocalypse. DiTommaso highlights the dense web of diverse social dynamics shaping and informing the traditions from which even this subtype of apocalyptic literature grew. His caveat makes us aware that these manifold forms and traditions remained supple. They would be shaped by the genre's history, but not fixed by it. Neither crisis nor domination and resistance are necessary components of the social context of a work of apocalyptic literature.

DiTommaso's reference to worldview suggests a further point. In an influential formulation, John J. Collins designated a set of presuppositions shared by ancient apocalypses as constitutive of an apocalyptic worldview (Collins 1998: 8). Although proper to apocalypses, these ways of seeing the world are not limited only to apocalypses, nor would they have been mediated only or even primarily through texts. Collins

is surely right that this worldview was "not shared by all Judeans in the Hellenistic and Roman periods" (Collins 2011: 19). The apocalypses offered particular frames for viewing the world at particular moments in time and place. As they were read in new settings and reappropriated within other genres, and as features of the worldviews they offered were taken up, transformed, adapted, or rejected in family and civic life, worship settings, and education in new times and places, both the generic features we associate with apocalypse and the beliefs we associate with an apocalyptic worldview would inevitably take on new contours and cultural meanings and do very different kinds of cultural work. Two examples that follow illustrate this point and raise questions for further study.

Between Resistance and Accommodation: The Case of Josephus

In his account of the first Jewish revolt against Rome, waged between 66 and 70 CE, the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus credits an "ambiguous oracle . . . found in [Jewish] sacred writings" with inciting Jewish armed resistance (*JW* 6.312; discussion in Goodman 2007). The oracle promised that from their country someone would rule the inhabited world. Josephus does not specify the precise oracle, so we cannot know if it derived from an "apocalyptic" source, yet it seems likely that it would have been understood, at least by some, within an interpretive framework informed and shaped by such apocalyptic texts as Daniel 7. Josephus demonstrates how easily such texts may be co-opted to serve the political and ideological aims of those in power. He asserts that the Jews were deceived in their hope because the oracle referred not to a Jewish ruler but to the Roman general Vespasian (*JW* 6.313), who was declared emperor by his troops while he was stationed at Caesarea Maritima. References to this oracle in the writings of Tacitus (*Hist*. 5.13) and Suetonius (*Vesp.* 4) suggest that, while knowledge of the oracle was widespread at the time of the revolt, it was further publicized by supporters of the Flavians in order to bolster Vespasian's claims to divinely sanctioned rule.

The ambiguity claimed for the infamous oracle reflects well Josephus's ambiguous cultural location and appropriation of apocalyptic traditions. Josephus does not write apocalyptic literature. Rather, his visionary politics both partakes of and departs from earlier apocalyptic models, and, if he is to be taken at face value, is not resistant but aims rather at surrender and accommodation. No angelic mediator grants Josephus the knowledge that shapes his stance toward the Roman Empire. Instead, the figure of Daniel provides Josephus with a model for his own self-understanding as one granted dream visions and the skill to interpret them and as a minister to the very emperors responsible for the subjugation of the Jewish people and the destruction of

Jerusalem's temple. Yet perhaps we should not take Josephus entirely at face value. Daniel also provides a model of and occasion for subtle but discernible forms of resistance in Josephus's writing.

In the *Jewish War*, Josephus tells of his leadership in the first Jewish revolt against Rome. He also narrates his experience of prophetic revelations that prompt him to exchange armed resistance for surrender and accommodation. He has received night visions foretelling disaster for the Judeans and detailing future events concerning Roman emperors. He emphasizes the ambiguity of dreams, including his own, and their need for interpretation. He consciously locates his own visionary activity within a prophetic tradition that includes those preserved in the sacred scriptures of Israel, and he simultaneously lays claim to a priestly tradition of transmission and interpretation. In prophetic ecstasy he calls to mind his night-visions and prays to God. In his prayer he confesses that fortune has now passed from the Judeans to the Romans and that God has elected him to speak the future. Presenting himself to Vespasian as a prophetic messenger (*JW* 3.400), he assumes the prophetic role of kingmaker: "You, Vespasian, are Caesar and emperor" (*JW* 3.401). Whatever the relationship between Josephus's oracle and the ambiguous oracle he later writes about, here Josephus declares that God inspired Vespasian to believe this oracle; portents confirmed it (*JW* 3.404). Josephus further assures Vespasian that he is a credible prophet by insisting that he had foretold the very day of his own capture and of the fall of the Galilean village he and his comrades had sought to defend (*JW* 3.406).

In this narrative of Josephus's capture, revealed knowledge of the future does not galvanize resistance but rather prompts surrender. And as in the tales in the book of Daniel, it paves the way for a lifetime of imperial patronage. At the conclusion of his *Vita* Josephus catalogs the beneficences he has received from Vespasian and his family. These include Roman citizenship, housing in Rome in the Flavian family home, stipendiary support, landholdings in Judea, and tax exemption. Josephus declares how frequently he had to refute those who accused him of stirring up insurrection. He proclaims his loyalty to the Flavian dynasty and confesses the many ways he is beholden to them (*Vit.* 1.423–8).

Daniel is the prophet Josephus appears to esteem most highly and to whom Josephus gives the greatest attention in his *Antiquities* (Feldman 1998: 637). Josephus's retelling of Daniel includes a version of the story, dream, and interpretation from Daniel 2. In Daniel 2, Nebuchadnezzar has seen a vision of a statue made of metals and clay; the statue is then destroyed by a stone that grows to fill the entire earth. He demands that his diviners recount it to him and explain its meaning. They cannot. He enters a violent rage and threatens them all with death and dismemberment for their failure. After praying for and receiving revelation from God, Daniel provides the king with a report of the dream as well as its interpretation. In the interpretation Daniel reveals that four kingdoms will govern the earth in sequence, until God establishes an eternal kingdom that will shatter them all. Because Daniel has declared the dream

and its meaning, he is rewarded with gifts and he and his friends are elevated to positions of rule and influence in the kingdom.

Josephus's retelling of Daniel 2 walks a line between diplomacy and defiance. As Louis Feldman has argued, he appears to address two audiences, non-Jew and Jew, simultaneously (Feldman 1998: 650), engaging in a multilayered discourse that contains both a public performance of subservience and homage and a hidden transcript of resistance. His portrait of Daniel emphasizes loyalty to his foreign sovereign, while his portrait of the king is more overtly sympathetic than that found in Daniel (Feldman 1998: 629; 645–46). The king's anger is reported but de-emphasized (*A.J.* 10.198); the graphic threat of dismemberment (Dan 2:5) is omitted. Josephus expands on details in Daniel to paint the king as thoughtful, anxious concerning the future governance of the world (*A.J.* 10.205). Alongside these diplomatic revisions, as has frequently been noted, Josephus omits key details from the vision itself concerning the weaknesses of the final kingdom, which his Jewish readers understood to be Rome. He also declines to report the meaning of the stone that destroys the statue representing the empires that ruled the Jewish people.

In analyzing this passage, William Adler speculates that Josephus may have omitted the stone's interpretation in order to "dampen the eschatological hope that Daniel offered in the face of Roman occupation"; Adler draws support from Josephus's characterization of future events as "uncertain" or difficult to understand (Adler 1996: 213). Yet Steve Mason's study of Josephus's frequent use of audience-dependent irony or "figured speech" highlights the complexities of Josephus's position vis-à-vis the Roman Empire and calls attention to the sophisticated rhetorical strategies Josephus deployed to critique his imperial patrons (Mason 2005). Josephus's non-interpretation of the stone may best be read as an extended paraleipsis, a rhetorical device closely related to irony that was designed to draw attention to details that social or political propriety would exclude from polite discourse. In this case, Josephus attributes his omission to the constraints of genre (to wit, historiography), but counsels the reader who seeks truth to diligently read the book of Daniel. In this way, as Adela Yarbro Collins suggests, Josephus invokes a hidden transcript for those in the know: the Jewish people will yet triumph over the Roman Empire (Yarbro Collins 2010: 125).

Early Jewish Novels

Scholars have long recognized that the tales of Daniel predate the visions found in chapters 7–12. On their own, the tales are a form of cultural resistance (Smith-Christopher 1996). They embody what Rader calls "survivance," or "the active

practice of cultural endurance" (Rader 2011: 176). When paired with the visions to form an apocalypse, they embody and call forth a new kind of resistance in a new cultural and political moment. The book's further transformation in a later period elicits a different kind of shift, survival in a postapocalyptic modality.

Lawrence Wills has argued that, just as the addition of apocalyptic visions (Daniel 7–12) transformed a collection of tales into an apocalypse, so the subsequent addition of the tales of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon as a frame for Greek Daniel transformed an apocalypse into a novel. For Wills this was merely a process of agglutination or genre-jumping. Yet, as noted above, genre is more than a category for classification or rubric for composition. It creates and shapes structures of knowledge and meaning and both emerges from and transforms particular social contexts. Genres are fluid, rather than static, and intersect and interact with one another. According to John Frow, the interrelationships between genres "organize the universe of knowledge and value," but are constantly shifting (Frow 2005: 4–5). The mixing of forms and discourses simultaneously refers to multiple cultural domains and activates multiple frames for viewing reality, providing a new context and ordering for each. This dynamism unsettles meanings that previously seemed to be fixed. Resulting intertextual and intergeneric gaps can be exploited to assign new values to existing forms. What happens then, when the apocalypse Daniel becomes a novel? Is it still resistance literature? If so, what is it now resisting, and by what means? If not, how do we understand its visions?

Old Greek Daniel is but one example of the intersections of early Jewish apocalyptic literature and early Jewish novels. To the extent that the early Jewish novels share motifs, literary conventions, and generic elements with the apocalypses, do we perceive interaction between the genres, and if so, what are the political ramifications? Early novels are as much a product of the experience of empire as early apocalypses. Yet they neither advocate nor embody political resistance in any obvious way. What stance, if any, do such works as Testament of Job, Joseph and Aseneth, or Tobit take toward structures of hegemony and domination? How are apocalyptic motifs and forms revalued as these novelistic writings negotiate in new or simply different ways the complex relationships with empire in settings beyond the Judean homeland?

Conclusion

The earliest apocalypses embodied discursive resistance to imperial domination and hegemony, offering an alternative mythology, cosmology, language, and vision. Writers in the early second century BCE drew upon diverse traditions and forms to create a new and potent literature of resistance that aimed to join discourse to

practice. The first extant historical apocalypses responded to a program of Seleucid state terror with narrative, interpretation, symbol, and hope. The conventions of this nascent genre were a key to how it functioned as resistance literature. They urged their audiences to proclaim their saving visions, to teach, cry out, and witness. Daniel advocated nonviolent resistance that would lead to martyrdom, but also to resurrection. The Apocalypse of Weeks envisioned a time when the righteous would overturn social structures of domination. The Book of Dreams supported armed revolt against the occupying armies that had terrorized Judea. Although they sought to expose the distorting effects of imperial domination, the apocalypses were not immune from them. The apocalyptic imagination sometimes failed to transcend structures of domination and instead projected them into the divine realm. Yet even this difficulty could point to the distortions of hegemony, and in so doing create the awareness that would make it possible to overcome them.

The genre pattern of the historical apocalypse emerged in response to a situational pattern. But this bond was not indissoluble. Later Jewish apocalyptic literature would reuse and adapt the forms and conventions of this genre to respond to different kinds of situations, and in different ways. The fragmentary nature of much extant apocalyptic literature from the years between 165 BCE and 70 CE makes it difficult to analyze context and function. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the genre apocalypse provided a vehicle for mourning and for working out seemingly unanswerable questions. In other instances, the empire could co-opt revelatory traditions of resistance to bolster imperial claims. In Josephus's retelling of Daniel, resistance is masked behind a veil of compliance and even complicity; it is further transformed in OG Daniel. Resistance is structurally linked to power, arising in contexts of domination. The crucial link between resistance literature and the situations in which it arises means that we cannot make a general claim about the function of Jewish apocalyptic literature as resistance literature. Genre matters, but genre is fluid, and times change. If we wish to articulate what kinds of cultural work a text performed we must also be able to articulate when and where, for whom, and under what circumstances.

Bibliography

Adler, William (1996). "Introduction," and "Apocalyptic Survey of History Adapted by Christians," in J. C. VanderKam and W. Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, pp. 1–32 and 201–38.

Barbalet, J. M. (1985). "Power and Resistance." *British Journal of Sociology 4*: 531–48.

Baumgarten, Albert (2005). "Four Stages in the Life of a Millennial Movement," in Stephen D. O'Leary and Glenn S. McGhee, eds., *War in Heaven / Heaven on Earth: Theories of the Apocalyptic*. London: Equinox, pp. 59–73.

Bhabha, Homi K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Carey, Greg (2006). "Symptoms of Resistance in the Book of Revelation," in David L. Barr, ed., *The Reality of Apocalypse: Rhetoric and politics in the Book of Revelation*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 169–80.

Colie, Rosalie (2000). "Genre-Systems and the Functions of Literature," in David Duff, ed., *Modern Genre Theory*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education, pp. 148–66.

Collins, John J. (1995). *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*. New York: Doubleday.

—— (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

—— (2011). "Apocalypse and Empire." *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok 76*: 1–19.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo (2010). "Apocalypticism and the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June–July2, 2008*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 451–83.

Eddy, Samuel (1961). *The King is Dead: Studies in Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 334–31 B.C.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Feldman, Louis (1998). *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Flusser, David (1978). "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel." *Israel Oriental Studies 2*: 148–75.

Frow, John (2005). *Genre*. London: Routledge.

Goodman, Martin (2007). "Messianism and Politics in the Land of Israel, 66–135 C.E.," in Markus Bockmuehl and James Carleton Paget, eds., *Redemption and Resistance: The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity*. London: T & T Clark, pp. 149–57.

Han, Jin Hee (2008). *Daniel's Spiel: Apocalyptic Literacy in the Book of Daniel*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Harlow, Barbara (1985). *Resistance Literature*. New York: Methuen.

Henze, Matthias (2011). *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Horsley, Richard A., ed. (2004). *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul.* Atlanta: SBL.

—— (2008). *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.

——. (2010). *Revolt of the Scribes: Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Lamont, William M. (1969). *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603–60*. London: Macmillan.

Lincoln, Bruce (1989). *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mason, Steve (2005). "Figured Speech and Irony in T. Flavius Josephus," in Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives, eds., *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 244–88.

Moore, Stephen (2006). *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix.

Portier-Young, Anathea (2011). *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Rader, Dean (2011). *Engaged Resistance: American Indian Art, Literature, and Film from Alcatraz to the NMAI*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Reeves, John C. (2005). *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Postrabbinic Jewish Apocalypse Reader*. Atlanta: SBL.

Scott, James C. (1985). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

—— (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Slemon, Stephen (2006). "Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World," in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, pp. 44–52.

Smith-Christopher, Daniel L. (1996). "The Book of Daniel," in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, vol. 7. Nashville: Abingdon, pp. 19–52.

Swain, Joseph Ward (1940). "The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire." *Classical Philology* 35, no. 1: 1–21.

Tompkins, Jane (1985). *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (2010). "The Second Temple and the Arts of Resistance," in Patricia Walters, ed., *From Judaism to Christianity: Tradition and Transition. A Festschrift for Thomas H. Tobin, S. J., on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 115–29.

CHAPTER 10

APOCALYPSE AND EMPIRE

STEVEN J. FRIESEN

Commentators have long recognized that the book of Revelation is infused with anti-Roman sentiment, and for nearly two millennia specialists have developed a variety of ways of discussing the politics of Revelation. During the late twentieth century, however, "empire" became a crucial term in the interpretation of John's Apocalypse. This chapter surveys this shift, assesses recent developments, and suggests some challenges for future study.

Developments in the Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Centuries

The last four decades have seen several important trends in Revelation studies. This section summarizes that history of interpretation from the early 1970s to the present, focusing primarily on the ways in which empire functioned within recent interpretations. Four significant trends are evident during this period. One trend has to do with the date of Revelation, for nearly all commentators now place the writing (or final editing) of Revelation in the late first century. This means that most scholars now reconstruct the imperial context for the Apocalypse from information about the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE) rather than from the reign of Nero (54–68 CE). A second trend is that most commentators agree that Revelation was not written during a time of persecution. Third, there has been an expansion of the kinds of methods employed, with social-scientific and literary critics claiming to supplement—or even to supplant—traditional historical-critical methods. This range of methods has led to a certain fragmentation in Revelation studies, but amid this diversity of methods

a fourth trend is clear: the term "empire" appeared occasionally in the specialist literature during the 1980s but found traction among modern interpreters in the 1990s.

From the 1970s to 1990: Was Revelation a Response to Persecution?

John Gager (1975, esp. 19–57) published a study that initiated a transition in conclusions about the relationship between Roman imperialism and the book of Revelation.[1] Previous scholars of the early and mid-twentieth century had argued about whether Revelation was a reaction to Roman persecution and the experience of harassment, torture, and execution. Gager did not question the conclusion that persecution explained the origins of Revelation, but his argument pursued new lines of investigation by asking why Revelation would have been perceived by insiders as an effective response to persecution, and by answering that question through the use of social-scientific theories.

Gager's primary strategy was to categorize the early Christian movement as millenarian. Drawing first on work in the sociology of religion, he noted that such movements tend to attract members from the pool of people who experience "relative deprivation" (1975: 27); that is, members whose status places them outside or below established sectors of society. In the case of the early churches, this relative deprivation was exacerbated by persecution. Gager then supplemented his sociological analysis with psychological explanations, arguing that the gap between intensified deprivation and millennial promises of utopian bliss created "cognitive dissonance" (39–43) because the group's beliefs did not match their experienced reality. According to Gager, the early Christian movement dealt with this dissonance in several ways, including rationalization, reinterpretation, and evangelism (since the incorporation of new members tends to legitimate a group's beliefs).

Gager argued that the book of Revelation dealt with cognitive dissonance in a distinct fashion, for Revelation's structure and symbols created a partial experience in the present of the anticipated future bliss (49–57). According to Gager, John gave his text a structure of seven alternations between oppression/despair and victory/hope, which is resolved in an eighth assertion of hope—the new Jerusalem. This alternating structure, when employed in liturgy, became a "machine through which the believing community comes to experience the *future* as present" (55; author's emphasis). So even though the millennium did not come, the worshiping millenarian group could experience partial fulfillment in worship, assuaging cognitive dissonance.

Gager's specific proposal about Revelation as a kind of liturgical group therapy for cognitive dissonance has not been widely accepted in the secondary literature, but

his innovative approach set some of the terms for subsequent discussion. His analysis marked a turning point in Revelation studies by supplementing traditional textual methodologies with concepts and methods from the social sciences that addressed questions of social function. It was simultaneously a move away from theological explanation and toward religious studies analysis. In these ways, Gager's methodological shift mirrored larger trends in New Testament studies beginning in the 1970s.

Adela Yarbro Collins responded to Gager's analysis with the first major synthetic statement that moved away from the hypothesis that Roman persecution generated John's Apocalypse. She argued that there is no evidence for a wave of arrests or executions against the churches during Domitian's reign (81–96 CE), nor are there signs that the worship of that emperor became more exaggerated (Yarbro Collins 1984: 69–73). But if there was no crisis from persecution, then how does one explain John's vehement denunciations of Rome? Yarbro Collins's answer was that there was no major crisis initiated by Roman imperial authorities, but there was a multifaceted, diffuse crisis taking shape. The emerging crisis consisted of six factors: conflicts between churches and nonbelieving Jews; mutual antipathy between believers and nonbelieving Gentiles; general economic inequalities that resulted in social unrest in the eastern Mediterranean; questions about the legality and intentions of the churches; and experiences of trauma related especially to isolated incidents of hostility toward churches (1984: 84–104). Although most believers did not notice these factors, John perceived them and wrote the Apocalypse in order to heighten the awareness of the churches about the disjunction between their general social context and his understanding of faithfulness.

In this way, Yarbro Collins accepted Gager's characterization of Revelation's churches as millenarian but developed the argument about relative deprivation in a different direction. Yarbro Collins cast John—not Roman imperial society—as the agent generating a sense of deprivation and dissonance for the churches. This allowed Yarbro Collins also to hypothesize a different psychological mechanism at work. Whereas Gager described Revelation in therapeutic terms (i.e., future promises that produced partial realization of comfort in the present), Yarbro Collins argued that John's purpose was cathartic: John aroused powerful emotions, especially fear and resentment, in order to resolve them by channeling the emotions externally toward Roman authority and internally toward motivation for individuals to keep strict ethical standards (1984: 141–61). So Yarbro Collins accepted certain features of Gager's analysis, but framed her analysis in a way that did not require Roman persecution. This would mean that imperial abuse of power was not the catalyst for John's anti-Roman attitudes; rather, John was reacting to general social difficulties.

An important publication in the next year experimented with a different methodological approach. Instead of employing sociology of religion and psychology, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (1985) framed her analysis methodologically in terms of rhetorical criticism. She still accepted the theory that persecution and harassment were generative for John's Apocalypse, but argued against the growing criticism of

this position by noting that the interpreter's viewpoint affects the resulting analysis: modern scholars who adopt a perspective "from below" are sensitive to the plight of the victims of persecution, while scholars who adopt elite perspectives tend to reinforce the values of official Roman historiography that justifies exploitation and abuse (1985: 8–9). Revelation, according to Schüssler Fiorenza, was written with a viewpoint from below, and so our interpretations must take account of that rhetorical situation, a situation shaped by local harassment and persecution, by increasing demands to participate in imperial cults, and by the growing authoritarianism of Domitian's rule (1985: 192–95).

Schüssler Fiorenza's description of the rhetorical situation of John's Apocalypse included two features that became important in subsequent research. One feature is a move toward empire as an important analytical category. Schüssler Fiorenza stopped just short of describing the churches as an empire, and her predominant concept in this work was still "justice." But her emphasis on the political implications of John's rhetoric led to comparisons between the Roman Empire and the churches.

> As the kingdom for God, the Christian community is understood in political terms as the alternative community to the Roman empire. . . . As such they [those purchased for God by the Lamb] are the anti-kingdom to the Roman empire. (1985: 75, 76)[2]

These comparisons imply a comparative category "empire" that undergirds the analysis, a category that would later become overt in the secondary literature.

The comparisons between the churches and the Roman Empire led to a second feature of Schüssler Fiorenza's work that became significant in subsequent research—critique of Revelation itself. The comparisons between church and empire led to questions about the extent to which John's Revelation replicated imperial discourses, and resulted in two related criticisms. Specifically, Schüssler Fiorenza faulted John's Revelation for drawing the image of God in the image of the emperor, portraying the divine as a cosmic projection of Rome's imperial domination (described as "power over" rather than as justice for the oppressed and powerless; 1984: 9). The critique of Revelation's concept of divine power overlapped with the second accusation that Revelation also replicated imperial patterns of gendered patriarchal oppression. So even while defending the persecution theory during its fall from favor, Schüssler Fiorenza laid the foundation for later critiques of Revelation's interaction with imperial patterns of domination.

Leonard Thompson's 1990 monograph was the first study in which empire was important enough to appear in the title. His monograph, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire*, successfully dismantled the persecution theory but his reformulation of Revelation and empire has not taken hold in the secondary literature. Against the persecution theory Thompson mounted a sustained attack. He highlighted the rhetoric and ideological biases of the Roman sources that denigrated Domitian's reign in order to praise Trajan and his dynasty (1990: 95–115). Then came

a lengthy description of Christian and Jewish communities living mostly quiet lives in western Asia Minor (1990: 116–45), and a survey of urban institutions in that region (1990: 146–67). The end result was a narrative about urban life in the Roman Empire that most specialists would now describe as overly optimistic.

> From this analysis of economic and political life in the cities of Asia there is no indication of political unrest, widespread class conflict, or economic crisis in the cities of that province. The empire—especially under Domitian—was beneficial to rich and poor provincials; and there were checks against extensive abuse of the poor provincials by the richer ones. There is little evidence to suggest fundamental conflicts either within the economic structure of the province or between the province and Rome. (Thompson 1990: 166–67)

Thompson's work here shows the influence of the so-called new consensus, associated especially with Meeks (1983), which portrayed Roman imperial cities as prosperous and the Pauline assemblies (and by implication other churches) as fairly well integrated into those cities. His deconstruction of the portrait of systematic persecution of churches and believers under Domitian, however, was thorough and effective.

This extremely positive description of the participation of believers in Roman urban life left little room for previous explanations of John's denunciation of Roman power. It undercut Gager's millenarian explanation, Yarbro Collins's theory of an emerging crisis, and Schüssler Fiorenza's focus on justice for the oppressed. Thompson argued instead that Revelation was written to create a crisis—not to respond to one—and that the conflict stemmed completely from John's antagonism toward Roman authority (1990: 132). Thompson's formulation (i.e., the Apocalypse as a minority report among the churches designed to alienate believers from an empire in which they felt too much at home) ultimately undercut his own attempts to explain John's anti-Roman visions.[3] But Thompson's depiction of Revelation as a text that assimilates aspects of empire even as it competes for the hearts and minds of imperial subjects is a feature that characterized much subsequent research.

To sum up, then, Revelation studies in the 1970s and 1980s exhibited several traits common to other subspecialties in New Testament studies: expansion beyond traditional historical-critical and theological methods; a focus on the social context of the early churches and the social function of religion; and disagreements regarding whether the Roman Empire was a peaceful setting for flourishing urban centers or was an oppressive regime dedicated to the exploitation of its provinces. For the study of Revelation in particular, specialists eventually relinquished the idea that there was widespread persecution of the churches under Domitian. This required a different explanation for the hostility of John's Apocalypse toward its imperial setting, which coincided with the emergence of empire as a contested category in the study of John's Apocalypse in the 1990s.

From 1990 to 2010: Was Revelation Subversive?

During the 1970s and 1980s, Revelation studies were influenced heavily by a relatively small number of specialists. From 1990 to 2010 the number of specialists increased and the range of conclusions widened. In this period of more diverse interpretation, three general positions regarding Revelation and empire were most prominent: Revelation replicated empire; Revelation subverted empire; or Revelation's primary focus was on congregational life rather than on empire.

The first trend was the claim that Revelation was itself an imperialist text. In the late 1980s both Schüssler Fiorenza and Thompson had highlighted ways in which John's Apocalypse may have been more like the Roman Empire than unlike it. In the 1990s Tina Pippin took the issue of Revelation's patriarchal perspective further than Schüssler Fiorenza (who maintained that Revelation could still be a liberating force for justice in spite of its gendered symbols; Schüssler Fiorenza 1985: 199). Pippin countered that the Apocalypse did question the ideology of dominant power and in this sense it had decolonizing tendencies. Ultimately, however, she argued that Revelation recolonizes its audience by recycling the oppressive gender ideology of the Roman Empire (1992: 98, 104). "The Apocalypse falls short of complete subversion of the social order. The female is still absent, even though she is represented in both powerful and powerless modes of being and acting. The female is still other, still marginalized, and still banished to the edges of the text" (Pippin 1992: 72). Robert Royalty brought a related critique against Revelation regarding attitudes toward wealth, arguing that Revelation's imagery symbolically stripped Rome of its wealth and status and bestowed that wealth and status on God's court and on the New Jerusalem. "[O]pposition to the dominant culture in the Apocalypse is not an attempt to redeem that culture but rather an attempt to replace it with a Christianized version of the same thing. . . . The text creates a new culture of power that mimics the dominant ideology; only the names and labels are changed" (1998: 246).

A similar criticism—but with broader implications—was leveled against the Apocalypse by Christopher Frilingos. Frilingos argued that Revelation was a product of the Roman Empire and should not be analyzed in opposition to the empire. Revelation taught its audience a process of viewing the world in imperial terms, with enemies seen as monsters to be killed and as whores to be destroyed. This imperial viewing of "spectacle" was, according to Frilingos, an important mode of producing authoritative knowledge and thus a crucial means for building imperial selfhood in the Roman Empire. Spectacle heightened passions to their limits and challenged viewers to control their passions like "men," and so John's audience learned the manly art of imperial viewing (2004: 6–11). "Despite the assurance that 'the first things have passed away,' the 'new heaven and new earth' that the audience glimpses in the Apocalypse reconstitutes the viewing relations of the old world" (2004: 115).

In contrast to these conclusions that John simply replicated the old (Roman) empire with a new (divine) empire, a second group of studies maintained that Revelation did indeed subvert empire. A year after Pippin's feminist deconstruction of Revelation appeared, Richard Bauckham published a description of Revelation's theology that included a focus on Revelation's ideas about empire. He argued that Revelation took the perspective of history's victims, that it critiqued the Pax Romana and Roman ideology of absolute power, and that it urged its audience to distance themselves from the Roman imperial system (1993: 35–39). While he did not address the question of gender in Revelation, Bauckham dismissed the charge that Revelation's deity was little more than a cosmic emperor with the claim that the accusation resulted from a misunderstanding of the idea of transcendence in the Apocalypse. "Real transcendence," according to Bauckham, means that the deity is beyond all creaturely existence, which also means it cannot be fully described in human language. Once real transcendence is taken into account, John's language about deity is not a mere projection of earthly imperial power; rather, the worship of the emperor is a blasphemous substitute for true worship of the transcendent ground of all being (1993: 44–47).

My own intervention in this discussion was published in 2001. I made the case that an examination of the theme of imperial cults in western Asia Minor—both their socioreligious functions and Revelation's criticism of them—demonstrates that the Apocalypse was not simply anti-Roman but antiempire. Drawing heavily on the archaeological evidence for civic life, I concluded that the cosmology and eschatology of imperial cults were so diametrically opposed to the cosmology and eschatology of John's Revelation that it made the two worldviews incompatible. Moreover, John's robust critique of Rome included what we would call economy, politics, trade, religion, popular opinion, and ethics, making his opposition to imperial power systematic enough to be seen as opposed to any empire (2001: 122–31, 208–9).

Harry Maier's monograph published at about the same time came to similar conclusions by different methods. Rather than using social historical, and archaeological methods as I did, Maier drew on a range of literary, narrative, and critical theories. He recognized that Revelation imitated empire but argued that it did so as a form of parody and ironic inversion. The parody was a rehearsal of empire designed to expose, a satirical imitation, even a sarcastic mockery. As so often happens in the contact zones of empire, Revelation subjected earthly power to harsh ambiguities of double and triple coding. By laying out this critique of empire, John destabilized the world of his audience and sought to distance them from imperial practices and ideologies (2002: 164–97).[4]

Perhaps the most suggestive proposal for future research along these lines came from Schüssler Fiorenza (2007), who charted a course for research that could synthesize and move beyond certain limitations in Revelation studies. Schüssler Fiorenza argued that postcolonial interpretations have focused too exclusively on empire and power, while feminist interpretations have set back their own agendas by essentializing gender into a male/female binary. She proposed instead that these and other

interpretive issues should be pursued simultaneously under the primary rubric not of "patriarchy" or "empire," but rather "kyriarchy" ("domination by the emperor, lord, master, father, husband, elite propertied male" 2007: 14). Instead of framing debates in terms of single variables such as power or gender, kyriarchy allows for the analysis of multiple forms of oppression that reinforce each other, illuminating the imperial hierarchy of domination "structured by race, gender, sexuality, class, empire, age, and religion, which are the multiplicative effects of dehumanizing exploitation and othering subordination" (2007: 57). Applied to Revelation, such a method would foreground John's critique of the multiple forms of mutually sustaining imperial oppressions while also acknowledging that John's critique employed gendered imagery that tended to reinscribe certain aspects of empire on his audience (2007: 130–47, esp. 143–44).

Along with the studies that criticized the Apocalypse for replicating empire and those that portrayed the Apocalypse as subverting empire, there was also a third trend in the specialist literature. These studies focused on how Revelation intervened in congregational life and placed the problem of empire in a secondary position. One of these studies was David Barr's narrative commentary on Revelation (Barr 1998), which highlighted John's activism for purity in the congregations. This innovative study approached the Apocalypse with narratological tools and argued that each of the three main sections of the text (Rev 1–3, 4–11, and 12–22) retells the story of Jesus in a different way. Considered together, the whole text invokes the ancient plot of the divine warrior who defeats a cosmic dragon and establishes his rule over the world, which results in universal worship of the warrior. As a narrative rendering of this plot, Revelation characterized empire as the beast through whom the dragon (Satan) accomplished its blasphemous work in the world. The story ends with the destruction of the beast and the dragon, and the renewed intimacy of God with humanity in the New Jerusalem. Finally, with the story over, the text concludes with invitations to proper worship (Barr 1998: 101–9). In order to understand the social setting for this plot about proper worship Barr adopted Thompson's reconstruction of a prosperous economy in western Asia Minor where some or many believers were trying "to accommodate both their new faith and their cultural expectations" to the norms of mainstream society (Barr 1998: 170). In this context, the goal of John's Apocalypse was to persuade believers to keep their distance: "Now the implied audience of this work is not the accommodationists; they are called vile names [by John], and the purpose of name-calling is to exclude. The implied audience is the people who might be tempted to follow them" (Barr 1998: 170). But the precise issue of contention, according Barr, was worship and purity. "It is this struggle to remain free of the taint of polytheism, I think, and not persecution that is addressed by the Apocalypse" (1998: 165).

The theme of intramural struggle over issues of accommodation to society was heightened by Paul Duff (2001). His study focused particularly on the oracles to the churches in Rev 2–3 and examined the kinds of conflicts implied there. He made three observations that suggested the conflicts were related to economic

inequalities within the churches: the churches that were commended were those that were described as economically and socially disadvantaged (Smyrna, Philadelphia); one crucial problem that John condemned in two churches (Pergamum, Thyatira) was the consumption of sacrificed meat, which would have been a problem mostly for wealthier believers; and one church (Laodicea) was severely criticized for its use of its wealth (2001: 36–60). Thus, Duff concluded that empire was not the crucial issue. He proposed this "reasonable scenario": "John's followers were day laborers, the unemployed (or unemployable), and the underemployed. 'Jezebel's' followers, like many first- and second-century urban Christians, were successful merchants and artisans, that is, people engaged in trade and commerce" (2001: 69). So John's critique, according to Duff, was aimed not directly at empire but rather at aspects of imperial life, specifically at the pagan religious foundation of imperial society that worked to the benefit of those with economic resources (2001: 114).

Thus, from the early 1970s to 2010 we see several shifts in the understandings of Western scholars about the relationship between empire and John's Apocalypse. During the first two decades of that period there was movement toward a consensus that John's anti-Roman visions were published in the late first century and were not the result of imperial persecution. After 1990, a range of alternative explanations emerged. These tended to support one of three conclusions: John's anti-Roman sentiments were superficial, for he simply replicated aspects of empire in his own text; John's anti-Roman rhetoric subverted imperial authority; or John's primary concern was the polytheism of imperial society and not empire itself.

Assessment

The preceding review of one aspect of Revelation studies over the last four decades allows us to contextualize historically the current interest in empire as an analytical category. The emergence of this term is an important consideration since empire is not a native category in Revelation, which describes its contemporary politics rather in terms related to kingship. The Greek word βασιλεία appears nine times in Revelation, and it can be used for what we would call an empire ("an aggregate of subject territories ruled over by a sovereign state," in the wording of the *Oxford English Dictionary*). However, βασιλεία has a wider range of meanings and so it is normally translated as "kingdom." Likewise, the Greek equivalent for "emperor" (αὐτοκράτωρ, for the Latin *imperator*) does not appear in Revelation. The closest equivalents describe God as παντοκράτωρ ("Almighty," appearing nine times) and βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν ("king of the nations" in 15:3), and describe the Lamb that was slain as βασιλεὺς βασιλέων ("king of kings") and κύριος κυρίων ("lord of lords"), which both appear only in 17:14 and

19:16. So the concept of empire is not completely foreign to Revelation and is in fact connected to central issues in the text. But neither is empire a precise rendering of the concerns of Revelation and so its appeal to modern scholarship requires explanation.

Empire began to surface in some studies of the 1970s and 1980s, but only came into its own after 1990, particularly in English-language publications. There were no doubt many reasons for this shift in Revelation studies, and the review of scholarship brought some of them to the fore. One factor—probably a contributing factor and not the most important—was the waning of the persecution theory. Historical investigation undermined the earlier explanation of the antagonism in John's text toward the Roman Empire and so new explanations were needed. Another contributing factor was the effort to move beyond traditional historical-critical methods that began in the 1970s and quickly gathered momentum. This methodological experimentation favored sociology and psychology in the early years but later focused more on a range of approaches, including feminist analysis, literary criticism, critical theories with a Marxian lineage, rhetorical criticism, and others.[5]

But how do we explain the ascendancy of "empire" in particular? The content of Revelation certainly played a role, for it is the most strident anti-imperial text in the surviving early Christian literature, and perhaps the most striking piece of extant resistance literature from the first-century Mediterranean world. At least as important, however, was the deployment of liberation theology and then also postcolonial theory in New Testament studies (Moore 2006: 3–23). The influence of liberation theology is visible especially in some of the more activist analyses of Revelation from the last forty years (Boesak 1987; Schüssler Fiorenza 1984; Richard 1995), and most of the specialist publications from the last twenty years cite postcolonial theorists like Edward Said (1993) and Homi Bhabha (1994).[6] The orientation of these methods and theories toward the situation and agency of victims in oppressive imperial settings provided the intellectual framework that informed a good deal of the academic debate about empire and Revelation after about 1990.

One clear benefit of these developments has been a more refined approach to the different ways in which inhabitants are affected by empire. Before the period under review in this chapter, scholarship operated with a fairly homogenous view of imperial society, assuming that most inhabitants experienced empire in the same way. In the 1980s, however, there was a growing awareness of discrepant experiences within populations. There are hints of this insight in the use of the sociological category "relative deprivation" by Gager (1975) and Yarbro Collins (1984). But the emergence of the idea that domination affects particular kinds of people in different ways probably owes more to the feminist framework and rhetorical critical method of Schüssler Fiorenza (1984), who raised the question of gendered inequities and then extended this to differentiated experiences of imperialism according to ethnic and legal standing under the rubric of perspective from below (1985: 8–9, 198–99). The extent of this shift is seen in the fact that by the beginning of the twenty-first century Revelation specialists assumed that they needed to recognize the role that gender, economic

resources, legal standing (esp. regarding slavery), and ethnicity play in empire, even as they disagreed about Revelation's perspective.

Another benefit of these developments was a better description of the means by which empires enforce order. Before the 1970s there was a fairly monodimensional view of imperial rule, with some scholars focusing on the violence (or threats of violence) that intimidate inhabitants, and other scholars assuming that inhabitants were satisfied because prosperity in the Roman Empire trickled down to everyone. Gradually, however, the distinction between force and discourse took hold in Revelation studies. The idea that empires are characterized by a discursive system that normalizes imperial rule without constant overt violence also seems to have its roots in feminist critiques of the ways that Roman society created definitions of male and female. With a growing awareness of the discursive character of gender (Schüssler Fiorenza 1984; Pippin 1992), it became easier for scholars to address the constructed character of imperial worship (Bauckham 1993), polytheism in general (Barr 1998), elite status (Howard-Brook and Gwyther 1999), and so on.

These two facets of Revelation studies—recognition of discrepant experiences of empire, and the difference between brute force and discourse—energized one of the major topics debated in this period: accommodation to empire. This is most obvious in discussions of the oracles to the seven churches in Rev 2–3, where it was no longer assumed that Nicolaitans (Rev 2:6, 15), those who follow the teachings of Balaam (2:14), and the prophet "Jezebel" (2:20) were simply heretics who opposed John. Rather, these references in the oracles were now seen as signs of disagreement about accommodation to empire in the late first-century congregations caused by different levels of economic resources and different levels of participation in dominant society among John's audience. These individuals would have found the discourses of empire more persuasive than John did, and they gravitated toward other leaders. So John's denunciations of these leaders and groups were portrayed as a contest for authority in the church subculture (rather than a battle against heresy) that was occasioned by differing reactions to empire in the churches.

Another way in which accommodation to empire became a major topic for discussion was in the assessments of whether John replicated aspects of imperial discourses. In fact, this was one of the most contentious areas of discussion, probably because these discussions were about a Christian canonical text. The claim that Revelation—a part of the Christian canon—condemns empire is religiously satisfying to some Christian readers of contemporary scholarship, and abhorrent to other Christian readers. Likewise, the opposing claim that the most anti-Roman text in the New Testament actually has abusive tendencies similar to those of empire appeals to some modern readers and horrifies others. My point here is that Revelation's status as canon has heightened the politics of scholarship because an argument about Revelation has implications for the social ethics of contemporary Christians and churches. Does the canon require Christian opposition to empire, or does it condone Christian complicity with empire? I suspect that this ethical alternative—fraught

with powerful social, political, and economic implications—has encouraged many scholars to present binary conclusions and has resulted in exaggerated reactions to those conclusions. Religious authority and political commitment were in play, both in the ancient text and in the modern interpretive communities.

This attention to the modern contexts of academic interpretation is related to an important hermeneutical development that Revelation studies shared with other areas of inquiry. During this period of approximately 1970–2010 there was a shift among academicians in their understanding of the role of the interpreter in the production of meaning. In the early twenty-first century most analysts no longer treat ancient texts as neutral containers for meaning, but rather see the creation of meaning as a complex interaction between text and reader/hearer. For Revelation studies this has led to greater attention to the ancient social settings of Revelation (rather than just attention to the ancient ideas in the text).

This enhanced use of ancient social settings in interpretation is related to new kinds of appeals to the ancient text for contemporary theology and advocacy. Revelation has traditionally been treated as one component of the authoritative Christian scripture that contains divine truths about humanity and the world. Church institutions and authorities have played crucial roles in the negotiation and approval of the kinds of theology and advocacy that could be based on scriptural texts like Revelation. In recent centuries in the West, historical analysis became another way of defending or challenging the advocacy of particular theological ideas or frameworks. Empire studies, however, often functions as a third way of constructing and critiquing advocacy. It is sometimes related to theological authority, for the category empire creates a cosmological framework (i.e., a grand structure for the organization of social life) within which interpreters can analyze Revelation and generate meaning from it. In contrast to theological cosmologies that include a divine ordering of the world, imperial cosmologies provide a common framework within which secular and theological analysts can agree on ground rules for argumentation. Thus the last few decades have produced an important array of studies—sometimes theological, sometimes not—that make claims about whether Revelation is useful or dangerous for contemporary readers. These studies have tended to practice advocacy particularly regarding gender, politics, violence, economy, and (more recently) degradation of the environment.

In relation to modern contexts of interpretation, it is important to note that most of the academic publications focused on Revelation and empire have been in English, that they have found most of their readership in the United States and Europe, and that they have, in one way or another, grappled with empire in an era of American dominance in world affairs. There is also another range of interpretations from twentieth-century American popular culture and theology about Revelation that claim John was predicting a final battle between good and evil, a battle in which the United States, the USSR Russia, and the Muslim world would play their parts. These popular interpretations are not the subject of this chapter,[7] but they remind us that widely divergent popular and academic theories about Revelation engage in discussions of the text's implications for contemporary international geopolitics.

This concern with contemporary international affairs leads to one final observation: the emergence of empire as an important category for Revelation studies (and for the Western academy in general) came precisely at a time when those modern geopolitical alignments were in flux, for the proliferation of empire studies in the 1990s came after the demise of the Soviet Union. This dissolution of the major political, military, and ideological opponent to American global strategies also brought to an end the last functioning economic alternative to global capitalism.[8] It is no wonder that many pundits in the 1990s announced the beginning of a unipolar world in which there was only one global superpower. Nor is it surprising that Western scholars in many fields concerned themselves at this time with the nature and consequences of empire, raising questions about the practices of nearly absolute international power.

Challenges

In view of these assessments of earlier work, I conclude by suggesting six challenges for future research on empire and the Apocalypse. First and foremost, there is an urgent need for robust, integrative frameworks for analysis. Revelation studies has fragmented over the last two decades. The major monographs in the field have tended to make strong arguments, each working from its own theoretical perspective to make a particular point. One consequence of this diversity of approaches is that the individual studies tend not to inform other monographs in a way that generates lively debate around central issues. Instead of an arena for dispute, Revelation studies more closely resembles an assortment of individual initiatives that produce important results but do not create long-term discussions focused around John's Apocalypse or around apocalyptic literature in general. One of the more potentially fruitful proposals for an integrative framework comes from Schüssler Fiorenza (2007) and her use of intersectionality. I think that intersectionality has not yet been sufficiently theorized, but it does offer one way that a range of concerns could be brought to bear in the analysis of Revelation. Narrative criticism as practiced by Barr (2012) also shows potential for integrating a range of important concerns, examining the narrative mechanics of a story like Revelation and connecting them to social and historical contexts.

A second challenge facing Revelation studies at this time is the need for more sophisticated historical analysis at the level of method and of data. There has been a tendency to abandon traditional historical-critical methods in favor of newer (often poststructuralist) academic approaches without recognizing the extent to which these also rely on historical argumentation. Deployed more overtly and with more reflexivity, renewed attention to historical methods would strengthen and perhaps

winnow some of the work being done on the Apocalypse. Moreover, Revelation specialists have not always distinguished themselves as historians at the level of data. By that I mean that monographs in Revelation studies have been known to repeat uncritically opinions about emperors (especially Nero and Domitian), generalizations about society (e.g., amounts of persecution or levels of wealth in the Roman Empire), assertions about religious phenomena (such as alleged developments in imperial cults, or assertions about polytheism), and uninformed statements about archaeological data (Ramsay and Hemer are particularly problematic examples here). As the study of the Apocalypse expands further beyond the particular concerns of theological education and church institutions, historical claims will need to use the full range of ancient evidence in ways that will stand up to the rigors of multidisciplinary scrutiny.

A third challenge is the need to develop more nuanced categories and understandings of the workings of empire. There is a danger that the current interest in empire will degenerate into a pitched battle between opposing positions in Revelation studies. A more profitable approach would be to draw on comparative studies in other disciplines that are working on taxonomies for empires across time and space (e.g., Morris and Scheidel 2009; Bang and Bayly 2011; Cline and Graham 2011) as a way of gaining more leverage on questions about the kind of empire Rome constructed and about how John assessed that system. Semantic studies of the conceptualization of empire (e.g. Richardson 2008) could also be useful since empire is not a native category for Revelation.

A fourth challenge facing the study of Revelation and empire is to renew interest in the issue of the "Jewishness" of Revelation. Marshall (2001) was the single substantial monograph to address this problem in the period under review, but its argument was unsuccessful due to important problems of execution. Marshall, however, raised a question that has not yet been answered persuasively; namely, the sense in which Revelation's critique of empire was related to its participation in the traditions of Israel. One reason the issue is both difficult and urgent is that the question requires us to admit that Revelation is not "Christian." The secondary literature under review in this chapter describes Revelation anachronistically as Christian almost without exception. Once the descriptor "Christian" is invoked it is difficult to address the question of Revelation's Jewishness without also importing the hostility built into the codependent categories Christian/Jewish. So in order to make significant headway on this issue, we need to stop describing John's Apocalypse and his communities as Christian, and then we need to redefine carefully what we mean by "Jewish" without recourse to the binary framework Christian/Jewish. Along with this reconceptualization, systematic comparison of Revelation with other Jewish Apocalypses like 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch could open up new avenues for understanding John's Jewish Revelation.

Fifth, Revelation studies needs more concerted attention to Revelation as narrative. Barr (1998) demonstrated the usefulness of working on Revelation using narrative critical categories, and more work needs to be undertaken along these lines.[9]

John's text certainly does not operate according to the standards of an ancient novel, or even according to the standards of most ancient apocalypses. But narrativity is a fundamental feature of the Apocalypse, and it is difficult to appreciate the complexity of the text without understanding it as a story (or perhaps as several stories).

Finally, a sixth challenge for researchers is to bring Revelation into religious studies conversations. Gager (1975) and a few other publications from this period engaged questions and categories of religious studies for the analysis of the Apocalypse, but most of the studies remained closer to biblical studies, literary studies, or theology. Revelation, however, is also one of the most influential religious texts in human history, and the analysis of the text as a religious phenomenon has remained underexplored.

To sum up, then, the deployment of empire as a category of analysis flourished especially in English-language publications during the 1990s, as American dominance in international affairs increased and capitalism became the only viable international economic system. The growing interest in the relationship between John's Revelation and empire at that historical juncture has been salutary in some ways and problematic in others. The interest in empire during this period was salutary in that it directed research toward a fundamental facet of the Apocalypse—the nature of ultimate authority in human society. This focus in Revelation studies was able to cross disciplines and to introduce new factors into the specialist discussions about the political implications of Revelation because empire was also a concern in other disciplines. The new interest in empire was also problematic for Revelation studies in that it exposed certain weaknesses in the field that need to be addressed. These challenges, I maintain, are best addressed with collaborative research using a range of methods, and with continued efforts to make use of the insights about empire generated in several disciplines.

Notes

1. His book dealt with Revelation in the opening chapters but had broader goals. It was an attempt to recast the study of Christian origins according to religious studies interests rather than theological ones.
2. The chapter in which these lines appear was first published as a journal article in 1974.
3. Thompson's hypothesis is too complex to lay out in this chapter. In short, he argued that John generated a linguistic vision of wholeness that was simultaneously sectarian and cosmopolitan. Revelation did not set out a new linguistic world (contra Yarbro Collins) nor an alternative symbolic universe (contra Schüssler Fiorenza). Rather, according to Thompson, John's text both subverted and reclaimed empire for his own unified vision of the world's divine destiny; Thompson (1990), esp. 33–34, 91, 185–97.
4. Sánchez (2008: 13–46) came to similar conclusions but had a more limited scope, focusing primarily on Revelation 12 and drawing particularly on Yarbro Collins (1976 and 1984). Blount (2009: 8–14) also argued that John promoted an aggressive nonparticipation in the demands of empire.

5. An example of this eclipse of historical-critical methods is the near disappearance of source criticism from Revelation studies. Aune (1997–98) provides the only notable and systematic application of this method on the whole text during this period.
6. The work of Scott (1990) has also been influential in some studies.
7. For important studies on this topic, see Boyer (1992); Keller (1996); Wojcik (1997); Rossing (2004); and Walliss and Newport (2009).
8. Frieden (2006). China's participation in the global capitalist economy was more deliberate, beginning earlier and proceeding more gradually.
9. Resseguie's narrative commentary (2009) contains some helpful observations, but it is not nearly so persuasive overall in its analysis.

Bibliography

Aune, David E. (1997–98). *Revelation*. 3 vols. Waco, TX: Word.

Bang, Peter Fibiger, and C. A. Bayly, eds. (2011). *Tributary Empires in Global History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Barr, David L. (1998). *Tales of the End: A Narrative Commentary on the Book of Revelation*. 1st ed. Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press.

—— (2012). *Tales of the End: A Narrative Commentary on the Book of Revelation*. 2nd ed. Salem, OR: Polebridge Press.

Bauckham, Richard (1993). *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bhabha, Homi (1994). *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Blount, Brian K. (2009). *Revelation: A Commentary*. Louisville: Westminster / John Knox.

Boesak, Allan A. (1987). *Comfort and Protest: Reflections on the Apocalypse of John of Patmos*. Philadelphia: Westminster.

Boyer, Paul (1992). *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.

Cline, Eric H., and Mark W. Graham (2011). *Ancient Empires: From Mesopotamia to the Rise of Islam*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Duff, Paul B. (2001). *Who Rides the Beast? Prophetic Rivalry and the Rhetoric of Crisis in the Churches of the Apocalypse*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Frieden, Jeffry A. (2006). *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Norton.

Friesen, Steven J. (2001). *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Frilingos, Christopher A. (2004). *Spectacles of Empire: Monsters, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gager, John G. (1975). *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Hemer, Colin J. (1986). *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting*. Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic.

Howard-Brook, Wes, and Anthony Gwyther (1999). *Unveiling Empire: Reading Revelation Then and Now*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.

Keller, Catherine (1996). *Apocalypse Now and Then: A Feminist Guide to the End of the World*. Boston: Beacon.

Maier, Harry O. (2001). *Apocalypse Recalled: The Book of Revelation after Christendom*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
Marshall, John W. (2001). *Parables of War: Reading John's Jewish Apocalypse*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
Meeks, Wayne (1983). *The First Urban Christians*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Moore, Stephen D. (2006). *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.
Morris, Ian, and Walter Scheidel, eds. (2009). *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires: State Power from Assyria to Byzantium*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Pippin, Tina (1992). *Death and Desire: The Rhetoric of Gender in the Apocalypse of John*. Louisville: Westminster / John Knox.
Ramsay, William Mitchell (1904). *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse*. New York: Hodder and Stoughton.
Resseguie, James L. (2009). *The Revelation of John: A Narrative Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.
Richard, Pablo (1995). *Apocalypse: A People's Commentary on the Book of Revelation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.
Richardson, John (2008). *The Language of Empire: Rome and the Idea of Empire from the Third Century BC to the Second Century AD*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Rossing, Barbara R. (2004). *The Rapture Exposed: The Message of Hope in the Book of Revelation*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
Royalty, Robert M., Jr. (1998). *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John.* Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.
Said, Edward (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf.
Sánchez, David A. (2008). *From Patmos to the Barrio: Subverting Imperial Myths*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth (1985). *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
—— (2007). *The Power of the Word: Scripture and the Rhetoric of Empire*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
Scott, James C. (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Thompson, Leonard L. (1990). *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Walliss, John, and Kenneth G. C. Newport, eds. (2009). *The End All Around Us: Apocalyptic Texts and Popular Culture*. Oakville, CT: Equinox.
Wojcik, Daniel (1997). *The End of the World as We Know It: Faith, Fatalism, and Apocalypse in America*. New York: New York University Press.
Yarbro Collins, Adela (1976). *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*. HDR 9. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
—— (1984). *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Philadelphia: Westminster.

CHAPTER 11

A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

DANIEL L. SMITH-CHRISTOPHER

"Monsters signify."

Donna Haraway

Postcolonial Analysis: A Brief Introduction

Recent work has suggested that questions and forms of analysis typically associated with "postcolonial" analysis can be quite fruitful approaches to the analysis of biblical texts and even ancient history more generally. Yet postcolonial analysis was not formed by the application of a particular, carefully articulated theory, but rather by a set of questions and perspectives that arose in the latter part of the twentieth century, largely among those interested in an analysis of contemporary literature (Gandhi 1998; Moore-Gilbert 1997; Young 2003). The lack of clear definition is rarely seen as a serious problem, however, as noted by Sugirtharajah—arguably one of the most versatile and accomplished scholars working on approaches to biblical studies from a "postcolonial" perspective:

> in its earlier incarnation, postcolonialism was never conceived as a grand theory, but as creative literature and as a resistance discourse emerging in the former colonies

> of the Western empires. Postcolonialism . . . as a critical practice followed later. There were two aspects: first, to analyze the diverse strategies by which the colonizers constructed images of the colonized; and second, to study how the colonized themselves made use of and went beyond many of those strategies in order to articulate their identity, self-worth, and empowerment. Postcolonialism has been taking a long historical look at both old and new forms of domination. Its insight lies in understanding how the past informs the present. (Sugirtharajah 2002: 11)

This approach has been taken up by historians of the ancient Near East and also biblical scholars as well. For example, in his review of Assyriology as a discipline, written as a preliminary to his own analysis of specific questions of Neo-Assyrian imperial practices, Holloway trenchantly points out the pernicious influences of the cognitive "models" often implied in nineteenth-century analysis of the Neo-Assyrian sources, especially by British scholars who were influential in the decades when the major cuneiform discoveries were coming to light. The "model" for reading ancient history, more often than not, was precisely British attitudes about the "sick man of Europe," the Ottomon Empire, and other foreign policy events of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Holloway 2001). A similar critique in relation to biblical analysis is also quite significant (cf. Moore 2006; Crowell 2009). For example, in his explicitly "postcolonial" reading of the Deuteronomistic history, Uriah Kim determines that Western ideas of nationalism—largely a construction of Western thought in the modern period—have had a decisive impact on the reading of biblical texts about Josiah's reform in the book of Deuteronomy. He is thus inspired by the suspicions of postcolonial analysis to reread Josiah's reforms as described in the Bible with a new set of questions informed, especially, by reflecting on Said's accusations of how the West constructed an image of the "Orient" (Kim 2005).

As one might expect, a term that includes "colonialism" therefore refers to the unequal political and economic relations that resulted from European control over, and exploitation of, conquered societies in the developing worlds—especially Africa, Asia, and the Middle East since the late fifteenth century. Similar power relations can be identified, of course, among indigenous peoples forced into subsidiary roles by arriving Europeans—for example, Aboriginal Australians, Maori New Zealanders, and Native Americans in both North and South America.

Many of these questions formed as a result of the profound influence of especially two social theorists—Frantz Fanon and Edward Said. Fanon (1925–1961), an Afro-Caribbean from Martinique, trained as a psychiatrist in France before deciding to do clinical work in French-occupied Algeria. While in Algeria, Fanon became deeply involved in the struggle against the French occupation, but also reflected profoundly on the social, economic, and especially psychological impacts of colonialism on colonized societies. My own rereading of the book of Daniel was deeply influenced by a reading of Fanon's thought (Smith-Christopher 1996), particularly *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), which has become a classic in postcolonial debates and discussions.

Edward Said (1935–2003) was an Palestinian-American of Christian background, whose seminal work, *Orientalism* (1978), analyzed the ways in which Western readings of Middle Eastern societies effectively created a foreign cultural "other" that involved half-truths, exaggerations, and dubious assumptions based on a desire to defend Western cultural values, especially in contrast to the contrived image of these Middle Eastern societies, collectively represented as "the Orient." The ways in which literature, historical analysis, and art all arguably fused toward the creation of this Western image of "the Orient" was effectively revealed in Said's analysis.

Both Fanon and Said, though informed by Marxist analysis, pushed beyond the normal parameters of Marxist economic analysis, and this expanded horizon gives postcolonial analysis its noted interests in a wide variety of social and cultural phenomena as possible subjects of analysis. Included in postcolonial analysis, therefore, are questions of the construction of cultural identity, particularly the concept of "hybridity" (a concern anticipated in the work of Albert Memmi, esp. 1957, but see also his retrospective analysis of 2006).

"Hybridity" refers to the inevitable fusing and creating of "hybrid" cultural identities among colonized peoples. This identity certainly draws from precolonial identity and tradition, but also from ideas or practices introduced by the colonizers. Of particular interest in postcolonial analysis is the impact of unequal power within societies of mixed backgrounds—the function of minorities, diaspora peoples, and transitory populations (refugees, nomads)—and how these peoples of differing status not only relate to the society they are participating in, but how they also shape themselves and others in that interaction from different positions of social power and privilege.

This element of cultural "mixing," and the invariable conflicts that this clash of tradition, power, religion, and social privilege engenders is one of the main interests of postcolonial analysis. The "post" in "postcolonial" has sometimes been criticized as suggesting that the colonization of cultures is over, but this is not the only reading of this term. Of more direct interest to those engaging in postcolonial analysis is that the term "post" suggests the *continuation of such cultural, political, and religious mixing* between cultures in positions of unequal political and economic power or privilege—even if the colonizing peoples/nations/empires themselves believe that the "colonization" has officially ended!

Postcolonial Analysis, Apocalyptic Literature, and Monsters

In this essay, then, I propose an experiment in the analysis of Jewish apocalyptic literature that is inspired by particular aspects of postcolonial analysis, and in so doing, hopefully shed light on a specific aspect of apocalyptic imagery that has received

somewhat limited attention in the literature, namely the appearance in a number (but certainly not all) apocalyptic visions of strange *mixed species* creatures, or what I will call in this essay "mixed monsters."

This topic is a direct result of the recent questions raised in postcolonial analysis, and especially the even more recent (and clearly related) area of "monster studies," that draws our attention to fictional creatures as potentially more important—and more indicative of social ideas and attitudes—than we previously assumed. While "Monster Studies" typically focus on fictional phenomena (although note the related work on "wonders," see Daston and Park 1998), the connection with postcolonial analysis is easily established. What a society considers "monstrous" or "foreign," and thus deeply threatening, is a striking example of what postcolonial theorists often referred to as "othering"—defining one's own positive cultural identity by setting up negative cultural identities against which to contrast one's own culture or tradition as "superior." This process was particularly emphasized by Said, namely how Western societies or cultures defined themselves by negative contrasts to "others," as the West did against the foil of "The Orient" (which led directly to current cultural hysterias about Islamic societies as threatening "the West"). Monster Studies directly relates to this kind of analysis by examining how definitions of the terrible, the horrible, and the monstrous also function as "others" against which a society defines the normal, the acceptable, and the proper.

I would like to acknowledge that I am following up on a few earlier suggestions that "Monster Theory" may well provide the basis for an interesting examination of the role of mixed-species creatures as an aspect of identifying the terrifying "other" by a particularly threatened group. Not surprisingly, Portier-Young anticipates the possibility of applying Monster Theory to the study of apocalypticism (Portier-Young 2011: 171, n. 109): "future investigation of early Jewish apocalypses through the lenses of horror and monster theory promises to illuminate the internal logic, grammar, and functions of apocalyptic symbolism," and she cites Pippin (1999) and Frilingos (2004) as two studies that also made initial moves in this direction in the context of studies of the Apocalypse of John in the New Testament. Although Monster Theory was not the direct concern of Pippin's important study, she nonetheless asks some important questions about images in Revelation:

> Who or what is a monster? The Apocalypse has us look up close. Horrific details are given. Monsters are freakish; monsters devour; monsters want to control our lives by tricking us with falsehood. Ancient readers were asked/forced to imagine political figures as beasts—colonialism as alien and as an alien invasion. (Pippin 1999: 88)

Frilingos starts to engage Monster Theory (Frilingos 2004: 123, n. 28) directly in his study of Revelation, but it was not a central aspect of his arguments—and Frilingos included virtually all strange beings—good or bad—in his examination of the "monstrous" in Revelation: " 'Monsters' covers a wide range of grotesque characters, from the evil dragon to the beasts to the prostitute Babylon" (Frilingos 2004: 6). This is similar

to the fascinating essay of Rebecca Raphael, who also combined elements of Monster Theory with issues of embodiment and even disability studies but also included mixed monsters in a wider analysis of imagery in Fourth Ezra (Raphael 2011). It is arguable, however, that all "strange" beings in apocalyptic literature are not "monstrous" in the same sense (as Raphael also suggests, see Raphael 2011: 294), but also that the mixed monsters are particularly and uniquely significant in this regard. It is the ambition of this study to build on these previous anticipations of the possibilities of applying Monster Theory in the context of postcolonial analysis. To begin, let us define more carefully our use of Monster Theory in the context of an explicitly postcolonial analysis.

Defining the Monstrous

In 1998, Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park published a provocative study of the social, religious, and ideological impact of natural "wonders" such as serious birth anomalies (human or animal) or other phenomena considered "unnatural" in European societies from the twelfth to the eighteenth Century. Daston and Park's work is often cited in later essays in Monster Theory (cf. Dixon and Ruddick 2011), and it isn't difficult to see why Daston and Park's study was considered a significant introduction. For example, they point out that anomalies were evaluated in quite different ways, depending on the cultural context:

> Wonders tended to cluster at the margins rather than at the center of the known world, and they constituted a distinct ontological category, the preternatural, suspended between the mundane and the miraculous. In contrast, the natural order moderns inherited from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is one of uniform, inviolable laws. . . . To register wonder was to register a breached boundary, a classification subverted. (Daston and Park 1998: 14)

The authors suggest, however, that there was a clear tendency to assign the marvelous, and the monstrous, to the margins of European society:

> As the fourteenth century English monk Ranulph Higden put it in his world history, "At the farthest reaches of the world often occur new marvels and wonders, as though Nature plays with greater freedom secretly at the edges of the world than she does openly and nearer us in the middle of it." (Daston and Park 1998: 25)

But when the anomalous or monstrous appeared *in the midst* of Christian European society, it was not seen as a marvelous aspect of the margins to be wondered about—but rather a serious threat:

> If marvelous races were a phenomenon of the margins, an embellishment and completion of the natural order, individual monsters erupted in the Christian center, brought on by its corruption and sin. They were suspensions of that order, signs of God's wrath and warnings of further punishment; the appropriate reaction was not pleased and appreciative wonder, but horror, anxiety and fear. (Daston and Park 1998: 51)

> The portentous interpretation of monsters as objects of horror did not slowly fade or disappear, but reasserted itself in waves according to local circumstances. Feeding on the anxieties and aspirations of the moment, it drew its power from conditions of acute instability: foreign invasion, religious conflict, and civil strife. (Daston and Park 1998: 187)

One of the most interesting aspects of Monster Theory, therefore, is the identification of what societies consider "monstrous" as elements of their fears about their own identity and context, as well as wider conflicts they may engage in (cf. Atanasocki's brilliant analysis of the influence of Dracula traditions on attitudes toward Balkan conflicts, 2007; or Backer's illustration of the Nazi "mixed monster" in the same volume, see Backer 2007). The monstrous can become associated with sin, attack, and/or instability (e.g., what was safely on the margins before, is now pounding on the gates of civilization!). But there are significant nuances in this study. In his essay in the volume on Monster Theory that he himself also edited, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen lays out seven theses about monster culture (Cohen 1996):

(1) The monster's body is a cultural body: "The monstrous body is pure culture. A construct and a projection, the monster exists only to be read: the *monstrum* is etymologically "that which reveals," "that which warns." Like a letter on the page, the monster signifies something other than itself (Cohen 1996: 4).
(2) The monster always escapes: "Monster theory must therefore concern itself with strings of cultural moments, connected by a logic that always threatens to shift; invigorated by change and escape" (Cohen 1996: 6).
(3) The monster is the harbinger of category crisis: "This refusal to participate in the classificatory 'order of things' is true of monsters generally; they are disturbing hybrids whose externally incoherent bodies resist attempts to include them in any systematic structuration" (Cohen 1996: 6).
(4) The monster dwells at the gates of difference: "The exaggeration of cultural difference into monstrous aberration is familiar enough. The most famous distortion occurs in the Bible, where the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan are envisioned as menacing giants" (Cohen 1996: 7).
(5) The monster polices the borders of the possible: "The monster prevents mobility (intellectual, geographic, or sexual), delimiting the social spaces through which private bodies may move. To step outside this official geography is to risk

attack by some monstrous border patrol or (worse) become monstrous oneself" (Cohen 1996: 12).

(6) Fear of the monster is really a kind of desire: "Through the body of the monster fantasies of aggression, domination, and inversion are allowed safe expression in a clearly deliminated and permanently liminal space. Escapist delight gives way to horror only when the monster threatens to overstep these boundaries, to destroy or deconstruct the thing walls of category and culture" (Cohen 1996: 17).

(7) The monster stands at the threshold of becoming: "monsters ask us how we perceive the world, and how we have misrepresented what we have attempted to place . . . they ask us why we have created them" (Cohen 1996: 20).

Virtually all of these interesting suggestions are provocative for a reading of "mixed monsters" in apocalyptic literature.

Mixed Monsters in Jewish Apocalypticism

Arguably the most familiar text of "mixed monsters" in apocalayptic literature is Daniel 7:

> **Daniel 7:2–10**[2] I, Daniel, saw in my vision by night the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea,[3] and four great beasts came up out of the sea, different from one another.[4] The first was like a lion and had eagles' wings. Then, as I watched, its wings were plucked off, and it was lifted up from the ground and made to stand on two feet like a human being; and a human mind was given to it.[5] Another beast appeared, a second one, that looked like a bear. It was raised up on one side, had three tusks in its mouth among its teeth and was told, "Arise, devour many bodies!" [6] After this, as I watched, another appeared, like a leopard. The beast had four wings of a bird on its back and four heads; and dominion was given to it. [7] After this I saw in the visions by night a fourth beast, terrifying and dreadful and exceedingly strong. It had great iron teeth and was devouring, breaking in pieces, and stamping what was left with its feet. It was different from all the beasts that preceded it, and it had ten horns.

However, it is important to also take note of another (and earlier) biblical text, namely the vision of Ezekiel (already a book considered "proto-apocalyptic"):

> Ezekiel 1:4–11 [4] As I looked, a stormy wind came out of the north: a great cloud with brightness around it and fire flashing forth continually, and in the middle of the fire, something

like gleaming amber.[5] In the middle of it was something like four living creatures. This was their appearance: they were of human form.[6] Each had four faces, and each of them had four wings.[7] Their legs were straight, and the soles of their feet were like the sole of a calf's foot; and they sparkled like burnished bronze.[8] Under their wings on their four sides they had human hands. And the four had their faces and their wings thus:[9] their wings touched one another; each of them moved straight ahead, without turning as they moved.[10] As for the appearance of their faces: the four had the face of a human being, the face of a lion on the right side, the face of an ox on the left side, and the face of an eagle;[11] such were their faces. Their wings were spread out above; each creature had two wings, each of which touched the wing of another, while two covered their bodies.

Compare these with the following five examples:

That same instant I stood up, and I saw a great angel before me. His hair was spread out like the lionesses. His teeth were outside his mouth like a bear. His hair was spread out like women's. His body was like the serpent's when he wished to swallow me. And when I saw him, I was afraid of him so that all of my parts of by body were loosened and I fell upon my face.

I was unable to stand, and I prayed before the Lord almighty, "You will save me from this distress. You are the one who saved Israel from the hand of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt. You saved Susanna from the hand of the elders of injustice. You saved the three holy men, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, from the furnace of burning fire. I beg you save me from this distress." (Apocalypse of Zephaniah 6:8–9, 100 BC–100 AD? tr. Wintermute, in Charlesworth 1983: 512)

On the second night I had a dream, and behold, there came up from the sea an eagle that had twelve feathered wings and three heads. And I looked, and behold, he spread his wings over all the earth, and all the winds of heaven blew upon him, and the clouds were gathered around him . . . .and I looked, and behold, the eagle flew with his wings to reign over the earth and over those who dwell in it. And I saw hole all things under heaven were subjected to him, and no spoke against him, not even one creature that was on the earth. (Fourth Book of Ezra [Fifth Vision] 11:1–6, late first century AD, tr. Metzger, in Charlesworth 1983: 548)

there were men living there whose faces were those of cattle, with the horns of deer, the feet of goats, and the loins of rams . . . I said to the angel, "Lord, who are these strangely shaped creatures?," and the angel said to me, "These are those who built the tower of the war against God. The Lord threw them out. . . ." . . . faces of dogs, horns of deer, feet of goats—those who planned the tower and forced people to work, even pregnant women. (3 Baruch, 2:1–7, 3:1–6, AD 100–300? tr. Gaylord, in Charlesworth 1983: 664–65)

And behind the tree was standing [something] like a dragon in form, but having hands and feet like a man's, on his back six wings on the right and six on the left. And he was holding the grapes of the tree and feeding them to the two I saw entwined with each other. (Apoc. Abraham 23:7, AD 100–200? tr. Rubinkiewicz, in Charlesworth 1983: 700) And he showed Abraham seven fiery heads of dragons and fourteen faces: (one of) most brightly burning fire and great ferocity, and a dark face, and a most gloomy viper's face, and a face of a most horrible precipice, and fiercer face than an asp's, and

> a face of a frightening lion, and a face of a horned serpent and of a cobra. And he showed him also the face of a fiery broad sword and sword-bearing face and a face of lightning flashing frighteningly and a noise of frightening thunder. And he showed him also another face, of a fierce, storm-tossed sea and a fierce, turbulent river and a frightening three-headed dragon and mixed cup of poisons; and in a word, he showed him great ferocity and bearable bitterness and ferocity, male and female servants, numbering about seven thousand, died. (Testament of Abraham 17:13–19, AD 100–200? tr. Sanders, in Charlesworth 1983: 893)

As we have noted in previous examples of analysis of "monsters" in apocalyptic literature, however, these examples of mixed monsters are often considered together with other amazing figures whose descriptions are quite notably different. These other kinds of strange beings are more often typified by comparisons with fire, precious stones, or metals. Again, Daniel 7 provides a paradigm example:

> [9] As I watched, thrones were set in place, and an Ancient One took his throne, his clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was fiery flames, and its wheels were burning fire. [10] A stream of fire issued and flowed out from his presence. A thousand thousands served him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood attending him. The court sat in judgment, and the books were opened.

Compare, for example:

> And I stood up and saw him who had taken my right hand and set me on my feet. The appearance of his body was like sapphire, and the aspect of his face was like chrysolite, and the hard of his head like snow. And a diaris was on his head, its look that of a rainbow, and the clothing of his garments was purpose, and a golden staff was in his right hand. (Apoc. of Abraham 11, AD 100–200? tr. Rubinkiewicz, in Charlesworth 1983: 694)

I would suggest, however, that these descriptions of large figures whose features compare with precious stones or metals are typically common to *positive* figures rather than clearly negative figures. In other words *positive figures are rarely mixed creatures.* This may not be an insignificant detail.

Words for Monsters

Does the lexicography of the monstrous in the Bible shed light on the significance of the mixed monsters? Does it matter how they are identified? The main term typically translated into English as "monsters" or "sea monster" has a very interesting history. It is now clear that the root "TNN" is etymologically related to the Ugaritic mythology of the great sea-creature who is an opponent to Baal, and seems to always

be presumed to be a serpent-like creature associated with the sea. The specific "sea monster" texts are helpfully examined by Collins (1993: 287) in his commentary on Daniel 7, and in Clifford's important article (Clifford 2000).

Exodus 7:9 uses the same term to refer to the snake from Aaron's staff (tannin) but at this point, the Greek renders *drakwn* (cf. 7:10, 12), as in "poison of serpents" Deut 32:33). The sea monster association remains in Job 7:12 and famously in Ps. 74:13 ("You divided the sea by your might; you broke the heads of the dragons in the waters") and Ps. 148:7 ("Praise the Lord from the earth, you sea monsters and all deeps") but the term is also still used of common snakes in Ps. 91:13.

In the prophets, the association with the sea monster remains in Isa. 27:1, where Leviathan is called "the dragon that is in the sea" and Isa 51:9, which is perhaps the clearest association with the Ugaritic Baal cycle of the war against Yam, and echoing the Babylonian version of Enuma Elish, although the Ugaritic parallel is normally considered the most direct (Parker, 1997; Collins 1993: 282–85).

The most interesting possible transformation of the motif, however, is found in Jeremiah 51:34, where the Babylonian exile itself is seen as "being swallowed" as if swallowed by a "sea monster." This is a passage that I have often speculated to be a possible inspiration for the Jonah tale (the fact that the creature being described in Jon. 1:17 is a "big fish" seems a minor difficulty).

Contemporary to Jeremiah, of course, is Ezekiel's use of similar "monster" language and imagery to represent another opponent of Israel—Egypt—in 29:3 called "great dragon". Finally, Ezekiel 32:2 also combines imagery of two different creatures, namely lions and "dragon in the seas," which seems to be a creature able to be in rivers as well as oceans, no doubt to suggest the Nile ("you thrash about in your streams, trouble the water with your feet, and foul your streams").

This terminology, even though often rendered "monster" in English, however, does not shed a great deal of light on the phenomena of *mixed* monsters. Consider, for example, the first example of mixing in the first vision of Ezekiel, in ch. 1, cited above. I would argue that this is a difficult example, because the context of the vision is judgment, so one wonders if the creatures are part of the horror and threat of coming judgment, or simply amazing heavenly creatures (similar to Isa. 6, for example). In any case, this is arguably our first important example of *threatening* "combination monsters" in the biblical tradition—but the term that is used is merely "living thing" in reference to four beings he observes (Gk uses merely "living animals"). The interesting point here, of course, is the use of *d^{e}mut*, which is used heavily in Ezekiel to suggest—it would appear—a kind of uncertainty in appearance (so Zimmerli, "deliberately left vague," Zimmerli 1979: 120), and thus an increase in the mystery of what is being described (and used quite often, thus: 1:13, 16, 22, 26, 28; 8:2; 10:1, 21, 22; and then *explicitly in regards to foreigners*: 23:15). Note also, there is no such ambiguity in Isa. 6:2, where "seraphs" are named in a direct and rather matter-of-fact way—quite unlike the terror and wonder in Ezekiel ch. 1.

The basic point here is that there is no discernable tendency to call *the mixed monsters* of the Bible "TNN," which would have clearly associated them with the Ugaritic

tradition of Yam, the classic "sea serpent." The term was clearly available—why wasn't it used? It is likely because the mixed monsters are not a direct reference to the Near Eastern mythology.

Notably, Daniel 7 uses the rather generalized term for "living animal/beast," which is rendered *to therion* in the LXX, the term used regularly for simple animals, for example, Gen 1:24, 25, and so, as well as implying "wild beasts" throughout chs. 2–7. None of the mixed monsters are described with any other term. Ezekiel ch. 1 uses the same Hebrew term, and the Greek translates "living creatures" (so the NRSV) in Ez. 1:5, 13, 15, 19, 20, 22 with the basic term: *zoon*, which seems to refer widely to any living thing. Wisdom 7:20 even features the two terms in parallel, so that it is difficult to try to emphasize a major difference:

> the natures of animals [*zoon*] and the tempers of wild animals [*therion*], the powers of spirits and the thoughts of human beings . . . (Wisdom 7:20)

Are *theria* more terrible creatures? Although 17:18 seems to contrast a mere animal to a more dangerous creature, like 7:20, the author of Wisdom places a modifier with the second term, suggesting that the term by itself would be more generic:

> . . . the unseen running of leaping animals [zoa], or the sound of the most savage roaring beasts [theria].

Furthermore, note the use of the terms for "strange and marvelous creations/creatures" in Sirach 43, particularly noting the reference to the far reaches of creation—the "margins":

> [23] By his plan he stilled the deep and planted islands in it.
> [24] Those who sail the sea tell of its dangers, and we marvel at what we hear.
> [25] In it are strange and marvelous creatures, all kinds of living things [*zoa*], and huge sea-monsters [*keta*].

It seems beyond doubt that Sirach 43:25 is a reflection of the Greek of Gen 1:21, where the same two terms are utilized. The "sea monster" (*keton*) is sometimes rendered "great fish" or even "whale," and it most often used in the Greek in reference to the creature that swallowed Jonah (Jon. 2:1, 2,11; Matt 12:40; cf. NRSV English translation "whale" in Prayer of Azariah, 1:57). But the term is not used of the mixed monsters.

Basically, it appears that the lexical emphasis is not on the unusual nature of the animals in question, therefore, *but that they are mixed*, which provides the importance of the creatures in Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7. How have commentaries on Daniel and Ezekiel, then, referred to the nature of the mixed creatures?

In his discussion of the imagery, Zimmerli (1979) is satisfied to speak of the significance of the number four, and thereafter the association of these creatures as cherubim, as explicitly noted in ch. 10 (an identification, however, that Zimmerli dates to

a later editing of Ezekiel, 120–21). However, Block (1997: 95–98) is surely on to firmer ground when he cites the foreign iconography of Assyria and Egypt, where massive creatures combine different aspects of different animals (Assyrian gate colossi that appear as bulls with wings and human heads). Similarly, in his discussion of the term used most commonly in Daniel for "creatures" Collins writes: "Winged *Mischwesen*, with human faces, are much more familiar, especially in Assyrian art, and these are sometimes referred to as winged lions." But Collins also notes the argument of Porter (1983) that the specific animals, being threats to sheep and goats, may draw from imagery of shepherding (Collins 1993: 296). The suggestion of Babylonian influences, of course, has a long history in the commentaries, and Collins further suggests:

> In summary, the vision of the sea and the beasts draw on diverse sources. The basic context is provided by the tradition of the turbulent sea and its monsters, ultimately of Canaanite origin but mediated through Israelite tradition . . . [e.g., Hosea 13, Ezekiel 34, the Animal Apocalypse]. It should not be forgotten that these descriptions occur in the context of a dream and are deliberately elusive, even as they are allusive. The result is a powerful portrayal of chaos unleashed, which could be adapted again in new historical circumstances, most conspicuously in Revelation. (Collins 1993: 296–97)

Older commentaries on Daniel seemed satisfied with relating the imagery to historic kingdoms (so Porteous 1965: 103: "the author of Daniel . . . may simply have chosen the bestial figures best suited to his purpose") or the Ugaritic imagery and creation mythology (a connection, states Lacocque, that has "received in the last decades a conclusive response. The Ugaritic literature, as a matter of fact, provides the missing source of the mythopoetic scenes so widespread in the apocalypses,"so Lacocque 1979: 129). More wide-ranging and specific ancient Near Eastern myths have been cited as well. Clifford suggests possible precedents in the Anzu myth:

> Relevant to later apocalyptic literature are several recurrent elements: the monster Anzu as a composite animal (lion-headed eagle, or perhaps bat-headed, as befits one born in a cave) . . . in Daniel and Revelation, evil can be symbolized by composite animals. (Clifford 2000: 10)

Clifford then suggests possible connections with the mixed-species phenomenon:

> Another relevant recurrent element of the genre of combat myth is the enemy as monster. Azag is a monster. Anzu's strange appearance was proverbial: his face, possibly that of a bat, inspired terror. Though Tiamat, personified Sea, is not described clearly in Enuma elish, scholars assume that the dragon depicted fighting a god on many seals is Tiamat: the seven-headed Hydra of some deals may have been later identified with Tiamat. The monsters are often interpreted as natural forces: for example, the

> storm-god's attack on the monster in the mountains reflects thundershowers sweeping into the mountain ranges. (Clifford 2000: 17)

But there have also been negative conclusions in relation to Near Eastern material. Walton concludes that

> None of the exemplars of the chaos conflict genre are capable of offering an explanation for all the elements in Daniel 7. . . . There is no reason to think that Daniel has simply tried to rework something like Enuma Elish or Anzu. He has rather used them, and probably several others, to enrich the apocalyptic imagery that becomes his own visionary masterpiece. (Walton 2001: 85, 87)

Similarly, Hartman and DiLella ultimately despaired of being precise, and observed that

> essentially the four monstrous beasts of Dan 7:3–7 are ad hoc creations of the author, who gives them the characteristics that make them "each different from the others." (Hartman and DiLella 1978: 209–12).

But is it possible that there is more going on here than simply alluding to foreign iconography or Ugaritic/Northern Semitic mythology and transposing this to the Hebrew god's abode? Clifford noticed an aspect of the Near Eastern creatures that anticipates our discussion of the wider significance of mixed creatures. In other words—it may not necessarily be that the biblical material is *directly influenced* by the Near Eastern creatures, but that both types of mixed creatures (biblical and Near Eastern) function partly to reflect similar societal concerns and worries:

> Though such a natural reference cannot be denied, there are as well historical and political dimensions to the monsters. *Azag and Anzu reside in the northeastern mountains, the homeland of the enemies of the Mesopotamian plain dwellers*. (Clifford 2000: 17; my emphasis)

This points in the direction of more recent analysis. Portier-Young notes that the imagery in Dan. 7 is a "succession of beastly, mutated, and finite kingdoms . . . the rapacity of monstrous images, signaled in part by a ravenous appetite for flesh (7:5, 7), contrasts sharply with the 'humane' rule that follows from the judgment of the heavily court," and later notes: "the seer of Daniel envisions the empires not simply as predators but monsters, composite creatures mutated beyond the natural order (7:3–8)" (Portier-Young 2011: 28; n. 96; 171). Although it is true that Assyrian iconography does combine features of different creatures—in the Jewish context the issue of "mixing" of creatures surely takes on even more significance.

One other common argument about the mixed creatures is that Daniel is citing Hosea 13:7–8, which uses the term "beast of the field" in parallel reference to

a "lion," among other creatures. Therefore, it is sometimes suggested (Hartman and DiLella 1978: 212; Collins 1993: 295) that Hosea 13:7–8 provides a possible source for the species of animals that are then combined in Daniel 7 for the mixed monsters:

> [7] So I will become like a lion to them, like a leopard I will lurk beside the way. [8] I will fall upon them like a bear robbed of her cubs, and will tear open the covering of their heart; there I will devour them like a lion, as a wild animal would mangle them. [9] I will destroy you, O Israel; who can help you? (Hosea 13:7–9)

Similarly, Kratz argues:

> Much energy has been devoted, although without much success, to finding analogies between ancient Near Eastern mythology and the strange list of beasts 7:4–8 and the "Son of Man" 7:13–14. Yet in devoting attention to the book itself, one discovers that the imagery actually derives from chapter 4, and that most of the formulations were borrowed from chapters 1–6. The list of beasts can be explained via the combination of Daniel 4 with Hos 13:7–8. (Kratz 2001: 95)

However, not only is the description in Hosea dealing with God's own righteous anger (certainly frightful, but is it "monstrous"?), it is also significant to note an apocalyptic text such as the following:

> Wolves and lambs will eat grass together in the mountains
> Leopards will feed together with kids
> Roving bears will spend the night with calves
> The flesh-eating lion will eat husks at the manger
> Like an ox, and mere infant children will lead them with ropes
> For he will make the beasts on earth harmless.
> Serpents and asps will sleep with babies
> And will not harm them, for the hand of God will be upon them.
> (Sibylline Oracles 3: 785–95, tr. Collins, in Charlesworth 1983: 379)

Then it would seem just as likely that one possible inspiration for the animals selected in Daniel 7 is not Hosea 13, but rather the classic peace passage of Isaiah 11. In other words—Daniel chooses these animals not only because it is an unnatural mixing—but further it would be a frightful mixing of *dangerous* animals, and thus the mixing represents *the opposite of peaceful coexistence of these same creatures*, as famously presented in Isaiah 11:6–9 (and cited in Sib. Or. 3 above):

> [6] The wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. [7] The cow and the bear shall graze, their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. [8] The nursing child shall play over the hole of the asp, and the weaned child

> shall put its hand on the adder's den. [9] They will not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain; for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the LORD as the waters cover the sea.

Concluding Suggestions

What, then, does Monster Theory contribute to this problem? And how is this related to postcolonial analysis? First, the monster is indicative, or in the language of many Monster Theory writers, monsters are "signifiers." This does not need to be belabored, because the interpretation of foreign empires is already clear within Daniel and many of the other apocalyptic texts, and has been thoroughly discussed by both Horsley (2010) and Portier-Young (2011), among others. But why is it significant to portray the monsters as *mixed*?

Cohen stated that monsters are a "harbinger of category crisis" (Cohen 1995: 6). Others have already alluded to the fact that mixed monsters present a unique horror *precisely because they are mixed*. Part of the threat is thus miscegenation. In the postexilic context, all forms of "mixing" were threatening—as typified by the mixed marriage crisis (Ezra 9, Nehemiah 13, Prov. 7:5, etc.), and symbolized in the very laws of Leviticus forbidding the mixing of foods, and categories of clean and unclean (Lev. 11–13). The threat of the mixed monster is therefore the same threat as cultural mixing. Daniel ch. 1 already declares Daniel's concern with mixing:

> But Daniel resolved that he would not defile himself with the royal rations of food and wine; so he asked the palace master to allow him not to defile himself. (Daniel 1:8)

Ezekiel, similarly, is horrified by the implications of mixing:

> [13] The LORD said, "Thus shall the people of Israel eat their bread, unclean, among the nations to which I will drive them." [14] Then I said, "Ah Lord GOD! I have never defiled myself; from my youth up until now I have never eaten what died of itself or was torn by animals, nor has carrion flesh come into my mouth." (Ezekiel 4:13–14; cf. the frequent use of the root [*amej*'] to indicate corruption of defilement, the same term used in Leviticus)

Finally, 1 Enoch is also concerned with a cosmic level miscegenation which brings on the flood:

> And they [the fallen angels] took wives unto themselves . . . and the women became pregnant and gave birth to great giants whose heights were three hundred cubits. (1 Enoch 7)

Furthermore, the mixed monsters come from the margins (typically the sea, but also the margins of heaven or mountains)—but do not remain there. As Cohen notes, they "escape" and rampage in the center rather than remain on the margin; they are "at the gates" (Cohen 1996: 7). Along these lines, it is notable that the often cited comparison with the Assyrian and Babylonian mixed creatures rarely emphasizes that these Mesopotamian creatures are themselves *at the gates of, or the surrounding walls (e.g., Chaldean Babylon) of, the Mesopotamian cities—especially the royal cities!* Thus, if Ezekiel or other exiles saw them, they would have clearly been representative of borders. As Cohen suggests, the mixed monsters therefore threaten precisely what Daniel chs. 1–6 staunchly resist with its emphasis on not worshipping, eating, or becoming Babylonian—the risk of "becoming monstrous oneself" (Cohen 1996: 12).

Next, consider that both postcolonial analysis, with its emphasis on hybridity, and Cohen's summary of the monstrous suggest the interplay of desire and fear: "Fear of the Monster is *really a kind of desire*" (Cohen 1996: 17; my emphasis). Here is one of the most provocative aspects of a postcolonial consideration of the mixed monsters. They are mixed—they represent the threat of hybrid identities of exiles (diasporas abroad) and overwhelmed Judeans in their own homelands under Hellenistic and Roman overlords. We know from a careful reading of Maccabean literature that the conflict was as much a civil war as it was a conflict with foreigners—it was thus a conflict with other Jews who were "mixing" (with Greek thought as well as Greek or Hellenistic Jewish women!). The mixed monster is thus a message of warning to Jews themselves—"this could be you!" Yet reality dictates that one lives in the world as it is—complete with the temptations of Greek thought, global economies, and diaspora opportunities. A reading of Memmi's early work (1957), for example, would highlight much more the hybridity and interplay involved in the conflicts within the Judean community under political, economic, and cultural pressure. In sum—the mixed monsters show us not only what frightened the apocalyptic writers, but what tempted the apocalyptic writers. Surely not far away from this issue is the temptation of "mixed marriages" and "mixed" identities.

Finally, is it wandering too far under the influence of postcolonial and Monster Theory to wonder if mixed creatures suggest phenomena literally *opposed to God's creation and authority?* Is this why they are monstrous? God created regularity and discrete creatures—and we have seen that peace is even represented on occasion as these same discrete creatures returning to an Eden-like *created coexistence. Mixing is thus thought to be "counter-creational"?* Perhaps it is a threat because it is a violation. This may further suggest why it is contrasted against other amazing creatures in the same literature, but creatures that are on "our side." However *"our" creatures are never mixed, they simply display features of value like precious stones, or power, like fire!*

Unlike much of the other imagery in apocalyptic literature—as bizarre and strange as it might be—the mixed monsters are particularly indicative of the inward as well as outward struggles of Jewish religionists who turned to the apocalyptic genre to process their social, political, and indeed personal and spiritual, even psychological

conflicts. "Hybrid identities" is clearly an ancient issue, too. The conflicts in apocalyptic literature reveal internal as well as external issues for the Jewish people. Attention to the wider possibilities of what is symbolized in apocalyptic texts, and *how it is symbolized*, is part of the promise of listening to the kinds of questions raised by a specifically postcolonial analysis of apocalyptic Jewish literature.

Bibliography

Atanasoski, Neda (2007). "Dracula as Ethnic Conflict: The Technologies of 'Humanitarian Intervention' in the Balkans during the 1999 NATO Bombing of Serbia and Kosovo," in Niall Scott, ed., *Monsters and the Monstrous: Myths and Metaphors of Enduring Evil*. New York: Rodopi, pp. 61–80.

Backer, Kristen Williams (2007). "Kultur-Terror: The Composite Monster in Nazi Visual Propaganda," in Niall Scott, ed., *Monsters and the Monstrous: Myths and Metaphors of Enduring Evil*. New York: Rodopi, pp. 81–101.

Block, Daniel (1997). *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24*. NICOT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Daston, Larraine, and Katharine Park (1998). *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750*. New York: Zone Books.

Charlesworth, James H., ed. (1983). *The Old Testament Pseudopigrapha*. Vol. 1. Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments. New York: Doubleday.

Clifford, Richard J. (2000). "The Roots of Apocalypticism in Near Eastern Myth," in Bernard McGinn, John Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, eds., *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*. Vol. 1. John Collins, ed., *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity.* New York: Continuum, pp. 3–38.

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome (1996). "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed., *Monster Theory: Reading Culture.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 3–25.

Collins, John J., ed. (2000). *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*. Vol. 1. *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* New York: Continuum.

——(1993). *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Crowell, Bradley (2009). "Postcolonial Studies and the Hebrew Bible." *Currents in Biblical Research 7*: 217–44.

Dixon, Deborah, and Susan Ruddick (2011). "Introduction: Monstrous Irruptions." *Cultural Geographies 18*(4): 431–33.

Fanon, Frantz (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Frilingos, Christopher A. (2004). *Spectacles of Empire: Monsters, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Gandhi, Leela (1998). *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hartman, Louis, and Alexander Di Lella (1978). *The Book of Daniel*. Anchor Bible. New York: Doubleday.

Holloway, Steven W. (2001). *Assur Is King! Assur Is King! Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East. Leiden: Brill.

Horsley, Richard A. (2010). *Revolt of the Scribes: Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Jimbo, Job Y. (2005). "On Myth and History in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Eschatology." *Vetus Testamentum* 55(3): 412–15

Kim, Uriah (2005). *Decolonizing Josiah: Toward a Postcolonial Reading of the Deuteronomistic History*. The Bible in the Modern World, 5. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Knoppers, Laura Lunger, and Joan B. Landes, eds. (2004). *Monstrous Bodies / Political Monstrositie*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kratz, Reinhard (2001). "The Visions of Daniel," in John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, eds., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 91–113.

Lacocque, Andre (1979). *The Book of Daniel*. Atlanta: John Knox Press.

—— (2001). "Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7," in John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, eds., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 114–31.

Memmi, Albert (1991). *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. New York: Beacon. Originally published as *Portrait du colonisé, précédé par Portrait du colonisateur*. Buchet: Corrêa, 1957.

—— (2006). *Decolonization and the Decolonized*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Originally published as *Portrait du décolonisé arabo-musulman et de quelques autres*. Paris: Gallimard, 2004.

Moore, Stephen (2006). *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*. The Bible in the Modern World, 12. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Moore-Gilbert, Bart (1997). *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*. New York: Verso.

Parker, Simon, ed. (1997). *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Pippin, Tina (1999). *Apocalyptic Bodies: The Biblical End of the World in Text and Image*. New York: Routledge.

Porteous, Norman (1965). *Daniel*. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

Portier-Young, Anathea (2011). *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Raphael, Rebecca (2011). "Monsters and the Crippled Cosmos: Construction of the Other in Fourth Ezra," in D. C. Harlow et al., eds., *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaiam*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 279–301.

Richards, Evelleen (1994). "A Political Anatomy of Monsters, Hopeful and Otherwise: Tetrageny, Transcendentalism and Evolutionary Theorizing." *Isis* 85(3): 377–411.

Said, Edward (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Sanchez, David A. (2008). *From Patmos to the Barrio: Subverting Imperial Myths* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Scott, James C. (1985). *The Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

—— (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scott, Niall (2007). *Monsters and the Monstrous: Myths and Metaphors of Enduring Evil*. New York: Rodopi.

Smith-Christopher, Daniel (1996). "The Book of Daniel and Additions to Daniel," in Keck et al., eds., *The New Interpreter's Bible*,vol. 7 Nashville: Abingdon, pp. 19–194.

Sugirtharajah, R. S. (2002). *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—— (2003). *Postcolonial Reconfigurations: An Alternative Way of Reading the Bible and Doing Theology*. St. Louis: Chalice.

Walton, John (2001). "The Anzu Myth as Relevant Background for Daniel 7?" in John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, eds., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 69–89.

Young, Robert J. C. (2003). *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zimmerli, Walter (1979). *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 1–24*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

—— (1983). *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25–48*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

PART III

LITERARY FEATURES OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

CHAPTER 12

THE RHETORIC OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

CAROL A. NEWSOM

Although apocalyptic literature has been intensively studied by academic biblical criticism for more than a century, relatively little attention has been given to its rhetorical formation and function. Perhaps not surprisingly, many of the rhetorical studies that have been undertaken have been focused on New Testament apocalyptic texts, specifically the book of Revelation (Yarbro Collins 1984; Carey 1999), Mark 13 (Yarbro Collins 1996a; Black 1991; Robbins 1999), and certain of the writings of Paul (Hall 1996; Hester 2000a, 2000b), since in these cases the persuasive function of the text is highly prominent. Moreover, rhetorical analysis has been a well-developed method in New Testament studies for some time. Much less attention has been given to the rhetoric of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Newsom 2004, 2010 and literature cited there) and Jewish apocalypses (Carey and Bloomquist 1999). An impetus to the use of rhetorical criticism in apocalyptic literature was provided by studies of modern millennial rhetoric by Barry Brummett (1991) and Stephen D. O'Leary (1994). While there has been some attempt to apply O'Leary's categories to ancient apocalyptic (Redditt 2001), Brumett and O'Leary are less useful as models to be applied than as exemplars of how rhetoricians analyze analogous forms of apocalyptic discourse in a different cultural environment. Many of the issues that are relevant to a study of the rhetoric of apocalyptic literature have been investigated by scholars who do not necessarily frame them in self-consciously rhetorical terms (e.g., Nickelsburg 1991; Yarbro Collins 1996b). One of the issues that will require clarification is how a specifically "rhetorical" study of apocalyptic literature takes such studies and situates

them in ways that relate to the broader academic culture of rhetorical analysis, which tends to cut across the humanities and social sciences. With a field of study as young and unformed as the rhetorical criticism of apocalyptic literature, a number of basic issues require discussion.

What Is Rhetoric?

The default definition of rhetoric is "the art of persuasion," but that is too narrow, unless one has a very expansive notion of persuasion. George A. Kennedy argues for a much broader understanding, seeing rhetoric not simply as an art or skill but as "a form of mental and emotional energy" that is invested in acts of communication intended to influence a situation (Kennedy 1998: 3–4). While there can be varying degrees of rhetoric in different acts of communication, all have rhetorical dimensions that can be analyzed. Other scholars stress the constructive aspects of rhetoric that derive from the nature of humans as symbol-making creatures. Thus Lloyd Bitzer (1999: 219) expansively declares that "rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action." To borrow Nelson Goodman's title, rhetoric is a way of worldmaking. Thus rhetoric has epistemic dimensions, or, as Walter Jost and Michael Hyde (1997) have argued, a close relationship with hermeneutical activity in discerning and communicating meaning. Because it is linked to communication, rhetoric has an inherently social dimension also. One of Kenneth Burke's definitions of rhetoric is "the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols" (Burke 1969: 43). Cooperation is closely linked to the concept of "identification," whereby persons who are not the same are induced to identify with one another. But, of course, the correlate of identification is division. Thus rhetoric "considers the ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another" (Burke 1969: 22). The notion of social identification discloses another aspect of rhetoric—desire. Sappho (frg. 90) calls persuasion "Aphrodite's daughter." Similarly, Burke makes "courtship" one of his metaphors for rhetorical appeal and relates it to the concept of mystery, whereby desire is stimulated "at that point where different *kinds* of beings are in communication" (Burke 1969: 115). One should, of course, also think of aversion and "othering" as the negative correlate of this dimension of rhetoric.

The point of this discussion is to encourage a broader rather than a narrower definition of rhetoric as better suited to apocalyptic literature, which, though it contains elements that are explicitly persuasive in nature, oftentimes presents itself in ways

that do not overtly foreground persuasion. It does, however, construct a symbolic world that makes claims about the nature of reality, constructs highly desirable symbolic objects, invites readers to identify with its representative figures and values, and oftentimes envisions a social world in which identification and division are sharply figured.

Is Rhetorical Criticism a Method?

Not all rhetoricians consider rhetorical criticism to be a method. Raymie McKerrow prefers the terminology of critical practice (McKerrow 1999: 450–52). This is not to say that rhetorical criticism is undisciplined but rather that its critical and self-conscious way of asking questions of a text often cannot be reduced to a series of steps to be followed. As rhetorician Edwin Black puts it:

> Methods, then, admit of varying degrees of personality. And criticism, on the whole, is near the indeterminate, contingent, personal end of the methodological scale. In consequence of this placement, it is neither possible nor desirable for criticism to be fixed into a system, for critical techniques to be objectified, or critics to be interchangeable for purposes of replication, or for rhetorical criticism to serve as the handmaiden of quasi-scientific theory (Black 1978: x–xi).

Many of the studies in biblical rhetorical criticism would fit the descriptions of Black and McKerrow, though there have been attempts to construct more self-conscious rhetorical critical methods, from Phyllis Trible's stylistic rhetorical criticism (Trible 1994), to George Kennedy's classically based program (Kennedy 1984: 32–38), to Vernon Robbins' socio-rhetorical criticism (Robbins 1996). In contrast to Black, Robbins does claim for both his approach and that of Kennedy the status of "scientific" inquiry (Robbins 1996: 132).

While humanistic rhetorical criticism may debate the significance of method, this is not the case for those approaches that join rhetoric with social science. One of the most potentially useful of these hybrid approaches is known as symbolic convergence theory, which has been described as "an empirically based study of the shared imagination," and which is explicit about its indebtedness to rhetoric (Bormann 2006). Symbolic convergence theory studies what it calls "fantasy themes," that is, imaginative constructs that appear in verbal or written communications. As these constructs become shared (as they "chain out"), they begin to create a convergence of people's symbolic worlds, so that people come to share a common "rhetorical vision." These imaginative constructs can be triggered by "symbolic cues," that is, words, phrases, or images that index the rhetorical vision. While this approach was originally developed to understand group dynamics, it has been extended to study

historical texts and movements as well, including apocalyptic literature (Hester 2000a, 2000b).

A key method employed by symbolic convergence theory is content analysis, a technique used in the social scientific study of communications and particularly prominent in ethnographical research (see Krippendorff 2004 for an overview). Content analysis is primarily concerned with identifying and analyzing themes in discourse. Although developed without reference to rhetorical theory, it is essentially a form of rhetorical analysis focusing on what rhetoricians call *topoi* or *loci*. Closely connected with content analysis is frame analysis, which attends to the often implicit interpretive frameworks that organize perception and communication. Here, too, social scientists have reinvented the rhetorical wheel, and some would encourage a more self-conscious collaboration between rhetoric and social science. Content and frame analysis makes use of quantitative and/or qualitative methods, often computer assisted (e.g., Atlas.ti, MaxQDA, NVivo). While there might well be some place for quantitative analysis in the study of apocalyptic rhetoric, the sometimes fragmentary nature and complex history of translation of the documents present methodological problems. More productive would be qualitative methods, which are accessibly described by Ryan and Bernard (2003). Although biblical scholars may be reluctant to engage some of these approaches since some forms of content and frame analysis can be reductive, careful and appropriate use of the tools and techniques of qualitative research can bring welcome rigor to the study of the rhetoric of apocalyptic literature.

What Is Apocalyptic Literature?

The past half-century has seen a prolonged discussion about the referent of the term apocalyptic literature. In the 1960s and 1970s it was common for scholars to construct lists of topical features that characterized apocalyptic literature (e.g., Koch 1972), but this approach was often deemed to create a mishmash of genres and types of literature that had quite different characteristics. Paul Hanson's influential distinction between the genre apocalypse, apocalyptic eschatology as a cognitive construct, and apocalypticism as worldview or social movement has proven helpful in sorting out different but related phenomena (Hanson 1976). At about the same time as Hanson's work, a rigorous and quite successful attempt to define the genre of apocalypse was conducted by the Society of Biblical Literature Apocalypse group and published in *Semeia* 14 (1979), though it left the complex problem of the communicative and social function of apocalypses unresolved (Hartman 1983).

Also unresolved was the relationship between apocalypses and texts that shared rhetorical features and themes with apocalypses but which were not of that genre. Even more perplexing was what to make of the sporadic appearance of certain apocalyptic features in texts not characterized overall by an apocalyptic worldview. Greg Carey has helpfully suggested that one think in terms of apocalyptic discourse, "the constellation of apocalyptic topics as they function in larger early Jewish and Christian literary and social contexts . . . , a flexible set of resources that early Jews and Christians could employ for a variety of persuasive tasks" (Carey 1999: 10). By invoking the rhetorical category of topics, Carey brings the discussion back to the usefulness of the lists constructed by Koch and others. By characterizing them as discursive resources, however, he avoids the unhelpful debates as to whether a particular text *is* or *is not* an apocalyptic text and how much apocalyptic content is needed to qualify for such status. For the purposes of this chapter apocalypses are the privileged texts for analyzing the rhetoric of apocalyptic literature. But I take the category of apocalyptic literature to extend also to a wide variety of other genres that exhibit topoi, tropes, and figures that overlap with those in apocalypses.

Notes toward a Rhetorical Criticism of Apocalyptic Literature

Ideally, an article such as this would harvest a deep literature of established analysis based upon a consensual methodology. Those circumstances, however, do not yet exist. What follows is rather a set of suggestions and hypotheses about categories that might prove useful in doing the kind of rigorous rhetorical analysis suggested above.

Since rhetoric is a form of symbolic worldmaking, one can begin by asking what the privileged spaces of this world are, who inhabits it, and how the characters relate to one another and to the symbolic world (Nickelsburg 1991). Also, one must consider the representation and configuration of time. Moods and patterns of emotion are also part of the stock of rhetorical motives. Finally, one should think of the literature, in Thomas Farrell's terms, as a "rhetorical forum," which delimits who may speak and what may be spoken about, that is, what the key rhetorical topoi are (Farrell 1999: 88–95). From these various analyses it should also be possible to gather some sense of how the rhetoric of apocalyptic literature related to the competition for social capital in the world of ancient Judaism.

Apocalyptic Literature as Epiphanic Rhetoric

Before turning to these specific issues one might ask in general what kind of rhetoric characterizes the apocalypses. While one can find examples of explicit arguments (e.g., *1 Enoch* 2–5; Ezra's debates with the angel in *4 Ezra*), much of apocalyptic literature is not presented as argument. Description, vivid imagery, and testimony are far more prominent. To invoke Stanley Cavell, apocalyptic literature is less concerned with "giving evidence" than in "making evident" the nature of reality (Cavell 1969: 71; cf. Jost and Hyde 1997: 17–24). It is in a profound sense epideictic rhetoric, which etymologically means to "show forth." Or, to take a cue from the meaning of apocalypse itself, one might call it an epiphanic rhetoric. The importance of this strategy is indicated in a classic article on persuasion by Raphael Demos, who observes that "often the reason why so much discussion among individuals is futile is that what one person realizes vividly, the other does not. Evocation is the process by which vividness is conveyed; it is the presentation of a viewpoint in such a manner that it becomes real for the public" (Demos 1932: 229).

This insight into the persuasive function of vividness helps account for some of the most distinctive tropes of apocalypses and brings one back to the other issues listed above. Apocalypses are overwhelmingly presented as first-person testimonies of individuals, a feature they share with the genre of testaments. Moreover, although some of the content may be parenetic in nature, the testimony largely consists of a disclosure of what the seer has himself seen and experienced and been told (e.g., *1 Enoch* 14:2; Dan 10:7; *4 Ezra* 3:1). The seers, too, are not just anonymous persons but persons of high religious status whose testimony has particular authority.

Vividness is conveyed through a variety of strategies. The seer's extreme emotional state is often described (*1 Enoch* 14:13–14; Dan 7:28; 8:27; 10:8–10; *Apoc. Ab.* 10:1–2; *4 Ezra* 10:27–28; etc.), a technique that can elicit mirroring responses from the audience. This is especially the case given the intimacy constructed through the fiction that the seer is speaking directly to me, the reader, through his book. Apocalypses are also strikingly visual. The seer does not merely report *that* he saw a vision: he describes the images he saw (Dan 7; 8; *4 Ezra* 13; *2 Baruch* 36; 53), so that they are shared with the reader, who must mentally visualize them on the basis of the words. Similarly, in those apocalypses that feature a heavenly journey, the seer does not give an analytical summary but rather a sequential descriptive narrative, rich with detail, that creates a virtual experience for the reader (*1 Enoch* 17–19; 20–36; *2 Enoch* 3–22; *Apoc. Zephaniah; 3 Baruch*). In other genres of apocalyptic literature, too, vivid description may be employed, as in the description of the chariot throne and the angelic priests in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. While the evocations of transcendent reality are persuasive in and of themselves, the repetition of similar descriptions in a variety of

apocalypses and related literature contributes significantly to the socially persuasive nature of a shared apocalyptic rhetorical vision.

Apocalyptic Literature's Central Characters

While the apocalyptic seer is the primary person in apocalypses, he is fundamentally a mediator between the other two primary categories of characters: God and the angels on the one hand and the earthly recipients of his testimony on the other. Indeed, one of the core aspects of the rhetoric of apocalyptic is the identification of the audience with the seer, the audience and the seer with the angels, and the angels with God. Thus apocalyptic literature plays with the Burkean features of mystery, transcendence, and hierarchy to construct its appeal.

Concerning the relationship of the seer and his audience, occasionally the seer's audience is located within the fictive setting of the apocalypse, as Enoch discloses his revelations to Methuselah (*1 Enoch* 83:1) or Baruch speaks to the Jerusalemites and writes to the exiles and the nine and a half tribes (*2 Baruch* 77–87). The audience for the apocalypse as a whole, however, is either not specified or is identified as remote from the seer's own time. *First Enoch* opens with this characterization: "not for this generation do I expound, but concerning one that is distant I speak," and describes them as "the chosen" (*1 Enoch* 1:2–3; trans. Nickelsburg; cf. Dan 12:4, 10). This trope simultaneously constructs and obliterates a deep gulf of time separating the seer from his audience. Though they are distant in time, the book of testimony allows the seer and the reader to be virtually contemporaneous. Thus the reader is invited to a special and intimate relationship with the revered figure. Even where this relationship is not explicitly defined, the pseudonymous character of the seer serves much the same purpose. The seers all occupy a particularly meaningful moment in time: Enoch and Noah from before the judgment of the Flood, Abraham and Moses at the inauguration of covenants, Isaiah at the time of Manasseh's apostasy, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Ezra at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Exile. Thus the character of the seer also serves to index a paradigmatic time that is hermeneutically normative for the symbolic world of the apocalypse, so that the audience identifies its own time as like that of the seer's.

The relationship between the seer and the heavenly beings unites the features of mystery, hierarchy, and transcendence into a rhetoric of the sublime. This is manifested primarily in physical descriptions of God, the chariot throne, the heavenly court/temple, and the attendant angels. Strongly dependent upon Ezekiel 1, descriptions of God and God's immediate environs (e.g., Dan 7:7–9, *1 Enoch* 14; 71; *2 Enoch* 22; *Apoc. Ab.* 18; 4QShir Shab song 12) emphasize features that stress the wholly

otherness of deity: fire, blinding light, paradoxical combinations of hot and cold, the *unheimlich* creatures of the throne, and the very fact that the scene overwhelms the seer's capacity to describe it. Although the seer's reaction is often incapacitating fear, he is strengthened so as to be able to endure the divine presence. His vivid descriptions also make what is utterly transcendent virtually present to the reader. Yet the reality always evades the impressionistic description, so that the sight cannot be clearly grasped, and the wholly otherness of God is once again asserted. Thus the religious desire for the presence of God and the thrilling danger of that presence are central to the appeal made by apocalyptic literature.

One of the most striking features of apocalyptic literature is its highly developed angelology. Like the seer himself, the angels are mediating figures who provide the rhetorical space for the negotiation of the identity/difference of human and divine beings. Strikingly, descriptions of angels are constructed from the imagery of God's appearance, and angels can elicit the same reaction of fear (Dan 8:16–18; 10:4–19; *2 Enoch* 1; *Apoc. Ab.* 11). In certain texts angels are even called "gods" (*'elim, 'elohim*; 4QShirShabb; 11QMelchizedek), and the highest ranking angelic figures may take on features elsewhere associated with God (Melchizedek in 11QMelch; the "Son of Man" in Dan 7:13 and *1 Enoch* 48–49). Yet they are also associated with human beings, Melchizedek as the nephew of Noah (*2 Enoch* 70–71) and the Son of Man as Enoch himself (*1 Enoch* 71). Elsewhere this desire for identification with the angels is manifested in the angelic transformation of Enoch in *2 Enoch* 22 and in the celestial imagery used to describe the exalted righteous dead (Dan 12:1–3; *2 Bar.* 51:10). For the most part the identification of angels and humans is constructed by analogy. The heavenly army parallels the earthly army, the kingdom of Michael in heaven and of Israel on earth (1QM 17:7–8; cf. Dan 7:18, 27). In heavenly journeys, too, the seer often experiences the angelic worship of God, which is analogous to Israel's worship (e.g. *1 Enoch* 40; *2 Enoch* 17; 21; *T. Levi* 3). In the apocalyptic literature from Qumran, however, the relationship exceeds that of analogy, as the community believed itself to already enjoy communion with the angels (1QH 26; 1QM 7:6). In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice vivid descriptions, repetitious language, and nondiscursive syntax seem designed to create a numinous experience of actually being in the presence of the angels who serve in the heavenly temple.

The Figuring of Space in Apocalyptic Literature

The privileged places of the symbolic world of apocalyptic literature manifest a similar focus on the relationships between the heavenly and the earthly, separation and interpenetration. One of the major tropes of apocalyptic literature is boundary crossing. Negative boundary crossing is represented both by the watchers who come down

from heaven to earth to mate with human women, to disastrous effect (*1 Enoch* 6–16; 85–88), and by the arrogant king who makes war on the holy ones, hurls stars to the ground, and exalts himself above every god (Dan 7:21; 8:10; 11:36). More frequent, however, are the positive boundary crossings. Angels sent by God descend to earth for judgment (*1 Enoch* 9–10) but more frequently to reveal heavenly truths to the seer or otherwise help him (Dan 9; 10; *4 Ezra; Apoc. Ab.* 10). And the seer is often summoned into the heavenly realm (*1 Enoch* 12–36; *2 Enoch; Apoc. Ab.* 10; *Asc. Isa.*) so that he may see rather than simply be told about heavenly things. Although often represented as physically separate, the earthly and heavenly realms may also interpenetrate in the privileged psychic space of dreams and visions (Dan 7:8; *1 Enoch* 83–90*; 4 Ezra* 9:38–10:59; 11:1–12:39; 13:1–58). While many of the dreams are symbolic, in some instances heavenly figures appear within the visions and interact with the seer. Although it is somewhat less clear, the sacred space of the temple or the activity of worship itself may also be an occasion for the interpenetration of heaven and earth (4QShirShabb).

In many instances the spaces of apocalyptic literature are rhetorically constructed through the trope of the journey, which the seer narrates. These accounts can also be categorized as rhetoric of the sublime. As in the divine speeches in the book of Job, to which they may be indebted, the seer is shown ultimate things. Enoch's journeys take him to the limits of the earth and its cosmic supports, as well as places connected both with creation and with eschatological events (*1 Enoch* 17–19, 20–36; cf. *Test. Levi* 3; *3 Baruch*). Even more sublime are the journeys through multiple heavens, in which the mysterious processes of the heavenly bodies, meteorological phenomena, places of primordial and eschatological judgment and reward, and celestial worship are described (e.g., *2 Enoch*). Analogously, even though no actual journey is involved, the progressive description of the heavenly temple in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice from the outside portals to the presence of the chariot throne of God, creates a similar effect of penetrating into the overwhelmingly holy space of the heavenly temple.

Key Topoi of Apocalyptic Literature

In *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*, Stephen O'Leary asserted that the three primary topoi of apocalyptic literature are evil, time, and authority (O'Leary 1994: 16). O'Leary, however, was focused primarily on the history of Christian apocalyptic literature. For the Jewish apocalyptic literature under consideration here, it is more helpful to recognize as the two fundamental topoi (1) knowledge, hidden and revealed; and (2) patterns of order, which are the primary objects of that knowledge. Authority, time, and evil can be seen as aspects of these two.

Knowledge Hidden and Revealed

The claim to disclose hidden knowledge is the way in which apocalypses assert their authority. Though the means are varied (the seer's visions or heavenly journeys, teaching by angels, access to heavenly books), the knowledge the seer obtains is always represented as inaccessible to ordinary human understanding. The elusive and difficult nature of the knowledge is also figured through the seer's reactions to the revelations he receives. Frequently, the seer is baffled and disturbed by what he sees or hears and requires the assistance of someone even higher in the hierarchy of knowledge, usually an interpreting angel (Dan 7:15; *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:6; 6:16), though occasionally it is God who explains (e.g., *Apoc. Ab.* 19–32). Only Enoch is not represented as asking questions or as being baffled by what is revealed to him (*1 Enoch* 93:1–2), perhaps because of his unique status as one who "walked with the *'elohim*" (Gen 5:22). The use of symbolic visions requiring interpretation is a common device (e.g., Dan 7; 8; *2 Bar* 36–42; 53–76; *4 Ezra* 13), and the encoding/decoding of these visions models the trope of knowledge hidden and then revealed. Indeed, since the code is usually not too difficult to decipher, the reader often understands even before the angelic explanation. The text thus construes the reader as an insider, as someone empowered by knowledge. Apocalypses may sometimes pose genuine challenges to the reader's understanding, however, as in the complex coded history of Daniel 11 or the puzzling numbers of Dan 12:5–12. Prophetic texts, too, become oracular phenomena that must be decoded in order to unlock hidden meanings that pertain to the reader's present situation. This is explicit in texts like Daniel 9 or the Qumran *pesharim*, which use various interpretive techniques to disclose new meaning in older prophecies, but it is also implicit in the intertextual allusions that the discerning reader recognizes and interprets as meaningful. Thus the rhetoric of apocalyptic literature can also be characterized as a rhetoric of hermeneutics.

Knowledge of mysteries is one of the primary topoi of apocalypses that also appears in related literature of other genres. A rich vocabulary for such knowledge exists in the Qumran scrolls, though the two most common terms are *daᶜat* ("knowledge") and *raz* ("mystery"; see Thomas 2009). Sometimes the bearers of this knowledge are heavenly, as in the Sabbath songs where God is called "God of knowledge" and the angels referred to as "divine beings/angels/spirits of knowledge." Indeed, the wings of the cherubim are even called "wings of knowledge" (11QShirShabb 3–4 5). Knowledge is thus an indicator of closeness to God, and so it is a desirable object that gives the human who possesses it an intimacy with the heavenly world. The term *raz* has somewhat more specific overtones, as it often seems to refer to a phenomenon that is perplexing or paradoxical to ordinary understanding and that can only be grasped if one perceives what it is that makes the observable phenomena hang together. Thus the "mysteries of all of the words of his servants the prophets" (1QpHab 7:5) alludes to the hidden meanings made manifest only by the inspired exegesis of the Teacher of Righteousness. Similarly, the "mysteries of sin" (1QH 13:38)

has to do with aspects of the divine plan that account for the perplexing vitality of the unrighteous or the distressing sins of the righteous. Thus in the rhetoric of apocalyptic the superficial, phenomenal world is not the true reality. Reality lies hidden, and is only perceived by those who have special knowledge. In several of these texts the elusive phrase *raz nihyeh* occurs (1QS 11:3; 1Q27 1 i 3; 4Q416 2 i 5; etc.). Although the translation is debated, it is probably to be understood as "the mystery of existence," that is, the insight into what makes everything hang together—the cosmos, history, human nature, eschatological judgment, indeed, the whole plan of God for the world (cf. 1QS 3:15–16).

To appreciate the rhetorical use of the topos of mystery, however, one needs to recognize how it is used as a "tease." Although there are detailed descriptions of hidden things in apocalyptic literature (e.g., cosmological and earthly geography, as well as celestial mechanics in *1 Enoch* 17–36, 72–82; the plan of history in *I Enoch* 83–90, Daniel 11, *Apoc. Ab.* 19–32; the nature and function of the two spirits in 1QS 3–4), for the most part references to knowledge and mysteries are merely allusive. One thanks God for revealing mysteries (1QH^{a} 5:19; 9:23) but declines to say what they are. One refers to the "seven wondrous words" of the angelic high priests but does not cite them (4QShirShabb^{d} 1 i 1–29). One speaks of the "mysteries of God" (1QS 3:18) but without further specification, except to say that they are "wondrous" (1QH^{a} 5:19; 9:23). Similarly, although both 1/4QMysteries and 1/4QInstruction indicate that the author and those of his circle have access to the "mystery of existence," the texts only hint at the specific content of this mystery. The taste of mysterious knowledge that is given stimulates the desire for more, which is always the deferred promise of apocalyptic literature. Furthermore, the asserted possession of such hidden knowledge serves rhetorically to distinguish the world into two groups of people, those who have access and those who do not. The vision is sealed from the "magicians who teach transgression," so that they "did not perceive the everlasting mysteries or contemplate with understanding" (4QMyst^{b} 1a ii-b, 1–3). Similarly, the angel tells Daniel that "none of the wicked will understand, but the wise will understand" (Dan 12:10). Thus the claim to knowledge is also a claim to moral and religious status and is a primary instrument for developing the trope of dualism so prominent in apocalyptic literature.

The rhetoric of knowledge takes specific form also in the prominence given to books and to scribes. Heavenly books are particularly significant (see Baynes 2012). Books of life record those who will be granted a beatific afterlife (e.g., Dan 12:3; *Jub.* 30:22; *Apoc. Zeph.* 9:13), books of deeds record acts of righteousness and evil (e.g., Dan 7:10; *1 Enoch* 89:62–64; *2 Enoch* 19:5; *Jub*. 30.20), and books of fate contain the account of predestined events (e.g., Dan 10:21; *Jub.* 5:13–14; 4QAgesCreat A 1, 3–4). Several of the apocalyptic seers are scribes, including Enoch, Daniel, Ezra, and Baruch, and for each of them acts of reading and writing play a significant role. Moreover, the apocalyptic books themselves are often identified as having been written by the seers and then transmitted through the generations among a select group (e.g., *1 Enoch* 92:1; 108:1; *Jub.* 1:5; 10:12–14) or as sealed and made unavailable until the time when they

were to be opened (e.g., Dan 12:4; *2 Enoch* 35). In a culture in which few could read or write, books in general had a mysterious and numinous quality and so served as part of the authoritative appeal of apocalyptic literature (Niditch 1996).

While all genres of writing were composed by scribes, it is largely only in apocalyptic literature that the figure of the scribe and his privileged access to knowledge is foregrounded. The account of Ben Sira is the only notable exception (Sir. 38:24–34). This suggests that apocalyptic literature may have functioned socially to increase the social capital of a certain type of scribe. Indeed, the trope of hidden wisdom gleaned from primordial or heavenly sources and restricted to a scribal elite was a development of first millennium BCE Mesopotamian scribes, whose culture seems to have influenced Jewish scribes of the eastern diaspora during the Second Temple period (see van der Toorn 2002, 2007). Notably, both Enoch and Daniel have affinities with Mesopotamian settings and/or traditions.

Patterns of Order as Mysterious Knowledge

Although the content of the revealed knowledge found in apocalypses is varied, it is overwhelmingly concerned with the discernment of patterns of order (Yarbro Collins 1996b). This order may be cosmological, historical, or moral. Order is at the heart of the symbolic imagination of apocalyptic literature and shapes its rhetoric. The mind-numbing enumeration of the movements of the heavenly luminaries and the illumination of the moon in its phases in *1 Enoch* 71–82 is testimony to an imagination that finds satisfaction in patterns that are symmetrical and mathematically beautiful. More significantly, the patterns of time established by the sun and moon are part of the divine mysteries that the apocalyptic sages sought to understand. The complex calendrical texts from Qumran are an attempt to construe the orderliness of creation. In fact, one of the texts that lists the times of service for the priestly orders appears to describe the sequence as it would have occurred in the first year of creation, so that the order of the priesthood and the primordial order of time are connected (VanderKam 1998: 79). Closely related to calendrical concerns is the effort to discern patterns in longer units of time (Yarbro Collins 1996b: 55–138). Patterns drawn from the cycles of liturgical time, the sabbatical cycle and the jubilee cycle, were frequently used to give order to historical time. Thus Jubilees organizes the history of the world from creation until the entry of Israel into the land of Canaan in a series of forty-nine jubilee periods, with the entry occurring in the fiftieth jubilee. Each jubilee consists of seven "weeks" of years. The use of sabbatical and jubilee periods to structure historical time occurs in many apocalyptic texts, including Daniel 9, 11QMelchizedeq, 4QAges of Creation, 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah, 4QAramaic Levi Document, and the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 Enoch* 93:1–10; 91:11–17). Oftentimes combinations of seven and ten are used, inspired in part by Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years (Dan 9:24–27; cf. Jer 25:11–12; 29:10).

Other tropes are used for discerning order in history besides calendrical ones. Apocalyptic rhetoric famously privileges the times of the beginning and the end, which in Burke's terms "essentialize" all that goes between (Burke 1970: 226–32). Narrative emplotment and resolution is a way of framing and resolving opposition or contradiction. That is to say, narrative can function as rhetorical theodicy. Thus Enoch explains the origin of evil as the transgression of the watchers in primordial times. Although judgment was executed quickly, the consequences will affect all of history until the eschaton (*1 Enoch* 6–16; 83–90). In this presentation, all of history is one uncompleted act. Other apocalyptic accounts of history identify repeated patterns. *First Enoch* 83–90 also presents history in part as a cycle of the repeated endangerment of the righteous and their deliverance. *Second Baruch* 53–74 organizes history into a pattern of alternating bright and dark waters. Daniel 11, a detailed account of Hellenistic political history, structures those events into a pattern of alternating aggression and containment by the King of the North and the King of the South (Clifford 1975). Elsewhere, Daniel 2 and 7 structure history in terms of a four-kingdoms schema in which sovereignty passes from one empire to the next until all are destroyed. One of the features of these historical accounts is the narrative emplotment that culminates in a rising sense of crisis as history draws to a climax, and God intervenes to bring events to an end. This rhetorical pattern is what Yarbro Collins (1984) aptly described as "crisis and catharsis" (cf. Kermode 1968).

The order of history is also figured is through the device of the *vaticinia ex eventu*, prophecy after the event. History is not open but predetermined, though it must play itself out. Thus the apocalyptic seers Enoch, Daniel, Baruch, and others can be told about events in advance of their happening. Since the reader stands at the end of the sequence, not only does the "accuracy" of the prediction lend authority to the apocalyptic message, but the reader is induced to perceive a pattern within events that persuasively constructs the actual prediction. Although no historical account is given in the Two Spirits Treatise, it articulates apocalyptic literature's ideology of history similarly: "From the God of knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before they existed, he established their entire design, and when they come into being at their ordained time, they fulfill their works according to his glorious design, without change" (1QS 3:15–16; my trans.). To study history and discern its order is to be given access to the most profound mysteries.

The third major way in which apocalyptic literature's "blessed rage for order" expresses itself is in the representation of moral order. Here is where apocalyptic literature manifests one of its signature tropes: dualism. Most cultures use various forms of binary classification to structure reality. Binary thinking is a radical simplification of reality that rhetorically emphasizes clarity at the expense of nuance and ambiguity. Not all forms of binary classification are dualistic. Some binary pairs are complementary (e.g., yin and yang). Dualism, however, is a form of mirror image opposition. Each of the pair is strikingly similar yet utterly opposite. Although dualism structures a number of realms of experience, in apocalyptic literature dualism is

most commonly used as a pattern of moral order: the relationship of good and evil, righteous and wicked. Not all apocalyptic literature exhibits dualistic imagery to the same degree. The most developed dualistic patterns occur in texts like the Two Spirits Treatise, which uses it as a pattern to structure cosmic reality, angelic orders, human groups, and even the internal moral psychology of the righteous. Complementing this text, the Qumran War Scroll applies the dualistic frame to political realities both heavenly and earthly. These texts, along with the Visions of Amram, may well reflect the influence of Zoroastrian dualism and so constitute a distinctive use of the trope. But most other apocalypses and related literature not only make use of the dualism of the righteous and the wicked, inherited from the symbolic worlds of Israelite sapiential and psalmic literature, but also some form of transcendent dualism. Although traditions about demonic spirits and adversarial angels were part of Israelite culture before the development of apocalyptic literature, dualism organizes this material to develop etiologies of evil (e.g., the fallen watchers of *1 Enoch* 6–16 and the evil sprits that come from the slain giants) and to construct an angelic or demonic opponent for God, variously known as Mastema ("malice"), Belial ("worthlessness"), Satan ("adversary"), or "Melkiresha" ("king of evil"). Oftentimes the counterpart to these evil beings is symmetrically framed as the archangel Michael, who is probably to be identified also as Melkisedeq and the Angel of Truth. In addition to this transcendent dualism, there is also an asymmetrical dualism, in which the opponent of God and Michael is represented as a human king, as in Daniel 7–12, though one can already see the impetus to provide an angelic counterpart to the hostile king in the figure of the "Prince of Greece" (10:20).

The emplotments that naturally follow from dualistic imagery are either alternation (e.g., the dark and bright waters in *2 Baruch* 53–74) or struggle, which is far more prominent in apocalyptic literature. The two may be combined, as in the alternating victories for the forces of light and darkness in the stylized eschatological battles in the War Scroll (1QM 1, 15–19).

It is not possible to do justice to the various aspects of apocalyptic rhetoric in such a short essay. It has not been possible here, for example, to treat the social functions of apocalyptic rhetoric. In part, this is because apocalyptic literature served a variety of functions as it was employed in a wide range of rhetorical situations. Nevertheless, it is possible to set apocalyptic literature alongside other types of literature being produced in late Second Temple times and get some sense of what it was doing in its cultural environment. Like the sapiential tradition, it made claims about knowledge and righteousness. Like historiographical literature, it attempted to render history meaningful. Like liturgical literature, it constructed models of worship and means of encountering God. Yet through its claims of access to heavenly mysteries, to knowledge of the plan of history, and to the worship of the angels, it positioned itself as superior to these other attempts to understand reality. While individuals persuaded by the apocalyptic claims would not necessarily reject other forms of literature and their ways of knowing, the rhetorical vision of apocalyptic literature was astonishingly

successful in colonizing the minds of a significant part of Second Temple Judaism, at least until the debacle of the Bar Kochba revolt in the mid-second century CE. The impact on Christianity was profound, and indeed, the apocalyptic rhetorical vision remains a significant presence in many Christian cultures to the present day.

Bibliography

Baynes, Leslie (2012). *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses: 200 BCE–200 CE.* JSJS 152. Leiden: Brill.

Bitzer, Lloyd F. (1999). "The Rhetorical Situation," in J. L. Lucaites, C. M. Condit, and S. Caudill, eds., *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory.* New York: Guilford Press, pp. 217–25.

Black, C. Clifton (1991). "An Oration at Olivet: Some Rhetorical Dimensions of Mark 13," in D. F. Watson, ed., *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy*. JSNTSup 50. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 66–92.

Black, Edwin (1978). *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bormann, Ernest G. (2006). "Rhetorical Vision," in T. O. Sloan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric.* New York: Oxford University Press. E-reference edition. http://www.oxford-rhetoric.com/entry?entry=t223.3220. Accessed July 5, 2012.

Brummett, Barry (1991). *Contemporary Apocalyptic Rhetoric*. New York: Praeger.

Burke, Kenneth (1969). *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

——(1970). *The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Carey, Greg (1999). *Elusive Apocalypse: Reading Authority in the Revelation to John*. Studies in American Biblical Hermeneutics 15. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.

Carey, Greg, and L. Gregory Bloomquist, eds. (1999). *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse.* St. Louis: Chalice Press.

Cavell, Stanley (1969). *Must We Mean What We Say?* New York: Scribner.

Clifford, Richard J. (1975). "History and Myth in Daniel 10–12." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 220*: 23–26.

Demos, Raphael (1932). "On Persuasion." *Journal of Philosophy 29*: 225–32.

Farrell, Thomas (1999). "Practicing the Arts of Rhetoric: Tradition and Invention," in J. L. Lucaites, C. M. Condit, and S. Caudill, eds., *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory.* New York: Guilford Press, pp. 79–100.

Goodman, Nelson (1978). *Ways of Worldmaking*. Indianapolis: Hackett.

Hall, Robert G. (1996). "Arguing like an Apocalypse: Galatians and an Ancient *topos* outside the Greco-Roman Rhetorical Tradition." *New Testament Studies 42*: 434–53.

Hanson, Paul (1976). "Apocalypticism," in K. Crim, ed., *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, pp. 27–34.

Hartman, Lars (1983). "Survey of the Problems of Apocalyptic Genre," in D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 329–43.

Hester, James D. (2000a). "Creating the Future: Apocalyptic Rhetoric in 1 Thessalonians." *Religion & Theology 7*/2: 192–212.

—— (2000b). "A Fantasy Theme Analysis of 1 Thessalonians," in D. Stamps, ed., *Rhetorical Analyses of Scripture: Papers at the Florence Conference, 1998*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 504–25.

Jost, Walter, and Michael J. Hyde (1997). "Introduction: Rhetoric and Hermeneutics: Places along the Way," in W. Jost and M. Hyde, eds., *Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in Our Time: A Reader*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 1–42.

Kennedy, George A. (1984). *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

—— (1998). *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-Cultural Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kermode, Frank (1968). *The Sense of An Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Koch, Klaus (1972). *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*. SBT 2/22. Naperville, IL: Allenson, pp. 18–35.

Krippendorff, Klaus (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McKerrow, Raymie E. (1999). "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and *Praxis*," in J. M. Lucaites, C. M. Condit, and S. Caudill, eds, *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory*. New York: Guilford Press, pp. 441–63.

Newsom, Carol (2003). *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran.* STDJ 52. Leiden: Brill.

—— (2010). "Rhetorical Criticsm and the Reading of the Qumran Scrolls," in J. Collins and T. Lim, eds., *Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 683–708.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (1991). "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality," in J. H. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth, eds., *Mysteries and Revelation: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, pp. 51–64.

—— (2001). *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36; 81–108.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress.

Niditch, Susan (1996). *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

O'Leary, Stephen D. (1994). *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Redditt, Paul L. (2001). "The Rhetoric of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology." *Perspectives in Religious Studies 28*/4: 361–71.

Robbins, Vernon K. (1996). *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-rhetorical Interpretation*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International.

—— (1999). "Rhetorical Ritual: Apocalyptic Discourse in Mark 13," in G. Carey and L. G. Bloomquist, eds., *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse*. St. Louis: Chalice Press, pp. 95–122.

Ryan, Gery W., and H. Russell Bernard (2003). "Techniques to Identify Themes." *Field Methods 15*/1: 85–109.

Thomas, Samuel I. (2009). *The "Mysteries" of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Early Judaism and Its Literature 25. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Toorn, Karel van der (2002). "Revelation as a Scholarly Construct in Second Temple Judaism," in U. Huebner and E. A. Knauf, eds., *Kein Land für sich allein: Studien zum*

Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palaestina und Ebirnari für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburstag. OBO 186. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 265–77.

——(2007). "Why Wisdom Became a Secret: On Wisdom as a Written Genre," in R. J. Clifford, ed., *Wisdom Literature in Mesopotamia and Israel*. SBLSS 36. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 21–29.

Trible, Phyllis (1994). *Rhetorical Criticism: Context, Method, and the Book of Jonah*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress.

VanderKam, James C. (1998). *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*. New York: Routledge.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1984). *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

—— (1996a). "The Apocalyptic Rhetoric of Mark 13 in Historical Context." *Biblical Research 41*: 5–36.

——(1996b). *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*. Leiden: Brill.

CHAPTER 13

EARLY CHRISTIAN APOCALYPTIC RHETORIC

GREG CAREY

In a brief period, perhaps no wider than fifty years in the late first to early second century CE, four major Christian apocalypses emerged: Revelation, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and the *Ascension of Isaiah*. Three of these apocalypses, all but the *Ascension of Isaiah*, received recognition as sacred scripture in at least some early Christian communities. (That same period produced great Jewish apocalypses such as *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch, 3 Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.)

Despite their temporal proximity, the literary frameworks of these four Christian apocalypses scarcely resemble one another. Yes, they are all apocalypses: each narrates a visionary revelation that features guidance from a heavenly intermediary, a revelation that discloses a transcendent reality in terms of the age to come and/or otherworldly realms (Collins 1979; Collins 1998: 2–9). Nevertheless, within this generic framework these apocalypses demonstrate profound diversity.

- Revelation describes John's ascent into heaven, from which he observes eschatological drama unfold on earth, leading to the destruction of Babylon (meaning Rome) and the emergence of the New Jerusalem. Revelation challenges a group of churches to bear testimony to Christ by removing themselves from the trappings of imperial religion and exploitation.
- The *Shepherd of Hermas* consists of three sections: Hermas's dialogues and visions involving the woman church (*Visions*), his audition of a series of moral instructions (*Mandates*), and another series of visionary allegories (*Parables*). Among its many concerns *Hermas* speaks to church discipline, particularly in an age of persecution.

- The *Ascension of Isaiah* inserts two vision reports within the framework of a legend concerning the prophet Isaiah's death. Almost certainly this process involved the insertion of Christian apocalyptic material into a Jewish literary source, often called the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*. The *Ascension of Isaiah* includes Isaiah's tour of the seven heavens, and its concerns involve christology (the nature of the incarnation), an indictment against laxity among the churches and their leaders, and anti-Jewish polemic.
- The *Apocalypse of Peter* inserts its revelation into scenes from the Synoptic Gospels, particularly Matthew. During Jesus' apocalyptic discourse on the Mount of Olives (see Matthew 24), Jesus delivers a vision on the palm of his right hand. This vision corresponds to chapters 1–14 of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Chapters 15–17 are set within the context of the Transfiguration (see Matt 17:1–9a). These revelations emphasize the fate of the dead, particularly the wicked whose punishments famously correspond to the nature of their crimes.

These four apocalypses differ widely with respect to the concerns they address as well as to their literary forms. Their diversity provides only a narrow glimpse into the broader spectrum of early Christian apocalyptic discourse, which ranges far beyond the boundaries of these literary apocalypses. We find apocalyptic teachings scattered throughout the Gospels, epistolary literature, and the writings commonly assigned to the "Apostolic Fathers." If our brief survey of the apocalypses demonstrates the remarkable flexibility and adaptability of early Christian apocalyptic rhetoric, more thorough study deepens and refines that initial impression.

History endowed Christian apocalyptic discourse with the potential for diverse expressions and functions right from the beginning. We remind ourselves that the adjective "Christian" is anachronistic for the movement's first several decades and for almost all of the New Testament literature. We employ "Christian" merely as a shorthand for the groups, texts, and other phenomena that we have come to associate with the Christian movement. Before Jesus emerged on the scene, Jewish apocalyptic discourse had already developed and flourished in manifold ways. Even within the Dead Sea Scrolls we encounter highly speculative texts bordering on scientific speculation (e.g., copies of the Book of the Watchers), theological concepts that blend apocalyptic and wisdom motifs (e.g., the doctrine of the Two Spirits), and eschatological fantasizing (e.g., the War Scroll). It is probable that John the Baptizer understood his ministry in the context of apocalyptic eschatology, that Paul's resistance against and then conversion to the movement had something to do with his own affinity for apocalyptic eschatology, that the author of Revelation knew Jewish apocalypses before composing one of his own, and so on. In other words, "Christian" apocalyptic rhetoric did not emerge from a single, one-dimensional source; diverse forms and functions marked it from the beginning.

Apocalyptic Rhetoric

Aristotle long ago defined rhetoric as the capacity to perceive possible means of persuasion concerning any conceivable topic (*Rhetoric* 1.2.1). Throughout the ages people have continued to explore, experiment, and strategize concerning how best to move people and groups to see things their way, to behave as they desire, and to value the things they value. Whether or not cultures develop systematic approaches to rhetoric is beside the point; the work of persuasion is a cross-cultural phenomenon (Kennedy 1997). A rhetorical approach to apocalyptic literature, then, assumes that ancient texts were composed to *persuade* people and groups. The material conditions of writing in the ancient world—with expensive writing materials, time-consuming transcription, and labor-intensive delivery of texts to their audiences—suggests that few ancient writers composed simply for their own amusement. Instead, the extant corpus of early Christian writing and copying reflects that ancient people almost always wrote with a purpose.

As for apocalyptic literature, those purposes for which people wrote mark the defining interest of rhetorical interpretation. Rhetorical interpretation investigates the social contexts in which texts emerged, the conventions of persuasion appropriate to particular cultural moments and genres of discourse, the persuasive strategies at play in the texts themselves, and the measurable effects of those texts upon actual audiences. We seek to ascertain not only the ends or functions to which early Christians appropriated apocalyptic discourse but also the ways in which they sought to accomplish those ends.

In the past scholars tended to emphasize the development of ideas and literary forms reflected in ancient Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, along with the social contexts in which such literature emerged. The past twenty-five years have yielded greater interest in their rhetorical dimensions. Without invoking the language of rhetoric, Wayne A. Meeks called attention to the "social functions of apocalyptic language" in a 1979 paper (Meeks 1982). Another critical moment occurred when John J. Collins recommended that the definition of an apocalypse should include "a rather general statement of function" (1991: 14; cf. Collins 1979: 9). More focused attention to apocalyptic rhetoric began to emerge in the 1990s (Schüssler Fiorenza 1991; O'Leary 1994; Carey and Bloomquist 1999), as interpreters considered how apocalyptic discourse "works" to change opinion and move groups to action.

Beginning with Revelation, but continuing his analysis through the nineteenth-century Millerite movement in the United States and the late twentieth-century millennial speculation of Hal Lindsey and Pat Robertson, Stephen D. O'Leary maintained that millennial rhetoric always addresses the topics of *time, evil*, and *authority*. Having identified prevailing social ills (evil), millennial speakers argue that divine intervention is imminent (time). They claim unique or revealed

knowledge concerning these matters (authority) on the basis of either revelation or superior scriptural interpretation. O'Leary's account has not entirely satisfied biblical scholars: it addresses millennial, or future-oriented apocalyptic rhetoric, but it does not account for tours of otherworldly regions such as we find in many apocalyptic texts. Moreover, from a rhetorical perspective "topics" (*topoi* in Greek rhetorical theory) include not only the fundamental concerns of a given discourse—time, evil, and authority in O'Leary's proposal—but also the basic building blocks of argumentation, argumentative and stylistic commonplaces. Nevertheless, O'Leary has provided a template for ongoing research into apocalyptic rhetoric. Apocalyptic rhetoric involves *topics*, critical concerns and perduring literary motifs, along with unique appeals to *authority*. Rhetorical interpretation involves the assessment of how apocalyptic texts configure those topics and construct their own authority in order to address the circumstances of their audiences.

Ancient Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature developed a thick repertoire of available topics, both conceptual and stylistic. Interpreters have offered many lists over the years, but it is impossible to offer a systematic and exhaustive catalog. Conceptually, apocalyptic discourse often features an interest in alternative worlds, whether temporal (future) or spatial (heavenly or hellish); an era of cosmic distress or human chaos that precedes the ultimate moment of divine intervention; the activity of supernatural characters such as angels and demons; an outlook marked by dualism and determinism that divides the righteous from the wicked and marks each group for their distinctive fate; speculation concerning heavenly mysteries; and an interest in final judgment, resurrection, and the afterlife. Apocalyptic topoi also include a remarkable array of literary and rhetorical devices: reports of visions and/or auditions, the presence of heavenly intermediaries who guide visionaries; pseudonymity; the schematic division of history into discrete periods; *ex eventu* prophecy involving "predictions" that actually recount events after the fact; and intense and often bizarre symbolism. Rhetorical interpretation emphasizes the ways in which apocalyptic texts deployed these conceptual and literary commonplaces and the ends they were designed to serve.

Greco-Roman orators commonly classified rhetorical effectiveness under three main categories. *Ethos* involves a speaker's credibility, demonstrating oneself as a person of virtue, knowledge, and good will (Carey 1999: 46–61). *Pathos* accounts for the capacity to move an audience, particularly its emotions. And *logos* points to the appeal to reason. These categories, developed to account for speechmaking in public assemblies, may or may not have been on the minds of apocalyptic authors. We do not appeal to them as "background" for interpreting apocalypses and related literature. Instead, they offer a heuristic device for exploring the rhetorical dimension of early Christian literature.

Primary and Secondary Apocalyptic Discourse

We encounter early Christian apocalyptic discourse in diverse literary and social contexts. These contexts provide the foundation for the kinds of arguments we encounter among various texts.

One distinction involves what we might call primary and secondary forms of apocalyptic discourse. Primary apocalyptic discourse appeals to the speaker's direct reception of revelation. The phrase "appeals to" is essential. Many instances of primary apocalyptic discourse feature pseudonymity; that is, they purport to relate the first-person revelatory experiences of prominent persons from the past. Almost all of the great literary apocalypses reflect this pattern. Enoch, the seventh-generation human who "walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him" (Gen 5:24, NRSV), surely did not compose the literary apocalypses attributed to him, but they rely upon the figure of Enoch for their authority. Nor did Jesus' disciple Peter compose the Christian *Apocalypse of Peter*, in which Peter perceives the souls of all people in the palm of Jesus' right hand (3:1). Primary apocalyptic rhetoric involves the highest possible claim to authority by purporting to describe direct revelation from the heavenly realms.

Secondary apocalyptic discourse does not appeal to immediate revelations but instead relies upon the interpretation of primary apocalyptic texts or to "common knowledge" that has emerged from apocalyptic discourse's cultural repertoire. For example, consider 2 Peter 3:10–12:

> But the day of the Lord will come like a thief, and then the heavens will pass away with a loud noise, and the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth and everything that is done on it will be disclosed. Since all these things are to be dissolved in this way, what sort of persons ought you to be in leading lives of holiness and godliness, waiting for and hastening the coming of the day of God, because of which the heavens will be set ablaze and dissolved, and the elements will melt with fire? (NRSV)

For our purposes, we first observe how the day of the Lord will "come like a thief," an image that functions as part of the common repertoire of early Christian apocalyptic discourse. Paul appeals to it (1 Thess 5:2, 4), as does Revelation (3:3). The thief motif apparently derives from ancient Jesus tradition (Matt 24:43; Luke 12:39). We don't know where or how the "thief in the night" topic entered early Christian discourse, but it was well before the composition of 2 Peter. As an instance of secondary apocalyptic discourse 2 Peter 3:10–12 appropriates that topic into the flow of its own argument.

As for the function of this argument, 2 Peter raises the question, "What sort of persons ought you to be?" This question exemplifies a common function for apocalyptic discourse, exhortation. The fearsome nature of the "day of the Lord," along with its suddenness, calls for a peculiar combination of urgency and fidelity. "What sort of persons?" indeed.

Eschatological distress, often reflected in cosmic portents, marks a common topic in apocalyptic discourse, and 2 Peter 3:10–12 adapts this one as well. Adapting scriptural precedent, Matthew's Jesus warns of a cosmic tribulation in which the sun is darkened and the moon gives no light, while stars fall from heaven and the heavenly powers are shaken (24:29; see Isa 13:10; 34:4; Joel 2:10; 3:4; 4:15; Ezek 32:7). Perhaps 2 Peter shows some conceptual development by imagining the very "elements" (Greek *stoicheia*) melting in the fire, particularly if the elements represent the constitutive building blocks of the cosmos. In any case, the basic scenario is familiar. The core images—the thief and the cosmic portents—represent second-order, or derivative, conceptualization. The creativity resides in the appropriation and application of such images.

We should not confuse ourselves that distinctions such as the one between primary and secondary apocalyptic discourse have some clean line of demarcation. These are our categories, and they can be useful for analysis. But an ancient author like Paul apparently had no problem employing both approaches. On multiple occasions he turns to his own apocalyptic experiences (Gal 1:12, 15; 2:2; 2 Cor 12:1–10), but he also relates the teaching he has received (e.g., 1 Thess 5:2). Paul's accounts of his own revelatory experiences always support arguments for his own authority, whereas he uses secondary apocalyptic discourse for various functions, including comfort and exhortation. His example reflects the important distinction between primary and secondary apocalyptic argumentation. Primary apocalyptic discourse necessarily emphasizes its own authority, whereas secondary discourse adapts apocalyptic topics to various purposes.

The distinction between primary and secondary apocalyptic discourse proves especially productive when we consider how apocalyptic texts interpret their antecedents. One well-known example involves Revelation's several references to a period of about three and one-half years (11:2–3; 12:6, 14; 13:5). Here Revelation alludes to the "time, two times, and half a time" (NRSV) of Daniel 7:25 and 12:7. Daniel's chronology refers to the Antiochene Crisis and the Maccabean Revolt, which lasted about three and a half years (167–164 BCE). For its part Daniel interprets 25:11–12; 29:10–14: Daniel renders Jeremiah's seventy years as seventy *weeks* of years (Jer 25:11–12; 29:10–14; Dan 9:2, 24–27). But Revelation, addressing a different situation altogether, appropriates Daniel's language. In both Revelation and Daniel primary apocalyptic discourse, with its appeal to direct revelation, provides the rhetorical authority sufficient to justify the reinterpretation of sacred texts. In contrast, the epistle of Jude makes no claim to direct revelation when it quotes *1 Enoch* 1:9 (Jude 14–15), presumably invoking its warning against "ungodly persons who pervert the grace of God into licentiousness

and deny our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ" (Jude 4). As secondary apocalyptic discourse, Jude must rely upon the authority of *1 Enoch*.

Primary apocalyptic discourse usually, but not always, finds its expression in the literary apocalypses, while secondary apocalyptic discourse can make a home just about anywhere. The epistle of James, for example, never advances an argument concerning apocalyptic eschatology. Most of its arguments have to do with daily living. For example, James promises those "doers of the word" that "they will be blessed *in their doing*" (1:25). Yet James invokes apocalyptic topics on several occasions, referring to a promised "crown of life" (1:12), a fearsome judgment (2:12–13; 3:1; 4:12; 5:4, 9, 20), demonic beings (2:19; 4:7), and the coming of the Lord (5:8).

Elite or Popular?

The distinction between primary and secondary forms of apocalyptic discourse also suggests diverse social settings (Horsley 1998). The great literary apocalypses, all examples of primary apocalyptic discourse, strongly suggest scribal settings with learned authors. When Anathea E. Portier-Young describes the earliest Jewish apocalypses' "use of 'mythical images rich in symbolism' " that "exposes and counters imperial mythologies, sometimes through a strategy of critical inversion that enables readers to reimagine a world governed not by empires, but by God," we are clearly in the realm of elite literature (Portier-Young 2011: 44; see Horsley 2007).

We also encounter highly learned activity in Revelation and the *Ascension of Isaiah*. However, the vast majority of early Christian apocalyptic discourse does not appeal to esoteric scribal circles but rather directs itself toward a more common audience. (*The Ascension of Isaiah* presents a likely exception.) The author of Revelation is familiar with the conventions of the classical apocalypses. Revelation alludes to the popular mythologies and codes of Roman imperial propaganda, and it demonstrates a profoundly "scholarly" engagement with the Jewish Scriptures. For example, Revelation never directly quotes from the Tanak, but it alludes to scriptural images and phrases more often than does any other New Testament book. The ways in which Revelation uses scripture also merit attention. For example, Revelation engages Ezekiel primarily by alluding to five sections of that prophetic work—in Ezekiel's order (Moyise 2001: 117). When Revelation 1:12–20 draws upon Daniel, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, the direct allusions work from one book to the next, following each book in its own order. Revelation's author does not show a sophisticated grasp of literary Greek, though scholars debate whether Revelation's poor Greek reflects a deeper sophistication (Callahan 1995). Regardless of John's facility with Greek, the book indicates a highly skilled author with a measure of scribal credentials.

At the same time, we ought not associate Revelation's scribal identity with that of the great Jewish apocalypses such as *1 Enoch*, Daniel, and *4 Ezra*. *First Enoch* certainly attained great influence, but its various books name their audiences only in the vaguest of terms (1.1; 37.1–5; 87.1–4; 91.1–3; 92.1; 108.1). Daniel never mentions its audience directly, though it does envision a group of wise persons (*maskilim*) who may lead the faithful in the last days (esp. 11:33). And while *4 Ezra* concludes with instructions for widespread publication, it discriminates between information that should be "open" and information that should be available only to the wise (esp. 14:6, 26, 45–46). By contrast, Revelation's "scribal" nature does not imply an exclusive audience; Revelation addresses a specific audience of seven churches (1:4, 11; 22:16).

Nor should we confuse secondary apocalyptic literature as "popular" literature in some naive fashion. Historians debate whether literacy was simply rare or exceedingly rare in the ancient world (Harris 1989; Humphrey 1991), but the resources required for the composition of, say, a Pauline letter far transcend the ordinary ability to read popular literature or compose letters. Early Christianity lacked the social structures that would have produced scribal communities that specialized in the production and interpretation of literature. Instead, most early Christian apocalyptic discourse occurs in literature intended for communal reading. This is most obviously true of the New Testament epistles and we assume it to be the case for the Gospels, but even Revelation presents itself as a letter addressed to seven specific churches.

A fascination with the scribal concerns such as writing and books pervades early Christian apocalypses no less than antecedent and contemporary Jewish apocalypses (the most famous instance being *4 Ezra* 14). John records being told to "Write in a book what you see" (Rev 1:11; see 1:19), and he receives repeated instructions to write during the apocalypse. The *Ascension of Isaiah*, a radical Christian redaction of a Jewish text, includes little explicit reflection on writing. One Christian element, however, alludes to "written words" concerning the career of Jesus and of the church (1:5), while another alludes to a book that includes the deeds of mortals (9:22–23), presumably the "book of life," a tradition shared with *1 Enoch* (108.3), Daniel (12:1), and Revelation (3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27; see Luke 10:20). The *Apocalypse of Peter* likewise does not devote a great deal of attention to writing, but it concludes with a reference to the "book of life" (17), while the Apocalypse also meditates upon Synoptic traditions involving the fig tree and the transfiguration (Matt 24:32; Matt 17:1–9a).

The *Shepherd of Hermas* poses a particularly interesting case. Initially *Hermas* does not specify a specific audience, but later on it does indicate an impulse toward popular consumption (e.g., 17.11; 26.5–7; 46.2–3; 77.1; 111.3). Other early Christian apocalypses such as the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Ascension of Isaiah* reflect no such impulse, at least not directly; some interpreters even regard the *Ascension of Isaiah* as addressed to small circles of Christian prophets (3:27–28; see Pesce 1983; Hall 1990). But *Hermas* provides an overt nod to its audience:

> But make these words known to all your children and your wife, who is about to become your sister. . . . After you have made known to them the words that the Master has commanded me to reveal to you, then all the sins they formerly committed will be forgiven them, along with those of all the saints who have sinned to this day. . . . And so, say to those who lead the church that they are to make their paths straight in righteousness, that they may fully receive the promises with great glory. (6.3–6, trans. Ehrman 2003)

> And afterward I saw a vision in my house. The elderly woman came and asked if I had already given the book to the presbyters. I said that I had not. "You have done well," she said. "For I have some words to add. Then, when I complete all the words, they will be made known through you to all those who are chosen. And so, you will write two little books, sending one to Clement and one to Grapte. Clement will send his to the foreign cities, for that is his commission. But Grapte will admonish the widows and orphans. And you will read yours in this city, with the presbyters who lead the church. (8.2–3, trans. Ehrman 2003)

Thus *Hermas* begins by identifying no audience in particular, moves on address the seers' own children and wife (in that order), progresses to the elders of the church, and finally includes "foreign cities" and all the elect in Rome (8.2). We can only guess as to the connection between this multitiered literary address and the historical circumstances in which the apocalypse was produced.

By "popular" apocalyptic literature we cannot mean works produced by ordinary people. By definition, "ordinary people" lacked both the expertise and the resources to compose even a short epistle of the kind we find in early Christian literature. Popular apocalyptic literature involves highly expert authors who meant to address ordinary people, whether in specific settings or for general consumption.

Ethos: Apocalyptic Authority

Authority marks one of the distinctive strengths—and points of contention—for apocalyptic discourse. O'Leary observes that "we do not accept epochal announcements from simply anyone who claims to have discovered the cosmic significance of evil or to have calculated the remaining duration of the cosmos" (1994: 51; see Knight 2001: 487). A recent bestseller admirably demonstrates this principle. *Heaven Is for Real* amounts to a modern apocalypse: during surgery a pastor's four-year-old son undergoes a near death experience and visits heaven (Burpo 2010). The book's evident purpose is exhortation, to encourage believers' confidence in the afterlife. In heaven the little boy sees people and things he couldn't possibly have known about, including his miscarried sister. In that story we see a blend of apologetics and pro-life

politics. What better way to make the case for conventional afterlife hope, with a cultural edge, than through the visionary report of a four-year-old boy?

The authority of primary apocalyptic discourse resides just below the level of hearing directly from God. Apocalyptic visionaries purport to describe what they hear and see in the heavenly realms. Their fascination with writing and books, discussed above, reflects this mode of authority. Revelation, for example, claims to relate all that John has seen (1:2)—a practical impossibility. But, as with Paul (2 Cor 12:4), John "cannot" share everything he sees and hears. A voice instructs him to "seal up" what he hears from the seven thunders: "do not write it down" (Rev 10:4; see Ruiz 1994; Carey 1999: 123–25; deSilva 2009: 120–21). This literary device, reporting a vision without describing it, simultaneously builds a bridge to the audience while reserving superior knowledge to the visionary (though see Humphrey 2007: 45–48).

Revelation may represent the high-water mark of apocalyptic authority. The vision begins and ends by blessing those who "keep" it and cursing those who modify or depart from it (1:3; 22:18–19). The blessings and curses found in the letters to the seven churches (chs. 2–3) convey the same essential message.

Also instructive, however, is Paul. Paul frequently draws upon apocalyptic topics, particularly the *parousia* and resurrection. However, Paul's direct recourse to primary apocalyptic discourse occurs only when he is grappling to establish his own authority. Interpreters debate whether his accounts of his own revelatory experiences all relate to one single event; in my opinion, they probably do not (see 2 Cor 12:1–10; Gal 1:12, 16; 2:2). Nevertheless, they all occur in contexts marked by conflict. In both Galatians and 2 Corinthians Paul applies the language of "another gospel" to his opponents (2 Cor 11:4; Gal 1:6–7), followed by appeals to his own independent "apocalypses." Likewise, Paul insists that his famous consultation with James and Peter resulted neither from external pressure nor from a desire to align himself with the authority of "those who were supposed to be acknowledged leaders" (Gal 2:6); instead, he traveled *kata apokalypsin*, literally, "according to an apocalypse" (2:4). Paul's appeals to his own apocalypses occur specifically in his most intense moments of conflict.

Despite the extraordinarily high claims to authority inherent in apocalyptic discourse, authors often chose not to assert a direct top-down mode of authority. Even Paul's case for the superiority of his revelatory experiences concludes with a reflection on his own weakness (2 Cor 12:7–10). Hermas begins by acknowledging his own identity as a sinner (1.5–9; 3.1; 7.1) and his faulty memory, due in part to the astonishing contents of his revelation (3.3). When scolded, however, Hermas occasionally speaks up for himself (e.g., 57.1–2). He draws close to the audience by making it absolutely clear that he is not their superior (12.3); though he attempts to be pious, even those efforts are misguided (54.1–5). The *Apocalypse of Peter* draws upon the apostle's identity as a preeminent leader in the church's earliest days, but its audience surely was acquainted with Peter's failures as well. Like nearly every apocalyptic visionary Peter seeks assistance in understanding his vision (2)—and he receives correction,

even rebuke, on occasion (2, 16). Hermas and Peter alike further demonstrate their good will by demonstrating compassion for those who face judgment (*Hermas* 63.1–2; *Apoc. Pet.* 3).

Revelation offers an especially rich blend of authoritarian and accommodationist rhetoric. We have already noted John's extraordinarily high claims to authority, but John also goes to great lengths to identify with the churches. He addresses his audience as "partners" (1:9, my translation), kings, and priests (1:6). If John is a slave of Christ's, he is also a witness (*martys*)—just like his audience (e.g., 1:1, 2, 9; 12:11; 22:6). Like other apocalyptic visionaries, John describes falling at the feet of heavenly beings—and being corrected for it (1:17; 19:10; 22:8). And like other visionaries, he needs help in understanding his visions and weeps greatly when his hopes are frustrated (5:4–5; 7:13–17; 17:7–8). All these literary devices portray John's solidarity with his audience and his authentic humanity.

Early Christian authors were keenly aware that apocalyptic discourse packed powerful potential for establishing authority. Simply, apocalyptic visionaries claimed degrees of knowledge to which their audiences completely lacked access. But credibility extends beyond knowledge to good will, and apocalyptic authors also worked hard to invite their audiences to identify with their humanity, their piety, and their struggles.

Pathos: Moving the Audience

People commonly associate apocalyptic literature with the appeal to the emotions, primarily with the fear of judgment. Indeed, judgment plays a prominent role in early Christian apocalyptic discourse, often with an implied threat. But the appeal to the emotions is hardly limited to the combination of threat and fear. For example, the *Apocalypse of Peter* is notorious for its depictions of eternal punishments that fit individuals' crimes: blasphemers hang by their tongues, adulterous women hang by their hair, and adulterous men hang by their, um, thighs (7). This grisly tour commands far more space than the images of bliss reserved for the righteous. But this apocalypse offers more than scare tactics. Many modern readers will find it offensive, but the *Apocalypse of Peter* seeks to comfort its audience by depicting the torment of those who have persecuted and betrayed them (9).

Anxiety provides one common factor for apocalyptic discourse, particularly anxiety related to persecution. Jesus' Synoptic "little apocalypse" reminds his followers of this threat (Mark 13:9–13; cf. Matt 24:9–14; Luke 21:12–19). Persecution does not appear to be a new concern for the Gospel audiences; instead, it seems these warnings served a different function. A period of crisis and persecution prior to

God's decisive intervention marks a common topic in apocalyptic eschatology. These references to end-time persecution likely served to exhort or encourage the Gospel audiences to persevere in their fidelity despite the threat of persecution. After all, "the one who endures to the end will be saved" (Mark 13:13).

As with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the threat of persecution can foster a desire for vengeance. Revelation includes a similar dynamic, reflected especially in the hymns that celebrate God's judgment against the inhabitants of the earth (15:3–4; 16:5–7). These hymns invite the audience to participate in an emotional experience that may free them from their anxiety (see Yarbro Collins 1984: 156–57). Revelation gives voice to the anxiety of its audience, placing the audience's frustration in the mouths of the martyrs: "Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long will it be before you judge and avenge our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?" (6:10).

The rhetoric of identification and counteridentification also contributes to Revelation's emotional appeal (Carey 1999: 118–28; deSilva 2009: 175–228). In the letters to the churches the risen Jesus speaks directly to the churches (Carey 2008), encouraging emulation of the faithful among them and pronouncing shame upon those who fall short of his standards (deSilva 2009: 189–92). John dehumanizes his opponents by refusing to use their real names, and he depicts the competing prophet "Jezebel" as a victim of sexual violence (2:20–24). Similar dehumanization applies to the monstrous Beast and to Babylon, symbols that point to Roman hubris and exploitation. Babylon, like Jezebel, also suffers sexual violence. And while Revelation's more positive symbols can be frightening in their own right (1:12–20), even a Lamb with seven horns and eyes (5:6) would seem less menacing than the Beast. Likewise, a mother (ch. 12) and a bride (ch. 21) contrast favorably to a prostitute who drinks blood (17:6). Even the general population, the "inhabitants of the earth," are deprived of their humanity as they lack the basic capacity to repent in the midst of their torment (9:20–21; 16:9, 11). Revelation invites its audience to identify with the Lamb and the martyrs while recoiling from the Beast and the general populace.

If many people associate apocalyptic discourse with fearmongering, others accuse it of peddling empty hope. Again, a grim assessment of the present, tempered by hope for a radically better reality in the future or beyond the grave, provides one marker of apocalyptic eschatology. The anxiety concerning persecution pervades early Christian apocalyptic discourse; indeed, one encounters this concern at every documentary layer of the New Testament. Apocalyptic discourse gives voice to and interprets such anxiety. However, attention to the rhetoric of identification and counteridentification (Burke 1969) undermines the temptation to reduce apocalyptic discourse to scare tactics and vain promises. Identification and counteridentification have to do with values, with emulating those who practice one set of values and recoiling from those who pursue others.

Logos: Forms of Argumentation

Perhaps the most fascinating dimension of apocalyptic discourse lies in a practically inexhaustible set of persuasive resources. One might immediately associate apocalyptic argumentation with outright assertion. The Synoptic apocalypse amounts almost entirely of straightforward assertion, as do the blessings and curses that frame Revelation (1:3; 22:18–19). The *Shepherd of Hermas* veers only slightly from straightforward assertion, as it places many of its assertions in the mouths of the "Shepherd" who guides Hermas through a series of moral exhortations and interprets his visions. Such exposition, the interpretation of a vision by a heavenly intermediary, marks a defining characteristic of the early Jewish and Christian apocalypses. The Christian *Sibylline Oracles* are nothing if not encoded assertions, while straightforward assertions constitute nearly all of the Christian visionary sections of the *Ascension of Isaiah*. Though early Christian apocalyptic rhetoric does rely upon direct assertion and interpretive exposition, it deploys many other argumentative resources as well.

Readers routinely note the presence of striking images and symbols in apocalyptic discourse. In some cases these symbols invite a process of decoding. For example, Revelation 12:9 directly identifies the Dragon as Satan, while 13:18 challenges wise readers to calculate the number of the Beast. However, apocalyptic symbols reflect varying degrees of literary sophistication (see Robbins 2008). We find one relatively straightforward example when a great beast confronts Hermas on a road. Having just heard a voice saying, "Do not be of two minds, Hermas," Hermas courageously confronts the monster, then walks around it while the monster meekly stretches out on the ground and sticks out its tongue. A young woman informs Hermas that he has escaped persecution on account of his faith (22–23).

A somewhat more sophisticated example occurs in Revelation 5:1–8, where symbolic rhetoric blends with juxtaposition, another common feature in apocalyptic argumentation. Revelation famously contrasts the Lamb with the Beast. The two figures share several resemblances: both receive worship, survive mortal wounds, and conquer their opponents. But Revelation 5:1–8 juxtaposes one messiah-image over against another. Awaiting the revelation of one "worthy to open the scroll" that reveals the world's destiny, John hears, "The Lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered," so that he can open the scroll (5:5). But no lion appears. Instead, John sees a Lamb, "standing as if it had been slaughtered" (5:6) who takes the scroll and eventually opens it. To vulnerable huddles of Jesus followers, Revelation offers not a Lion that might devour their enemies but a Lamb that conquers by means of its faithful testimony. No heavenly voice guides Revelation's audience in sorting through these word pictures.

Apocalyptic argumentation includes narrative rhetoric, the use of plot and characterization to shape audience perception. The Christian redaction of the *Ascension of Isaiah* offers fairly straightforward literary argumentation. The great prophet Isaiah,

in a tour of the seven heavens, has seen the Beloved (Jesus) and recorded his vision in writing. The devil, who receives several names in the apocalypse, motivates the evil king Manasseh to put a stop to the revelation by executing Isaiah. Moreover, the people of Jerusalem participate in the prophet's martyrdom (5:12) just as they will in the death of Jesus (9:14; 11:19). By implicating the people of Jerusalem in the martyrdoms of both Isaiah and Jesus, the *Ascension of Isaiah* advances a familiar Christian argument in story form. Isaiah testified to Jesus, but the people rejected Isaiah just as they would Jesus (Sawyer 1995). By implication Israel is responsible for its failure to acknowledge Jesus.

We can learn a great deal about apocalyptic argumentation through attention to Paul's secondary arguments. Paul was particularly adept at the *enthymeme*, an argument that grounds its conclusion in two premises but leaves one of those premises unstated. In the unstated premises we observe what Paul *assumes* on the basis of received tradition. Space allows the brief exposition of just one example, 1 Thessalonians 4:14–16 (though see 1 Cor 15:12–23).

First Thessalonians 4:13 begins Paul's word of comfort (4:18) concerning those who have "fallen asleep" among the Thessalonian believers. Having expressed his purpose—"that you may not grieve as others do"—Paul launches a sort of formal argument in two stages (4:14–15, my translation).

Stage 1: For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again [premise], even so God, through Jesus, will bring with him those who have fallen asleep [conclusion].
Stage 2: For this we declare to you by a word of the Lord, that we who are living, who remain until the coming of the Lord, will by no means precede those who have fallen asleep [conclusion].

Stage 1 offers a perfect example of an enthymeme. From the conviction that Jesus rose again, Paul concludes that "those who have fallen asleep" will not miss out on the resurrection. But what unstated premise justifies this conclusion? Most scholars confidently assume the unstated premise involves the nature of resurrection. Every contemporary reference to resurrection hope in Jewish literature imagines a general resurrection in which all the righteous, and perhaps all persons, are raised together. Paul assumes, and he expects the Thessalonians to assume, that Jesus' resurrection represents not the resurrection of a solitary individual but the beginning of a general resurrection. That is why in other contexts he refers to Jesus' resurrection as the "first fruits" (Rom 8:23; 1 Cor 15:20, 23). In Stage 1 Paul relies upon unstated "common knowledge" concerning the nature of resurrection.

But in Stage 2 we encounter a different kind of argument. Now Paul appeals to "a word of the Lord." While it is possible that Paul means he's had an independent revelation, or "word from the Lord," of his own, most commentators understand that he is appealing to traditional teaching attributed to Jesus himself (see Fee 2009: 173–74).

In other words, while Stage 1 presents an enthymeme grounded in common assumptions about the resurrection, Stage 2 offers an assertion based on secondary apocalyptic rhetoric.

This sampling demonstrates that apocalyptic argumentation extends far beyond simple assertion and explication. It includes rhetography, recourse to visual symbols for persuasive ends (Robbins 2008), and literary techniques such as juxtaposition, plot development, and characterization. Apocalyptic authors also employed the common rhetorical techniques of their day such as the enthymeme. We could multiply examples, but the larger point is that apocalyptic rhetoric built upon diverse argumentative resources.

Conclusion: Rhetorical Aims

We began this study with a survey of four very different early Christian apocalypses. Not only do Revelation, *Hermas*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and the *Ascension of Isaiah* follow very different literary paths, they also seem to serve diverse functions. All four documents seek to inspire faith in the face of potential persecution, but their other concerns vary far and wide. The other apocalypses hardly match Revelation's call for cultural resistance. *Hermas* stands apart for its concern with repentance, the *Apocalypse of Peter* is noteworthy for its emphasis upon personal sins, and the *Ascension of Isaiah* uniquely explores the theological question of the Incarnation and Jewish-Christian relations (though see Rev 2:9–10; 3:9–10).

Even within Revelation, which addresses a specific set of seven churches, we observe multiple rhetorical aims. The church at Ephesus receives both encouragement and admonition (2:1–7); so do Pergamum (2:12–17) and Thyatira (2:19–29). Smyrna hears some comfort mixed in with its exhortation (2:8–11), as does Philadelphia (3:7–13), while Sardis (3:1–6) and Laodicea get a straight dose of admonition (3:14–22). Diverse audiences, diverse rhetorical aims.

Early Christian apocalyptic rhetoric occurs in varied social contexts, employs a wide range of argumentative resources, and serves diverse rhetorical functions. The Synoptic "little apocalypses" catechize their audiences, correcting premature anticipation and encouraging a blend of daily fidelity and eschatological watchfulness. Paul can encourage the challenging path of celibacy because "the appointed time has grown short" (1 Cor 7:29). In the same letter he can just as easily remind believers to slow down: prior to Jesus' return, they don't know as much as they think they do (13:8–12; see Meeks 1982). In short, apocalyptic discourse provided early Christians with a rich set of resources for imagining the world, shaping opinion, and influencing behavior.

Bibliography

Burke, Kenneth (1969 [1950]). *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burpo, Todd (2010). *Heaven Is for Real: A Little Boy's Astounding Story of His Trip to Heaven and Back*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson.

Callahan, Alan Dwight (1995). "The Language of the Apocalypse." *Harvard Theological Review 88*: 453–70.

Carey, Greg (1999). *Elusive Apocalypse: Reading Authority in the Revelation to John*. Studies in American Biblical Hermeneutics 15. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press.

—— (2005). *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature*. St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2005.

—— (2008). "Moving an Audience: One Aspect of Pathos in the Book of Revelation," in C. Clifton Black and Duane F. Watson, eds., *Words Well Spoken: George Kennedy's Rhetoric of the New Testament*. Studies in Rhetoric and Religion 8. Waco: Baylor University Press, pp. 163–78.

Carey, Greg, and L. Gregory Bloomquist, eds. (1999). *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse*. St. Louis: Chalice Press.

Collins, John J. (1979). "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre." *Semeia 14*: 9–20.

—— (1991). "Genre, Ideology, and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism," in John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth, eds., *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium. JSP*Sup 9. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991, pp. 9–20.

——(1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2nd ed. The Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

deSilva, David A. (2009). *Seeing Things John's Way: The Rhetoric of the Book of Revelation*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

Ehrman, Bart D., ed. and trans. (2003). *The Apostolic Fathers*. 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Fee, Gordon D. (2009). *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Hall, Jonathan G. (1990). "The *Ascension of Isaiah*: Community Situation, Date, and Place in Early Christianity." *Journal of Biblical Literature 109*: 289–396.

Harris, William V. (1989). *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Horsley, Richard A. (1998). "The Kingdom of God and the Renewal of Israel: Synoptic Gospels, Jesus Movements, and Apocalypticism," in John J. Collins, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism.* Volume 1: *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*. New York: Continuum, pp. 303–44.

——(2007). *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

Humphrey, Edith M. (2007). *And I Turned to See the Voice: The Rhetoric of Vision in the New Testament*. Studies in Theological Interpretation. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.

Humphrey, J. H., ed. (1991). *Literacy in the Roman World*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 3. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology.

Kennedy, George A. (1997). *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-Cultural Introduction.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Knight, J. M. (2001). "Apocalyptic and Prophetic Literature," in Stanley E. Porter, ed., *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period: 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*. Boston: E. J. Brill, pp. 467–88.

Meeks, Wayne A. (1982). "Social Functions of Apocalyptic Language in Pauline Christianity," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Ancient Mediterranean World and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, pp. 687–705.

O'Leary, Stephen D. (1994). *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pesce, Mauro (1983). "Presupposti per l'utilizzazione storica dell' Ascensione di Isaiah. Formazione e tradizione del testo; genere letterario; cosmologia angelica," in Mauro Pesce, ed., *Isaiah, il Diletto e la Chiesa: Visione ed esegesi profetica cristiano-primitiva nell'Ascensione di Isaia.* Testi e recherche di scienze religiose 20. Brescia: Paideia Editrice, pp. 13–76.

Portier-Young, Anathea E. (2011). *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Robbins, Vernon K. (2008). "Rhetography: A New Way of Seeing the Familiar Text." in C. Clifton Black and Duane F. Watson, eds., *Words Well Spoken: George Kennedy's Rhetoric of the New Testament*. Studies in Rhetoric and Religion 8. Waco: Baylor University Press, pp. 81–106.

Ruiz, Jean-Pierre (1994). "Hearing and Seeing but Not Saying: A Look at Revelation 10:4 and 2 Corinthians 12:4," in E. H. Lovering Jr., ed., *SBL Seminar Papers 1994*. SBLSP 33. Atlanta: Scholars Press, pp. 182–202

Sawyer, John F. A. (1995). *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the History of Christianity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth (1991). *Revelation: Vision of a Just World*. Proclamation Commentaries. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Yarbro Collins, Adela. (1984). *Crisis & Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Philadelphia: Westminster.

CHAPTER 14

DECONSTRUCTING APOCALYPTIC LITERALIST ALLEGORY

ERIN RUNIONS

When Osama bin Laden was shot and killed by US Special Forces, many people in the United States were elated, setting off fireworks, partying in the streets, and marking it as a historic moment. At the same time, a flurry of blog and Facebook messages used the Bible to weigh in on the appropriateness of the festivity. Many of those commenting were measured and argued against celebrating a death. Others found reasons that the righteous could be glad. Not surprisingly apocalypse made an appearance. Several people cited Rev. 18:20, which describes the Whore of Babylon's doom: "Rejoice over her O heavens. Rejoice saints and apostles and prophets. God has judged her for the way she has treated you." Bloggers used this verse to stress God's judgment on evil, and the appropriateness of an evil man being killed (Burk 2011; Zenor 2011; Reid 2011; the commentary to Morton 2011). Bin Laden was likened to the Whore of Babylon, while the readers were implicitly aligned with mistreated saints and called to rejoice over the her (his) destruction. In this metaphorical substitution, what some might call the revenge killing of bin Laden (Chomsky 2011) turns into God's revenge on the Whore (Rev 18:6–7). A political execution, outside of a conventional theater of war, becomes God's judgment on evil.

This usage of Revelation 17–18 from *within empire* complicates the debate over whether this passage can be used to critique modern empires and economic systems of exploitation (e.g., Schüssler Fiorenza 1991; Howard-Brook and Gwyther 1999; Fernández 1997; Park 2008; Míguez 1995) or whether the misogynist violence of the passage makes its critique of empire unusable or seriously compromised (e.g.,

Kim 1999; Nelavala 2009; Huber 2011; Ipsen 2009; Pippin 1992a, 1992b, 1999; Vander Stichele 2009). It appears that the passage not only justifies violence to women, as feminists have been arguing, but that it can also justify violence against anyone associated with the Whore. In this essay, I add to this discussion by interrogating the allegorical structure of the image; I suggest that in contrast to the image's explicit critique of empire, its structure may actually mimic empire, thus making it amenable to use by those within empire.

Indeed, in political use of scripture, apocalyptic allegory reproduces itself structurally within interpretation, giving rise to what I call *literalist allegory*, or the allegorization of the present by way of the biblical text. This kind of reading is literal in that it assumes that ancient texts have literal correspondents, such as world leaders. It allows scripture to be applied to world events and political policies in order to assess them, to justify them, or to advocate for a particular outcome. The literalism used to connect scripture to politics frequently uses apocalyptic imagery, as in the case of bin Laden and the Whore; but as a mode of interpretation it is very much influenced by apocalypticism more generally. Political literalism fundamentally relies on an allegorical meaning provided by apocalyptic texts that are systematized into an overarching (extra-biblical) narrative, which is applied to all biblical texts and present events.

In what follows, I will say more about association of the Whore with bin Laden, before outlining more precisely what I mean by literalist allegory and its connection to apocalypticism. I then turn to the way in which allegory works more generally. Drawing on deconstructive literary theory, I suggest that allegory, like empire, subsumes all horizontal relationships of connection and difference into a hierarchized structure of meaning that overshadows and erases horizontal relationships. In this operation, allegory creates transcendence (truth or evil), desire, and fear. The Whore of Babylon, qua literary figure, creates an aura of evil, desire, and fear by exploiting and obliterating difference that also turns out to encompass the self. Ultimately, I argue that those who refer to the Whore in literalist allegory may be giving voice to their own desires and fears about inclusion and concomitant erasure in the power of empire.

Bin Laden and the Whore

The association between bin Laden and Revelation's evil woman was not completely new. For example, in a sermon preached two years earlier (published online), Reverend Adrian Dieleman of Trinity United Reformed Church in Visalia, California, refers to

bin Laden while explaining to his congregation how they might accept the violence of Revelation 18 and the jubilation at Babylon's destruction. He said,

> At stake is this: do we recognize evil when we see it, do we know evil is rebellion against God and deserves punishment? Unless that is your starting point, you will not appreciate Babylon's funeral as it further unfolds for us this morning. Do you remember the joy when Saddam Hussein was caught and, later, when he was executed? Can you imagine the joy if Osama bin Laden is caught and executed? Well, multiply this joy many times over. That's what we have in front of us. (2009)

The scripture is explained by the present. Again bin Laden is likened to the Whore of Babylon, although this time to help believers understand the seriousness of God's judgment. "At stake" is whether believers can recognize rebellion against God and its deserved punishment. As it turns out, when bin Laden was caught and killed, many believers *could* recognize his evil and God's righteous justice in the situation.

In these discussions, there was some worry about being too overjoyed, however. In an attempt to dampen outright celebration, associate professor of biblical studies at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, Denny Burk blogged, "I shudder to think of what bin Laden is facing right now. I do not question the justice of it." "But," he continues, not wanting to celebrate inappropriately, "The day will come when God will command me to rejoice in His justice in the damnation of the wicked (Revelation 18:20). Until then, the horror should serve as a motivation to warn people to flee the wrath to come" (2011; Zenor 2011 makes a similar point). Burk was not alone in evoking the image of bin Laden's ultimate end in "the consuming fire"—a CNN poll showed that many in the United States believed that bin Laden went straight to hell (2011). But in Burk's view, the "saints' " joy at bin Laden's death should be tempered by their own possible proximity to this same spiritual fate (burning in hell). Interpreters are able to make the judgment about the evil of others, because they believe that they too will be judged. In this caveat, there is some tacit agreement that they may not be so different from bin Laden, or from the Whore. Politically motivated violence can be spiritually justified, so long as it can be described in cosmic terms, and, apparently, so long as believers also have to worry about their own spiritual health.

Still, one might wonder why bin Laden was allegorized through the somewhat dissimilar Whore, rather than, say, the Antichrist, who is more typically assigned to individuals, and is, as an extra-biblical elaboration, more malleable. Certainly, the starting point for interpretation is relevant. In this case, the goal was to assess a nonstandard attack by the US military on a nonstandard enemy. Although US officials proclaimed that this action was in the service of justice, many critics asked about the legal standing of the killings (Darnstädt 2011; Bowcott 2011). The United States acted outside of a theater of war or a court of law, within the boundaries of another sovereign nation, without consent. A considerable amount of framing for the events was necessary to prevent or subdue critique.[1] President Obama gave a speech on the

day of the killing, retelling the events of September 11, 2001, and insisting that "justice has been done." The context for his unilateral decision, he notes, is the fact that al-Qaeda had "openly declared war on the United States and was committed to killing innocents in our country and around the globe." Apocalyptic Christianity would supply another context: the cosmic struggle between God and evil. If interpreters began with the question, "Can we celebrate over the death of an evil man?" they could find an affirmative answer by looking to literalist allegory. The assumption of evil turned a political execution into righteous revenge, which was then called justice. The overlay of transcendent evil justified an event that might otherwise seem outside the bounds of accepted international engagement. Perhaps the courtroom drama of Revelation 17–18 (Martin 2005: 96–97; Schüssler Fiorenza 1991: 99), when grafted onto the present, allowed interpreters to feel that some kind of due process had taken place.

While providing a spiritual solution to a political dilemma may be the most obvious reason for choice of the Whore as bin Laden's allegorical escort, I would like to explore this choice further by assessing what dynamics of empire its allegorical structure might smooth over. Before returning to the relation of this particular literalist allegory to empire, I must first look at the emergence of literalist allegory, structural erasures in allegory more generally, and the production of transcendent evil via the relations of empire in the image of the Whore.

Literalist Allegory and Its Discontents

Reading biblical texts through allegory is one of the most common and banal forms of scripturalization, in which ancient texts are given the meaning and status of "scripture." Literary theorist Angus Fletcher comments that allegorical interpretation is as old "as the desire to convert speech and writing into 'scripture' where sacred writ is accorded an authoritative status" (2010: 12). To be sure, it is a pervasive Christian mode of reading, one that is not limited to conservative practitioners; theological orientation is marked only by degree of literalism in the allegorical mapping. One might say that allegory is one of the chief mechanisms of scripturalization—that is, of uncovering in ancient text something meaningful for the present. Yet in the increasingly popular mode of literalist allegory a new relation between the present and the text emerges, so that the present itself becomes a signifier of truth, rather than simply illuminated or guided by truth.

It is worth examining precisely how literalist allegory differs from past allegorical reading. Rita Copeland and Peter Struck (2010) date the earliest extant example of allegorical interpretation—which precedes the literary genre of allegory—to the

pre-Christian Greek Derveni papyrus (fourth c. BCE), which interprets an Orphic poem religiously and cosmologically. From its earliest Greek uses, allegorical interpretation of text is what Copeland and Struck call "a search for esoteric truths, for meaning that is concealed but ultimately interpretable" (2010: 3). In their words, the early Greek search for "transcendental meaning that is at once immediate and remote" is one that carries over into the assumptions about ancient texts that continue to establish them as authoritative scripture (2010: 3, 4–5).

For Christians of late antiquity and the Middle Ages, the *text* oriented believers and their actions with respect to higher truth and an ultimate future. Christian exegetes, from late antiquity on, established the practice of allegorical reading, whereby biblical texts are read as indicative of universal truths and essences to which believers ought to conform and shape their actions and spiritual life. Origen, for instance, read the creation story not as about the actual order of events but as about the relation of the soul to Christ (Homilies on Genesis 1). Texts had significance for the present insofar as they shaped believers' understanding of their spiritual life and its ultimate purpose, as well as moral action.

Because apocalyptic texts are written as allegories, cryptically pointing to real-life situations, they were more likely to be read literally (and therefore politically) than allegorically. For instance, the obvious connection between the Whore of Babylon and the literal Rome (via the seven hills referenced in Rev. 17:9) has not been not lost on interpreters throughout the centuries. Augustine was well aware of the political possibilities of reading apocalypse literally, and so famously and influentially established an amillennial reading of Revelation. His reference to the earthly city, Babylon, was not politically specified, and was grounded in the Psalms rather than in Revelation (Van Oort 1991: 312–18). Despite Augustine's efforts, however, others before and after him identified the Whore literally, as a current persecuting power. For instance, in *An Answer to the Jews* IX, Tertullian says, "Babylon, in our own John, is a figure of the city Rome, as being equally great and proud of her sway, and triumphant over the saints." Andrew of Caesarea in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* reads the Whore as representing empires in which the saints were killed; he mentions the Persian empire, Old Rome, and New Rome (ch. 53). In the Middle Ages, the Armenian Nerses of Lambron interpreted the Whore as Constantinople in his *Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John* (section 53).

During the reformation and after, an anti-Catholic identification of the Whore of Babylon became particularly acute. Luther's 1534 German Bible famously contains a woodcut of the Whore of Babylon, in which the Whore wears the papal crown (see Füssel 2009). Interestingly, in his 1520 treatise *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Luther does not directly cite Revelation 17–18, perhaps inheriting an Augustinian tendency; he only implicitly refers to it by associating Babylon, the papacy, and the Antichrist.

Partly because of its allegorical nature (pointing to literal referents), apocalypse has become closely associated with the kind of "literal" reading that became increasingly

prevalent after the Reformation. As Stephen O'Leary points out in *Arguing the Apocalypse*, drawing on Hans Frei (1974), the relation between apocalyptic interpretation and literal interpretation grew out of the Reformation's move away from allegorical reading of scripture to a mode influenced by the Enlightenment, in which the text was taken as a kind of scientific fact: "interpreters sought concrete historical and scientific fulfillments of prophecy that would provide objective demonstrations of the veracity of Scripture" (1994: 59). As Frei points out, in the eighteenth century, the historical and literal began to be separated. Scholars began to suggest that the narratives of the Bible may not have occurred literally as written, creating "distance between the stories and the 'reality' they depict" (1974: 5). This split between text and reality results in the development of historical criticism but also, in response to it, a reassertion of a more strict kind of literalism, such as the kind that insists that the world was created in seven days.

Then in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a systematized apocalyptic narrative about the sweep and culmination of human history stepped into the widening gap between text and historical reality, especially in England and the United States. "Literal" interpretations also began to be about the literal present and future. Understanding apocalyptic imagery as prophecy that could be *empirically confirmed* is partly what allows this shift to occur. For many evangelicals who struggled with historical criticism, premillennial dispensationalism became a widely accepted theology (see Boyer 1992: 86–90, 97–100). Preachers such as John Nelson Darby and Cyrus Scofield taught premillennial dispensationalism, in which historical events are divided chronologically into epochs of God's salvation; the current age was thought to end with the Rapture of the saints and a literal millennium of Christ's reign on earth. This narrative was stitched together from a range of biblical texts. Once the apocalyptic imagery was thus narratized and chronologized, interpreters began to map it onto historical events, in order to confirm the scriptures.

This kind of interpretation became amplified in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (see Boyer 1992: 152–80), until what I am calling literalist allegory emerges. Literalist allegory is allegorical in that it searches for higher meanings that only astute interpreters can ascertain, such as affiliations with cosmic evil; but it is different from either traditional literal interpretation or allegorical reading in that it searches *present events* for their transcendent meanings. As we saw at the outset, present events have become central to understanding eschatological truths. The present is thought to point to a systematized apocalyptic narrative, not the other way around. Literalist allegory requires the same allegorical and scripturalizing process of interpretation by higher truths, but now it is *politics, present events, and people* that are allegorized by texts. Formerly, allegorical reading was meant to *inform* the believer's spiritual life; now it would seem, life *is* the marker of cosmological truths. The apocalyptic imagery of Revelation becomes the allegorical referent to which present events refer; paradoxically, apocalypse is understood as the "literal" prophetic meaning of the present.

With the publication of apocalyptic fiction, like Timothy LaHaye's *Left Behind* series, this kind of interpretation has become familiar to many more than those who can label or fully explain the principle of interpretation. (According to leftbehind.com, LaHaye's *Left Behind* series sold over 63 million copies.) LaHaye presents literalist allegory in his fiction and nonfiction writing, when he suggests that Saddam Hussein's activities in rebuilding the ancient city of Babylon were a sign of his evil and the impending end times. In LaHaye's apocalyptic narrative, the ancient city of Babylon will be rebuilt in Iraq and the Antichrist will rule there, before the return of Christ. Saddam's real-life actions become a sign of this apocalyptic future.

Deconstructing Transcendence

The relation of allegory to transcendence—whether of truth or evil—is largely what makes it so compelling. It is worth considering, therefore, how allegory evokes transcendence and how literary and cultural theorists have suggested it might be deconstructed.

In *Allegories of Reading*, literary theorist Paul de Man suggests that allegory, like metaphor, uses literary mechanisms to assert what appear to be self-evident truths. He develops a Nietzschean methodology for deconstructive reading, which recognizes that "truths are illusions whose illusionary nature has been forgotten, metaphors that have been used up and have lost their imprint" (1979: 110–11). De Man shows how literary tropes of vertical substitution, like allegory and metaphor, are actually based on linguistic horizontal "contingent association such as metonymy" (1979: 15). He then deconstructs a range of literary, political, and philosophical texts (Proust, Rousseau, and Nietzsche himself). De Man traces the way that metaphors in these works make epistemological and ontological claims "by means of a more or less hidden system of relays which allows the properties [referenced in the work] to enter into substitutions, exchanges, and crossings that appear to reconcile the incompatibilities of the inner with the outer world" (1979: 60). Metaphors and allegories work through such exchanges, even when they appear to make self-evident claims.

Gayatri Spivak (2004) picks up on de Man's approach to reading literary tropes, in order to address the way that religious language works politically in the United States, post-9/11. To simplify Spivak's argument considerably, she suggests that the production of the transcendent is something like the figure of speech, *metalepsis*. In metalepsis, one metonymy is substituted for another so that a chain of cause and effect works without being readily visible.[2] In her analysis, material causes and effects for religious language are suppressed in the production of transcendence. Elsewhere, Spivak calls such hidden literary exchanges *subreptive* metalepsis. Subreption, she says, is defined

by the OED as "a suppression of truth to obtain an indulgence" (1999: 11, 23). In other words, the figural chain of cause and effect is suppressed in order to produce a notion of transcendence. [3]

Spivak surely also has the narratological sense of metalepsis in mind, in which an unmarked transition between narrative levels takes place. As narratologist Gérard Genette describes it—in terms that seem particularly applicable to apocalyptic interpretation—in narrative metalepsis "any intrusion by the extradiegetic narrator or narratee into the diegetic universe . . . or the inverse . . . produces an effect of strangeness that is either comical . . . or fantastic" ([1972] 1980: 234–35). Such narrative conceits create "a shifting but sacred frontier between two worlds, the world in which one tells, the world of which one tells." Recognition of metalepsis is destabilizing, however, because it foregrounds "this unacceptable and insistent hypothesis, that the extradiegetic is perhaps always diegetic, and the narrator and his narratees—you and I—perhaps belong to some narrative" (Genette [1972] 1980: 136). Genette calls this a transgressive "narrative metalepsis," related to the "narrative figure the classics called *author's metalepsis*, which consists of pretending that the poet 'himself brings about the effects he celebrates' " ([1972] 1980: 235, 234, quoting Pierre Fontanier). In other words, metalepsis hides its circular effects.

These analyses of subreptive metalepsis resonate with assertions by literary theorists that allegory is a violent form of meaning making that hides itself as such. Allegory forces a hierarchical order of meaning that centers around localized values and experience, which are then rendered universal by virtue of being associated with the transcendent. Gordon Teskey suggests that there is an inherent violence in the coupling of the mundane with the universal in allegory.[4] Objects or signs are forcibly "raised to the position of the transcendental 'other' " (1996: 6). In Teskey's view, allegory "captures" incoherent elements, narratives, signs, or objects and "reinterprets the noise beneath the things we can see as the inner desire of those things to return to their origin in the One" (1996: 6). Allegory devours the other (1996: 8). As we will see, it devours the contradictory elements that it conjoins. (In this, allegory is not unlike empire, a point to which I will return later.) Teskey writes: "The more powerful the allegory, the more openly violent the moments in which the materials of narrative are shown being actively subdued for the purpose of raising a structure of meaning" (1996: 23). Allegory seeks to secure truth so that "every opposition arising from the contrast of meaning and life is redistributed hierarchically such that one term is placed over the other. . . . [A]nything that appears to escape or to resist the project of meaning—passion, body, irony—is interpreted as a further extension of meaning" (1996: 30). Allegory disavows the rift between the levels of meaning that it sutures together. This process is even more pronounced in literalist allegory because it captures the meaning not only of the text but also of literal events.

African American artist and cultural critic Charles Gaines helpfully critiques these kinds of totalizing literary moves by drawing out their metonymical construction.[5] His art and theoretical writings are primarily concerned with the use of metonymy instead of metaphor. Gaines explains his interest in transforming objects

metonymically as growing out of his own life experience of reified social boundaries produced by racism. In response, he wishes to show that "the thingness of an object is realized relationally, and not by its discrete separateness from other things" (2001: 6). Metaphor, he says, gives the illusion of autonomy, totality, and universalism; it provides no way into critique (2009: 54, 57). Metonymy, on the other hand, is "based in contiguity, that is, social agreement . . . formed in a part-to-whole or cause-and-effect relationship" (2009: 52). Metonymy continually points to other objects related by social agreements. In contrast to metaphor, which prioritizes feeling and suppresses thinking, metonymy "provides a means for critique and discourse," precisely because it points to social interactions and cultural knowledge (2009: 50, 52). Gaines, like Spivak, highlights the importance of understanding and unpacking the relationships and contingencies that give images power, even when those relationships are hidden or forgotten.

Reading allegory as metonymy helps to unpack the relationships that allow literalist allegory to take hold. Reading apocalyptic narratives as metalepsis destabilizes the boundary between material and spiritual. Allegory, like signification in general, is only established through difference, association, and contingency (the horizontal relationships of metonymy), even if the final product obliterates those relationships. If allegory is subreptive in its production of transcendence, to deconstruct it the trick is to look for the chains of cause and effect, and linguistic associations that have been suppressed.

It seems obvious that literalist allegory of the Whore of Babylon as bin Laden operates through metaleptic subreption. The link between reality and metaphoric language is purely associative; it only happens because interpreters bring the literal (bin Laden) and metaphoric (Whore) together under the umbrella of "evil." Evil appears as a transcendent entity operating in a transcendent realm, erasing the connections created in signification. Once bin Laden is designated evil, other associative substitutions can be made in which his demise becomes God's will and God's righteous judgment. A shift takes place between this world and the world imagined in the metaphoric language of the spiritual world. The world of the interpreter and the spiritual world metaleptically merge. The political becomes the spiritual.

Evil and the Contradictions of the Whore

The subreptive production of evil can be traced back to the apocalyptic text of Revelation 17–18 itself. I turn now to consider the mechanisms by which the text's own allegory produces a sense of transcendent evil. To ask Gaines's question, what is the "thingness" of evil in this passage? A closer look will show that it is produced by the juxtaposition of incompatible terms and contradictions: of affect, of the positioning

of the reader, and of the social roles the Whore encompasses. To help make this argument, I draw on observations made in the excellent previous scholarship on this passage.

Fear, desire, hatred, attraction, and violence toward the Whore pulse through text and interpretation.[6] This contradictory set of affects produces conviction of her evil. The violence toward her is stronger because of censored desire for her. She is desirous because she is powerful, wealthy, and sexually seductive. She is to be feared because she drinks the blood of saints (17:6); she is intoxicating with her "maddening wine" (18:3), thus wresting control from her partners; and she is so easily and quickly ruined (18:10), making her a dangerous associate. She is hated for all these things, but perhaps even more for combining desire and fear.

Readers and interpreters are drawn into the production of the Whore's affect, and at the same time called to be separate from it. Rome's actual attractions and threats as an empire are intensified via the vague and hyperbolic language of mystification, demonization, and sexualization (beyond being labeled as a mystery in 17:5, she is a "haunt for every evil spirit" in 18:2, and she carries a cup of undefined "abominable things and the filth of her adulteries" in 17:4). Interpreters are left to fill in the details of her mystery (ever productive), as well as her abominations, filthy adulteries, and evil spirits. The allegorical amplification of Rome's power and seductiveness allows the interpreters to insert their own desires and fears. At the same time, the text positions readers to "come out" from Babylon (18:4)[7] and to separate themselves from all those mentioned in relation to the Whore: the sexually immoral kings of the earth (17:2, 18:3, 9), the merchants trading with her (18:3, 11–20), and those who are astonished by the beast because their names are not written in the book of life (17:8).

The desire and fear that combine to produce "transcendent evil" are generated in another way as well: the Whore combines contradictory social roles within one figure. The power of the Whore's horror is produced by the juxtaposition of difference. Although she is sumptuously dressed, and condemned for her luxury, she bears signs of being a slave. As Jennifer Glancy and Stephen Moore argue, the tattoo on the Whore's forehead and the term *pornē* used to describe her sex work suggest that she is modeled on the common prostitutes in Rome.[8] Different than courtesans, *pornai* were "slaves or other persons on the bottommost rungs of the social ladder" (Glancy and Moore 2011: 557). Tattoos were associated with slaves, administered as a form of punishment (Glancy and Moore 2011: 559; Koester 2008: 769, n. 6). Thus, the text "presents the paradox of an enthroned *pornē*" (Glancy and Moore 2011: 562). Moreover, since slaves in the Roman Empire were most often colonized peoples, or the children of colonized peoples (Martin 2005: 101–2; Bauckham 1991: 74; Glancy 2006: 74–78), the Whore is both colonizer and colonized.

Further scrambling social expectations and producing unease, the Whore's opulence resembles that of a slave trader. Craig Koester describes the grave stele of a slave trader in which the memorialized man reclines in luxury on a couch at a banquet, with a cup raised in his hand, overseeing the lower panels in which merchants trade wine and humans

(2008: 773–74). There is strong resemblance to the Whore. Yet slave traders would not be queens; they would be merchants, like the ones doing business in "Babylon" (18:11–20), or possibly pirates (Martin 2005: 99). Here too, the Whore muddles social roles.

Elsewhere, Moore shows that the Whore mixes gender, along with ethnicity. Moore suggests that one of the reasons that Babylon is represented as Whore in Revelation 17–18 is as a parody of the Roman goddess Roma and her own ambiguous gendering.[9] Analyzing Roman iconography, Moore shows that the female Roma is remarkably masculine, depicted in military attire, with helmet, parazonium (short sword signifying high rank), and spear (2009: 77). The Whore of Babylon, as parody, represents "Roma stripped of her military attire and reclothed as a prostitute" (2009: 87). Moore posits that Roma's phallic femininity subtly figures the incorporation of the feminized, ethnic, colonized other into the Roman Empire. He points to places where Roman military leaders commented on the feminine softness of the Asian and Greek cities they were conquering, and the fear that that femininity would corrupt the soldiers. Where Roma is an image that can deal with this gender trouble by integrating foreign softness into her own masculinity, Babylon is one that emphasizes it and mocks it (2009: 84–85). In Moore's words, "the Whore in combination with the Beast represents Rome as the collapse of masculinity back into the morass of femininity and animality" (2009: 92; for more on the feminization of non-Romans, see Frilingos 2004: 75; 2010: 348).

In bringing together contradictions and amplifying the sense of disturbance thus created, the apocalyptic allegory of Rome evokes the metaphysical category of evil, in the same way that de Man suggests can be evoked by the substitutions and relays of metaphor: evil appears to have presence, essence, truth, action, and beauty (1979: 15). The Whore presents the truth of Rome's evil, and of the essence of evil itself. Her fear-inducing beauty is what provokes revilement. Revulsion provokes contradictory action: separation and desire. Interpreters' involvement in the amplification of the image is of course forgotten, as are the contradictions that are pressed together to produce a sense of evil.

The Lure of the Self

The imagery of the Whore is more complex than simply separating the righteous self from the evil imperial other; indeed, the allegory's proponents (the seer and his audience) are implicated in the production of evil. Traits of the Whore become traits of God's kingdom, while traits of the seer and his audience become traits of the Whore. As Surekha Nelavala argues, the imagery of the Whore indicates that those colonized by empire are shaped by it as other. At the same time, they are encouraged to identify with empire, to desire it, to despise their otherness. They are attracted to empire even

while they are treated negatively by it (2009: 65). This dynamic is also part of the production of the Whore's evil.

Like the common prostitute, the seer and his audience are colonized. The seer is quite likely a Hellenized Jew, exiled to Asia Minor.[10] Like him, his audience in Asia Minor would be marked by successive colonizations, by Persia, Greece, and Rome. They would be stereotyped as effeminate, in relation to the Romans. Following from Moore's argument, it would be their masculinity that the Whore exaggerates and mocks. Thus, the construction of evil includes the self. Desire for, fear of, and violence toward the Whore is partially produced through the self's inclusion in her corpus.

Similarly, those within the intended audience, the churches of Asia Minor, may have been merchants in the economic trade that the passage critique. As Richard Bauckham argues in his detailed analysis of Rome's economic exploitation, "it is not unlikely that John's readers would include merchants and others whose business or livelihood was closely involved with the Roman political and economic system" (1991: 84). It is because they are so close to Rome's luxuries and her economic exploitation that they are called to come out of Babylon (1991: 85). Along these lines, Harry Maier suggests that the imagery of merchants mourning at Babylon's demise is a deliberate critique of the seer's opponents within the churches, such as the wealthy at Laodicea who might be sympathizers with empire (1997: 147, 150).[11] The Whore's associates include those addressed by the seer.

It is important to note that if the Whore's production of evil is produced by the juxtaposition of difference that is then obliterated, the social location of those to whom the text is directed is part of that erased difference. Ironically, *loss of difference also means loss of the self.* In combining all of these opposing social roles, the Whore in effect eradicates the difference of the self within the empire. The empire-Whore incorporates everything, including the self, and is then destroyed. There is a reason that recognition of the Whore's evil is accompanied by fear: the figure shows how power and empire exploit and destroy their constituent parts, so that the totality serves no one.

Nonetheless, as mentioned earlier, the vague imagery of the Whore's evil draws the reader into the production of her (censored) attractions. The text enacts the desire for empire that it tries to control. Christopher Frilingos innovatively argues that when the seer says he looks in amazement on the Whore of Babylon, the terms used, deriving from the verb *thaumazo*, are also ones he uses positively in places, thus signaling an ambivalent attraction to spectacle and to empire (2004: 50–52). The seer and his audience are imperial in their viewing, putting Rome on display in the same way that Rome put those subservient to it on display (2004: 42).

This ambivalence toward empire is also made manifest by characteristics of the Whore appearing in the seer's descriptions of God and Christ. Koester shows that not only the Whore, but also God seems to be depicted as a benevolent slave trader. God's people, including the seer, are called slaves (1:1, 10:7; 15:3). They are

bought for God with the blood of Jesus (5:9; 14:3) and branded with God's seal (7:3; 14:1) (2008: 768–69). Similarly, Moore shows that the Whore's gender confusion is evident in the descriptions of Christ. He indicates the various places in Revelation where Jesus has a sharp sword issuing from his mouth, recalling Roma's parazonium (a long triangular dagger; Rev 1:16; 2:12, 27; 19:5). In these descriptions, Christ is hypermasculine, yet around his breasts is bound a golden girdle (1:13), not unlike the manner in which Roma is sometimes described (2009: 91). As Moore puts it, "while one part of Revelation is busy shaming Roma by turning her into a prostitute, the other part of Revelation is busy modeling Jesus on Roma" (2009: 93). Revelation's images of God and Christ use the same traits that are vilified in the Whore, yet these continuities and relationships are made difficult to see in the allegorical subreption that produces evil.

Along similar lines, Moore has shown that in Revelation the empire of God is established using tactics not unlike the Roman Empire, including "war and conquest, entailing, as always, mass-slaughter, but now on a surreal scale" (2009: 88; see also Moore 2006: 114–15; Pippin 1992a: 97–100). As Moore puts it, "John is secretly in love with Roma. . . . He loves her and hates her with equal passion. Which is why he deals so savagely with her" (2009: 88–89; see also 2006: 116–18). Empire may not be the problem, as much as access to power. The seer does not have political power, quite the opposite, so instead he longs for spiritual power and the destruction of earthly power. The seductions of imperializing power are apparently irresistible. The seer may be in love with Roma, but perhaps he also loves and hates himself, incorporated into her.

Conclusion

Allegory and empire are quite alike in this regard, violently collecting and hierarchizing difference, feeding off it. Literary theorist Joel Fineman argues that the erasure of difference in allegory creates desire in the process, desire for a lost origin. Fineman writes that "allegory will set out on an increasingly futile search for a signifier with which to recuperate the fracture of and at its source, and with each successive signifier the fracture and the search begin again: a structure of continual yearning, the insatiable desire of allegory" (1980: 60). Perhaps we should think of the Whore as an allegory of empire that is also an allegory of allegory. What better way to handle the fractures and differences at the heart of signification and of empire, than through an image of insatiable desire and violence?

Like and as allegory, the image of the Whore works through subreption, a process that instills fear and creates desire. The transcendence of evil is created through the swallowing up of incoherent elements, in which the intended audience also resides. The Whore threatens to seduce her audience, and she does; they are part of her, and they participate in the production of her allure. They are lost in her, even as they try to separate themselves from her. These losses of self and power, which also produce the image's fear, generate the seer's incessant longing for power. Of course the relationships and literary techniques that produce the feelings of desire and fear are forgotten.

So to come back to the question of why the Whore is used to describe bin Laden, perhaps I need to consider the structure of this particular literalist allegory to see what gets erased. Following from my discussion above, I should look at the contradictions and incoherences that feed a transcendent sense of evil, understand the relationships that make the allegory work, and especially recognize the place of the self in the construction of evil.

Along these lines, I might note the ongoing relationship between the United States and bin Laden, and the fact that bin Laden may have played some part in securing US power, first as an ally in the Cold War, and then as an enemy in the war on terror. It has often been alleged that the Afghan mujahideen, with whom bin Laden was associated for many years, were armed by the United States in Afghanistan's resistance to the U.S.S.R., during the Cold War. (There is some controversy over the nature of the relationship between bin Laden and the CIA; for the most reputable source establishing this connection, see the statement by Robin Cook, former British foreign secretary, 2005.) I might recall that civilian deaths in Afghanistan caused by US and allied forces are at least as high as the deaths in the 9/11 attacks (Herold 2004; Garlasco and Shaikh 2008). This fact destabilizes the grounds for self-righteous judgment of bin Laden. Or I might point to the affinity that interpreters feel with bin Laden's evil—similarly in danger of hell—although they hope to escape punishment. Literalist interpreters thus bear some resemblance to their own designation of Whore.

What of losses of self and power in empire? Surely there is a the loss of agency and control in being part of an empire that has departed from assumed moralities and international rules of conduct. Empire consumes all. This loss of moral bearing (in extra-judicial killing) is what generates the connection between bin Laden and the Whore in the first place. The loss of assumed national uprightness might be considered a loss of self. Literalist allegory hides this loss, even as it justifies the actions of empire. Allegory erases all traces of the self, of course, but leaves fear and increased desire for power and righteousness in the wake of that erasure.

While it might be quite possible to resist producing literalist allegories, one might wonder whether it is possible to read the Bible *as scripture* and still resist allegory. Many interpreters of the Bible tend to search for higher meanings, whether religious or social. It may be difficult to avoid the imperializing and violent tendencies of allegory. Nonetheless, when confronted by, or tempted to, allegory, (we) interpreters can advocate for reading metonymically, that is for making visible the relays and substitutions that allow the production of truth to go forward. We can make visible the

incoherencies and contradictions that are all too easily sutured over and made to disappear. We can look for the losses of difference and of self that generate fear and desire. And we can be wary of the allegorical production of transcendence.[12]

Notes

1. For an excellent example of the heroization and justification of this action, see the television show *Newsroom* season 1, episode 7 (2011).
2. See also de Man 1979: 108; Spivak says she borrows this idea from de Man (1999: 18–19).
3. Brent Plate points out that structuralist literary theory and linguistics suggest that allegory, like language more generally, works through both metaphor and metonymy, that is, through vertical and horizontal (subreptive and associative) linguistic systems (2005: 50–54). As he points out, feminist theorists, deconstructive literary critics, and religious scholars have critiqued the hierarchical nature of the linguistic structure of substitution that produces metaphors and allegories; they have turned to metonym instead (2005: 55–58).
4. See also the essays in Machosky 2010. While these critics treat allegory as a literary genre rather than as a mode of interpretation, their insights can be applied to the literalist allegorical interpretation I am discussing here.
5. Gaines focuses on the distinction between metaphor and metonymy, but his work fits well with a critique of allegory.
6. Tina Pippin has beautifully elucidated these dynamics in her book *Death and Desire* (1992), in which she argues that staging Rome's power as female eroticism allows it to be contained.
7. For a discussion of the way that the imperative "to come out" is followed by imperatives to destroy Babylon and the resulting theological confusion about the agents of revenge, see Rossing 1999, 122–25.
8. Moore and Glancy argue this is a kind of sexual invective would be familiar in the Roman world. They give the example of Juvenal's and Tacitus's descriptions of Valeria Messalina as empress-whore (2011: 564–69).
9. Moore is not the first to make this observation (see Fiorenza 1991: 98; Rossing 1999, 7), but he draws out the implications in the gendering.
10. For an extended discussion of the seer's social location see Yarbro Collins 1984: 25–53.
11. The relationship between merchants and Babylon no doubt drew on the negative assessment of merchants within Roman culture; see Koester 2008: 775. Yarbro Collins suggests that there was a strong conflict between rich merchants and the overtaxed working classes in Asia Minor (1983: 744). The difference in John's judgment of the churches seems to be related to this conflict. For more on the economic exploitation behind the image, see Perry 2007.
12. This essay draws together and differently theorizes material I present in my forthcoming *The Babylon Complex: Theopolitical Fantasies of War, Sex, and Sovereignty.* I am grateful to Maud Gleason for her critique of an earlier version of this paper at the Society of Biblical Literature. Much thanks goes to Rina Sadun for her expert research assistance in tasks large and small, and to Michael Casey for helping track down political sources.

Bibliography

Bauckham, Richard (1991). "The Economic Critique of Rome in Revelation 18," in Loveday Alexander, ed., *Images of Empire*. Sheffield, England: JSOT, pp. 47–90.

Bowcott, Owen (2011). "Osama bin Laden: US Responds to Questions about Killing's Legality." *The Guardian*. May 3. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/03/osama-bin-laden-killing-legality.

Boyer, Paul (1992). *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burk, Denny (2011). "First-Person: How Should Christians React to bin Laden's Death?" *Baptist Press*. May 2. http://www.bpnews.net/BPFirstPerson.asp?ID=35196.

Chomsky, Noam (2011). "The Revenge Killing of Osama bin Laden." *In These Times*. May 31. http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/7370/the_revenge_killing_of_osama_bin_laden/.

CNN Political Unit (2011). "CNN Poll: Majority in U.S. Say bin Laden in Hell." CNN Politics, May 4. http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2011/05/04/cnn-poll-majority-in-u-s-say-bin-laden-in-hell/.

Cook, Robin (2005). "The Struggle Against Terrorism Cannot Be Won by Military Means." *The Guardian*. July 8. http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2005/jul/08/july7.development.

Copeland, Rita, and Peter T. Struck (2010). "Introduction," in Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–11.

Darnstädt, Thomas (2011). "Justice, American Style: Was Bin Laden's Killing Legal." *Spiegel Online International*. May 3. http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/justice-american-style-was-bin-laden-s-killing-legal-a-760358.html.

de Man, Paul (1979). *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dieleman, Adrian (2009). "Sermon on Revelation 18:20–19:10." Trinity United Reformed Chuch. Visalia, CA. August 30. http://www.trinityurcvisalia.com/sermons/rev18v20-rev19v10.html.

Fernández, Dagoberto Ramírez (1997). "The Judgment of God on Multinationals," in Leif E. Vaage, ed., *Subversive Scriptures: Revolutionary Readings of the Christian Bible in Latin America*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, pp. 75–100.

Fineman, Joel (1980). "The Structure of Allegorical Desire." *October 12*: 46–66.

Fletcher, Angus. (2010). "Allegory without Ideas," in B. Machosky, ed., *Thinking Allegory Otherwise*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 9–33.

Frei, Hans W. (1974). *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Frilingos, Christopher A. (2004). *Spectacles of Empire: Monsters, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

—— (2010). "Wearing It Well: Gender at Work in the Shadow of Empire," in Todd Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele, eds., *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 333–49.

Füssel, Stephen, ed. (2009). *The Bible in Pictures: Illustrations from the Workshop of Lucas Cranach (1534)*. Berlin: Taschen.

Gaines, Charles (2001). "Metonymy and the Defamiliarization of Objects," in *Lurid Stories: Charles Gaines: Projects from 1995 to 2001.* Exhibition Catalogue. San Francisco Art Institute.

—— (2009). "Reconsidering Metaphor/Metonymy: Art and the Suppression of Thought." *Art Lies 64*: 48–57.

Garlasco, Marc, and Michael Shaikh (2008). "'Troops in Contact': Airstrikes and Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan." Human Rights Watch. http://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/09/08/troops-contact.

Genette, Gérard (1980 [1972]). *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method.* Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Glancy, Jennifer A. (2006). *Slavery in Early Christianity*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Glancy, Jennifer A., and Stephen D. Moore (2011). "How Typical a Roman Prostitute is Revelation's 'Great Whore'?" *Journal of Biblical Literature 130* (3): 551–69.

Herold, Marc W. (2004). "A Dossier on Civilian Victims of United States' Aerial Bombing of Afghanistan: A Comprehensive Accounting." University of New Hampshire. http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mwherold/dossier.

Howard-Brook, Wes, and Anthony Gwyther (1999). *Unveiling Empire: Reading Revelation Then and Now*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.

Huber, Lynn R. (2011). "Gazing at the Whore: Reading Revelation Queerly," in Teresa J. Hornsby and Ken Stone, eds., *Bible Trouble: Queer Reading at the Boundaries of Biblical Scholarship*. Semeia Studies 67. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 301–20.

Ipsen, Avaren (2009). *Sex Working and the Bible.* Sheffield: Equinox.

Kim, Jean K. (1999). "'Uncovering Her Wickedness': An Inter(con)textual Reading of Revelation 17 from a Postcolonial Feminist Perspective." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament 73* (March): 61–81.

Koester, Craig R (2008). "Roman Slave Trade and the Critique of Babylon in Revelation 18." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly 70*.4: 766–86.

Machosky Brenda, ed. (2010). *Thinking Allegory Otherwise*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Maier, Harry O. (1997). "Staging the Gaze: Early Christian Apocalypses and Narrative Self-Representation." *Harvard Theological Review 90*.2: 131–54.

Martin, Clarice J. (2005). "Polishing the Unclouded Mirror: A Womanist Reading of Revelation 18:13," in David M. Rhoads, ed., *From Every People and Nation: The Book of Revelation in Intercultural Perspective.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, pp. 82–109.

Míguez, Néstor (1995). "Apocalyptic and the Economy: A Reading of Revelation 18 from the Experience of Economic Exclusion," in Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert, eds., *Reading from This Place: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective*, vol. 2. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, pp. 250–62

Morton, Matt (2011). "Justice, Mercy, and Osama bin Laden." Ministry Musings: The Blog of Matt Morton—Grace College Pastor. May 3. http://www.grace-bible.org/mattsblog/index.php/2011/05/justice-mercy-and-osama-bin-laden/#comments.

Moore, Stephen D. (2006). *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

—— (2009). "Metonymies of Empire: Sexual Humiliation and Gender Masquerade in the Book of Revelation," in Tat-siong Benny Liew, ed., *Postcolonial Interventions: Essays in Honor of R. S. Sugirtharajah*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, pp. 71–97

Nelavala, Surekha (2009). "'Babylon the Great Mother of Whores' (Rev 17:5): A Postcolonial Feminist Perspective." *Expository Times 121*.2 (November): 60–65.

O'Leary, Stephen D. (1994). *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Park, Rohun (2008). "Revelation for Sale: An Intercultural Reading of Revelation 18 from an East Asian Perspective." *Bible & Critical Theory* 4.2: 25.1–12.

Perry, Peter S. (2007). "Critiquing the Excess of Empire: A Synkrisis of John of Patmos and Dio of Prusa." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 29.4: 473–96.

Pippin, Tina (1992a). *Death and Desire: The Rhetoric of Gender in the Apocalypse of John*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

—— (1992b). "The Heroine and the Whore: Fantasy and the Female in the Apocalypse of John." *Semeia 60*: 67–82.

—— (1999). *Apocalyptic Bodies: The Biblical End of the World in Text and Image*. London: Routledge.

Plate, S. Brent (2005). *Walter Benjamin, Religion, and Aesthetics: Rethinking Religion through the Arts*. New York: Routledge.

Reid, Marshall (2011). "Should We Rejoice over Bin Laden's Death?" Bulverde Church of Christ. May 8. http://www.bulverdechurchofchrist.org/2011/05/08/should-we-rejoice-over-bin-ladens-death/.

Rossing, Barbara R. (1999). *The Choice between Two Cities: Whore, Bride, and Empire in the Apocalypse*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International.

Schüssler Fiorenza, Elizabeth (1991). *Revelation: Vision of a Just World.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1999). *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

—— (2004). "Terror: A Speech after 9/11." *Boundary 2* 31.2: 81–111.

Van Oort, Johannes (1991). *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities*. Leiden: Brill.

Vander Stichele, Caroline (2009). "Re-membering the Whore: The Fate of Babylon According to Revelation 17.16," in Amy-Jill Levine with Maria Mayo Robbins, eds., *A Feminist Companion to the Apocalypse of John*. New York: T&T Clark, pp. 106–20.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1983). "Persecution and Vengeance in the Book of Revelation," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala 1979*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 729–50.

—— (1984). *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press.

Zenor, Jon (2011). "Should Christians Celebrate the Death of Osama bin Laden?" Eternal Truth Ministry. May 3. http://www.eternaltruthministry.com/2011/05/should-christians-celebrate-the-death-of-osama-bin-laden/.

PART IV

APOCALYPTIC THEOLOGY

CHAPTER 15

APOCALYPTIC DETERMINISM

MLADEN POPOVIĆ

Introduction

Determinism is considered to belong to the distinctive combination of elements that characterize apocalyptic thought, especially in relation to the periodization of history, eschatology, and heavenly tablets of destiny or fate. Obviously, in the ancient world deterministic ideas were not limited to apocalypses or apocalyptic thought and there is no inherent quality that makes determinism apocalyptic.

The term "determinism" is modern, but the underlying concept has a long and diverse history in philosophy, theology, and physics. Coined in late eighteenth-century German philosophy (one of the first to use the term was Christian Wilhelm Snell in 1789; Kuhlen, Seidel, and Tsouyopoulos 1972; Seebaß 2004), "determinism" refers to the philosophical notion that everything that happens in time and space is fixed or determined by a necessary chain of causation. This basic sense of "determinism" may have additional meanings in different academic disciplines. In history of religions, the added assumption is that everything is determined by a divine creator, or by fate. In monotheistic religions, the view of God as omnipotent and omniscient raises the issue of there being room for human free will, suggesting various theological solutions (Marcoulesco 1987).

Deterministic ideas in some form or other go back to antiquity. They come to the fore especially in Stoic philosophy. Although there is no reason to suppose that Stoic ideas influenced Jewish apocalyptic determinism, it is important to take them into consideration. These Stoic ideas and texts inform and shape the understanding of

determinism by modern scholars when they turn to ancient Jewish texts and the people behind those texts.

Determinism in Stoicism, Flavius Josephus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls

Scholars normally refer to Stoicism—in itself a variegated phenomenon—as the classical form of determinism (Bobzien 1998; Frede 2003; Sellars 2006). The notion of *heimarmene* ("that which is allotted" or "fate") is central to Stoic thought. Fate is the everlasting cause of things; it is why past things happened, why present things are now happening, and why future things happen (Cicero, *Div.* 1.126). Fate, however, is not a mechanical necessity, but a principle of divine reason. According to Stoic thought, the entire cosmos is ruled by this supreme divine reason (DL 7.138). Such thinking may be characterized as universal teleological determinism. At the same time, Stoics argued—unconvincingly according to their critics—that their notion of universal determinism was compatible with contingency and human autonomy, allowing room for moral responsibility (Frede 2003).

Most scholarly discussions frame early Jewish texts in a binary structure of determinism and free will, and take more or less one of three positions: (1) emphasizing divine agency and determinism, (2) emphasizing human agency and free will, or (3) arguing for some form of compatibilism (Duhaime 2000; Stauber 2011; Klawans 2012). From a history of religions perspective scholars refer to Calvinist thought, for example, as a potential source of insight (Alexander 2006; Klawans 2010; 2012: 44–91), but we must carefully delineate such applications.

The danger is to read later thought and debates anachronistically into earlier texts as well as disregard different cultural contexts. We can perhaps understand ancient texts better in light of later insights and formulations or distinct cultural matrices, but at the same time we must ask ourselves whether the reasoning is similar or congruent if it is not explicitly phrased or if different terms are used.

For example, modern Western philosophical and religious discourses on determinism revolve around notions of freedom and free will. However, ancient sources on the philosophical problem of the compatibility of freedom and determinism do not initially use the word freedom (*eleutheria*), which originally had political connotations, in that specific context at all. Instead, they used the phrase: "that which depends on us" (*aph' hemon, in nostra potestate*) and "that which happens because of us" (*par' hemas*) in the debate about moral responsibility. One might argue that this comes quite close to the modern understanding of free will without the term's actual use. This inference, however, would seem to be a misunderstanding based on the connection of modern concepts similar to both the Stoic concept of freedom and the

early Stoic notion of "that which depends on to us." From Epictetus and the Roman Stoa onward the two concepts become linked, but not, it seems, in pre-Epictetan philosophy. If the notion of freedom is applicable, it should be carefully defined (Bobzien 1998; Frede 2003).

In the case of ancient Judaism, Josephus categorized the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes according to their stance on fate (*heimarmene*), in some cases interchanging positions attributed to these groups (cf. *War* 2.162–65; *Ant.* 13.171–73; 18.13, 18). Josephus's presentation of the Pharisaic position in *Ant.* 13.171–73 leaves room for a two-sided concept of determinism in which, rather than everything being determined, some things are left to human free will (Bobzien 1998: 398 n. 87; Klawans 2012: 78–79). Josephus's use of phrases such as *aph' hemon* ("that which depends on us"; *Ant.* 13.173) and the nonuse of *eleutheria* ("freedom") in his presentations of these positions seem to correspond to a certain degree with Stoic discourses on the role of fate in human action in pre-Epictetan philosophy. The nonuse of *eleutheria* in this context seems understandable in light of the primarily political connotations that term would have had for Josephus and his different audiences after the revolt against Rome. If such an assessment is correct, this should caution us not to read later debates about free will into Josephus and to define the different phrases that Josephus uses in relation to human action carefully.

When it comes to other early Jewish texts, the problem is complicated by the fact that possible references to free will are even more circumspect. For example, Schuller 2000 refers to the presence of petitionary prayers and asks whether for the people behind the Dead Sea Scrolls this implies that their theology never became absolutely deterministic. Regarding Qumran, Duhaime 2000 refers to voluntary actions such as entering into or belonging to the community as a strong indication of some form of free will, while the presence of penal codes and rebukes suggests individual accountability.

Deterministic ideas in various forms in ancient Judaism contributed to the ongoing discourse on determinism in later Jewish and Christian circles, thus shaping modern Western philosophical and religious discourses. These later formulations and conceptualizations may have heuristic value, but what is expressed in ancient Jewish sources is not necessarily identical with those later conceptualizations. The definitions of determinism and free will that we use affect how we approach certain formulations and descriptions in the ancient texts and how we then categorize them. This seems even more so for ancient Jewish texts in Hebrew and Aramaic than for texts in Greek. In Greek texts we may find a more explicit anchor for deterministic thought in specific words such as *heimarmene* or *pronoia* and a more explicit debate forming the context in which such words appear. Such a more direct relationship between the concept of determinism and specific words does not seem present in early Jewish texts in Hebrew and Aramaic (the word *goral*, "lot," may come closest, see below). This does not mean that such abstract thinking was not there. It merely signals why it is difficult for us to trace and understand it.

Determinism in Apocalyptic Texts

Whereas Josephus's writings may give cause to address the determinism and free will debate in a Jewish context and to take Stoic thought into account, similar clues are lacking in apocalyptic literature. Apocalyptic literature expresses the idea that everything that happens in time and space is determined in a more circumspect manner. Scholars associate determinism with apocalypticism because apocalyptic texts adduce a particular view of history and in some cases refer to a special means of revelation through heavenly tablets to reinforce that view of history.

In apocalyptic texts, history unfolds towards a fixed end (eschatology). The deterministic view of history becomes manifest in the periodization of history. History develops according to a linear view until it reaches the end (Stone 2011: 59–60). The apocalyptic texts express the idea of a fixed history through descriptions and calculations of set periods of time. The division of history into a set number of periods is typical for the so-called historical apocalypses (Collins 1998a).

The *Apocalypse of Weeks* from *1 Enoch* (93:1–10, 91:11–17) is the oldest known Jewish text that provides an explicit periodization in its overview of history. Here history is divided into ten weeks, and each week is subdivided into seven. At the end of the tenth week, in its seventh part, divine judgment will be executed: the first heaven will disappear and a new heaven will appear. After this eschatological judgment, "normal" history has ended, but history will continue eternally: "After this there will be many weeks without number forever, in which they will do piety and righteousness, and from then on sin will never again be mentioned" (*1 En.* 91:17). One may debate whether this implies a fixed end, but it is clear that what comes afterwards is a different universe altogether.

The prophecy of Jeremiah that Babylonian rule would be limited to seventy years before Jerusalem's restoration (Jer 25:12; 29:10) was transformed in the book of Daniel into a period of seventy weeks of years, equivalent to a period of 490 years. Even before the book of Daniel, Jeremiah's period of seventy years was not taken in the literal sense, but rather as a symbolic period for Israel's suffering under foreign rule. 2 Chronicles interprets Jeremiah's seventy years in light of Lev 26:34 so that it refers to ten weeks of years or Sabbath cycles (2 Chron 36:21). This interpretation of 2 Chron 36 can be understood as a first impulse in Jewish tradition for the schematic division of time that was so characteristic of later apocalyptic and eschatological thought. Daniel 9:2 explicitly takes up Jeremiah's prophecy: "in the first year of his reign, I, Daniel, perceived in the books the number of years that, according to the word of the Lord to the prophet Jeremiah, must be fulfilled for the devastation of Jerusalem, namely, seventy years." The angel Gabriel interrupts Daniel's prayer to make clear that Jeremiah's prophecy does not concern an actual period of seventy years, but rather seventy weeks of years. A short overview of the history of these weeks follows, focusing particularly on the last two periods (Dan 9:20–27).

Another feature in the book of Daniel that gives expression to a deterministic view of history is the schema of four kingdoms or ages. Through divine revelation Daniel learns of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a statue that consists of different metals: the head is of gold, the chest and arms are of silver, the middle and thighs of bronze and the feet of iron mixed with clay (Dan 2). Daniel's interpretation of the statue makes clear that the dream conveys a message of four kingdoms that follow one after the other in a historical and also declining sequence. In Daniel the four kingdoms are Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece. The periodization of history in the form of four successive kingdoms has its end with the coming of the kingdom of God. This is represented in Dan 2 by a stone cut from a mountain that destroys the statue. Thus, history is determined and its end is fixed by God. Daniel 2 makes clear that God is in control of history (Collins 1998b: 142). In Dan 7 the theme of the four kingdoms is picked up again, but the imagery of the four beasts rising up out of the sea is different.

The division of history into periods is less clearly defined in the *Animal Apocalypse* from *1 Enoch* (83–90), but the rule of the seventy shepherds (*1 En.* 89:59–90:19) seems to be divided into four periods. The passage seems thus a combination of what we also find in Daniel's interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy in Dan 9 and the four ages schema in Dan 2 and 7 (Yarbro Collins 1996: 73–74, 77; Nickelsburg 2001: 391–93).

In later apocalyptic texts (and also in texts that are not apocalypses, such as *Testament of Levi, Jubilees, 11QMelchizedek*, and *Testament of Moses*) we also find similar periodization of history. The *Testament of Abraham* provides a vivid description of how Death shows himself differently to the righteous and the sinners. Death's appearance to the sinners includes his seven fiery dragon heads and fourteen faces (*T. Ab.* 17). The seven heads are explained as referring to the seven ages during which Death ravages the world (*T. Ab.* 19:7). This interpretation may reflect an ordering of world history based on the pattern of the week, without yet speculating about the specific length of each age (Yarbro Collins 1996: 75). The four-kingdom schema plays a minor role in *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*. They focus primarily on the fourth beast and the fourth period (their own times). The interest in history and chronology is not as pronounced as in earlier texts. Instead of the four-period schema, the division into twelve parts seems of more interest to the authors of *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*. In *4 Ezra* 14:11–12 the age is said to be divided into twelve parts, of which nine and half of the tenth had already passed. This suggests not only the fixed course of history but also its fixed end, which is near (Yarbro Collins 1996: 77–80).

The schematization of history in which the numbers ten, seven, and four order the periodization has parallels in other early Jewish texts (Collins 1998a: 63–64). The historical summary in Tobit 14:4–7 shows that speculation regarding eschatological time reckoning was not limited to apocalyptic texts (Nickelsburg 2003: 133), but in the context of apocalyptic thought it is clear that deterministic ideas were expressed through the periodization of history and eschatological perspectives (Collins 1997: 52–70): "One effect of this periodization is the impression of an ordered universe where everything proceeds in a predetermined manner" (Collins 1998a: 64).

The periodization of history, together with its linear development towards a fixed end, gave rise to calculations of the end of time. As in *4 Ezra* 14:11–12, however, these mostly remained rather vague and limited to general periodical indications, not specifying exact durations. The book of Daniel is the only extant early Jewish text to give exact calculations of how long it would be from the author's own day to the end of times. Daniel 8:14 mentions a duration of 2,300 evenings and mornings until the temple would be rebuilt, which the angel Gabriel indicates as the time of the end (Dan 8:17). The end of the book gives two more calculations: "From the time that the regular burnt offering is taken away and the abomination that desolates is set up, there shall be one thousand two hundred ninety days. Happy are those who persevere and attain the thousand three hundred thirty-five days. But you, go your way, and rest; you shall rise for your reward at the end of the days" (Dan 12:11–13). Both calculations can be taken as approximately three and a half years (Collins 1993: 400–401). It is possible that the second calculation was added after the first one had passed (Collins 1998b: 145). In light of the possibility that the first prophecy had failed it is interesting to point to the expected end in 1QpHab 7:5–14. This passage twice refers to the prolongation of the period before the end of days is to be expected. However, although the text does not provide exact calculations, the postponement of the exact start of the end of days may suggest that in the time of the author of *Pesher Habakkuk* an expected end was awaited at a specific moment (Baumgarten 1997: 178–80). Even if Daniel is the only remaining example of an attempt to be chronologically specific about the expected end of times, the point is that the fixed end envisioned in apocalyptic thought is an expression of the deterministic worldview behind it.

The impression of an ordered universe and a fixed course of history is further strengthened by the reference to these periods being engraved on tablets of destiny or fate, although this motif almost completely disappears from Jewish and Christian texts after the first century C.E. (Nickelsburg 2001: 440, 478–80; Popović 2010; Baynes 2012: 109–34). The idea of heavenly tablets appears earlier in Sumerian texts (see below), and they are also mentioned a few times in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Ps 69:29; Mal 3:16–18). The notion of heavenly books and tablets is complex and can be divided into various subcategories (Baynes 2012). Heavenly records play a special role in beliefs about a final judgment, and in some cases they clearly imply a deterministic worldview. For example, *1 Enoch* 81:1–2 explains that Enoch looked at the heavenly tablets and understood everything, "all the actions of people and of all humans who will be on the earth for the generations of the world." The beginning of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 En.* 93:2) refers to this passage from the *Astronomical Book*. The opening of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* strengthens the notion of predetermined fate recorded in the heavenly tablets, since it is followed by the historical digression on the ten-week periods in the form of a prophecy after the fact (*vaticinium ex eventu*). Daniel 10:21 invokes the book of truth

to tell of the historical developments leading up to the time of the author (Dan 11:45). Functioning as a book of fate, it signals the deterministic worldview of this historical apocalypse.

References to heavenly tablets of destiny also appear outside apocalypses proper, especially in *Jubilees*. In early Jewish literature *Jubilees* has the most occurrences of heavenly books. In *Jubilees*, it is the division of times that is written on the heavenly tablets (*Jub.* 6:35), with everything from creation to the end of times thus determined. A text from Qumran, *4QAges of Creation A*, resembles *Jubilees* very closely, in connecting a preexistent order determined by God and a periodization of history with heavenly tablets on which this is engraved: "Interpretation concerning the ages which God has made: An age to conclude [all there is] and all that will be. Before creating them he established [their] workings [according to the precise sequence of the ages], age by age. And this is engraved on the [heavenly] tablets [for the sons of men] [for a]ll the ages of their dominion" (4Q180 1 3–4). $1QH^a$ 9:26 states that everything has been engraved and refers to periods and cycles of eternal years in all their appointed times. The deterministic world order is also expressed in other texts from Qumran.

Together with the periodization of history, eschatology and engraved heavenly tablets as expressions of apocalyptic determinism in early Jewish apocalyptic texts, brief mention must also be made of the concept of *goral* ("lot") in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Alexander 2006; Lange 2011). This term has been taken to mean as much as destiny, approaching Greek *heimarmene*. The word is used in various ways, but more or less all of them express the idea that God has determined everything. Some references to lot or fate, such as the casting of lots, indicate a concern with discerning the preexistent will of God. Finally, the use of pseudepigraphic attribution of the apocalyptic visions to important figures from the past "permits a *vaticinium ex eventu* . . . and so adds to the impression that all is determined in advance, and under divine control" (Collins 1998a: 64).

Forms and Expressions of Deterministic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Some scholars have argued that the movement behind the Dead Sea Scrolls was an apocalyptic movement. Whether or not this characterization holds water, the texts from Qumran that express a deterministic worldview are directly relevant for understanding determinism in apocalyptic literature, as they are relevant to the context in which apocalyptic literature developed.

The so-called *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS 3:13–4:26) from the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) from Qumran is often understood to contain the strongest expression of a deterministic worldview in ancient Judaism: "From the God of knowledge comes all there is and there shall be. Before things come to be he has established all their plans and when things come to be at their ordained time they will fulfil all their work in accordance with his glorious plan and without alteration. In his power are the judgements of all things and he supports them in all their affairs" (1QS 3:15–17). Elsewhere in the *Rule of the Community* we also find the idea that God determines everything: "For to man (does not belong) his path, nor can a human being determine his step; because the judgement is of God, and in his power is the perfection of the path. By his knowledge comes everything there shall be, and everything there is he establishes by his plans. Without him nothing is done" (1QS 11:10–11). 1QS 11:17–18 is also deterministic, but rather than emphasizing God's knowledge as foundational, the text emphasizes God's will: "without your will nothing is done . . . and everything there shall be is there because of your will." God is not only the ontological basis of everything and everyone, but also determines what happens to everything and everyone. These deterministic statements express the idea that everything happens in accordance with God's plan. Before human beings come into being, their deeds are fixed, and without God nothing is done.

Similar ideas are expressed in other texts from Qumran: $1QH^a$ 7:25–35; 9:9–11, 21–22; CD 2:2–10; 4Q180 1 2; 2–4 ii 10; 4Q215a 1 ii 9; 4Q402 4 12–15 // MassShirShabb 1 1–7. Some statements find clear parallels. At the same time there are also different emphases due to the specific interests of each particular text. $1QH^a$ 7:25–26 and 34 are strikingly similar to 1QS 11:10: "Man's path [does not belong] to him, nor is a human being able to determine his step. . . . how is dust able to determine its step?" The deterministic statements in the *Two Spirits Treatise* and the *Hodayot* are accompanied by eschatological and dualistic elements in the texts, while eschatological elements in the fifth song of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* provide the setting of the deterministic expressions found there.

The text 4Q402 4 12–15 emphasizes that the angels were also part of God's plan before they existed (4Q402 4 15 // MassShirShabb 1 6–7). Likewise, *Ages of Creation A* (4Q180) states that the ages were determined by God before he created them: God determined their works (4Q180 1 2) and knew their plans (4Q180 2–4 ii 10). The *Time of Righteousness* (4Q215a) again has its focus on human beings, but parallel to 4Q180 states that God knows their works before he created them. Column 2 of the *Damascus Document* focuses on those who turn away from his precept and states that God did not choose them at the beginning of the world, and before they were established God knew their deeds (CD 2:7–8).

The *Damascus Document* is most explicit in its expression of the creational context in which deterministic ideas are voiced in these early Jewish texts, referring to the beginning of the world (CD 2:7). Furthermore, the text spells out the chronological sequence of this deterministic worldview: "He knew the years of the (heavenly?)

positions, and the number and detail of their ages, of all those who have ever existed and of those that will exist, until it happens in their ages throughout all the everlasting years" (CD 2:9–10). The reference to the number of ages suggests a periodization of history, which is confirmed by the literary context. The text gives a historical discourse, detailing various generations and their actions, but there is no structural or formal periodization as such.

This short and nonexhaustive review has illustrated some of the various forms and expressions of deterministic notions in the Dead Sea Scrolls as well as the different literary contexts in which they occur. Generally speaking, in these passages there is a clear expression of a strong deterministic worldview according to which God has determined what happens in the universe that he created. Compared to Stoic philosophy, it is obvious that these texts are less articulated in the abstract sense and that no explicit distinctions between different types of determinism are made. With some effort we could perhaps apply some of the Aristotelian distinctions, such as physical determinism or teleological determinism (Frede 2003). Although such issues are not directly addressed, they may have been on the minds of Jewish thinkers at the time (cf. Alexander 2006: 48; Tukasi 2008). This also applies to discourses on determinism/predestination and free will that scholars bring to the texts, perhaps not entirely without reason in light of Josephus's statements mentioned earlier.

In general, scholars either argue for a strong sense of determinism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, emphasizing divine agency, or they allow some room for human agency and argue for a compatibilist position (the position emphasizing human agency mentioned above does not seem to find much support in recent research). Understanding the *Two Spirits Treatise* as the strongest form of determinism expressed and known to us in ancient Judaism, many scholars attribute to the people behind the Dead Sea Scrolls a position of strong, almost absolute, determinism. Other scholars allow some room for human agency, arguing for a compatibilist position. To be sure, references to human decisions can also be found. How should these be interpreted? Just how deterministic was determinism and did it vary? Did a deterministic worldview exclude human choice completely?

Different Shades of Determinism

Leaving aside the possible anachronisms involved in framing ancient texts in such binary structures, from a pragmatic point of view we should consider some of the passages that have been interpreted as references to free will and human agency. Do these compromise the expressions of strong determinism?

For example, the issue of voluntary entrance into the community (e.g., 1QS 5:1), to which Duhaime 2000 and others refer, is interpreted not to imply free will in the sense that divine agency would be absent. Klawans 2012 suggests the issue is rather that joining the community must be voluntary in the sense of not being otherwise coerced, but not in a theological sense. Acknowledging a difference between intended and unintended behavior, determinism does not deny the reality of human decisions. The point is that the results of these processes are foreknown and foreordained. Lambert 2010 also discusses the term used to depict initiates, מתנדבים, and argues that it is unlikely that the term indicates some notion of free will. Instead, he suggests the term may indicate the presence of a desire to do something and the absence of any external compulsion. This does not mean that something like free will was completely denied. However, in a cultural-linguistic system that operated in a largely deterministic context, the rhetoric surrounding human transformation emphasized divine agency. Stauber 2011 argues that there is no notion of human agency at all in the *Rule of the Community*. The word מתנדבים has been mistranslated and should be taken to mean "the incited/inspired ones." This translation would eradicate any trace of human agency in the text, because within a deterministic framework the members do not choose whether they are inspired. This is determined and initiated by God.

Another example is that of petitionary prayer and repentance, discussed by Schuller 2000 and others. Klawans 2012 argues that according to the worldview of the Dead Sea Scrolls God also predetermines these human actions. He refers to 1QH^{a} 19:36, where God is said to place hymns of thanksgiving in the mouth of his servant (cf. also 1QH^{a} 17:10–11). Bockmuehl 2001: 397–98 also emphasizes divine agency with regard to righteousness and forgiveness. Referring to 1QS 11:10 among other texts, he argues that this is determined solely by God.

It therefore seems that in recent research the notion of human agency is accorded very little room within the deterministic framework of the Dead Sea Scrolls. However, the references in 1QS 11:10–11 and 1QH^{a} 7:25–26, 34, which state that human beings are not able to determine their steps (see above), seem to be contradicted by 1QS 3:9, where a member of the community is exhorted to determine his steps so as to walk perfectly on all the paths of God. Practically the same terminology is used in each case, but the latter is in the affirmative. Moreover, whereas in the other passages, and elsewhere, it is God who is the subject of the verb "determine," in 1QS 3:9 a human being is the subject (God is not the grammatical subject of a verb in the entire section 1QS 2:25–3:11). This statement in 1QS 3:9 seems to have gone unnoticed in recent studies on determinism in the Dead Sea Scrolls. While referring to it can hardly be the basis on which we can decide in favor of a strong view on human agency that contradicts the other deterministic statements, it may support those scholars who put less emphasis on determinism in these texts.

For comparison one might consider the book of *Jubilees*. Although the *Two Spirits Treatise* is often taken as the strongest deterministic statement in early Jewish literature, the book of *Jubilees* is not far off (for example, *Jub.* 5:13–14). How were such

passages intended to be read? Perhaps the deterministic framework of the heavenly tablets in *Jubilees* functioned as a hortatory device so that those who acquired knowledge of what is in these tablets, that is, in *Jubilees*, and paid heed to them ended up on the right side of God's judgment (Collins 1998a: 82; Baynes 2012: 117). In this sense, the discussion about the texts from Qumran in this section also applies to apocalyptic literature and how individual fate and human free will are to be conceptualized in the context of grand conceptions of periodization of history, heavenly tablets, and the end of times.

The issue remains how systematic and absolute a sense we can give to the concept of determinism and to what extent we can credit people in the ancient world with sharing that same sense. This affects how possibly conflicting evidence is weighed and may be illustrated by the presence of astrological texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Philosophically and logically, astrological texts do not necessarily imply determinism. To be more precise, in the ancient world astrological theories of fate were already distinguished from physical determinism. Physical determinism concerns the connection between cause and effect, with which Stoic philosophy was routinely concerned (Bobzien 1998: 13). However, outside this particular philosophical context, astrological theories indicate that people believed there was room for human agency that could do something about certain things that were seemingly destined to be. Ancient astrology was not fatalistic, and the same applies to magical and apotropaic texts. Some may have thought that the occurrence of such afflictions was preordained by God, but others may not. Based on a certain systematic approach, we may categorize texts in such a way that the impression arises that there is no room for freedom to do anything more than to assent to the predetermined plan. However, such an assessment is the consequence of the definition of determinism we apply, as well as how we use it. There is nothing in the magical and astrological texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls that necessitates such an assessment.

The fact is that we do not really know how people read, understood, and used these various texts side by side. Scholars often approach the Dead Sea Scrolls as one corpus of texts, something like a library, and attribute it wholesale to one group or movement. Within this context texts are often aligned with each other. Sometimes this works well, at other times less so. Instead, the texts may to some degree reflect ongoing discussion and discourse as well as a more diverse group of owners (Popović 2012). This means we need not make the different texts agree within one systematic theological/philosophical framework. On this basis, there may have been room for human agency amid various expressions of a strong sense of determinism. There seems no reason to force petitionary prayer or astrological and magical texts into a deterministic framework constructed on the basis of other texts.

In this regard, there is another text that has received little attention thus far in discussions regarding determinism in ancient Jewish thought. The *Visions of Amram* (4Q543–49) presents angelic or demonic beings having a dispute about

human beings. Unlike the *Two Spirits Treatise, Visions of Amram* presents Amram with a choice between the two angelic figures, between light and darkness, righteousness and wickedness (Popović forthcoming). They parallel the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness from the *Treatise*, who have divided their authority over two groups of people between them. When asked by Amram how they can have authority over him, they both answer that they rule over all of humanity. The notion of choice is of particular interest here. The two figures ask Amram by whom he seeks to be ruled. This seems contradictory: on the one hand people are said to be ruled by either of these two spirits, while on the other hand it seems there was a choice to seek the rule of either one. Did ancient readers think this choice only applied to Amram or to others as well? In the *Two Spirits Treatise* the situation seems more or less settled by the text's deterministic perspective: God has predetermined everyone's path. At the same time, the text refers to this struggle between the two spirits within the heart of man. Whether the end result of that struggle was thought to be predetermined is not entirely clear. The text is not as systematic and explicit in its articulations as we would like it to be. However, the *Two Spirits Treatise* clearly does not present human beings with a choice, as does *Visions of Amram*.

The *Visions of Amram* does not contain deterministic thought, as far as can be gauged from the extant text. However, given the parallel setting of two spirits in dispute about human beings in the *Two Spirits Treatise* and the *Visions of Amram* it is important to take the latter text into account when it comes to the presence of deterministic ideas in apocalyptic texts such as in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Interestingly, the different perspectives that come to the fore in the *Two Spirits Treatise* and the *Visions of Amram* are both explained by reference to outside influences, especially Zoroastrian, on the development of deterministic ideas in Jewish apocalyptic thought.

Relation to Babylonian and Persian Ideas

Scholars have often pointed to parallels in Babylonian and Persian thought to explain some features of apocalyptic determinism in ancient Judaism. This especially concerns the notion of the periodization of history and the tablets of destiny or fate. The issue of human choice has received less attention. The parallel between certain strands of Zoroastrian thought and *Visions of Amram* has not been noted before, but is important in understanding that deterministic thought does not have to exclude human choice completely. Determinism in apocalyptic and ancient Jewish literature is not as consistent as modern scholars want it to be.

The tablets of destiny are a feature of ancient Near Eastern cultures going back to Sumerian texts. They function as the heavenly parallel for earthly kings who govern their countries and need to communicate their wishes and decisions in one way or another, the written form being one way of doing so. The heavenly tablets of destiny were the primary means through which the gods decided the destinies of all beings and memorialized their will (Paul 1973; Baynes 2012: 46–52). As frequently as they appear in ancient Near Eastern texts, as little do they occur in the Hebrew Bible. They manifest themselves most prominently in apocalyptic and early Jewish literature, only to disappear after the first century C.E. (Baynes 2012: 46, 52, 133). Given that scholars have suggested a Babylonian background for various elements in *1 Enoch* and Daniel, the notion of the heavenly tablets of destiny may have also become more popular via similar trajectories. Whether or not a vague common cultural milieu best accounts for the sudden popularity of the heavenly tablets of destiny motif (Baynes 2012: 20–21, 52), in our analysis of such cultural encounters we need to distinguish between different kinds of traditions and texts and reckon with various trajectories accordingly (Popović 2013). This also applies to the possible Persian background.

Regarding the periodization of history in Jewish apocalyptic texts, Collins 1998a: 29–33 points to Persian texts (*Bahman Yašt, Bundahišn*) that contain an elaborate periodization of history and eschatology. The succession of millennia, such as the division of the twelve thousand years in the *Bundahišn*, is an expression of such deterministic periodization and is seen as an integral feature of Persian theology. A moot point is the dating of these Persian sources (de Jong 2010). There is some evidence to argue for at least a Hellenistic date for the idea in Persian thought that world history was divided into set periods. A passage in Plutarch's *On Isis and Osiris* (§47) refers to a nine-thousand-year period and something like an end of time. Another example is found in the *Oracle of Hystaspes*, which apparently had a schema of six (or seven) thousand years. In a structural sense, these Persian and Greek texts may point to a parallel tendency to structure history into set periods, but the actual form in which it is expressed differs from that in Jewish apocalyptic texts. Collins (1998a: 33), therefore, points out that it cannot be a matter of a simple borrowing "since the Persian conception of a sequence of millennia is quite different from what we find in Jewish apocalypses." Furthermore, the specific forms that the periodization of history takes in some Jewish sources were influenced by the interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years prophecy (see above), among other factors.

The Persian sources are not unequivocal when it comes to the notion of determinism. There are different positions expressed in the sources. Alexander (2006: 33–35) refers to the more deterministic, fatalistic form of Zoroastrianism called Zurvanism, one of several variants of the chief cosmogony myth (de Jong 2010: 484), as a parallel to the strong determinism in the *Two Spirits Treatise*. In this case, God has predetermined man's destiny and man has no free choice. However, Alexander does not think this Zurvanistic strand directly influenced the *Two Spirits Treatise*. Rather, he suggests that the strong form of determinism in the *Two Spirits Treatise* may have

developed through the adaptation of Zoroastrianism as attested in the Gathas to Jewish monotheism.

If history was structured into set periods with an attendant sense of determinism, the question concerning exactly what was determined may be posed. De Jong (2010: 492–93) argues that a principal difference between Jewish and Iranian texts is "the strong focus on the detailed plans God has made. In both systems, history has a pre-ordained end that can be described as putting an end to evil and rewarding those men and women who had sided with the forces of good. The date of this end is known—at least to God. . . . The Zoroastrian sources, however, do not at any moment suggest that Ahura Mazda has pre-ordained everything, down to the choice of each individual man or woman. . . . In Zoroastrianism, it is the *choice* everyone has made that determines his/her afterlife and eventual fate at the end of time." This strand of Iranian thought limits what is predetermined—history as such is preordained but not everything, especially not the choices made by individuals.

These two strands regarding deterministic ideas in Persian thought are instructive when considering the *Two Spirits Treatise* and the *Visions of Amram* from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Whereas the Zurvanistic strand might agree with the *Two Spirits Treatise*, according to the other strand of Zoroastrianism human beings are free to choose between the two spirits and hence to choose the course of their individual destiny. Strikingly and not noted before, this perspective seems to agree well with the Aramaic *Visions of Amram*: "The two primeval Spirits who are twins were revealed [to me, Zarathustra] in sleep. Their ways of thinking, speaking, and behaving are two: the good and the evil. And between these two [ways] the wise men have rightly chosen, and not the foolish ones. And when these two Spirits met, they established at the origin life and non-life and that at the end the worst existence will be for the followers of Falsehood and for the followers of Truth the best thinking" (*Yasna* 30.3–4; taken from Alexander 2006: 34). Both texts emphasize the choice individuals have in determining their own destiny. Furthermore, Amram has a dream vision in which he sees the two spirits, while according to the *Yasna* 30 passage the two spirits were revealed to Zarathustra in sleep.

Whether such parallels point to a common apocalyptic background is not so important for our purposes. It is instructive to see more or less similar positions regarding different forms of deterministic thought (strong and less strong) reflected in these various traditions. The *Yasna* 30 passage is important to understand what position *Visions of Amram* may have taken in the development or articulation of deterministic ideas in Jewish apocalyptic thought. In contrast to the starkly deterministic view of the *Two Spirits Treatise, Visions of Amram* leaves room for choice. This is not to say that we must frame the different positions in these two texts against the background of a discourse on determinism and free will. Rather, the texts show that regarding a similar issue (two spirits and human beings) there was not only a strong deterministic perspective but also that there was another perspective that left individuals with a choice.

Bibliography

Alexander, Philip S. (2006). "Predestination and Free Will in the Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in J. M. G. Barclay and S. J. Gathercole, eds., *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*. London: T&T Clark, pp. 27–49.

Baumgarten, Albert I. (1997). *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*. Leiden: Brill.

Baynes, Leslie (2012). *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.* Leiden: Brill.

Bobzien, Susanne (1998). *Determinism and Freedom in Stoic Philosophy*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Bockmuehl, Markus (2001). "1QS and Salvation at Qumran," in D. A. Carson, P. T. O'Brien, and M. A. Seifrid, eds., *Justification and Variegated Nomism, volume 1: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 381–414.

Collins, John J. (1993). *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Collins, John J. (1997). *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Routledge.

Collins, John J. (1998a). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Collins, John J. (1998b). "From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End," in J. J. Collins, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, volume 1: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*. New York: Continuum, pp. 129–61.

Duhaime, Jean (2000). "Determinism," in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. New York: Oxford, pp. 194–98.

Frede, Dorothea (2003). "Stoic Determinism," in B. Inwood, ed., *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 179–205.

Jong, Albert de (2010). "Iranian Connections in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 479–500.

Klawans, Jonathan (2010). "The Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and the Study of Religious Belief: Determinism and Freedom of Choice," in M. Grossman, ed., *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 264–83.

Klawans, Jonathan (2012). *Josephus and the Theologies of Ancient Judaism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kuhlen, Rainer, Christa Seidel, and Nelly Tsouyopoulos (1972). "Determinismus/Indeterminismus," in J. F. Ritter et al. eds., *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie,* volume 2. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, pp. 150–55.

Lambert, David (2010). "Was the Dead Sea Sect a Penitential Movement?" in T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 501–13.

Lange, Armin (2011). "לרוג gôral," in U. Dahmen and H.-J. Fabry, eds., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, pp. 593–600.

Marcoulesco, Ileana (1987). "Free Will and Determinism," in M. Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, volume 5. New York: Macmillan, pp. 419–21.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2001). *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2003). *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation.* Minneapolis: Fortress.

Paul, Shalom M. (1973). "Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University 5*: 345–53.

Popović, Mladen (2010). "Determinism," in J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow, eds., *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 533–35.

Popović, Mladen (2012). "Qumran as Scroll Storehouse in Times of Crisis? A Comparative Perspective on Judaean Desert Manuscript Collections." *Journal for the Study of Judaism 43*: 551–94.

Popović, Mladen (2013). "Networks of Scholars: The Transmission of Astronomical and Astrological Learning between Babylonians, Greeks and Jews," in J. Ben-Dov and S. L. Sanders, eds., *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge.* New York: New York University Press, pp. 151–91.

Popović, Mladen (forthcoming). "Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism: The *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS III, 13–IV, 26) and Other Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls," in J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten and G. H. van Kooten, eds., *"And God Breathed into Man the Breath of Life"—Dust of the Ground and Breath of Life (Gen 2.7): The Development of a Dualistic Anthropology in Early Judaism and Christianity, and Their Umwelts*. Themes in Biblical Narrative. Leiden: Brill.

Schuller, Eileen (2000). "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," in J. J. Collins and R. A. Kugler, eds., *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 29–45.

Seebaß, Gottfried (2004). "Wille/Willensfreiheit: Philosophisch," in H. R. Balz et al., eds., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* volume 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 55–73.

Sellars, John (2006). *Stoicism*. Chesham: Acumen.

Stauber, Chad (2011). "Determinism in the Rule of the Community (1QS): A New Perspective," in P. W. Flint, J. Duhaime, and K. S. Baek, eds., *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 345–58.

Stone, Michael E. (2011). *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Tukasi, Emmanuel O. (2008). *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer in John and the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Ideological Reading of John and the Rule of the Community (1QS)*. London: T&T Clark.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1996). "Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature," in Adela Yarbro Collins, ed., *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 55–138.

CHAPTER 16

APOCALYPTIC DUALISM

JÖRG FREY

1. Dualism as a category of scholarship

"Dualism" is a scholarly term used to characterize a number of philosophical and religious thought systems shaped by a fundamental physical or metaphysical duality, a teaching of two powers, principles or states of being which cannot be explained as originating in or leading to an overall unity. The term has no equivalent in antiquity. It was first coined in 1700 by the English Orientalist Thomas Hyde with regard to the Zoroastrian doctrine of two primordial and co-eternal entities: the one good, causing light and life (Ahura Mazda), the other bad, causing darkness and death (Ahriman). Of course, such a strict dualism is not conceivable within the context of biblical monotheism and creation thought. Thus, in Jewish (and Christian) contexts, "dualistic" worldviews are at least modified by the biblical view of the one creator, so that evil (or Satan) is never thought to be coeternal with the one God.

The term, however, has been further modified, in order to be applicable to various fundamental dichotomies. Since, in 1734, the German enlightenment philosopher Christian Wolff had transferred the term to the philosophical dichotomy of mind and matter, "dualism" has also become a technical term for some elements in philosophy, in particular the division of material and spiritual aspects in cosmology, anthropology and epistemology. In the history of religions, the term was also applied to phenomena and doctrines beyond Zoroastrianism, especially

to Gnosticism or Manichaeism, but also to biblical thought patterns (e.g. in the Johannine literature). Especially the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has brought to knowledge various examples of a dualistic worldview within early Judaism, most prominently the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS 3: 13–4: 26) and the War Scroll (1QM), but the development of these patterns goes back to pre-Qumranic apocalyptic and sapiential thought. Other early Jewish traditions and authors (and also early Christian texts) also provide examples of different types of dualistic worldviews. Generally, dualism is considered to be a characteristic feature of apocalyptic thought.

Different *taxonomies* of dualism have been suggested (cf. Bianchi 1983). Scholars distinguished between *radical* or *moderate* dualisms, between *dialectic* dualisms (with an everlasting antagonism) and *eschatological* dualisms (with a final battle or decision), or between *cosmic* (with the world created by the good principle) and *anticosmic* dualisms (with the world being a creation of the demiurge or Satan). The terms, however, are not used consistently. In biblical studies other characterizations have been used, not all of them in a clearly defined or mutually exclusive meaning. Given the variation of terms, several dimensions can be discerned (Frey 1997: 281–5):

- *metaphysical* dualism: God—Satan/Belial etc. (which is, in the biblical context never "absolute" but only relative: Even Satan is never on the same level or co-eternal with God)
- *cosmic* dualism: Michael—Belial (or also light—darkness) with the world (humans and also angels/spirits) divided into two opposing groups, camps or forces
- *spatial* dualism: above—below; heavenly world—earthly world (although the duality of "heaven and earth" is most often not dualistic but simply used for the whole of the creation)
- *eschatological* or *temporal* dualism: this world—the world to come
- *ethical* dualism: good—evil; the good—the wicked
- *soteriological* dualism: the saved and the rejected or lost (due to a salvific act or decision)
- *theological / creational* dualism: creator—creation; God—world
- *physical* dualism: matter—spirit
- *anthropological* dualism: body—soul/spirit
- *psychological* dualism: good inclination—evil inclination (with the contrast or struggle between good and evil within the human heart or mind)

2. The Hebrew Bible and its contexts

"Apocalyptic dualism" was apparently developed in post-exilic times, in the Persian period (Meyers 2011: 94-5). But the Persian sources are late (from the Sassanian period or later), and the chronological analysis and isolation of older materials is quite difficult, so it seems not appropriate to invoke too easily Iranian "influence" or rather "Zoroastrianism" to explain novel features in post-exilic Judaism (Skjaervø 2011: 76). Without precluding certain influences from the wider history-of-religions context, it is at least equally important to look for inner-Jewish explanations and developments.

Generally, the Hebrew Bible has little to offer with respect to dualistic views. This is particularly true for preexilic texts. Death or evil are never viewed as powers rivalling the God of Israel, and "heaven and earth" in Gen. 1: 1 are still a duality that expresses the whole of creation. Despite mythic underpinnings in the Hebrew Bible with JHWH fighting chaotic powers, the prophets defend the view that there is no power equal to the one God, who is the creator of light and darkness, good and evil, as Deutero-Isaiah explicitly (and polemically) states (Isa. 45: 7). Opposing figures like "Satan" are always subject to God (cf. Job 1–2), and the tendency to make Satan responsible for negative acts only occurs at the very margin of the canon, in 1 Chronicles 21 (compared with 1 Samuel 24), and the idea of a fight between Michael and other angels is only attested in the apocalyptic book of Daniel (Dan. 10: 20–21; cf. 12: 1).

The development of dualistic thought can be located in the postexilic (Persian) period, but the precise reason is still unclear: Is it simply a matter of external (Persian or Zoroastrian) influence, or is the rise of dualism due to internal Israelite or inner-Jewish developments? Whereas earlier research often suggested the former, more recent research considers dualism also as an inner-Jewish development which might be in some respect "triggered" by the general climate of thought. The reason for this change in research is not only the problem of the analysis of the Persian sources but also the difficulty of imagining how mainstream or other Zoroastrian views might have actually been adopted in late Hebrew Bible texts. It is true, however, that some elements of Persian teaching were known to western Greek authors (such as Theopompus in the 4th century BCE, quoted by Plutarch in *Is. Os.* 45-47), and since Judeans lived in the eastern diaspora (Mesopotamia, Persia), where we can assume that some (esp. Aramaic) writings have their origins (e.g., *Astronomic Enoch,* Tobit, and also Aramaic Levi traditions), it is not inconceivable that the views current in that area also influenced Jewish tradition.

3. The emergence of dualistic views in the earliest period of Jewish apocalypticism

In the latest parts of the Hebrew Bible (esp. in the book of Daniel), and in contemporary (or even slightly earlier) texts such as the Book of Watchers or in the Aramaic Visions of Amram (preserved in the Qumran corpus), dualistic views emerge in various forms.

In the *Book of Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 1–36), the earliest truly apocalyptic composition, the worldview is characterized by different aspects of dualism: First, there is a marked cosmic dualism, mostly in a vertical dimension. There is a fundamental division between the heavenly and the earthly world, and "disaster occurs when the realms are confounded" (Nickelsburg 2001: 40). The descent of the watchers from their realm to the human sphere and their mixing with human wives pollute the earth and produce destructive powers and demons. Thus, the first mythological explanation of the origins of "evil," given in the myth of the watchers, is based on the fundamental separation of the heavenly realm from the earthly. "Heaven and earth" are no more a synthetic unity (as in Gen 1:1), but a duality of two separated realms. Angels may work as mediators, they report human deeds in the divine realm and descend to execute judgment. On the other hand, Enoch is chosen to ascend to the heavenly throne room (*1 En.* 14). This provides a pattern for later visions of the heavenly throne or temple or for various types of ascent mysticism in the Hekhalot literature (cf. Alexander 2011). The (limited) permeability between the two worlds rather stresses the fundamental separation and distance between the divine realm and the world of human beings. Now, heaven is described as a parallel universe, different and separate from the world of mortal humans with the struggle between good and evil. Apart from that predominant vertical dimension, there is also a "horizontal" dimension in the Book of Watchers' cosmological views: The cosmic journeys bring Enoch to places beyond the realm of human habitation, to the original paradise or to the place where the souls of the righteous and the sinners are kept.

Another important aspect is the temporal and eschatological one: The present world, shaped by injustice, is put in contrast with a future judgment or cleansing. Injustice and demonic powers will come to an end, the sinners will be punished and the righteous will be rewarded (cf. *1 En.* 1: 9–10). The idea of a coming judgment considered to bring a restitution of the divine order and the eradication of all evil powers (cf. *1 En.* 16) and the hope for a future period of justice, radically different from the present experience of injustice (later phrased in terms such as "this world"—"the world to come") is a common feature of all types of apocalyptic

worldview in later texts. The same is true for the view of an opposed eschatological destiny of the righteous and the sinners, which depends on their deeds, but is decided in the final judgment of God or his agent. Such an eschatological dualism is a common feature of most early Jewish (and also early Christian) apocalyptic traditions.

The earliest Enoch traditions show that in the beginnings of Jewish apocalypticism, the spatial and vertical aspects were predominant whereas only in the subsequent development, in the composition of historical apocalypses such as the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, the *Animal Apocalypse* or parts of the Book of Daniel (Daniel 2; 7; 8; 10–11) the focus is laid on the temporal dimension and on the hope for a new period of God's kingdom or of a renewed world without evil powers, ultimately resulting in the dualism of "this world" and "the world to come" (cf. *4 Ezra* and rabbinic texts).

Texts of the later Enochic tradition increasingly consider demonic powers to be active in the world of humans. Such "evil spirits" are already mentioned in the Book of Watchers, where they come from the dead bodies of the Giants, as their immortal spirits, carrying on their malicious work. Their lawlessness is explained from their origin in the perversion of the created order, and as their ultimate fate they face the great judgment (*1 En.* 15: 11–16: 1). In *Jubilees*, those "spirits" are assigned a chief or leader, called Mastema (*Jub.* 10: 8), who is apparently identical with the figure elsewhere called Satan or Belial. Thus the traditions of the Watchers and of Satan (whose state was ambivalent in biblical texts) are merged. When Noah intercedes for his sons against the attacks of the demonic spirits and God commands the angels to bind all the demons, Mastema asks for some of them to remain and act under his power to lead astray the humans. On his petition, God changes his former decree and allows the tenth part of the demons to stay while nine parts are given over to condemnation (*Jub.* 10: 8–9). Here, Mastema not only acts as the leader of the malicious demons but still as a figure in God's realm, petitioning or even negotiating with God (cf. Job 1–2). He seems to have a function in the divine economy, and with the assistance of demonic powers he is then able to fulfil his role and punish or lead astray humans. The demons belong to his dominion, but it is clear that he himself is subject to the authority of God, who has assigned authority to him (cf. Alexander 1999: 342–3). It is clear that this view with a "Satanic" figure as the leader of the host of malicious demons is not a radical, but at best a modified type of dualism. The leader of the evil forces has a limited realm and a limited time of authority over his demonic forces and also over humans.

4. The different patterns of dualism represented in the Qumran corpus

As already noted, the discussion on dualism and its roots was particularly triggered by the massive growth of the range of sources due to the discoveries from Qumran. Most importantly, the discovery of Aramaic manuscripts of the Book of Enoch in the Qumran library (and their early dating) has established the Enochic tradition as the main source of emerging apocalyptic thought. But one of the most fascinating discoveries made soon after the release of the scrolls from Cave 1 was a hitherto unknown Jewish type of dualistic thought, which differed widely from the ideas of the Hebrew Bible as well as from those of the Rabbis. These findings in the *War Scroll* (1QM) and in the *Community Rule* (1QS) caught the interest of scholars, especially from the perspective of New Testament scholarship. The discovery gave rise to a vivid debate on the background of the dualistic language in some New Testament texts, especially the Gospel of John, which had been explained by leading scholars from a Gnostic background, largely attested in late Mandaean and Manichaean texts. In view of these scholarly constructions and their exegetical consequences, the appearance of a novel Jewish type of dualism was a fascinating discovery. Already in 1950, scholars claimed to have discovered the "mother soil" of the Johannine language and thought in a "non-orthodox" (or as they originally thought: Gnostic) type of Palestinian Judaism, which was at least historically closer to the Gospel tradition than the sources adduced for reconstructing a Gnostic foil (cf. Frey 2008 and 2011). The Qumran discoveries thus opened up a fresh opportunity to discuss New Testament problems, and this scholarly framework influenced much of the early research on Qumran texts. The *Community Rule* (1QS) and especially the passage 1QS 3: 13–4: 26 and the *War Scroll* (1QM) were studied as first examples of a cosmic and ethical dualism comparable to New Testament texts, and—from a more recent perspective—they were read in a somewhat harmonizing manner as testimonies of "the" dualism of the Qumran community (or sect). But all the early ideas were developed on the basis of only very few texts, mainly the scrolls from Cave 1 which had been published quickly, whereas the bulk of fragments from Cave 4 was inaccessible to most scholars until the 1990s.

With the release of the majority of the 4Q fragments scholars increasingly became aware that the Qumran corpus includes not only a collection of sectarian works but a wide range of texts from the literary production of Palestinian Judaism in the two or three centuries BCE, the majority of which was composed not by the sectarians themselves, but originated in other groups preceding the *yaḥad*, and was simply collected, read, copied and transmitted. Thus, not all the texts actually represent the viewpoint of the sectarians. It is, rather, necessary to distinguish between texts adopted from other groups and texts that represent the particular views of the community, on the basis of criteria which are still open to discussion. Also the dualistic

views in the Qumran corpus are by no means consistent. In recent years, scholars have distinguished different patterns of dualistic thought in the Qumran library (cf. Frey 1997) and pointed to three traditions which might ultimately explain the development of the particular dualistic worldview of the Qumran sectarians (cf. Hultgren 2007): first an early type of dualism in Aramaic priestly texts, then a previously unknown tradition of dualistic wisdom thought, and third a pattern of an eschatological war dualism developed in the War Scroll material. The distinctively dualistic views of the Qumran sectarians were inspired by these three traditions. They can be found in some of the texts composed within the community and especially in the liturgies (such as 1QS 1: 16–3: 13) and the blessings and curses of the community. Although the dualism to be discussed is never an absolute one, but at best a moderate one, with the one God as the creator and redeemer, it is not useful to avoid or dismiss the use of the term (as Heger 2010 suggests); rather, it should be described with sufficient differentiation. And although the Qumran sectarians most probably did not produce apocalypses themselves, their worldview, is thoroughly shaped by apocalyptic ideas (cf. Collins, 1997; Frey 2007), including the activity of opposing powers and the hope for a final defeat of all evil forces. Thus, the dualistic thought patterns as preserved in the Qumran library and also the distinctively Qumran sectarian type of dualism can be labelled "apocalyptic" and considered as part of the development of apocalyptic dualism.

4.1 An early type of cosmic dualism in Aramaic (pre-sectarian) priestly texts

An early form of dualism, with a straight opposition of angelic powers, appears in an Aramaic text preserved in six or seven fragmentary manuscripts (4Q543–548, 549?) in the Qumran library, the so-called *Visions of Amram* (cf. Hultgren 2007: 320–9; Frey 1997: 316-322). The visionary description, attributed to Amram, the father of Moses and Aaron, belongs to a group of Aramaic texts which includes another fragmentary text, attributed to Amram's father Qahat (the Testament of Qahat 4Q542), and various documents linked with Qahat's father Levi (1Q21, 4Q213–214, 540–541). The Aramaic language and palaeography point to a relatively early date, clearly before the time of the Qumran community, in the early 2nd or even in the 3rd century BCE. The selection of the biblical figures of the line between Levi and Aaron/Moses and other thematic features (purity, sacrifice) show the interest in priesthood and priests, who are to be instructed by the testamentary heritage of their ideal forefathers. According to Hultgren (2007: 323–5) these priestly circles draw on early Enochic literature, which first developed a similar demonology (cf. Mastema in *Jubilees*) and the view of an opposite fate of the righteous and the wicked (*1 En.* 1:8-9). The Visions of Amram are also the earliest text in which the pattern of the "literary

testament" (adopted later schematically in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) is developed (Frey 2010).

In a passage preserved in 4QAmram^{b} (=4Q544), Amram retells a vision of two angelic beings quarrelling over him. They ask him by which of the two he chooses to be ruled. He is then told that the two claim rule over the world and every human being, the one over all darkness and the people belonging to darkness, the other over the reign of light and all "sons of light." The first angel has a dreadful face, is wearing coloured clothes and obscured by darkness, whereas the other has a bright appearance and a smiling face. From the three names of both figures only one is preserved: The dark angel is called Malkireša (4 Q544 2: 3), which leads to the assumption that the other might be called Malkizedeq (cf. 11QMelch). Both names have been linked with others, as, e.g., Michael, Prince of Light, or Belial, Prince of Darkness (Milik 1972: 79), but this is only guesswork. In any case this is a very early, probably the earliest example of a cosmic dualism of opposed angelic powers dominating the world and struggling for possession over human beings. Other fragments of the text show the division of humanity into the two spheres of light and darkness, so that humans can be called "sons of light" and "sons of darkness" and also "sons of the lie" and "sons of truth" (4QAmram^{f} = 4Q547 1 ii 8), and their respective fate is either going to the light or going to the shades, to death (4Q547 1 ii 12-14). In the fragments of the Testament of Qahat we can find the opposition between the "Sons of Truth" and the "Sons of Wickedness" facing eschatological destruction (4Q542 1 ii 8). Another fragment contains also the opposition of light and darkness, but the context cannot be reconstructed any more.

It is unclear in these texts, for what reason humans belong to the one group or to the other. Remarkably, there is almost no mention of particular ethical criteria or precepts. Is the fate of humans somehow predestined, or is the choice simply left to the human being as expressed in Amram's vision? And how is the two angels' rule over humans imagined? There are other traditions, more obviously inspired by the heavenly courtroom motif (cf. Zech. 3: 1), in which two angels (or "Michael and the Devil") contest about the corpse of Moses, i.e. his eternal belonging (thus Jude 9, and its source, probably the lost ending of the *Testament of Moses*). But in our case, the dominion apparently affects the life of Amram, and if his vision is communicated in his literary testament to his followers, they are implicitly exhorted to choose correctly and to follow the bright, not the sinister angel. Thus the text functions as an implicit exhortation to follow the bright angel, not the dark one, whatever that may mean ethically or with respect to the priestly service. The dualism developed here, possibly still in the 3rd century BCE, is a strict cosmic dualism with the opposition of angelic powers and the division of humanity into two opposed groups, dominated by the respective leaders and facing opposite eschatological fates. There is no ethical dualism here, nor any kind of anthropological or psychological divide (as we find it in the Treatise on the Two Spirits), nor is there any notion of an eschatological war (as we find it in the War Scroll). The name Malkireša also occurs in Qumran sectarian

texts where the figure is probably identified with Belial. It is, furthermore, interesting that the term "sons of light" which occurs later as the predominant self-designation of the members of the Qumran community and is also used in early Christian texts (1 Thess. 5: 5; Luke 16: 8; John 12: 32), is not a Qumran sectarian invention, but apparently originates in an earlier priestly milieu where this type of cosmic dualism was developed.

4.2 The multi-level dualism in the Treatise on the Two Spirits as a development of a particular line of Palestinian Jewish sapiential thought

A very subtle type of dualism is presented in the so-called Treatise on the Two Spirits from the Qumran Community Rule (1QS 3: 13–4: 26). This is probably the most debated passage from the Qumran scrolls, especially due to the fact that it was often considered the "basic ideology" of the Qumran sectarians and the fundamental paradigm of Qumran dualism. More recent research has pointed not only to the inconsistencies and differences between the dualism in this text, in the War Scroll, and other Qumran texts, but also to the particular character of 1QS in light of the 4QS parallels (Metso 1997) and in comparison with other rules such as 1QSa, CD etc. 1QS was not the single and definitive rule of the sectarians but only one of several forms in which rule material was developed (cf. Schofield 2009) and combined with other materials. The manuscript 1QS is, instead, a compilation of different texts of various genres which are not equally preserved in the parallel copies (4QS$^{a\text{-}j}$ and 5Q11). 1QS begins with a liturgy for the renewal of the covenant (1QS 1: 1–3: 12) with a particular dualistic structure, and the Treatise on the Two Spirits (3: 13–4: 26) appears as an appendix to that liturgy. Only thereafter, the Community Rule proper follows, introduced by a new heading (5: 1). It includes a severe penal code (6: 23–7: 25) and is closed by instructions for the wise teacher (9: 11–26). The final part is a list of the appointed times for God's praise, concluded by a "psalm" (9: 26–11: 22). Originally the two now separate manuscripts 1QSa (a different rule for the congregation considered to be "in the end time") and 1QSb (a collection of blessings) were part of the same scroll. The parallel manuscripts from 4QS differ in many ways from 1QS: None of them contains parallels to 1QSa and 1QSb. One of them (4QS^{e}) closes with a calendrical text instead of the final psalm, two others (4QS^{d,e}) only begin with the rule material (paralleled in 1QS 5: 1ff) and lack the community liturgy and the Treatise on the Two Spirits. The latter is actually paralleled in only one further copy (4QS^{c}).

The Treatise is, thus, an originally independent text, adopted in the some (at least two) of the rule manuscripts as an appendix to the introductory communal liturgy (1QS 1: 1–3: 13), but omitted in others. Its distinctive dualism differs from the dualism of the preceding liturgy, encompassing three levels, a basically *cosmic* dualism,

a strong *ethical* dimension and a distinctive *psychological* dimension of a struggle of opposed strivings within the heart of any human being. Especially this idea of an inner struggle is not adopted in any of the other community texts. For several reasons (cf. Lange 1995: 127–8), the Treatise should be considered an independent composition of rather pre-sectarian origin (i.e. composed before the foundation of the *yaḥad*). It represents a particular development in Palestinian Jewish sapiential thought of the 2nd century BCE, which can now be partially reconstructed in view of the sapiential texts from the Qumran library. It is certainly not the summary of the community's worldview, and its dualism differs from the more straightforward ideas developed within the *yaḥad*.

Earlier scholarship had proposed comprehensive hypotheses about the literary development of 1QS from a basic kernel or in different literary layers, and also the Treatise on the Two Spirits was thought to be a product of several literary stages (Osten-Sacken 1969). It seems, however, more appropriate to read the passage separately as a compositional unity, inserted into 1QS without (or with only minimal) editorial changes (for a dissenting view, see Hempel 2010). The structure is already indicated in the lengthy heading (3: 13–15a) and made visible by structuring textual elements (cf. Lange 1995: 140–3). In 1QS the text is addressed to the "instructor" who has to teach the "sons of light," but this may be a sectarian adaptation. According to the heading, the text provides insight "into the history of all the sons of man, concerning all the ranks of their spirits, in accordance with their signs (cf. 3: 18–4: 1), concerning their deeds in their generations (cf. 4: 2–14 and 4: 15–18) and the visitation of their punishment and the periods of their salvation (cf. 4: 18–23)." Accordingly, the heading is followed by an introductory hymn on the creator God (3: 15b–18). A first passage, then, introduces and explains the two spirits (3: 18–4: 1), a second one the corresponding virtues and vices (4: 2–14), and a third one the human acts according to the two spirits and the present and future "visitations" (4: 15–18, 18–23), the eschatological purification and the end of evil. Finally, 4: 23–26 resumes the main topics.

The worldview is based on the creation: "All that exists and will exist," i.e., being as a whole, including history, is attributed to God the creator, by whom the order of the world, its history and the eschatological "visitation" are predetermined (3: 18). The teaching is probably to be interpreted as a kind of theodicy, an attempt to explain the experience of affliction and hostility (4: 6–8) and the fact that even the pious can go astray and sin (3: 21–22), and to ensure the final perfection of the covenant, the purification of the elect and the removal of all evil. The teaching also explains the reality of the struggle in the world and also within human hearts. Good and evil are explained as parts of the divine creation and plan, but their rule and struggle are limited, and their end is already determined. Contrary to some earlier assumptions, the text is not simply about the human mindset and human attitudes, but these are presented in a cosmological and eschatological framework. The "two spirits" are considered angelic beings effectively governing and afflicting human life. Dualistic oppositions occur on

the cosmic, ethical, and anthropological or psychological level (cf. Frey 1997: 290-5; Hultgren 2007: 341–62; Leonhardt-Balzer 2010):

* The *cosmic dualism* is made up by the opposition of two spiritual beings, the "Spirit of Truth" and the "Spirit of Wickedness," additionally called "Prince of Light" and "Angel of Darkness" (3: 20-1, 24), and their respective "divisions," consisting of humans and angels/demons (although the latter is only said for the lot of darkness). The names show the combination of cosmic metaphors (light/darkness) with ethical terms (truth/lie), and show that the "spirits" introduced here are considered angelic beings (although *ruah* is used with a broader range of meanings in the later parts of the text). Clearly, they are not independent or even divine figures but subject to God, who has created and appointed them (3: 17, 25) and also determined the end of their dominion (4: 25). The struggle between them and "their divisions" (4: 17) will last until the end. Then, with certainty, evil will be eradicated for ever (4: 19). But at present, the world is under their rule, and the evil spirit causes affliction and the experience of evil. All humans have a certain share in the respective "lot" (4: 24), and their deeds are inspired by the two spirits.

* An *ethical* dualism is embedded in the cosmic structure: Humans practice virtues and vices according to their share in the respective lot. They are characterized by use of ethical terms such as truth, justice, or wickedness. According to their belonging, humans follow opposite strivings and face an opposite eschatological fate. Their share is predestined in the order of creation (cf. 4: 26), their character is visible in the respective deeds and will become manifest at the end, when God will judge the wicked and purify the elect. Until then, however, even the elect are not totally pure, nor completely under the influence of the good spirit. Thus, both spirits are seen as still struggling not only in the world, as experienced in the enmity faced by the good ones, but even in the heart of every human being, in the temptation also experienced by all those who are called "sons of light."

* This is the third level, an *anthropological* or *psychological* dualism, expressed in the final part of the Treatise: The opposition between good and evil is even present within the human heart. Here we can possibly see the problem the instruction is intended to answer. Even the "sons of light" doubt, commit sins and are afflicted by the spirit of wickedness (4: 24), there is an internal ambiguity even in those who belong to the lot of light. This very perceptible element of the concept is not repeated in any other of the Qumran texts, whereas other aspects of the Treatise, such as the predestination motif are adopted frequently. Only one other probably non-sectarian text, 4Q186, a zodiacal physiognomy (cf. Popovic 2010), mentions a partial share in light and darkness. But while that text deals with the human character as visible by outward features and determined by the time of birth, the Treatise simply presupposes such a "mixture" and considers each one's share to be predestined by the creator. Most important is that the psychological dualism is linked with the hope for eschatological purification of the elect (4: 20). In the final visitation they will become unambiguously perfect members of the covenant to which they are chosen.

The dualism in the Treatise is a *creation-founded and eschatologically confined cosmic dualism with a subordinate ethical dualism* that comes to effect not only in the respective deeds, but even *in an internal struggle* within every single human being. In contrast with the twins in Zoroastrian thought, it is quite clear that the two spirits are not eternal. They are created, and their struggle will find an end at the final visitation and purification. Pragmatically, the idea of the two spirits helps to explain the occurrence of evil, sin and apostasy, even among the wise and pious, it aims at an understanding of their struggle in the world, and the instruction as a whole can be considered an attempt not only to explain this situation but also to assure its addressees that the rule of the evil powers is limited, and so to emphatically underline God's unity and creational sovereignty. Rather than explaining evil from the rebellion of some angels, from Adam's disobedience or even from the power of an envious second being apart from God, the Treatise understands it as part of the mysterious plan of the creator himself, rooted in his predestined order of being and history. The "sons of light" are to be taught about this order and the dual structure of the creation so that they will remain steadfast on the way of wisdom (1QS 4: 24) until the final completion.

It was not until the release of the previously unknown sapiential texts from Qumran Cave 4 (*Instruction, Mysteries*) that the particular background of the Treatise on the Two Spirits could be determined. These texts attest to a tradition of wisdom thought in Palestinian Judaism (different from Sirach and the canonical wisdom texts) in which sapiential themes are linked with an apocalyptic view of the world and with a developing dualism.

Canonical sapiential literature (e.g. Proverbs) is characterized by the ethical opposition of the righteous and the wicked, or the wise and the foolish, but this does not yet constitute a dualistic opposition. The wisdom of Ben Sira, then, interprets ethical dualities as an indication that creation is structured in pairs (Sir. 33: 14; 42: 24). So the opposition between good and evil, life and death is also part of the order of creation (33: 14). God has created humans and organized their ways differently (33: 10). For Ben Sira, however, human deeds and destiny are not predestined but left to free will (15: 11–20). His teaching intends to maintain the idea of perfection of the creation and the Torah in spite of the existence of wickedness in the world (cf. Hultgren 2007: 335).

The sapiential idea of the order of creation is, then, further developed in some other sapiential texts (roughly contemporary with Ben Sira) and also in 1QS 3: 13–4: 26. In the most important "new" wisdom text from the Qumran library, *Instruction* (cf. Goff 2003; Rey 2009), preserved in six or seven manuscripts (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 418a?, 423), and in another related text, *Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299–301), classical wisdom themes (on poverty, marriage etc.) are mixed with cosmological and eschatological (or even apocalyptic) motifs such as final judgment, the elimination of evil and the salvation of the righteous. In this context, there is mention of a deeper (and even primordial) division of humankind, not only into good and wicked people, but also into a "fleshly spirit" and the "spiritual people" (4Q417 1 i 13–18). Although many details of that passage are still discussed (cf. Lange 1995: 45-92; differently Goff 2003; Tigchelaar

2009), it is obvious that wisdom is not accessible to everyone, but limited to a certain group of people, and that the fact that only the knowledgeable have access to that hidden wisdom is explained from a primordial act in which insight was revealed to the "spiritual people," not to the "fleshly spirit." The technical term used for that kind of wisdom is *raz nihyeh*, the "mystery of being" or "mystery of becoming" (Harrington 1994: 150; cf. Lange 1995: 60; Hultgren 2007: 334). The term points to a pre-existent order of the world, including creation, history and final destiny, which is considered to be engraved on heavenly tablets (4Q417 1 i 15-18; cf. also *Jub.* 1). It may include the Torah (though it is not identical with it), but also a rational structure of the world. The knowledgeable have to study that "mystery" in order to get insight about good and evil and act accordingly, whereas that knowledge is hidden from the opposed group of people, the "fleshly spirit" (*ruaḥ basar*) who will not understand and will finally face destruction (cf. Frey 2002). Here, humanity is divided into two parts concerning ethical strife and final destiny. And in contrast with Ben Sira, wisdom about the order of creation is not accessible to everyone, but a matter of divine revelation, so that only a minority will understand. According to the *Book of Mysteries* (1Q27 1 i 3-4) the "mystery of becoming" will be realized in the end time, by the revelation of wisdom and justice and the extinction of the wicked. It is obvious that the ethical dualism inherited from the earlier wisdom tradition has been transferred into a cosmic dualism, in which the opposed sides are characterized not only by ethical terms but also by metaphors of light and darkness (1Q27 1 i 6f.), and which is linked with the idea of a final judgment, in which justice is revealed and evil finally defeated.

Although the preserved fragments neither mention a struggle of cosmic or demonic powers nor refer to the "two spirits," they do prefigure the line of thought which is, then, further developed in the Treatise on the Two Spirits. There are numerous common features between those three texts (Lange 2002: 25–6), not least the fact that 1QS 3: 15 uses the rare term *ʾel hadeʿot* (= "God of insights") which is also used in 4Q417 1 i 8.

Thus, in contrast to earlier views in which the dualism of the Treatise on the Two Spirits was simply considered a "tamed" version of the Zoroastrian pattern of the two primordial twins, the general pattern of dualism is better explained as a further stage of development of the ethically oriented sapiential dualism in the context of the developed angelology of the early 2nd century BCE. Although an influence of Persian thought cannot be precluded generally, an inner-Jewish explanation, if possible, is methodologically to be preferred. So we can now see that, departing from a sapiential type of ethical dualism and the sapiential idea of a predestined order of being and history, a more cosmological type of dualism was developed, including aspects of creation and of eschatological judgment or completion. In the Treatise, this view is uniquely developed into a multi-level dualism, including an inner-human, psychological dimension, and the hope for a final purification of the elect.

4.3 The cosmic and eschatological war dualism of the War Scroll (1QM)

The dualism as expressed in the War Scroll from Qumran Cave 1 (1QM) and its parallel manuscripts from Cave 4 obviously differs from the multi-level dualism in the Treatise on the Two Spirits, but also from the cosmic type of dualism in the Aramaic priestly texts. There is no idea of an internal ambiguity, nor is there any focus on the ethical dimension. The War Scroll rather represents a sheer cosmic dualism with the idea that different camps of angels and humans (characterized by the metaphors of light and darkness) fight until the end, when God will bring his lot to its final victory.

The composition and literary history of the War Rule material cannot be discussed here (cf. Duhaime 2004; Schultz 2010). There are numerous inconsistencies in 1QM, but the hypotheses proposed with respect to the 1QM version had to be strongly modified in view of the 4QM parallels. The manuscripts 4QM$^{a\text{-}g}$ (= 4Q491–496 and 471b), though fragmentary, seem to confirm the view of two stages of the textual development, an earlier one preserved in 4QM^{a} (4Q491), 4QM^{c} (4Q493) and 4QM^{g} (4Q471b), the younger one (or a combination of the two) in 1QM. Since 1QM was produced in early Herodian times, this is the *terminus ad quem* for the later stage, but the original composition may go back to the early Hasmonean period. The younger version might be a sectarian appropriation and reworking of an earlier text originally composed in non-sectarian, priestly circles, but it seems impossible to attribute all expressions of dualism only to the late, probably sectarian version.

The War Rule not only describes an eschatological war between the forces of light and the forces of darkness, but rather gives liturgical regulations concerning the preparation and execution of the war, including prayers, blessings and speeches, with a detailed description of the sequence of the war. Although reflecting some military techniques of the Maccabean period, and thus probably originating in views about the war between Israel and the nations, the views as developed in the War Rule are quite removed from any real war and transferred to an ideal, eschatological and cosmic dimension.

The *dualism in the War Scroll* is a purely *cosmic* one. The opposed pairs are mainly the "sons of light" and the "sons of darkness" (1QM 1: 1), on a second level Michael and Belial and their respective angels, or comprehensively "God's lot" and "Belial's lot." The prominent opposition is between the two angelic leaders, Michael (or the "Prince of Light": 13: 10) and Belial (17: 6). Apparently, there is an equilibrium of forces: Both lots win three times each (1: 13–14) until in the seventh "lot" Belial and his lot are defeated and destructed by the hand of God (1: 14–15). Thus, the eschatological war has an ideal Sabbath structure (cf. the chronology of some works such as *Jubilees* or the *Apocalypse of Weeks*). God, as the creator of everything (10: 8–13), including Belial (13: 10–12), remains in the background and only strengthens his lot (1: 14) or helps Michael to gain the final victory (17: 6). So God is never a direct adversary of Belial.

War Scroll dualism is not a metaphysical dualism, but a distinctly cosmic dualism, with a strong focus on eschatology.

In spite of a number of common elements, the eschatological war dualism notably differs from the sapiential type of dualism as represented in the Treatise on the Two Spirits. The leader of the evil forces is here named Belial, as in the Qumran sectarian texts (cf. 1QS 1: 16–3: 12), whereas Belial is not mentioned in any of the sapiential texts discussed, nor in the Treatise on the Two Spirits. Moreover, the ethical aspect and the anthropological focus are totally missing here. Apart from a single passage (1QM 13: 9–12), there is no further interest justice or sin, virtues and vices, the only focus is on ritual purity, depending on the holy war tradition. Especially the idea of conflicting tendencies within the human heart is alien to the War Rule. Consequently, the eschatological extinction of evil is viewed only as the complete extermination of the lot of Belial without any remnant, not as an act of purification in the community of the "sons of light" or even within the heart of its members (as in 1QS 4: 18–23). Thus, in spite of the common idea of a struggle of two opposed lots (with angelic leaders) in both texts, it would be a crude simplification to harmonize both concepts to a singly type of "Qumran dualism" (as was common in the earlier periods of Qumran research).

The main ideas of the War Scroll are not sapiential, but rather dependent on biblical holy war traditions (especially with the interest in ritual purity), and on motifs of the book of Daniel (cf. Collins 1975), where human hosts are also represented by heavenly leaders (Dan 10: 20–1) and Michael functions as the heavenly warrior for Israel and the leader in the eschatological war (Dan 11: 40–12: 1). In Daniel we can also find the notion of the "violators of the covenant" (1QM 1: 2; cf. Dan 11: 32). But there are also clear differences, and the War Scroll goes far beyond the Danielic concepts: Belial is not the prince of a foreign nation, but the "prince of the dominion of wickedness" (1QM 17: 6), and Michael is not simply an angel fighting for Israel but the Prince of Light (13: 10). Most striking is the temporal structure of the battle: Each one wins three lots (= units of time), before the hand of God decides the battle in the seventh lot (1: 13–15). This pattern not only represents a "sabbatical eschatology," it also in a striking correspondence with Plutarch's account (cited from Theopompus, 4th century BCE) of the Zoroastrian idea of the struggle between the two gods Horomazes (Ahura Mazda) and Areimanios (Ahriman), in which one prevails for three thousand years and then for another three thousand years the other prevails, until Hades shall disappear, and the people shall be in perfect happiness, and the creator God shall have rest for a time (*Is. Os.* 45-47). This is such a striking parallel that we can hardly avoid the explanation that the Persian mythology of time was adopted here (cf. Collins 1975: 604–7), since it could appear to Jews as a perfect confirmation of their own view of a hebdomadic structure of the creation. The difficulty of extracting the early Zoroastrian views from the later Pahlavi sources is removed here by Plutarch's account that shows, how Persian ideas could have been perceived in the west.

4.4 The pattern of cosmic dualism in the Qumran sectarian texts

From the three patterns mentioned we have to distinguish the dualism proper to the Qumran sectarians. Although texts such as 1QS 3: 13–4: 26 and the War Scroll (and even some of the Aramaic priestly texts) were read in the community, or at least by some of their members, their respective patterns of dualism do not represent the actual dualistic thought pattern of the community as we can find it in some of the Qumran sectarian documents, e.g. in CD 2: 2–13, in the liturgy of 1QS 1: 16–3: 13, and in the curses of *4QBerakhot*.

An important testimony is CD 2: 2–13, a sapiential teaching that links the historical accounts of CD 1: 1–2: 1 and CD 2: 14–6: 11 and adopts some elements from the Treatise on the Two Spirits (cf. Lange 1995: 242). Here, the sapiential idea of the pre-existent order of being is adapted to the community's sectarian experience. The fundamental opposition is no more between the wise and the foolish, or between righteous and the wicked, but between those who have entered the covenant (*berit*: CD 2: 2) and those who turn aside from the path, i.e., between members of the community and those outside awaiting the final judgment. As in the Treatise on the Two Spirits, the share in one or the other group is predestined. And although the opposition is expressed in ethical terms, without any notion of angelic leaders, the passage should be read in the framework of the whole document: In CD 5: 17–19 the struggle between Moses and Aaron and the Egyptian magicians Jannes and Jambres is depicted as the struggle between the Prince of Light and Belial. Belial functions as the origin of temptation in Israel's history and presence (4: 13, 15; 12: 2) and as the Angel of Destruction punishing the wicked (8: 2–3; 19: 14). Thus, the sapiential tradition of an ethical dualism is clearly embedded into a reinforced cosmic dualism, with the division of humankind at the border of the community. Consequently, the idea of an ambivalence within the heart of any of the members is dropped.

The observations are confirmed by the liturgy for the covenantal ceremony in 1QS 1: 16–3:12. The passage is shaped by the opposition of God and Belial (or their lots), with the liturgical blessings of the men of God's lot (2: 1–4) and the curses on the men of Belial's lot (2: 4–10) explicitly quoted. The latter are fiercely accused and delivered to God's wrath, and all the men of God's lot are required to confirm this unanimously by their "Amen" (1QS 2: 10, 18). The introduction in 1QS 1: 1–16 requires the "sons of light" to hate all the "sons of darkness." So, there is absolutely no room for ambiguity, and any sign of doubt would be questioning the real share in God's lot.

This is confirmed in other liturgical texts. In the collection of the Berakhot (4Q280 and 286), curses are uttered by use of various names of opponents. In 4Q286 7 ii 1–13, the "council of the community" accuses Belial and "all the spirits of his lot" or the "lot of darkness." The "sons of Belial" are damned to punishment in the eternal pit. Belial is called by names such as "the Wicked one" (l. 5), and

possibly "Angel of the Pit" (l. 7) and "Spirit of Abaddon" (l. 7) (based on Milik's reconstruction; but cf. 1QH[a] 11: 17). Another curse (4Q280 2 2), to be uttered by the "sons of light," is addressed to Malkireša, the group of people carrying out his plans and plotting against the covenant of God and "all those who refuse to enter." Here, the angelic leader is called by the name known from the Visions of Amram. The curse, however, is quite similar to the curses against the Belial's lot in 1QS 2: 4–25 (Kobelski 1981: 38–42).

This is also confirmed by exegetical texts. In the earliest preserved example of the "thematic midrashim," the Melchizedek text (11QMelch), the patterns from the Vision of Amram or also the War material seem to be adopted: Two angelic beings are mentioned, Melchizedek and Belial. Belial and "the spirits of his lot" (11QMelch 2: 12) are in rebellion against God's precepts and molesting the people of Melchizedek's lot (cf. 2: 8). Melchizedek functions in a way similar to Michael in other texts (Dan. 10: 13, 21; 1QM 17: 5; *1 En.* 20: 5; *T. Dan.* 6: 2; *T. Levi* 5), and possibly the author knew the Visions of Amram where both seem to be identical. Melchizedek leads the hosts of angels against the forces of Belial (11QMelch 2: 13–14), he acts as an agent of God's final judgment (2: 13) and proclaims God's final release (2: 2–6, 15–16). There is no ethical dualism in this text, and the focus is on the eschatological chronology (cf. the mention of a jubilee: 2: 7) and the idea that the present dominion of Belial is finally abolished by the dominion of (Michael-)Melchizedek. The same structure is found in another text of the same genre, the Midrash on Eschatology (4Q174 and 177). Again, Belial is portrayed as being responsible for the enmity against the "House of Judah" (4Q174 2: 14; cf. CD 4: 10–13), he has a "plan" (3: 8), to let stumble the "sons of light." The community is mentioned in traditional ("the just": 4: 4a) and technical terms ("men of the union": 8: 1, 9: 10–11; "counsel of the union": 10: 5) and labelled with dualistic terms such as "sons of light" (3: 8–9; 9: 7) or "lot of light" (10: 8), whereas its opponents are called "men of Belial" (9: 4) or "sons of Belial" (3: 8).

The texts of different genres demonstrate the changes with regards to the three traditional patterns of dualism: The most striking novelty is that the Qumran sectarians now considered themselves the "sons of light" or even "God's lot" (1QS 2: 2), whereas those who stayed apart from the community are considered the "lot of Belial." The border between the realms of God and Belial or light and darkness is drawn not between Israel and the nations, nor between the good and the wicked, but simply at the margin of the *yaḥad*, the community. The overall perspective is now a definitely sectarian one. This was prefigured in the sapiential texts according to which insight is only revealed to a small and limited group, but this kind of "sectarianism" differs from the views of the *yaḥad*. For the Qumran sectarians, the idea is unacceptable that there might still be some struggle or division within the heart of one of their members, so this element of the Treatise on the Two Spirits is nowhere adopted in the sectarian texts, whereas the idea of divine predestination (1QS 4: 22) or God casting the lot (1QS 4: 26) was taken up intensively (cf. CD 2: 7 adopting 1QS 4: 22; 1QH[a] 6: 11–12 and 4Q181 1 ii 5 adopting 1QS 4: 26). Whereas the name of the opposing

angelic leader figures vary in the pre-sectarian texts, the opponent is now predominantly called Belial.

Qumran sectarian dualism is, thus, a sheer cosmic dualism shaped by a division of humanity into those inside and those outside, characterized by metaphors of light and darkness and by the link with God (or an angelic leader) and Belial. The present is considered the dominion of Belial (1QS 2: 19), but there is hope for his destruction and his lot, by the victory of God or his agents. But unlike the War Scroll, the sectarian texts are focussed not on a future battle but on the present situation of conflict and distress.

5. "This world and the world to come": Eschatological dualism in later apocalyptic writings (*4 Ezra*, *2 Bar.*)

The most important documents of the later apocalyptic tradition are *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, both composed after the destruction of the Second Temple and wrestling with the question why God has delivered Israel into the hands of their enemies, the Romans (cf. *4 Ezra* 3: 30). This fundamental question shows initially that the worldview of *4 Ezra* is completely monotheistic and creation-oriented; that there is no room left for the activity of any Satanic power that could be blamed for the suffering of God's people. Evil is primarily attributed to the evil heart within humans (3: 20), and ultimately to the transgression of Adam (3: 21 and 7: 118); but the suffering of God's people results from God's delivering Jerusalem into the hands of its enemies (3: 27). In this respect, *4 Ezra* is not dualistic at all, and the same is also true for *2 Baruch*.

There is, however another duality that can be considered here: the temporal duality between the present time and a time to come, or rather: the present world and a world to come. The programmatic phrase is: "God has created not one aeon but two" (*4 Ezra* 7:50), but the two aeons or worlds meant here are not parallel (as are heaven and earth in the Book of Watchers), but in a temporal sequence: "this aeon" (4: 2, 27; 6: 9; 7: 12; 8: 1), "this time" (7: 113), "this world" (9: 19) or "the first world" (6: 55) and "the aeon to come" (7: 47), "the world to come" (8: 1) or also "the great aeon" (7: 13). At the appointed time, at the end of days (12: 32), the present world will come to an end, and the new world will appear. This is expressed in various ways in the visions of the book: In one vision (9: 26–10: 59), a mourning woman (Zion) is suddenly transfigured into a glorious city, i.e. the New Jerusalem which is thought to be already present in the divine realm and which is to be revealed at a certain point in

time (7: 26; cf. Rev 21: 1). In much more detail, the sequence of events is described in *4 Ezra* 7: 26–44: After the present period of suffering and distress, when the predicted "signs" (often described as the "birth-pangs" of salvation) will come to pass, there will be first the time of the Messiah: The invisible city shall appear, and the hidden land shall be disclosed (7: 26), the Messiah will reveal himself and make the people happy for 400 years (7: 26; cf. Rev. 20: 4–6). After that, the Messiah will die and all humans as well, and the world will return to silence for seven days. Then, after that, the (new) world will be roused, the earth will give back the dead, judgment will happen and take one "week of years" (7: 43). Thus, the aeon to come is the new eschatological age, radically separated from this world by the messianic period and providing the eschatological completion for the elect. This sequence of events is considered predestined and now revealed to Ezra (7: 44). In *2 Baruch*, there is also the expectation of a messianic kingdom, with paradise-like fruitfulness (29: 5–8; 73: 1–74: 1). Thereafter, this world comes to an end (40: 3), and a new aeon (thought of in spiritual, transcendent categories) will appear.

These views adopt and develop eschatological traditions known from the earlier apocalyptic writings, especially the so-called "historical apocalypses": Dan 12: 1 envisages a period of final and unsurpassed tribulation immediately before the final salvation. Texts such as *1 Enoch* 99: 3–5 and 100: 1–6 mention numerous catastrophic alterations in nature and social life, and this is adopted in *4 Ezra* 4: 51–5:13, 6: 13–24, and 8: 63–9: 6 or also in *2 Bar* 25: 1–29: 2, 48: 30–37, and 70: 2–10. The juxtaposition between the period of distress and tribulation and the new world of everlasting peace is also present in the apocalypses of the earlier period, but the "dualistic" view that there are two "worlds" created to represent successive periods in history is expressed not before *4 Ezra*, and the technical terms "this world" (*ʿolam haze*)—"the world to come" (*ʿolam habaʾ*) which are also most prominent in Rabbinic texts, are also fully developed not before *4 Ezra*, although a number of New Testament passages shows that the terms could be used and were understood already in the middle of the first century CE.

6. The reception of apocalyptic dualism in early Christian thought

Early Christian Theology is not conceivable without the thorough impact of contemporary Jewish apocalypticism, or—at least—of some of its motifs. The thought world of the earthly Jesus of Nazareth was strongly shaped by apocalyptic motifs and terms (cf. Frey 2006), probably originally inspired by John the Baptizer. Prominent concepts and terms such as the "Kingdom of God," the "Son of Man," the eschatological judgment, the resurrection of the dead, the imagery of a struggle between a strong one

and an even stronger one, the imagery of an eschatological meal and the announcement of an eschatological change of the situation of the poor, the hungry and the weeping in the earliest makarisms are all signs of a clearly apocalyptic thought world, and even the idea of the kingdom which is yet to come and—in his works—already present, attests to a reinforced rather than reduced apocalyptic viewpoint.

With the apocalyptic thought world, early Christian authors and texts also adopted various elements of apocalyptic dualism, although a direct borrowing, e.g. from Qumran, cannot be confirmed. As in Judaism, "dualism" can at most be "moderate," not "radical" or "absolute": No power can be considered equal to God, the creator and ruler of the universe. Within these limits, different types of dualism were adopted: Cosmic dualism (God/Christ vs. Satan), ethical (good vs. evil; spirit vs. flesh), and eschatological (final/eternal salvation or punishment) dualism.

Jesus reckoned with demonic spirits causing illness and destruction. They are considered to be subject to a governing power, "Satan" (Luke 10: 18; Mark 3: 23), or "Beelzebul" (Mark 3: 22), although the concept is not totally consistent. New Testament texts rather stress the conviction, that Satan's power is already broken by the power of the kingdom, as made manifest in Jesus' exorcisms. Paul refers to "Satan" as one who tempts and deceives (1 Cor. 7: 5; 2 Cor. 2: 11), and he even calls him "the God of this Aeon" (2 Cor. 4: 4; cf. also "Beliar" in 2 Cor. 6: 15), but at the same time he is convinced that Satan will be defeated shortly (Rom. 16: 20). Post-Pauline epistles mention Satan (or now the "diabolos"; cf. Eph. 4: 27; 6: 11; 1 Tim. 3: 6–7, 1 Pet. 5: 8) as the one who stimulates heresy, sin and apostasy. Only Jude 6 and 2 Pet. 2: 4 adopt the tale of the fall of the angels (Genesis 6). Jude 9 furthermore adopts the struggle of Michael and the devil over Moses' corpse from the lost ending of the *Testament of Moses*.

The Johannine writings are most thoroughly shaped by elements of dualistic language. They not only mention opposing powers such as Satan (John 13: 27) the *diabolos* (John 8: 44; 13: 2) and the "ruler of the/this world" (John 12: 31; 14: 30; 16: 11), whose power is considered to be broken in Jesus' death (John 12: 31; cf. Rev. 12: 9). Even more significant is the intense use of pairs of opposites such as "light" / "darkness," "truth" / "lie," "death" / "life," and "above" / "below." This language was often thought to be adopted from a particular history-of-religions background, either Gnostic or Qumranian (thus Charlesworth 1968–9). But the differences are more remarkable than the similarities. The various terms point to different backgrounds, and they are used in John with a particular rhetorical intention to draw readers from darkness to light (Frey 2008), rather than as a fixed world view.

The notion of a Satanic adversary is most fully developed in the only apocalyptic writing in the New Testament, in Revelation, where Satan's "names" are accumulated (12: 9), he and his host are said to face eternal punishment (20: 10), but at present they have the permission to harm the Christians (12: 12–17). Even here, the "dualism" is a very moderate one: All evil powers are subject to and limited by the power of the one God. Dualistic concepts are rather used to qualify the enemies of

the communities, the Roman power as well as the synagogue (Rev. 2: 9; 3: 9), the Jews, and also deviant or "heretic" Christians. Thus 1 and 2 John explicitly draw on the concept of an "antichrist," and label the deviant teachers as "antichrist(s)" (2 John 7; cf. 1 John 2: 18; 4: 3).

This survey of the reception of dualistic concepts in early Christian texts shows how deeply early Christianity is indebted to Jewish concepts, and not least to the apocalyptic thought world. The views of eschatological opponents, the idea of demonic spirits, the concept of a struggle with evil or misleading powers, the expectation of the end and a world to come (cf. Rev. 21) and the eschatological division between those who will be saved and those who will be rejected are all traces of concepts from the dualisms developed in early Jewish apocalypticism.

Bibliography

Alexander, Philip S. (1999), "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls" in P. Flint and J. C. VanderKam, eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, vol. 2. Leiden: Brill, pp. 331–53.

——(2011). "The Dualism of Heaven and Earth in Early Jewish Literature and Its Implications" in A. Lange et al., eds, *Light Against Darkness. Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*. Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 169–85.

Bianchi, Ugo (1983). *Il dualismo religioso: Saggio storico ed etnologico.* Nuovi saggi 86. 2nd ed. Rome: Ateneo.

——and Yuri Stoyanov (2005). "Dualism" in *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 2nd ed., vol. 4. Detroit: Macmillan, pp. 2504–17.

Charlesworth, James H. (1968–9), "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13–4:26 and the Dualism contained in the Gospel of John." *NTS 15*: 389–418.

Collins, John J. (1975). "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll." *VT 25*: 596–612.

—— (1997). *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Routledge.

——(1998), *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. 2nd ed., Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Dimant, Devorah (1998). "Dualism at Qumran: New Perspectives" in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *Caves of Enlightenment: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947–1997)*. Richmond Hill, TX: Bibal, pp. 55–73.

Duhaime, Jean (1987). "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran." *CBQ 49*: 32–56.

——(2000), "Dualism" in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 215–20.

——(2004). *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts*. London: T&T Clark.

Frey, Jörg (1997). "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library" in Moshe Bernstein, Florentino Garcia Martinez, and John Kampen, eds, *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*. STDJ 23. Leiden: Brill, pp. 275–335.

——(2002). "Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts. An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage" in C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger, eds, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*. BETL 159. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 367–404.

——(2006)."Die Apokalyptik als Herausforderung der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft. Zum Problem: Jesus und die Apokalyptik" in M. Becker and M. Öhler, eds, *Apokalyptik als Herausforderung neutestamentlicher Theologie*. WUNT II/214. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 23–94.

—— (2007). "Die Bedeutung der Qumran-Funde für das Verständnis der Apokalyptik im Frühjudentum und im Urchristentum" in J. Frey and M. Becker, eds, *Apokalyptik und Qumran*. Einblicke 10. Paderborn: Bonifatius-Verlag, pp. 11–62.

—— (2008), "Recent Perspectives on Johannine Dualism and Its Background" in Ruth Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, eds, *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*. STDJ 84. Leiden: Brill, pp. 127–157.

——(2010). 'On the Origins of the Genre of the "Literary Testament: Farewell discourses in the Qumran library and their relevance for the history of the genre." in K. Berthelot and D. Stoekl Ben Ezra (eds.), *Qumranica Aramaica. The Aramaic Texts from Qumran*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 345-375.

——(2011). "Qumran Research and Biblical Scholarship in Germany," in Devorah Dimant (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective. A History of Research*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 529-564.

—— (2013). "Dualism III: Greco-Roman Antiquity, IV: New Testament, V: Judaism," in *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, vol. 7. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, col. 51–56.

Goff, Matthew (2003). *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction.* STDJ 50. Leiden: Brill.

——(2010). "Looking for Sapiential Dualism at Qumran" in G. G. Xeravits, ed., *Dualism in Qumran.* LSTS 76. London and New York: T&T Clark, pp. 20–38.

Harrington, Daniel J. (1994), "Wisdom at Qumran." in. E. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. Notre Dame*: Notre Dame University Press, pp. 137–152.

Heger, Paul (2010). "Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings" in G. G. Xeravits, ed., *Dualism in Qumran.* LSTS 76. London and New York: T&T Clark, pp. 39–101.

Hempel, Charlotte (2010). "The Treatise on the Two Spirits and the Literary History of the Rule of the Community" in G. G. Xeravits, ed., *Dualism in Qumran.* LSTS 76. London and New York: T&T Clark, pp. 102–20.

Hultgård, Anders (1995). "Mythe et histoire dans l'Iran ancien: Etude de quelques thèmes dans le Bahman Yašt" in G. Widengren, A. Hultgård, and M. Philonenko, eds, *Apocalyptique Iranienne et Dualisme Qoumrânien*. Paris: Maisonneuve, pp. 63–162.

Hultgren, Stephen (2007). *From the Damascus Document to Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 66. Leiden: Brill.

Huppenbauer, Hans Walter (1959). *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten: Der Dualismus der Texte von Qumran (Höhle I) und der Damaskusfragmente. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Evangeliums*. ATANT 34. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag.

Hyde, Thomas (1700). *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum.* Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano.

Kobelski, P. J. (1981). *Melchizedek and Melchireša'*. Washington D. C.: Catholic Biblical Association.

Lange, Armin (1995). *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran.* STDJ 18. Leiden: Brill.

——(2002). "Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung" in C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger, eds, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought.* BETL 159. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 3–30.

Leonhardt-Balzer, Jutta (2010). "Dualism" in J. J. Collins and D. Harlow, eds., *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 553–6.

——(2010). "Evil, Dualism and Community: Who/What Did the Yahad Not Want To Be?" in G. G. Xeravits, ed., *Dualism in Qumran.* LSTS 76. London and New York: T&T Clark, pp. 121–47.

Mattila, Sharon Lea (1994). "Two Contrasting Eschatologies at Qumran (4Q246 vs 1QM)." *Biblica 75*: 518–38.

Metso, Sarianna (1997). *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*. Leiden: Brill.

Milik, Jozef T. (1972). "4Q visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène". *RB 79*: 77–97.

Meyers, Erik M. (2011). "From Myth to Apocalyptic: Dualism in the Hebrew Bible" in A. Lange et al., eds, *Light Against Darkness. Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*. Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 92–106.

Miller, Patrick Lee (2011). "Greek Philosophical Dualism" in A. Lange et al., eds, *Light Against Darkness. Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*. Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 107–144.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2001), *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36;81–108*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Osten-Sacken, Peter von der (1969). *Gott und Belial. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran*. SUNT 6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Popovic, Mladen (2010). "Light and Darkness in the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS III 13–IV 26) and in 4Q168" in G. G. Xeravits, ed., *Dualism in Qumran.* LSTS 76. London and New York: T&T Clark, pp. 148–65.

Rey, Jean-Sébastien (2009). *4QInstruction: Sagesse et eschatologie*. STDJ 81. Leiden: Brill.

Schofield, Alison (2009). *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*. STDJ 77. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Schultz, Brian (2010). "Compositional Layers in the War Scroll (1QM)" in D. K. Falk et al., eds, *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery*. STDJ 91. Leiden: Brill, pp. 153–65.

Segal, Alan F. (1977). *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

——(1987). "Dualism in Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism" in *The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity*. BJS 127. Atlanta: Scholars, pp. 1–40.

Shaked, Shaul (1994). *Dualism in Transformation: Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran.* London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Skjærvø, Prods Oktor (2011). "Zoroastrian Dualism" in A. Lange et al., eds, *Light Against Darkness. Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*. Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 55–91.

Stuckenbruck, Loren T. (2004). "The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition" in C. Auffahrt and L. T. Stuckenbruck, eds, *The Fall of the Angels*. Themes in Biblical Narrative 6. Leiden: Brill, pp. 87–118.

—— (2011). "The Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism: The Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS III: 13–IV:26) in Its Tradition-Historical

Context" in A. Lange et al., eds, *Light Against Darkness. Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*. Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 145–168.

Tigchelaar, Eibert (2009), "'Spiritual People,' 'Fleshly Spirit,' and 'Visiion of Meditation': Reflections on 4Q*Instruction* and 1 Corinthians," in: F. García Martínez, ed., *Echoes From the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*. Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah 85. Leiden: Brill, pp. 103–118.

Widengren, Geo (1995). "Introduction generale: Les Juifs et les Iraniens à l'époque des Parthes" in G. Widengren, A. Hultgård, and M. Philonenko, eds, *Apocalyptique Iranienne et Dualisme Qoumrânien*. Paris: Maisonneuve, pp. 1–21.

Wildberger, Hans (1954). "Der Dualismus in der Qumranschriften." *Asiatische Studien 8*: pp. 163–77.

CHAPTER 17

APOCALYPTIC ETHICS AND BEHAVIOR

DALE C. ALLISON, JR.

What were the practical implications of belief in the near approach of the eschatological end for early Jews and Christians? What difference, for ethics and day-to-day life, did it make? From one point of view, very little. 2 Baruch, to illustrate, clearly insists that the youth of the world is past, that times have run their course, that the consummation is near (85:10–11). At the very same time, the book repeatedly appeals to Torah, presuming it to be the ethical standard of the recipients (e.g., 3:7; 38:2; 66:5; 77:15; cf. Henze 2008). 2 Baruch's moral teaching is, further, utterly conventional: it opposes idolatry (14:5; 62:1–2; 66:2), pride (49:40), and harassment of the poor (48:38) while it commends faith (54:5, 16, 21), patience (59:6), and honesty (63:1). In addition, 2 Baruch can refer to "evil" (e.g., 1:2; 40:1; 44:9; 54:21), "sin" (e.g., 1:3; 9:1; 24:1), and the divine "ways" (e.g., 14:5) without explanation. Obviously the apocalypse presupposes and reinforces common, widespread moral ideals.

This should not surprise. The nearness of the end does not of itself generate imperatives. On the contrary, one's response to anticipated events depends upon convictions already held. The present writer knows an individual who claims that he would commit certain criminal acts if he really thought that he had little time left, because then he would not have to suffer the consequences. Everything depends upon one's antecedent beliefs; and the law and the prophets were formative for antecedent beliefs of early Jews and Christians. Thus 1 Enoch 108:1 commends those who keep the law in the last days, while the Jesus of the synoptics, who proclaims the near advent of God's kingdom, sums up his moral demand by quoting two imperatives from the Torah—love God (Deut 6:5) and love neighbor (Lev 19:18; Mark 10:30–31).

Impending Judgment

This, however, is only one side of things. People regularly fail to live up to the standards of their religious education, so those who deem themselves responsible to instill and uphold those standards always seek ways of adding motivation. One common strategy is to remind individuals of their mortality. This explains the saying attributed to Rabbi Eliezer in b Šabb 153a: "Repent one day before your death." Because the moment of one's passing, being unpredictable, can come at any time, the reasonable thing is to prepare for death each and every day. Josephus unfolds the eschatological doctrine that the Talmud presupposes: "The good are made better in their lifetime by the hope of a reward after death, and the passions of the wicked are restrained by the fear that, even though they escape detection while alive, they will undergo never-ending punishment after their decease" (JW 2.157).

Belief in the nearness of the end—the collective end of apocalyptic expectation—serves the same psychological function and so has a similar utility. Human beings pay more attention to things that are near than to things that are far, temporally as well as spatially. If, then, the end is presumed to be far off, one may incline to give it little thought. If, to the contrary, one honestly believes the end to be nigh, and if one's religious tradition envisages that end as involving a judgment of all, being unprepared for it right now would be folly. In this way, imminent eschatological expectation, the fear of retribution and the hope of reward, can foster a "psychological imminence" (McGinn 1995: 60) and effectively counter religious complacency and procrastination.

This is the logic of Mark 1:14–15: "Now after John was arrested, Jesus came to Galilee, proclaiming the good news of God, and saying, 'The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God has come near; repent, and believe in the good news.' " Here it is precisely the nearness of the kingdom that grounds the call for moral reformation (Mark 1:4; 6:12). So too in Matt 25:1–13, the parable of the ten bridesmaids: those who enter into the wedding banquet are those who are "awake," that is, religiously prepared for the eschatological events with their attendant judgment. Those who do not enter are the unprepared.

Rom 13:11–14 holds more of the same: "You know what time it is, how it is now the moment for you to wake from sleep. For salvation is nearer to us now than when we became believers; the night is far gone, the day is near. Let us then lay aside the works of darkness and put on the armor of light; let us live honorably as in the day, not in reveling and drunkenness, not in debauchery and licentiousness, not in quarrelling and jealousy. Instead, put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires." Paul's insistence that the eschatological day is near entails—because Paul anticipates a great judgment that will reward the righteous and punish the wicked—that one should live honorably, avoid too much drink, forsake sexual immorality, abandon quarrels, and eradicate jealousy.

This notion of a general assize is, in the ancient sources, the constant companion of belief in a looming end. Thus the remark, in 2 Bar 85:10, that "the youth of the world is past," and that "the times have run their course and the end is very near," is immediately preceded by this: "Let us prepare ourselves to take possession . . . and to have rest with our fathers and not be in torment with our enemies" (85:9); and 85:10 is immediately followed by this: "Prepare yourselves, so that when you have finished your journey and leave the ship, you may find rest and may not be condemned when you go away" (85:11).[1]

Beyond reinforcing, in a general way, desired behavior, depictions of the last judgment can also promote specific ethical teaching. In the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, the seer sees a scroll on which all of his sins are written. He observes: "If I did not go to visit a sick man or widow, I found it written down as a shortcoming on my manuscript. If I did not visit an orphan, it was found written down as a shortcoming on my manuscript. A day on which I did not fast (or) pray in the time of prayer I found written down as a failing upon my manuscript. And a day when I did not turn to the sons of Israel—since it is a shortcoming—I found written down upon my manuscript" (7:1–7).

Even more detailed is the picture of the final judgment in Matt 25:31–46. Those who enter the kingdom of heaven are those who feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, welcome strangers, clothe the naked, care for the sick, and visit prisoners. Those who depart into "the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels" are those who fail to undertake such tasks. So here a vision of the end-time judgment instructs, in some detail, how one should behave in the present. One understands the evaluation of R. H. Charles (1913: 2:ix): "Apocalyptic was essentially ethical."

Detachment from Worldly Values

So far we have seen the obvious, that imminent eschatological expectation, with its idea of a coming judgment, can serve, in early Jewish and Christian sources, to teach and reinforce moral traditions. But this scarcely exhausts the behavioral consequence of apocalyptic expectation. While belief in a near end cannot create a moral tradition, it often highlights, enlarges, or revises certain elements within a moral tradition. This is because the expectation of a new world entails the end of the present world and of its conventional customs and social arrangements; and if those customs and arrangements are soon to go, one's present way of life can hardly continue as ever. One rather is strongly encouraged to become, in anticipation, less tied to the present state of the world.[2] It is illustrative that, as soon as the Markan Jesus calls for repentance in the light of the near end (1:14–15), he enjoins four men to abandon their livelihoods and

families and follow him (1:16–20). The coming kingdom, which will overturn current social arrangements, inevitably trumps the world as it is now, for "whatever is now, is nothing. But what is to be will be very great. For everything corruptible will pass away, and everything mortal will pass away" (2 Bar 44:8–9). Behavior will adjust accordingly. 1 Cor 7:31 exhorts: "let those who deal with the world be as though they had no dealings with it." Here is the counsel in the Christian appendix to 4 Ezra:

> Behold the calamities draw near, and are not delayed.... Prepare for battle, and in the midst of the calamities be like strangers on the earth. Let him that sells be like one who will flee; let him that buys be like one who will lose; let him that does business be like one who will not make a profit; and let him that builds a house be like one who will not live in it; let him that sows be like one who will not reap; so also him that prunes the vines, like one who will not gather the grapes; them that marry, like those who will have no children; and them that do not marry, like those that are widowed. (16:37–44)

Convictions akin to these appear to have animated John the Baptist. Sayings in Matthew and Luke have him warning of "the wrath to come" and of the fires of judgment (Matt 3:7, 10, 12 = Luke 3:7, 9, 17). They depict him calling people to repent (Matt 3:8 = Luke 3:8). And they recall him anticipating the intervention of a spectacular messianic or eschatological judge (Matt 3:11–12 = Luke 3:16–17; cf. Mark 1:1–8). At the same time, the Baptist seems to have been a sort of ascetic. The synoptics place him in the wilderness (Matt 3:1; 11:7; Mark 1:3–4; Luke 3:2, 4; 7:24). They relate that he eschewed fine raiment (Matt 11:8 = Luke 7:25), strangely clothing himself with camel's hair (Matt 3:4; Mark 1:6), and further that his peculiar diet consisted of locusts and wild honey (Matt 3:4; Mark 1:6). Mark 2:18, moreover, presupposes that his followers engaged in supererogatory fasting, and Matt 11:18 = Luke 7:33 says that he came eating no bread and drinking no wine. There is, beyond all this, no hint that John had a wife, and Christian tradition has always presumed that he had none. In sum, then, the Baptist was an apocalyptic prophet, and he exhibited unusual personal austerity.

The two facts can hardly be unrelated. Not only does Matthew deem it appropriate to put the content of Mark 1:15 on the lips of the Baptist—"Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"—but the link between behavior and eschatology otherwise belongs to the tradition about John. In Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9, John calls hearers to bear fruits befitting repentance precisely because "even now the ax is laid to the root of the trees." Here the nearness of the judgment should move people to alter their behavior. So John embodied his own proclamation; that is, he behaved in a manner consistent with his call to repentance, solemnly preparing for divine intervention, dedicating himself to his mission by distancing himself from the present world order with its ordinary pleasures and obligations.

We find something similar with the Jewish sectarians known as the Essenes (who should probably be associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls; see Taylor 2010).

According to Josephus, they despised riches (*JW* 2.122), took food only according to "the demands of nature" (*JW* 2.133), and shunned pleasure as though it were a vice, regarding "temperance and the control of the passions as a special virtue" (JW 2.120). In line with this, the astrological physiognomy, 4Q186, depicts a son of light as thin and lean, a son of darkness as thick and fat. Furthermore, Philo (in Eusebius, Praep ev 8.11) and Pliny (NH 5.17) state that the Essenes were unmarried. Given that the Scrolls at points presuppose marriage (e.g., 1QSa; 4Q265), one guesses that there was diversity within the movement, so that only some—"those who walk in the perfection of holiness" (CD 6.4–5)—practiced celibacy (note Josephus, JW 2.120; Ant 18.21). Or perhaps members sometimes lived as married couples until a certain age, after which they became celibates. Or maybe an earlier group with exclusively celibate adherents later came to admit married members. Whatever the truth on that particular matter, the Essenes' location in the inhospitable desert, their simple dress, and their avoidance of luxuries (such as oil) were part of what we may fairly call an ascetical program.

Although Philo, Josephus, and Pliny fail to remark that eschatology was a motivating factor in all this, the Scrolls reveal that apocalyptic expectation was at the heart of what they were all about (Collins 1997), and it seems altogether likely that the Essenes' asceticism was related to such expectation. Indeed, one naturally infers that the expectation of soon participating in an eschatological holy war (see 1QM) was a contributing factor to sexual abstinence (Steiner 1971: 24–27; Cross 1980: 98–99), this because such abstinence was a common practice of holy war (Deut 23:10–11; 1 Sam 21:4–5; 2 Sam 11:11), and the Qumran sectarians, who organized themselves along the lines of a military hierarchy, were preparing for the final battle, in which the unclean could not participate (1QM 7.3–5; note Deut 23:10–11; Lev 15:16). The evaluation of Steven Fraade (1986: 267) seems correct:

> The Qumran group understood itself to be living in the last days of the present age, awaiting a final battle between itself ("the sons of light") and the forces of darkness, in which the latter would be destroyed and the world would be restored to the rule of God's spirit, messianically embodied. Thus, their disciplined way of life was intended to ensure their constant preparedness, individually and communally, for that seismic event, for which they would provide the ranks of pure, holy warriors.

Apocalyptic expectation led many to discount, with the last judgment in mind, the importance of money and/or rail against those who seek and put their trust in material wealth. The NT book of James supplies a typical instance. 5:7–9 insists that "the coming of the Lord is near" and that "the judge is standing at the doors." These assertions immediately follow 4:13–5:6, two paragraphs that denounce the boasting arrogance of traveling merchants and condemn the "rich," who have lived in luxury and in pleasure: they are headed for "a day of slaughter." Elsewhere in James, the poor are recipients of divine blessing and will be exalted and rewarded by receiving the kingdom of God (1:9; 2:5) whereas the rich are identified as those who oppress the

righteous and blaspheme and will accordingly be brought low, presumably at the final judgment (1:10–11; 2:6–7).

Equally insistent is the Epistle of Enoch (1 En 92:1–5; 93:11–14; 94:1–105:2). It is not just that, in this text, money has no real value (96:4): it is that wealth will be of no assistance at the approaching judgment. Indeed, its possession in this world appears to be a sign that one will be punished in the age to come:

> Woe to you, who gain gold and silver without righteousness; and you will say, "We have become rich with riches and we have and have acquired possessions. And let us do everything that we wish, for we have treasured up silver in our treasuries and many goods in our houses, and they are poured out like water." You are in error, for your wealth will not remain, but quickly (it will go away) from you because you have acquired everything unjustly, and you will be delivered over to a great curse. (Gk. 94:8–10 Stuckenbruck 2007; cf. 98:2–3)

In the end, wealth will not save (100:6), and those who love God are wise enough to know this, so they love neither silver nor gold or "any goods of this world" (108:8).

Early Christianity according to Acts

The distance between words and real life can be considerable. So it is one thing to write or hear a text that denigrates wealth, quite another to live in the light of such denigration. Is there, then, evidence that real people, in the grip of apocalyptic expectation, tried to live as much as possible as though money did not matter? Beyond the Essenes and John the Baptist, introduced above, Luke-Acts seems to incorporate relevant memories. This two-volume work contains not only the candid recollection that early followers of Jesus mistakenly expected the end at any moment (Luke 19:11; Acts 1:6; 3:19–21) but also the tradition that "all who believed were together and had all things in common; they would sell their possessions and goods and distribute the proceeds to all, as any had need" (Acts 3:44–45).

That the selling of possessions was not unrelated to belief in a near end is quite likely given that the earliest Christians included followers of Jesus, who was remembered as calling some to do without money on eschatological grounds. In Matt 6:19–20 = Luke 12:33–34, he commands followers not to store up treasures on the earth, where moth and rust consume and where thieves break in. They are rather to store up treasures in heaven. In Matt 10:7–10 and Luke 9:1–3, those who urgently proclaim the coming kingdom of God are to take no money or coins for their journey: the message is eschatological, the action envisaged dispossession of wealth. In Mark 10:23–25, the problem with being rich is that it prevents one from entering the

kingdom of God. In each of these texts, the deprecation of money has an eschatological motive.

It is altogether natural that Jesus, expecting the kingdom in his lifetime, asked at least a few to give away money and goods, instructed others not to worry about food and clothing (Matt 6:25–33 = Luke 12:22–31), and himself abandoned work and family, so that he had no place to lay his head (Matt 8:19–20 = Luke 9:57–58). What is the point of earning money if the present world is soon to pass away? If the end is near, and if one's mission in the little time left is of supreme importance, giving up the pursuit of mammon will seem both incumbent and prudent. The evil generation of Noah's day was reckless to carry on as always when unprecedented disaster was in the offing (Luke 17:26–27).

Apocalyptic Celibacy

No less striking than the denigration of money are the ways in which apocalyptic expectation sometimes emended customary sexual behavior. We have already remarked upon the practice of celibacy among at least some Essenes and noted the likelihood that John the Baptist lived alone. Also perhaps relevant is Rev 14:4, which identifies the 144,000 redeemed as those "who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are virgins; they follow the lamb wherever he goes." It is not obvious that these words should be given figurative sense. However that may be, a conspicuous example of celibacy motivated by expectation of the near end appears in both 1 Corinthians and in the traditions about Jesus. The argument in 1 Cor 7:25–32 unfolds this way:

> Now concerning virgins, I have no command of the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy. I think that, in view of the impending crisis, it is well for you to remain as you are. Are you bound to a wife? Do not seek to be free. Are you free from a wife? Do not seek a wife. But if you marry, you do not sin, and if a virgin marries, she does not sin. Yet those who marry will experience distress in this life, and I would spare you that. I mean, brothers and sisters, the appointed time has grown short; from now on, let even those who have wives be as though they had none, and those who mourn as though they were not mourning, and those who rejoice as though they were not rejoicing, and those who buy as though they had no possessions, and those who deal with the world as though they had no dealings with it. For the present form of this world is passing away.

Paul could not be clearer: the married should, because of "the impending crisis," stay married, and the single should stay single. The "crisis" is the tribulation of the latter days, which has come or is impending. As Paul writes: "the appointed time has grown short," that is, "the form of this world is passing away." His council is all the more intelligible in view of those sources that anticipate that the eschatological distress will be especially arduous for the married (Pitre 2001): entering marriage as the end approaches would make little sense (cf. Tertullian, *De cultu fem* 2.9; this cites Paul's warnings of a near end in 1 Cor 7.29–30 to commend celibacy, modesty in dress, and abstention from meat and wine).

The Jesus tradition offers something similar. The saying in Matt 19:12 declares that there are three sorts of eunuchs—those from birth, those made such by others, and those who, "for the sake of the kingdom of heaven," have made themselves such. This logion appears not to counsel literal castration but rather to defend the self-imposed discipline of refraining from marriage and sexual intercourse. In addition, the justification has to do with "the kingdom of heaven." The meaning is probably causal: some people—presumably Jesus and some of his immediate circle—have made themselves eunuchs because the approach of the kingdom requires of them a service that they might otherwise be unable to fulfill satisfactorily. In other words, these individuals have decided to refrain from marriage for the sake of their vocation on behalf of the one thing needful, the kingdom. The vocation likely envisaged is mission: eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of God are heralds of the approaching order, whose task is to prepare people for its coming, so much so that they have no time for the ordinary responsibilities of wife and children.

Although denigrating money and qualifying the commandment to procreate may be the most obvious and striking ways in which ancient apocalyptic expectation altered the daily lives of some Jews and Christians, they were far from being the only ways. The remaining sections of this essay list seven additional patterns of behavior that suggest the effects of this expectation.

Physical Austerity

An apocalyptic outlook seemingly affected the diet of certain individuals. John the Baptist purportedly subsisted on locusts and honey (Mark 1:6), and Josephus, as already noted, asserted that the Essenes consumed just enough food and drink for "the demands of nature" (JW 2.133). He also claims that their "cook sets before each one plate with a single course" (JW 2.130). It is striking, moreover, how often, in literature with a near expectation, one runs across supererogatory fasting. Sometimes,

to be sure, extended fasting appears to be a method for inducing visionary experiences, as in Dan 9:3; 10:2–3; 4 Ezra 5:13, 20; 6:31, 35; 2 Bar 9:2; 12:5; 20:5; and Apoc Abr 9:7. But in other cases fasting is independent of such experience, as in Ps Sol 3:8; Matt 4:2; 6:16–18; Mark 2:20; Luke 2:37; Acts 13:2–3; Apoc Elijah 1:18–22; Mart Isa 2:7–11. Particularly suggestive is 1 En 108:8–9: those "who love God have loved neither gold nor silver, nor all the good things which are in the world, but have given over their bodies to suffering—who from the time of their very being have not longed after earthly food, and who regarded themselves as a mere passing breath." This suggests some sort of dietary restriction motivated by the approaching consummation. Perhaps related is T Mos 9.6–10.1, where fasting precedes violent deaths that God will avenge immediately when "his kingdom will appear throughout all his creation." One recalls Joel 1:13–16, which counsels fasting, prayer, and sackcloth as the Day of the Lord draws near, as well as the medieval flagellants, whose austerities were part and parcel of their apocalyptic expectation.

Missionary Urgency

Luther, in the late 1520s, was sufficiently persuaded of the nearness of the end that he hastened to complete his translation of the Bible into German, so that it might be spread abroad quickly in the remaining time. Long before that, Patrick of Ireland's sense of the impending eschatological judgment nurtured his evangelistic zeal. The strong missionary impulse in early Christianity presumably had, in part, a similar motivation. In Luke 10:4, the disciples are told to greet no one on the road when they are on their missionary journey. The anomalous command imparts tremendous urgency: the task at hand is so pressing that one cannot even take time for a conventional greeting. What explains such single-mindedness? The larger context, which tells us the content of the disciples' proclamation, supplies the most probable answer: "The kingdom of God has come upon you" (10:9). The missionaries are in such a hurry because the kingdom is almost here.

In like manner, Matt 10:23 declares that Jesus' disciples will not have finished going through all the towns of Israel before the Son of man comes. Although the tradition-history and interpretation of this verse are much disputed, mission and a *Naherwartung* are here closely linked, as they are also in Mark 13:10 and Matt 24:14: "this good news of the kingdom will be proclaimed throughout the world, as a testimony to all the nations; and then the end will come." Perhaps in the background of Mark 13:10 and Matt 24:14 is the expectation that repentance will herald the end (see Allison 1985) or that the end would come when the number of elect has been fulfilled (1 En 47:4; 4 Ezra 4:36; 2 Bar 30:2–3; Rev 6:11).

The Gentiles and Conversion

Eschatological expectation had something to do with the origin of the Christian mission to Gentiles. Although a few Jewish texts envisage the end-time destruction of the nations (e.g., Jubilees), others look forward to the Gentiles worshipping the God of Israel (e.g., Isa 2:1–3; 25:6; 60:6; Zech 8:23; 1 En 91:14; Ps Sol 17:31). Moreover, Jews who expected Gentiles to be saved at the end seemingly did not expect them to enter the covenant with Abraham. They rather looked "to the nations' spiritual, and hence moral, 'conversion': Gentiles at the End turn from idolatry (and the sins associated with it) and turn to the living God. But moral conversion is not Halachic conversion; and non-idolatrous Gentiles are Gentiles none the less. When God establishes his Kingdom, then, these two groups will together constitute 'his people': Israel, redeemed from exile, and the Gentiles, redeemed from idolatry. Gentiles are saved as Gentiles: they do not, eschatologically, become Jews" (Fredriksen 1991: 547).

This is evidently what some followers of Jesus thought was happening in their time and place: pagans were abandoning their gods and turning to Israel's God (1 Thess 1:9), yet they were not in the process required to undergo circumcision or observe the law of Moses. The circumstance lies behind Acts 15, where Christian leaders gather to debate the status of Gentiles. James wins the day by citing a mixture of lines from biblical prophecies understood to mean that God will, in the latter days, embrace the nations. Whether or not Acts preserves anything that was actually said at the Jerusalem Council, the argument must reflect the thinking of some Christian missionaries, who construed the acceptance of the Gentiles into the people of God in terms of apocalyptic eschatology and the fulfillment of prophecies regarding the end. In short, an apocalyptic interpretation of the present encouraged certain Jewish Christians to welcome Gentiles without demanding that they observe Torah.

Jerusalem

To judge from Paul and traditions in Acts, early Christianity was, at least for the first two or three decades, centered in Jerusalem. The Jewish capital was indeed a sort of headquarters for the new faith. This is unexpected. The Jesus movement was initially Galilean. Jesus and important leaders such as James, Peter, and the sons of Zebedee were from the north. Why then did they, as Acts and Paul agree, take up

residence in Jerusalem? Their decision is all the odder in that there was probably concerted opposition, perhaps even danger, in the capital for those whose hero had been executed. So why did Peter and the others settle there instead of returning to Galilee?

Although the extant sources do not address the question, many early Christians believed that Jesus would return soon; and if we ask, To where did they think he would return?, the answer is obvious. Jerusalem was, in the eschatological imagination, the center of the end-time scenario. The eschatological prophecies in Isaiah 60–62 and Ezekiel 40–48 focus upon the capital. Jer 17:25 prophesies that the Lord will set David's throne there. Tob 14:5 and 1 En 90:28–38 look to the end and see a new temple in the holy city. Zech 8:7–8; Bar 5:5; and Psalms of Solomon 12 imagine the scattered tribes in the diaspora returning at the end to the place. And the targum on Zech 14:4–5 has the bones of the dead rolling through underground tunnels so that they can emerge from the Mount of Olives on the last day and be resurrected. The eschatological events were to take place above all in Jerusalem. So if early Christians, full of apocalyptic enthusiasm, believed that those events were about to transpire, it is only natural that they took up residence in the capital. So here we see an apocalyptic expectation determining where some decided to live. One recalls from a later time Montanism and its prophecy that the heavenly Jerusalem would descend near or at Papuza. This eschatological expectation caused the leaders to make their headquarters there, and many Montanists made pilgrimages to the city, despite its being in a desolate place (Eusebius, *HE* 5.18.2; Epiphanius, *Haer* 48.14.1).

The Desert

If belief in a near end encouraged some to move to Jerusalem, it is possible that it encouraged others to dwell in the desert. In both Jewish and Christian sources, the redemption from Egypt often serves as a type for the eschatological events, and the prospect of another exodus is held forth; that is, before the consummation, the pattern, exodus/return, will repeat itself (Isa 40:3–4; Ezek 20:33–34; Rev 12:6, 14; Josephus, JW 2.259; etc.). This may help clarify why the Baptist's ministry was prominently associated with the desert or wilderness (Mark 1:2–4; Matt 11:7 = Luke 7:24; John 1:23), and why the community behind the Dead Sea Scrolls lived where they did (1QS 8.12–16): they were fulfilling an eschatological dogma (Hengel 1989: 252–53). One also recalls in this connection the so-called Egyptian known from Josephus and Acts 21:38. He reportedly had the reputation of a prophet and led his followers "by a circuitous route from the desert" (cf. Exod 13:18 and esp. LXX Amos 2:10) to the

Mount of Olives. He was animated by the hope of conquering the city (Josephus, JW 2.261–63; Ant 20.169–72). Although the precise nature of this man's beliefs and self-conception are lost to history, it is possible that he thought of himself as an eschatological deliverer replaying the exodus and conquest before the coming of the new age. If so, his march through the desert was part of an eschatological scenario.

A Return to the Beginning

The hope that the end would, in various ways, witness a return to the beginning is well attested in both Jewish and Christian sources (e.g., 4 Ezra 7:20; 2 Bar 3:7; Rev 22:1–2; Barn 6:13). It lies behind Paul's understanding of Jesus as the "last Adam" (1 Cor 15:55) and his notion of Christians as a "new creation" (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15), and it is presupposed in 1QS 4:18–23: "God, in the mysteries of his knowledge and in the wisdom of his glory, has determined an end to the existence of injustice and on the appointed time of the visitation he will obliterate it forever. . . . Then God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds, and will purify for himself the structure of man, ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part of his flesh, and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deed. . . . For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam." Perhaps some Essenes believed that the process of recreation here envisaged, with its restoration of the glory of Adam, had already commenced (Lambert 2010).

Anyone who lived with the *Urzeit = Endzeit* equation and who also believed the end to be near might think as follows. If the kingdom is at hand, then the renewal of the world is nigh; and if the renewal of the world is nigh, then paradise is about to be restored; and if paradise is about to be restored, then concessions to sin should no longer be needed, or at least those about to enter paradise should do their best to live without such concessions. This seems to be partial explanation for Mark 10:1–12, where the argument against divorce contains these words: "Because of your hardness of heart he wrote this commandment for you. But from the beginning of creation, 'God made them male and female' (cf. CD 2.14–6.1; 11QTemple 57.17–19). . . . Therefore what God has joined together, let no one separate." Jesus wants some present circumstances to be as they were in the beginning because that is how they are going to be in the kingdom of God. If the last things are as the first, and if the last things have come, then so have the first. In other words, Jesus' argument entails a sort of prelapsarian ethic. As Matt 19:8 has it: "From the beginning it was not so." If this is indeed the case, then the nearness of the end encouraged at least one ancient Jew to emend the Torah in a way that ultimately had far-reaching consequences.[3]

Apocalyptic Egalitarianism

The *Urzeit = Endzeit* idea within the context of a *Naherwartung* may also have dramatically affected the lives of Pauline Christians, although in a different way. In Gal 3:28, Paul famously declares that "there is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female." There seem to be three possible sources of inspiration for this radical statement. Some think of comparable Roman Stoic traditions, others of a proto-Gnostic belief that baptism returns the faithful to an originally nondualistic, "androgynous" state (Meeks 1972).[4] Still others argue that Paul's affirmation of equality was fueled by his eschatology: he may have expected "sexual differentiation . . . to be terminated at the resurrection" (Martyn 1997: 379; cf. Mark 12:25; b Ber 17a).

One need not, however, deem these explanations antagonistic. They are, on the contrary, complementary. Indeed, Wayne Meeks, a proponent of the androgyne hypothesis, agrees that eschatology best accounts for Pauline egalitarianism: the apostle believed in the "eschatological restoration of man's original divine, androgynous image" (Meeks 1974: 197). Paul was witnessing "the ends of the ages" (1 Cor 10:11), and the old was already giving way to the new. The last Adam had arrived (Rom 5:12–21; 1 Cor 15:45–49), and new structures were coming into being and replacing the structures of "the present evil age" (Gal 1:4). Among the structures being displaced were some of the old distinctions between male and female. On this reading, then, eschatology appears to some extent to have inspired Paul in whatever steps he may have taken toward more egalitarian practices, such as women owning positions of leadership (Rom 16:1–2, 3, 6–7). One may compare the Montanists and their eschatological enthusiasm. According to Epiphanius, Haer 49.2.5, "Among them women are bishops and women are presbyters and the like; as there is no difference, they say: 'In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female.' "

Eschatology and Violence

One final topic remains to be considered, namely, the extent to which a *Naherwartung* might have helped move Jews or Christians to militant violence. Visions of the end, when full of vengeance, are not obvious recipes for loving one's enemy; and some ancient visions fantasize the righteous executing judgment upon the wicked (Jub 23.20, 30; 1 En 90:19; 91:11–12; 95:3; 96:1; 98:12; see Portier-Young 2011: 313–81). Given this, as well as the divinely sanctioned wars of the Hebrew Bible, one might expect

that some with a near expectation went to war in hopes of wringing in the kingdom of God. This evidently happened. The Essenes did not just rehearse the eschatological battle in their imaginations (1QM) but, at least in the 60s CE, took up arms against Rome. Josephus writes about a certain "John the Essene," a commander who fell in battle (JW 2.567), as well as about the Romans torturing Essenes (JW 2.152–53). In addition, Vespasian's troops destroyed the Qumran settlement in 68 CE, and it was apparently defended (Taylor 2006). The implications of all this are obvious. Philo, to be sure, reports that the Essenes were pacifists (Prob 78), and some of Dead Sea Scrolls line up with this (Jassen 2010). We should probably infer that the group followed a pattern known to other messianic movements, which sometimes begin as pacifistic and then evolve into revolutionary movements (Román 1996: 54; Zerbe 1993a: 106–35). Note that, in 1QS 10.17–19, the speaker rejects violence, but only up to a point: "I shall not be involved in any dispute with the men of the pit until the day of vengeance."

Others certainly went to war with dreams of seeing or even forcing the eschatological turning point. We know far too little about the so-called sign prophets in Josephus, but it is credible that at least the so-called Egyptian (Ant 20.169–72; JW 2.262–63) or the Samaritan who led armed men to Mount Gerizim (Ant 18.85–87) was in the grip of an eschatological scenario. Beyond them, some who participated in the revolt against Rome in the 60s CE must have believed that the prophecies of Daniel were unfolding in their day (cf. Josephus, Ant. 10.268; see Hengel 1989: 229–312), and that the apocalypse was to hand. Tacitus was under the impression that, around the time of the Jewish war, most Jews "were convinced that the ancient scriptures of their priests alluded to the present as the very time when the Orient would triumph and from Judaea would go forth men destined to rule the world" (Hist. 5.13; cf. Josephus, JW 6.312).

If hope for a proximate transformation sometimes served violent, revolutionary ends, at other times it encouraged political passivity, a waiting upon God rather than direct political engagement. This was the case, up to a point, with the Essenes (see above), and it was clearly the case with the historical Jesus (Hengel 1971) as well as with the canonical evangelists, who exhorted readers to prepare for the end by "watching," not resisting the authorities. Thus Matt 26:51 insists that "all who take the sword will perish by the sword." Quietism or nonviolent resistance in an apocalyptic context also appears to be reflected in Daniel, 2 Baruch, Revelation, and the Testament of Moses (Collins 1997: 191–218; 2002; Yarbro Collins, 1977; Murphy 1985; Portier-Young 2011: 223–79; but see Zerbe 1993b). The Testament, for instance, recounts the strange story of Taxo the Levite, who admonishes his sons to keep their faith notwithstanding the threat of death. They do not fight their adversaries but die innocently, after which the end comes (T Mos 9:1–10:2).

Conclusion

Religious movements are complex, just as the individuals who constitute them are complex, so attempting to divine a single cause for this or that feature of such a movement is suspect: social circumstances always have manifold causes. We should accordingly reject apocalyptic reductionism, that is, a "thoroughgoing eschatology" that seeks to derive from eschatological expectation almost everything characteristic about some individual or movement. Beyond that, "the same behavior in practice can be based on very different theoretical assumptions, while similar principles sometimes result in conduct differing sharply on ethical and practical levels" (Gasparro 1998: 129). Nonetheless, the extant sources allow us to draw a few safe generalizations about how belief in a near end encouraged certain Jews and Christians to behave. Some were moved to let go of the world in dramatic ways, through sexual and dietary abstinence, or by giving up the pursuit of money. Others were led to discount marriage, or to blur gender distinctions, or to disallow divorce, or to intensify their evangelistic efforts, or to move to Jerusalem, or to dwell in the desert, or to become combatants in hope of forcing the end, or to wait quietly for God to intervene in world affairs. In varied ways, then, attachment to an imagined eschatological future played its part in shaping concrete human behavior.

Notes

1. Translations of the Pseudepigrapha are, unless otherwise noted, from Charlesworth 1983.
2. For illustrations from throughout Christian history see Román 1996.
3. It is no surprise that the "realized eschatology" of some later Christians led to the prohibition of marriage altogether; see 1 Tim 4:3 and 2 Tim 2:18—on the assumption that these two verses characterize the same group; also Clement of Alexandria, *Strom* 3.6.48.1.
4. Some took Gen 1:27 ("God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them") to mean that the first created human being was an androgyne; see Philo, Opif 134; On the Origin of the World 101; Irenaeus, Haer 1.18.2; *Mek* on Exod 12:40; b Ber 61a; Gen Rab 8:1.

Bibliography

Allison, Dale C., Jr. (1985). "Rom. 11:11–15: A Suggestion," *Perspective in Religious Studies 12*: 23–30.

Black, Matthew (1965). "The Tradition of Hasidaean-Essene Asceticism: Its Origins and Influence," in *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 19–33.

Charles, R. H. (1913). *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.

Charlesworth, James H. (1983). *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Collins, John J. (1977). *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel. HSM 16*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.

—— (1997). *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Routledge.

—— (2002). "Temporality and Politics in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in Christopher Rowland and John Barton, eds., *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*. JSPSS 43. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 26–43.

Cross, Frank Moore (1980). *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*. Revised edition. Grand Rapids: Baker.

Fraade, Steven D. (1986). "Ascetical Aspects of Ancient Judaism," in Arthur Green, ed., *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible through the Middle Ages*. New York: Crossroad, pp. 253–88.

Fredriksen, Paula (1991). "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2." *Journal of Theological Studies 42*: 532–64.

Gasparro, Giulia Sfameni (1998). "Asceticism and Anthropology: Enkrateia and 'Double Creation' in Early Christianity," in Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis, eds, *Asceticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 127–46.

Hengel, Martin (1971). *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?* FBBS. Philadelphia: Fortress.

—— (1989). *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Henze, Matthias (2008). "Torah and Apocalyptic in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch," in George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity.* Leiden: Brill, pp. 201–15.

Jassen, Alex P. (2010). "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Violence: Sectarian Formation and Eschatological Imagination," in Ra'anan S. Boustan, Alex P. Jassen, and Calvin J. Roetzel, eds., *Violence, Scripture, and Textual Practice in Early Judaism and Christianity*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 13–44.

Lambert, David (2010). "Was the Dead Sea Sect a Penitential Movement?" in Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 501–13.

McGinn, Bernard (1995). "The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom," in Malcolm Bull, ed., *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 58–89.

Martyn, J. Louis (1997), *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Meeks, Wayne A. (1974). "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity." *History of Religions 13*: 165–208.

Murphy, Frederick J. (1985). "2 Baruch and the Romans." *Journal of Biblical Literature 104*: 663–69.

Pitre, Brant James (2001). "Blessing the Barren and Warning the Fecund: Jesus' Message for Women concerning Pregnancy and Childbirth." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament 81*: 59–80.

Portier-Young, Anathea E. (2011). *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Román, Reinaldo L. (1996). "Christian Themes: Mainstream Traditions and Millenarian Violence," in Michael Barkun, ed., *Millennialism and Violence*. London: Frank Class, pp. 51–82.

Stuckenbruck, Loren T. (2007). *1 Enoch 91–108*. CEJL. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Taylor, Joan E. (2006). "Khirbet Qumran in Period III," in Katharina Galor, Jean Baptiste Humbert, and Jürgen Zangenberg, eds., *Qumran the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 133–46.

——. (2010). "The Classical Sources on the Essenes and the Scrolls," in Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 173–99.

Tso, Marcus K. M. (2010). *Ethics in the Qumran Community: An Interdisciplinary Investigation*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1977). "The Political Perspective of the Revelation to John." *Journal of Biblical Literature 96*: 241–56.

Zerbe, Gordon (1993a). *Non-retaliation in Early Jewish and New Testament Texts: Ethical Themes in Social Contexts*. JSPSS 13. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

—— (1993b). "'Pacifism' and 'Passive Resistance' in Apocalyptic Writings: A Critical Evaluation," in James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, eds., *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*. JSPSS 14. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 65–95.

CHAPTER 18

APOCALYPSE AND TORAH IN ANCIENT JUDAISM

MATTHIAS HENZE

It was only toward the end of the period we now associate with the Old Testament / Hebrew Bible that Jewish scribes began to compose apocalyptic literature. Much of what would become the Bible had already been written by the time a new and distinct genre of writing appeared on Israel's literary scene, the Jewish apocalypse. The oldest representatives of this new type of literature are *1 Enoch*, a collection of several shorter apocalypses attributed to Enoch, whose oldest parts, the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*, date to the third century BCE, and the book of Daniel, from the second century BCE. From then on, Jewish scribes continued to compose apocalypses for several centuries. Exactly how much of the Hebrew Bible was considered inspired and therefore authoritative (the term "canonical" is best reserved for the collections of writings after the year 70 CE) by that time continues to be a matter of considerable debate. There can be little doubt, however, that the Torah, the first part of the Jewish Bible, had become central to the Jewish faith by then. Ever since, the five books of Moses have never lost their privileged status as "the most significant embodiment of inspired writing" (Stone 2011: 130).

It is a central aspect of Jewish apocalypses that their authors lay claim to authority by casting their texts in form of divine revelations. According to the definition of the genre by John Collins, which since it was first introduced over three decades ago has gained wide acceptance, apocalypses are a form of revelatory literature in which a human seer receives a revelation about a transcendent and otherwise inaccessible reality (Collins 1979). In other words, apocalypses demand attention in part because of their claim that what is recorded in them are not merely the theological musings of an ancient scribe. Apocalyptic texts purport to record nothing

less than God's revealed will for humanity, the end of time, and the divine secrets about the advent of the world to come (Nickelsburg 2000). Such a claim that a text reveals the will of the God of Israel was not new. At the center of the Torah, too, we read of God's self-revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai and the giving of the Law. And herein lies the challenge. The Torah had long become authoritative by the time the apocalyptic authors wrote their works, and the Torah's authoritative status could not simply be ignored. How, then, did these authors relate their own literature and, more specifically, their claims to divine revelation to similar and already established claims in the Torah? And, more generally speaking, does the Torah play any significant role in early Jewish apocalypses, and, if so, how is it integrated into the apocalyptic drama that unfolds in these texts?

The answer to these questions, not surprisingly, is that different apocalyptic authors found different ways of working the Torah into their texts. Just as there was no single apocalyptic movement in antiquity, so there was not one single apocalyptic worldview and not one single way of relating to the Torah. In recent decades, and particularly in the wake of the explosion of interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls, scholars have gained a much more differentiated understanding of the diverse collection of Jewish apocalyptic works and of the history of apocalyptic thought in early Judaism. We find that during the golden age of ancient Jewish apocalyptic literature, roughly the four centuries from the third century BCE through the first century CE, the Mosaic Torah grew in influence and gained a more prominent place in the apocalypses.

1 Enoch

The *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 1–36) is the first of five smaller books associated with the antediluvian patriarch Enoch that are now collected in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch*, or *1 Enoch*. It is commonly dated to the third century BCE and offers a good point of entry into our reading, not only because it is among the oldest compositions associated with Enoch, but also because the story it relates is foundational to *1 Enoch* as a whole, and it is frequently alluded to in the other Enochic books. This is the story of the angels who descended to earth and had offspring with women before the flood (*1 Enoch* 6–11). The angels are condemned, and Enoch ascends to heaven, where he is commissioned to announce future judgment to the fallen watchers (*1 Enoch* 17–19, 20–36). For the authors of *1 Enoch*, the story of God's *past* judgment that resulted in the worldwide deluge in the days of Noah and the annihilation of human wickedness was a type of God's *future* judgment; it prefigures the judgment of all humans at the end of time. The story of Enoch not only explains why God sent the flood in former

times, it also makes Enoch the ideal figure to warn and predict the judgment of all creation at the end of time (VanderKam 2010).

In telling their story, the authors of the *Book of the Watchers* show that they were not only well acquainted with the Mosaic Torah, especially with Genesis and Deuteronomy (as well as with the other parts of the Hebrew Bible), they also made ample use of the biblical materials (Bedenbender 2007; Nickelsburg 2007). The most obvious example is the choice of the protagonist, Enoch, whose enigmatic introduction in the Bible in Gen 5:21–24 invited many fanciful elaborations. Enoch's interaction with the fallen watchers in *1 Enoch* 12–16 is a long interpretative expansion of Gen 5:24. Then there is the angel story in *1 Enoch* 6–11 (from which Enoch is conspicuously absent), which is an eschatological interpretation of Gen 6:1–4, the story about the "sons of God" mingling with the "daughters of man" that in the Bible directly precedes the flood story. In both of these cases, Gen 5:21–24 and 6:1–4, the biblical episodes are so truncated and, at the same time, mysterious that one wonders whether the biblical author did not know much more but kept both accounts to a bare minimum for fear of delving into heavily mythological territory. By contrast, the authors of *1 Enoch* had no such qualms. God's decision to blot out all human beings and to bring about the flood (Gen 6:5–8:22) inspired the Enochic account of divine judgment. In a few places the authors of the *Book of the Watchers* allude to a motif from Genesis, the spirit of Abel (Gen 4:10 and *1 En.* 22:6–7), for example, or "the tree of wisdom" (Gen 3:6–7, 24 and *1 En.* 32:6), and give it their own interpretive twist, without feeling bound at all by the Genesis narrative.

The *Book of the Watchers* begins in chapters 1–5 with an eschatological oracle of judgment. The wording is taken from the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:1–3 and *1 En.* 1:1, 3–4) and the Balaam oracles (Num 24:15–17 and *1 En.* 1:2–3) (Nickelsburg 2001: 137–41). In *1 En.* 1:4 the Enochic authors include a rare reference to Mount Sinai as the place where God will descend with his army for judgment. Other parts of *1 Enoch* also employ the book of Genesis, most prominently the *Astronomical Book* / *Book of the Luminaries* (*1 Enoch* 72–82), which is contemporary with, or even predates the *Book of the Watchers*. Here the central biblical passage is Gen 1:14–19, the fourth day of creation (VanderKam 2012: 383–85).

It is not only the use of biblical themes and motifs that reveals how the Enochic authors were intimately familiar with the Torah without feeling constrained by it. The Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17), which is part of the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 91–105), the last of the books in *1 Enoch*, provides an Enochic version of Israel's *Heilsgeschichte*, the history of Israel's salvation. Written in the second century BCE, the Apocalypse of Weeks surveys the entire course of history, divided into ten "weeks," from the birth of Enoch in week 1 to the appearance of a new heaven in week 10. According to *1 En.* 93:2, Enoch learned about the Apocalypse of Weeks from the watchers, read it "in the heavenly tablets," and handed it on to his own sons. Two passages in the apocalypse mention the "law." The first is in *1 En.* 93:4, the description of the second week, the period of the flood, or "the first end," as the text puts it, during

which Noah was saved. Soon after Noah, the author "predicts," iniquity will increase "and a law will be made for sinners." The Ethiopic word for "law," *š/serʿāt*, can either mean "covenant" or "law." The biblical base text is Gen 9:1–7 (cf. *Jub.* 7:27–29). The reference is either to the law against the shedding of blood, which would then be interpreted as an injunction in response to postdiluvian violence, or to the Noahic covenant more broadly. The second attestation of the law comes in *1 En.* 93:6, the paraphrase of week 4, in the context of the giving of the Torah: "And after this, in the fourth week, at its end, visions of holy and righteous ones will be seen, and a law for every generation, and an enclosure will be made for them." The Apocalypse briefly retells the events on Mount Sinai, the angelophany on the mountain, and the giving of the "law for every generation," or "the everlasting covenant" (cf. *1 En.* 99:2, 14, which uses the same expression and which some interpreters have seen as a reference to the Mosaic Torah).

In his commentary on *1 Enoch*, George Nickelsburg writes on this passage: "This is the only explicit reference to the Mosaic covenant/Torah in the whole Enochic corpus" (Nickelsburg 2001: 446; cf. Stuckenbruck 2007: 107). Modern interpreters have long noticed the near absence of any overt mention of the Sinaitic covenant and of the Mosaic Torah from the *1 Enoch* corpus and have drawn some significant conclusions from this about the form of Judaism that might have produced the Enochic literature. Building on earlier studies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly on the work of G. H. Dix, Józef Milik proposed in his groundbreaking work on the Aramaic Enoch fragments from Qumran that since the first century BCE there existed a compilation of five Enochic books, or what Milik called "the Pentateuch of Enoch," that was put together rather deliberately in analogy with the Mosaic Pentateuch (Milik 1976: 4, 183–84). The editor added the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 91–105) to an already existing collection of four books in order to complete the Pentateuch, much like Deuteronomy completes the Mosaic Torah. He then added what are now chapters 106–7, the story of the birth of Noah. "The book of Deuteronomy, a sort of Testament of Moses (imitated in some degree by the author of the Epistle of Enoch), ends with a historical section describing the death of the Lawgiver and mentioning his inspired successor, Joshua (Deut. 34:9). In the same manner the compiler of the Enochic Pentateuch, perhaps an erudite scribe of the Qumrân scriptorium living about the year 100 B.C., added chapters 106–7, which resume the beginning of the Book of Noah, the pseudepigraphical sequel to Enoch's antediluvian wisdom" (Milik 1976: 183–84). Milik's hypothesis of an Enochic Pentateuch has found few supporters, mostly because it is not supported by the textual evidence. Critics have pointed to the complicated nature of the Aramaic Enoch texts from Qumran that Milik compiled himself. Greenfield and Stone, for example, argued that, even *if* there existed an Enochic Pentateuch in the Ethiopic version of *1 Enoch*, there is no evidence of it at Qumran (Greenfield and Stone 1977).

Gabriele Boccaccini has also made much of the sparse references to the Mosaic Torah in the Enochic writings. Following in the path of his teacher Paolo Sacchi,

Boccaccini postulated that the Enochic booklets come from a distinct form of Judaism he labeled "Enochic Judaism" (Boccaccini 1998: 165–96). This group produced a number of texts, from the *Book of the Watchers* in the third, to *Jubilees* in the second century BCE, and down to the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The myth of the fallen angels stood at the center of their thought. According to Boccaccini, Enochic Judaism portrayed Enoch as a conveyor of revelation who rivals the revelatory authority of Moses and the Sinaitic covenant. After all, according to biblical chronology, Enoch had received his revelations long before Israel arrived at Mount Sinai. It is only in the book of *Jubilees* that Moses retains his dominant position. Boccaccini writes: "The Mosaic torah is conspicuously absent from the earlier Enochic literature. . . . Thanks to Jubilees, Moses became an important figure in the Enochic movement, if not as important as Enoch" (Boccaccini 1998: 167). Boccaccini's hypothesis of a distinct form of Judaism called "Enochic Judaism" has generated much discussion, particularly his idea of a supposed conflict between the younger Enochic tradition and the established authority of Moses and his Torah. The lack of references to the Mosaic Torah in *1 Enoch* is indeed noticeable, particularly in places where one would expect it, for example in the *Animal Apocalypse* in *1 En.* 89:28–35, where it is simply glossed over. It is also true that there are no specific legal rulings or commandments in *1 Enoch* that were taken from the Pentateuch (the situation is rather different in *Jubilees*, where legal stipulations figure prominently). The relationship between the Enochic tradition and the Mosaic Torah should not be overstated, however. In the words of George Nickelsburg, "The non-Mosaic character of most of 1 Enoch does not add up to an anti-Mosaic bias or polemic" (Nickelsburg 2007: 88). Also, the absence of specific Pentateuchal laws is not unique to *1 Enoch* but is common in Jewish apocalyptic literature, as we will see below.

The reasons for the sparse number of references to the Torah in *1 Enoch* lie somewhere else. The authors of *1 Enoch* wrote about the revelation of God's will, about right and wrong human conduct, and about the reward and punishment that lie ahead. They chose to do so through a paradigm that is not based on the Mosaic Torah. Instead, their thinking is primarily anchored in the prophetic and sapiential literature of the Bible. A central aspect of this distinctly sapiential/apocalyptic tradition is that of "revealed wisdom" (Nickelsburg 2001: 50–52; 2007): Enoch received and transmitted some otherwise hidden knowledge that in the Enochic books is deemed essential for the redemption from this world (*1 En.* 82:2–3). This "revealed wisdom" includes knowledge of the universe and of the natural order at large, including the entire cosmos, and it stresses the necessity for the right human conduct, a paraenetic impulse that gains urgency due to the fact that the end of time is thought to be near. Whereas the natural world does not transgress this cosmic order, humans have persistently violated the divine ordinances (*1 En.* 5:4). Possession of this revealed knowledge is a prerequisite for acceptable human conduct. Since Enoch was granted access to this knowledge, he is uniquely positioned to disseminate the divine will—quite

independently of the Mosaic Torah, which, according to biblical chronology, had not yet been revealed. Enoch's preferred way of doing so is through exhortation rather than through commandments as we find them in the Pentateuch and other Jewish writings that are centered on the Torah.

Fourth Ezra

The Jewish apocalypse known as *4 Ezra* (= 2 Esdras 3–14) was composed in Israel in the late first century CE during the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE) (Stone 1990: 10). Writing in the aftermath of the failed Jewish War against Rome, the author wrestles with the historical consequences and theological concerns that resulted from Jerusalem's devastating defeat.

The book is divided into seven sections, or episodes (Longenecker 1995: 20–32; Hogan 2008: 1–40). The first three episodes (*4 Ezra* 3:1–5:20; 5:21–6:34; and 6:35–9:26) are extended dialogues between Ezra the seer and his angelic interlocutor Uriel, in which Ezra raises a number of acute questions about the fate of Israel and the morality of God's actions. The next three episodes (9:26–10:59; 11:1–12:51; and 13:1–58) all take the form of visions that Ezra has about the eschatological future and Israel's ultimate victory. The last episode (14:1–48) depicts Ezra in his biblical role as scribe (cf. Neh 8:1–8), who records and transmits what he in turn has seen. The Torah plays a prominent role in the first three episodes, where it is invoked by both Ezra and Uriel; it is largely absent from the eschatological visions in episodes 4 through 6; and it reappears again in the last, seventh episode.

The first to mention the Torah is Ezra himself in the lament that opens the book. Trying to understand the reasons for Jerusalem's destruction by the Gentile nations, Ezra reflects on the sin of Adam, the first human, and the consequences of his sin for all humans. Already burdened with an "evil heart," Adam transgressed, and thus sinfulness became a permanent trait of the human condition. In Ezra's words "the evil root" was in the hearts of the people (3:22). In his prayer, Ezra goes through human history and bewails the consequences of the evil root. When God gave Israel the Torah, it was in the heart together with the evil root. Ezra recognizes that, because human nature had been compromised through Adam's transgression, the Torah could not produce any fruit. But Adam's transgression affected all humanity, not just Israel. This leads Ezra to question whether the sins of Israel were, in fact, any worse than the sins of Israel's enemies, so that God would have been justified in allowing the enemies to be triumphant over Israel. Ezra concludes that there may well be individuals among the nations who have been exemplary in keeping God's commandments, but no nation has been as free from sin as Israel. And yet God punished Israel and allowed

the Babylonians to flourish, even though their deeds were worse than those of Israel (3:28–36). To Ezra, "the way of the Most High" remains inscrutable.

The seer repeats the same sentiment in the opening lament of the second episode (5:21–30). Whereas in his first prayer Ezra mourned over the human condition and the evil root, now his concern is with Israel's treatment at the hand of the Gentiles. Ezra still does not understand why God delivered Israel up to her enemies and scattered Israel among the nations (5:28–30). His lament is a poetic meditation on Israel's chosenness. God has made many choices in creation, but the election of Israel is the noblest of them all. It was, in fact, an act of God's pure affection for "one people." As a sign of his love, God gave Israel the Torah: it is the gift of the Torah that distinguishes Israel from the nations. And yet, even though only Israel received the Torah, Ezra makes clear that all nations are held accountable to the same standards of behavior. This is most likely what lies behind Ezra's puzzling statement, "and to this people, whom you have loved, you have given the Torah that is approved by all" (5:27). The point is this: the Torah is a gift from God to mark Israel's election; Israel has not been able to produce much fruit because of the evil root; but this, for Ezra, hardly justifies Israel's excessively harsh punishment by the Gentiles, as the nations have not been any less sinful.

It is in the third episode in chapter 7 that Uriel gets a chance to respond to Ezra's understanding of Torah (7:17–25). So far the exchange between Ezra and Uriel has focused on Israel's behavior in the past. Now the discussion moves to the future, specifically to the fate of the righteous and the wicked in the eschaton. Ezra opens with the complaint that God's treatment of the wicked is unfair. The Torah stipulates that the righteous inherit the world to come, while the wicked perish. He does not tell us which passage specifically he has in mind. He may be thinking of Deut 8:1, though Ps 37:9 is also a possibility, in which case the term Torah here refers not strictly to the five books of Moses but to Scripture in general (Stone 1990: 199–200). According to Ezra, the divine ruling is unfair because the wicked will never gain happiness, neither here or there. Uriel shows himself unimpressed. Surely Ezra is no better judge than God, he retorts, and it is better that many perish than that the Torah be disregarded. Rather than showing obedience, Uriel continues, Israel has scorned God's Torah, denied his covenants, and has been unfaithful to his statues. The righteous will therefore be rewarded, whereas the wicked will come up empty. In response, Ezra laments the fate of humans for being worse off than the animals who do not know of judgment and torment. Again, the angel is not moved but merely repeats his earlier point: even though Israel received the Torah, Israel still sinned knowingly and thus will be held accountable like all who live on earth (7:70–74).

Both Ezra in chapter 5 and Uriel in chapter 7 explicitly refer to the covenant in the context of the Torah. The Torah is the sign of Israel's covenant with God. For E. P. Sanders, this is an example of what he has called "covenantal nomism." More recently, Bruce Longenecker and, subsequently, John Collins, have preferred the term "ethnocentric covenantalism" to describe the theology of *4 Ezra* (Collins 2009). Their point is that Ezra's first concern is for his own people—an understandable position for an author writing in the wake of a disastrous defeat.

The Torah figures less prominently in the next three vision episodes in *4 Ezra*. The main exception, however, comes right at the beginning of episode 4, Ezra's vision of the woman who transforms into the city, an episode often seen as the main turning point in the book. At the beginning of that episode, Ezra walks into the field and makes himself available to further revelations by fasting for seven days. He then begins with a prayerful reflection on the gift of Torah and Israel's failure to keep it (9:26–37). Ezra recalls how God sowed the Torah into the hearts of the Israelites so that it would bring forth fruit in them, in order for God to be glorified. But Ezra's ancestors did not keep the Torah (the lament is rather reminiscent of Ezra's earlier complaint in 3:19–20). While the fruit of the Torah did not perish, as it is God's, Israel *is* presently perishing. Underlying Ezra's concern, which is never resolved in the vision that follows, is the idea, common in Judaism at the time, that the Torah is a gift from God, that it gives life, indeed life eternal, to those who keep it, and that it remains forever, while the human beings, the containers into which the Torah is sowed, are perishing.

Apart from this meditation, the Torah is only mentioned two more times in the three vision episodes. In the sixth episode we read of the eschatological assault of a multitude of peoples on Mount Zion, where they hope to conquer the Messiah. There they are easily repulsed by the Messiah who destroys them "by means of the Torah, which was symbolized by the fire" (13:38; cf. 13:10). And then, at the end of the chapter, Ezra is finally praised by his angelic interlocutor for his devotion to the knowledge of God and because he has searched out God's Torah (13:54).

With the seventh and last episode in *4 Ezra* (14:1–48), finally, we return to the fictitious setting of the book, the destruction of Jerusalem. The chapter shows Ezra as a *Moses redivivus*, Ezra as a Mosaic scribe of the end time, who rewrites the Torah and, it turns out, many other books as well. Just as God once called Moses and revealed to him heavenly secrets, so now he commissions Ezra. The seer alleges that the Torah was burned during the destruction of Jerusalem and so asks God to be commissioned to produce a new copy (14:19–22). The context makes clear that Torah here does not mean the five books of Moses only but all of Scripture. And not only that, in a state of trance Ezra dictates to his five scribes an entire library of ninety-four books. Of these he is to make public only twenty-four, commonly taken to be a reference to the canonical books, and to keep the remaining seventy under lock and accessible only for "the wise" (14:46; some modern interpreters have taken this to imply that *4 Ezra* was initially intended for a limited and rather learned audience only). In this final episode, the Torah is to be understood in its most expansive sense, including all of Scripture and even some esoteric revelations, among them, we may presume, the book of *4 Ezra* itself.

A recurring concern for Ezra in his conversation with Uriel is the fact that God delivered Israel into the hands of the Babylonians, even though the Babylonians are not any less sinful than Israel. After all, all have equally been affected by Adam's evil heart. For Ezra to be able to make that point there needs to be some compatible measure of accountability. For Israel, that measure of accountability is the Torah, the sign of the covenant. But what about the nations? One could think of the natural law, the

equivalent to the Torah, but the text never says so. A key problem for the modern interpreter of *4 Ezra* arises from the fact that in many of the key passages it is not clear whether the text refers to Israel specifically or to all of humanity. Often the transition from the former to the latter is seamless. This ambiguity has generated a great deal of discussion among interpreters. In chapter 3, for example, Ezra moves from the creation of humankind and Adam's sin, both universal phenomena, to the giving of the Torah and Israel's dispersion, and he ends with the claim that Israel has been more faithful to God's commands than Babylon. Chapter 7 is more problematic still. There it is Uriel who says that God commanded "those who came into the world" (7:21) what to do, presumably a reference to all of humankind, but then goes on to say that they "denied his covenants" (7:24), likely a reference to Israel. The same ambiguity recurs later in the chapter, when Uriel affirms his position with these words: "those who live on earth shall be tormented, because though they had understanding, they committed iniquity; and though they received the commandments, they did not keep them; and though they obtained the Torah, they dealt unfaithfully with what they received" (7:72; similarly in 8:4–15). Ambiguity persists.

In a number of studies, Karina Hogan has argued that the debate between Ezra and Uriel is the literary representation of an actual wisdom debate at the time. Specifically, Hogan suggested that Ezra represents the point of view of the covenantal wisdom tradition (as in *Sirach* and *1 Baruch*), whereas Uriel's position is that of the eschatological wisdom tradition (as we find it at Qumran). In the end, the author of *4 Ezra* rejects both of these theological positions and instead ends his book with a sequence of apocalyptic visions. Not intellectual debate but apocalyptic theology alone can provide an answer to Ezra's questions (Hogan 2007; 2008: 134–43). The hypothesis is appealing, and yet the debate between Ezra and Uriel over the significance of the Torah poses a significant challenge for Hogan, if only because their respective positions do not fit the categories "covenantal" versus "eschatological wisdom" and seem to have more in common with one another than divides them. In *4 Ezra* 7:17–25, for example, Uriel unambiguously refers to the covenant, and in 8:4–18 Ezra argues that anyone can produce good fruit, regardless of Israel's covenant, a position Uriel had previously argued. Ezra's and Uriel's positions on the Torah are rather compatible.

Second Baruch

Like *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch* is a Jewish apocalypse written toward the end of the first century CE, probably in or around Jerusalem. The two texts are related on many levels, as is evident from the numerous parallels in language, form, and focus. But there are also some significant differences. The author of *2 Baruch* is an outspoken advocate of a

post-70 CE form of Judaism that is centered on the Torah. In this regard, as in others, he resembles the early Sages. There is no attempt in *2 Baruch* to diminish the significance of the Torah, let alone to establish an apocalyptic tradition that stands apart from, or even seams biased against, the Mosaic Torah. *Second Baruch* is an integrative text. Like no other writer before him, this author was able to combine the call to live by the Torah with an uncompromised zeal for the end of time. Whereas it would appear that the Deuteronomic promise that those who are obedient to the Torah will live a long and prosperous life is simply incompatible with the apocalyptic promise of an imminent new heaven and a new earth, in *2 Baruch* we find that both promises are integrated and are integral parts of the book's main message (Henze 2011: 206–27).

Above we saw that Moses is largely absent from *1 Enoch*. The situation is rather different in *2 Baruch*, where Moses is frequently invoked. In conversation with Baruch, God reminds the seer of the scene in Deuteronomy 30, in which Moses summons Israel to return to God, while at the same time assuring Israel that the terms of the covenant are plainly stated and not too difficult to keep (*2 Baruch* 19). The biblical scene culminates in the Mosaic call on Israel to choose life over death, one the very few lines from the Bible quoted verbatim in *2 Baruch* (2 Bar. 19:1). Moses is praised throughout the apocalypse for having given Israel the Torah. The preferred metaphor for the Torah is that of the lamp. On Mount Sinai, when Moses received the Torah, he took from the light and gave it to Israel. He lit a lamp for the people of Israel. Since then, the eternal lamp of the Torah has provided Israel with light, "that light in which nothing can err" (*2 Bar.* 19:3), and has enlightened all who sat in darkness. The greatest obstacle to the light of the Torah is "the darkness of Adam" (*2 Bar.* 18:2), a concept not unlike "the evil root" that stems from Adam, according to *4 Ezra*. In *2 Baruch*, Adam is the counterpoise to Moses: the former brought darkness into the world, the latter the Torah and with it the hope for light and enlightenment. Baruch leaves no doubt that Adam's transgression affects all human beings, but he is also clear that individuals still have a choice. In one of the book's most poignant moments, Baruch exclaims: "Adam is therefore not the cause, except only for himself. But we all, each one, has become our own Adam" (*2 Bar.* 54:19).

Baruch repeatedly encourages his listeners to study and obey the Torah, the antidote to Adam's darkness. Moses has lit a lamp for Israel, and it is now up to the believers to partake in the divine light and to be enlightened by it. Nowhere in the book do we read of one particular group that holds the monopoly on the cultivation and dissemination of the revelatory tradition. Instead, all are encouraged to study, adjudicate, transmit, and to be enlightened by the Torah. Revelation still has its origin at Mount Sinai, according to *2 Baruch*, but through the Torah revelation has been delocalized and, in a sense, democratized—a powerful statement in the wake of Jerusalem's fall. The Torah guarantees the continuous experience of revelation as an extension of the original revelation on Mount Sinai, an idea also at home in early Rabbinic thought (*m. Aboth* 1:1–3; *Sifre* on Deuteronomy 32).

Baruch also knows of the tradition that identifies the Torah with heavenly wisdom. The myth of wisdom's descent to earth has its origin in Proverbs 8, and it is further interpreted in *Sirach* 24 and *1 Baruch* 4. The Mosaic Torah becomes the tangible presence of heavenly wisdom in Israel (Nickelsburg 2001: 52). That tradition was then further adopted by the apocalyptic writers. For the authors of *1 Enoch* the most prevailing aspect of "revealed wisdom" is its reflection in the order of the cosmos: God the Creator has assigned the seasons their times and the luminaries their places, and all of God's creation works in complete order, whereas humans have persistently violated God's ordinances. Baruch is less concerned with the cosmic dimensions of heavenly wisdom and instead focuses on the human aspect. He ties wisdom closely to the Torah as a guide to righteousness. Above all, wisdom is a way of life, and Baruch uses wisdom to describe the life of the righteous. The student acquires wisdom through the study of Torah (*2 Bar.* 38:2–4), the faithful who devote themselves to the Torah will gain wisdom (*2 Bar.* 48:24), and those who are found righteous in God's Torah have planted the root of wisdom in their hearts and will be amply rewarded (*2 Bar.* 51:3).

With the Torah God gave Israel wisdom and understanding. For Baruch, this includes the wisdom to understand the reasons for the present calamity and the criteria of the final judgment. When Baruch complains to God that human beings cannot know the will of God, that they cannot be expected to understand the divine judgment, and that therefore the harsh judgment that awaits them at the end of time is not just, God merely replies that Baruch would be correct, had Israel not received the Torah. But Israel has received the Torah, has known everything that needs to be known, and still chose to transgress. In other words, Israel has sinned knowingly and therefore will also be tormented knowingly (*2 Bar.* 15:6; a similar argument is found in *4 Ezra* 7:70–74, see above). This is the other side of Torah in *2 Baruch*, its pivotal role in the final judgment. In some of the harsher passages in the book, God informs Baruch that God's plan is fully justified and that the Torah has its demands: "But my judgment demands its own, and my Torah demands its right" (*2 Bar.* 48:27). The Torah, here in poetic parallelism with God's eschatological judgment, is entitled to claim what is rightfully its own. Baruch is forced to agree: "Your Torah, which they have transgressed, will repay them on your day" (*2 Bar.* 48:47).

Second Baruch leaves no doubt that not everybody will be granted entry into the world to come. Indeed, many will be found wanting on the day of reckoning. Obedience to the Torah will be a decisive factor. Whereas in the traditional Deuteronomic pattern, Israel's reward for fulfilling the covenant is earthly prosperity and longevity, in *2 Baruch* it is life eternal in the world to come (Murphy 1985: 9). To this end, Baruch refers repeatedly to "the works" of the righteous (Lied 2008: 138–40). Right at the beginning of the book God tells Baruch and Jeremiah to leave Jerusalem because their works and their prayers shield the city from destruction (*2 Baruch* 2). A little later Baruch argues with God that Jerusalem

should not have been destroyed because of the works of the righteous (*2 Baruch* 14). Righteousness is tied to the works of the Torah; indeed, it can only be acquired through the Torah. This recognition rings especially true in the aftermath of the devastation of Jerusalem. And so Baruch summarizes the same sentiment in his epistle: "We have nothing left at all except for the Mighty One and His Torah" (*2 Bar.* 85:3).

The Torah stands at the center of *2 Baruch*'s apocalyptic program. Proper instruction in the Torah leads to life (45:2; 76:5), indeed, the Torah itself is life (38:2). It is through the Torah that Israel was given full knowledge of the end time, and it is through obedience to the Torah that Israel will be found righteous and granted a place in the world to come. In spite of this emphasis on the Torah, the reader of *2 Baruch* looks in vain for any commandment or regulation that would betray the author's halachic position, for example on the calendar, cultic or purity laws, or Sabbath regulations (cf. *2 Bar.* 84:8). In this regard, *2 Baruch* is not any different from other Jewish apocalypses that also remain silent on this point, including *1 Enoch* and *4 Ezra*. The point is to exhort and to encourage, not to take a position in the legal debate over specific commandments (Henze 2008).

Pierre Bogaert compared Baruch's focus on the Mosaic Torah with the final scene in *4 Ezra*, in which the recognition that the Torah has been lost in the war leads to the (re)production of an entire library of inspired literature, of which the overwhelming majority is esoteric (Bogaert 1969: 391–92). To Bogaert, the single emphasis on the Torah in *2 Baruch* is significant, in that it reflects one of the main transformations that took place after the year 70 CE. With the temple in ruins and the sacrificial cult disrupted, the Torah gained in significance, becoming the substitute for the temple worship. This importance placed on the Torah contributed to the survival of Judaism. Liv Lied concurs that "the continuity of Law-abiding praxis" is one of the central concerns of *2 Baruch* (Lied 2008: 132–40). To this she adds the importance of leadership and instruction in *2 Baruch*. Both are reflections of the time. The selection of proper community leadership and Torah instruction are mentioned repeatedly, often in connection with life, and both are deemed vital to the survival of Israel.

Conclusion

Different apocalyptic authors found different ways of working the Mosaic Torah into their apocalyptic programs. All of them were aware of the Pentateuch, and all of them made use of it. For the authors of *1 Enoch*, the narrative traditions about Enoch and the fallen watchers were more important than the legal commandments of the

Pentateuch. They found their scriptural anchor in the prophetic and sapiential traditions that equipped them to address their primary concerns: eschatology, cosmology, and judgment. In *4 Ezra*, the Torah is God's gift to Israel, the sign of the covenant that sets Israel apart from the Gentile nations. Even though the Torah has not brought forth much fruit, Ezra wrestles with the question whether God was justified in handing Israel over to the enemies. Torah in *4 Ezra* does not always mean the five books of Moses, especially not in the final scene of the book, when Ezra writes down Israel's library of ninety-four books. In *2 Baruch*, finally, the Mosaic Torah is fully integrated in the book's apocalyptic program. Observance of the Torah and hope for the world to come are two sides of the same coin. This increasing prominence of the Mosaic Torah in the corpus of early Jewish apocalypses is likely the literary expression of the growing influence of the Mosaic Torah in Judaism more broadly. This is especially true for *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, two works written after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, a time when Rabbinic Judaism was beginning to take form.

Bibliography

General

Collins, John J. ed. (1979). *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*. Semeia 14. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.

——(1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Henze, Matthias and Gabriele Boccaccini, with the collaboration of Jason M. Zurawski (2013). *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction After the Fall*. JSJSup 164. Leiden: Brill.

Najman, Hindy (2010). *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity. Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction After the Fall*. JSJSup 164. Leiden: Brill.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2000). "Apocalyptic Texts." in Lawrence Schiffman and James VanderKam, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 29–35.

—— (2005). *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.

Stone, Michael E. (2011). *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

—— and Matthias Henze (2013). *4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: Translations, Introductions, and Notes*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

First Enoch

Bedenbender, Andreas (2007). "The Place of Torah in the Early Enoch Literature," in Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, eds., *The Early Enoch Literature*. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, pp. 65–79.

Boccaccini, Gabriele (1998). *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Greenfield, Jonas C., and Michael E. Stone (1977). "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes." *Harvard Theological Review 70*: 51–65.
Knibb, Michael (1978). *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.
Milik, Józef Tadeusz (1976). *The Books of Enoch*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2001). *1 Enoch 1*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.
—— (2007). "Enochic Wisdom and Its Relationship to the Mosaic Torah," in Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, eds., *The Early Enochic Literature*. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, pp. 81–94.
Nickelsburg, George W. E., and James VanderKam (2004). *1 Enoch: A New Translation*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.
Stuckenbruck, Loren T. (2007). *1 Enoch 91–108*. CEJL. Berlin: de Gruyter.
VanderKam, James C. (2010). "The Book of Enoch and the Qumran Scrolls," in Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 254–77.
—— (2012). *1 Enoch 2*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.

Fourth Ezra

Collins, John J. (2009). "The Idea of Election in 4 Ezra." *Jewish Studies Quarterly 16*: 83–96.
Hogan, Karina Martin (2007). "The Meaning of *tôrâ* in *4 Ezra*." *Journal for the Study of Judaism 38*: 530–52.
—— (2008). *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra: Wisdom Debate and Apocalyptic Solution*. JSJSup 130. Leiden: Brill.
Longenecker, Bruce W. (1995). *2 Esdras*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
Stone, Michael E. (1990). *Fourth Ezra*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.

Second Baruch

Bogaert, Pierre (1969). *Apocalypse de Baruch: Introduction, traduction du Syriaque et commentaire*. SC 144–45. Paris: Cerf.
Henze, Matthias (2008). "Torah and Eschatology in the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*," in George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*. TBN 12. Leiden: Brill, pp. 201–15.
—— (2011). *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel: Reading Second Baruch in Context*. TSAJ 142. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
Lied, Liv Ingeborg (2008). *The Other Lands: Imaginations of the Land in 2 Baruch*. JSJSup 129. Leiden: Brill.
Murphy, Frederick James (1985). *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*. SBLDS 78. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

CHAPTER 19

APOCALYPTICISM AND CHRISTIAN ORIGINS

ADELA YARBRO COLLINS

In the modern period, the first scholar to concern himself with biblical theology appears to be Johann Philipp Gabler (Morgan 1992: 476; Reventlow 1992: 485; Baird 1992: 184–87). The title of his inaugural lecture, given in 1787 when he became professor of theology at the University of Altdorf, was "An Oration on the Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology and the Specific Objectives of Each" (Baird 1992: 185). Although he distinguished biblical theology as historical from didactic dogmatic theology, he did not suggest that biblical theology should be pursued with a strictly historical method. He argued rather, "each single opinion must be examined for its universal ideas" (Gabler 1992: 499). In his view, one must distinguish between the opinions that pertain only to a particular time and place of the past and those that are truly divine, that is, that pertain to the "unchanging idea of the doctrine of salvation" (Gabler 1992: 500). The heritage of the Enlightenment is clear in this lecture, as is Gabler's rationalist agenda (Morgan 1992: 476; Reventlow 1992: 485). The topic of apocalypticism or eschatology is not mentioned. This lack may be explained, in part, by the lecture's quite general and abstract character. Another important factor is that apocalypticism was yet to be "rediscovered" (Koch 1972). The term comes from the English translation of Klaus Koch's book, written in response to the revival of interest in apocalypticism in the 1960s. The scholarly rediscovery of apocalypticism, however, took place in the nineteenth century, evoked by the publication of previously little known ancient apocalyptic works, for example, the Ethiopic Book of Enoch or *1 Enoch* (Collins 1998: 2–3).

It took most of the nineteenth century for the new perspective on Jewish apocalypticism to have its full impact on the interpretation of the New Testament. F. C. Baur's

lectures on New Testament theology, for example, do not yet show such an impact (Baur 1864, 1973). He argued that the concept of the kingdom of God at the time of Jesus was connected with what he called the material ideas of the Jews about the messianic kingdom. Jesus, however, did not have a similar view. On the contrary, he spiritualized the concept of the messianic reign to such a degree that nothing was left of those material ideas. The kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus was a community based on ethical-religious conditions, whose ultimate aim lay in the transcendent world. Jesus transformed the material, popular messianic expectations into his spiritual idea of the kingdom of heaven (Baur 1973: 70, 93–94).

He noted further that Paul appears to share the belief of the earliest Christians in the nearness of the coming of Christ from heaven (the *parousia*). He argued that the *parousia* for Paul is the moment of the resurrection of those who belong to Christ (1 Cor 15:23). He then interpreted the *parousia* and the End in Paul's teaching as the triumph of the principle of life over the principle of death and the overcoming of evil. All creation returns to God and becomes an eternal unity (Baur 1973: 202–5).

In discussing "The 'Liberal' Lives of Jesus" from the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, Schweitzer remarked that there is complete agreement among these lives "in the rejection of eschatology. For Holtzmann, Schenkel and Weizsäcker, as for Weisse, Jesus wanted 'to found an inward kingdom of repentance . . . Jesus makes messianic claims only in a spiritual sense.' According to Schenkel, 'That Jesus predicted a personal, bodily, second coming, in the brightness of his heavenly splendour and surrounded by the heavenly hosts, to establish an earthly kingdom, is not only not proved, it is absolutely impossible.' Schenkel is able to give these explanations because he knows the most secret thoughts of Jesus and is therefore no longer bound to the text" (Schweitzer 2000: 177–78).

In his chapter "The Eschatological Question," Schweitzer observed that before the pioneering studies of Dillmann (1851) and Hilgenfeld (1857), it was easy enough for scholars to conclude that the preaching of Jesus was independent of all contemporary ideas. After these studies, however, had made Jewish apocalypticism "known in its fundamental characteristics, and the Jewish pseudepigrapha were no longer looked on as 'forgeries' but as representative documents [of Jewish thought of the Second Temple period], the necessity of taking account of them in interpreting the thought of Jesus became more and more emphatic" (Schweitzer 2000: 190). Johannes Weiss was the first to take the new understanding of apocalypticism fully into account in interpreting the teaching of Jesus (Weiss 1971; Schweitzer 2000: 198).

Weiss's starting point is that the dogmatic theology of his time used the phrase "kingdom of God" in a way far removed from the biblical concept itself. He argues, "Theology must insist only on one thing if it wants to remain clear concerning itself and conscious of its procedures, namely, that one should acknowledge whether and how far we are today removed from the original meaning of the concepts." He then sets as his goal the task of identifying "the original historical meaning which Jesus connected with the words 'Kingdom of God' " (Weiss 1971: 59–60). With regard to

sources, he excludes the Gospel of John, the sayings of Matthew that express a later view, and the parables. He excludes the latter because it is only the editorial work of the evangelists that connect them to the notion of the kingdom of God (Weiss 1971: 60–64). He argues that for the Israelites and Jesus, "there existed a twofold world, and thus also a twofold occurrence of events." The lower world of human beings is related to an upper world of angels and spirits. Together they make up the cosmos (1 Cor 4:9). "All history is only the consequence, effect, or parallel copy of heavenly events." Therefore, when Jesus speaks about the kingdom of God being present (Matt 12:28; Luke 17:21), he does not mean that it is constituted "by a community of disciples among whom God's will is done. Rather, Jesus does so because by his own activity the power of Satan, who above all others is the source of evil, is being broken." This involves the establishment of the power of God over Satan, a process that has a heavenly origin (Weiss 1971: 74–78).

The majority of Jesus' sayings, however, express the view that the kingdom of God will be established only in the future (Weiss 1971: 79). The role of Jesus is preparatory, not properly messianic. Besides overcoming Satan's kingdom, his main activity is proclaiming the good news, announcing the coming of the kingdom of God (81–82). Jesus was not a revolutionary. God will establish the kingdom "without human hands, horse, or rider, with only his angels and celestial powers. . . . This is not to say that he did not believe in any kind of political restoration; but that only God should bring it about" (102–3). The ethics of Jesus is an ethics of preparation (105–12). For Jesus the "Kingdom of God is a radically [upperworldly] entity which stands in diametric opposition to this world. This is to say that there *can* be no talk of an *innerworldly* development of the Kingdom of God in the mind of Jesus!" (114). How is Jesus different from John the Baptist? During his lifetime Jesus "*is* a prophet before the eyes of all. But he is to *become* the Son of Man, whether at some point in his lifetime, or, as he became ever more convinced, after he had passed through death" (114, 120). Becoming the Son of Man means that judgment and rule will be transferred to him. In this way God "will *make* him Lord and Messiah" (130). The ten principal results of Weiss's study show that "Jesus' idea of the Kingdom of God appears to be inextricably involved with a number of eschatological-apocalyptical views which systematic theology has been accustomed to take over without critical examination" (129–31).

Schweitzer observed that Hermann Samuel Reimarus "was the first, and indeed, before Johannes Weiss, the only writer to recognize and point out that the preaching of Jesus was purely eschatological" (Schweitzer 2000: 200). With regard to Schweitzer himself, Hiers and Holland wrote, "Weiss was soon joined by a formidable ally, Albert Schweitzer" (Weiss 1971: 30). They refer to the publication of Schweitzer's *Skizze des Lebens Jesu* (Sketch of the Life of Jesus), which was published (1901) a year after the revised and expanded edition of Weiss's book. It was translated into English under the title *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* (Schweitzer 1914).

Hiers and Holland also note, however, that when Schweitzer wrote the *Skizze*, he had not yet read either the first or the second edition of Weiss's book. He nevertheless

came to similar conclusions (Weiss 1971: 30). Weiss had discussed the sources critically and eliminated the later traditions from consideration because the earlier ones had a better chance of representing the teaching of Jesus. In contrast, Schweitzer argued that "The Sermon on the Mount, the commission to the Twelve, and the eulogy of the Baptist are not 'composite speeches,' but were for the most part delivered as they have been handed down to us." He also affirmed the historicity of the passion predictions in the Synoptic Gospels (Schweitzer 1914: 7–8). These positions are problematic for those sensitive to the history of the Synoptic tradition. Also, he did not always distinguish Matthean redaction from older tradition (he does so, however, on 128–29). But Schweitzer felt that Mark alone does not suffice "for constructing the history of Jesus . . . the discourses in Matthew are invaluable indications" (34).

Furthermore Schweitzer asserted, probably against Wrede (1971), "one should not forget, that if Jesus did not take himself to be the Messiah, this means the death blow to the Christian faith. The judgment of the early church is not binding upon us. The Christian religion is founded upon the messianic consciousness of Jesus, whereby he himself in a signal manner sharply distinguished his own person from the rank of other preachers of religious morality" (Schweitzer 1914: 5–6). In the preface he states that the aim of this book is to explain why, if Jesus considered himself to be the Messiah, he did not act as if he were the Messiah. He argues later in the book that Jesus' "experience at the Baptism signified the inception of [his] messianic consciousness" (127). In the preface, he says that he also wanted to make intelligible why Jesus suddenly came to believe that his death was necessary and in what sense he considered it a saving act (3–4). To explain these things is to understand his life (6).

In the course of criticizing "the modern 'historical' solution," Schweitzer articulates a few of his main theses. The humility and service taught by Jesus are not "the proclamation of the new morality of the Kingdom of God, where serving is ruling; rather it is a question of the significance of humility and service in *expectation of the Kingdom of God*" (1914: 76). In the teaching of Jesus, "with the appearing of the Son of Man dawned the eschatological Kingdom" (80). Finally, "The coming of the Kingdom of God with power is dependent upon the atonement which Jesus performs. That is substantially the secret of the Passion" (83).

In the chapter titled "The Preaching of the Kingdom," Schweitzer argues that repentance in the Synoptic Gospels is not merely backward looking. Its "predominant character . . . is a moral renewal in prospect of the accomplishment of universal perfection in the future" (1914: 94). In the same chapter, a key point about ethics is made: "If ethics has to do only with the expectation of the supernatural consummation, its actual worth is diminished, since it is merely individual ethics and is concerned only with the relation of each single person to the Kingdom of God. The thought, however, that the moral community which has been constituted by Jesus' preaching must as such be in some way the effective first stage in the realization of the Kingdom of God—this thought belongs not alone to *our* ethical sentiment, but

it animated also the preaching of Jesus, for he wrought out in strong relief the social character of his ethics" (103–4).

Schweitzer elaborates the latter point in the chapter titled "The Secret of the Kingdom of God." The identification of John the Baptist with Elijah, the saying about men of violence taking the Kingdom by force (Matt 11: 12–14), and the parables (in light of Mark 4:11) lead to the following inference: "Repentance and moral renewal in prospect of the Kingdom of God are like a pressure which is exerted in order to compel its appearance. . . . The men of violence who take it by force are they [who] put into practice the moral renewal. They draw it with power down to earth" (1914: 112). He supports this conclusion by describing the phenomenon in question as a kind of apocalyptic transformation of the prophetic principle that God's activity responds to human behavior (112–15).

According to Schweitzer, the secret of the kingdom, discussed above, characterized the first period of Jesus' life. The second and final period was characterized by his teaching regarding the secret of the Passion, which takes up the secret of the kingdom of God and carries it further (1914: 124–25). In addition to the moral renewal, the redeeming death of Jesus also compels the coming of the kingdom. His death "completes the penitence of those who believe in the coming of the Kingdom" (125). After a thorough discussion of the problems involved, Schweitzer concludes, "Until the confession before the [Jewish] council [in Jerusalem] Jesus was publicly regarded as the Forerunner [not the Messiah], as he had been already in Galilee" (163).

In the chapter "The Secret of Messiahship," Schweitzer came to the conclusion that, before the resurrection of Jesus, his disciples believed that his resurrection as Messiah would coincide with the general resurrection that would usher in the messianic age. "After his death his resurrection as Messiah constituted a fact for itself. Jesus [became] the Messiah *before* the messianic age!" (1914: 211). He then raises the question, "What did Judas actually betray?" What he did was betray to the chief priests (Mark 14:11) the secret of Caesarea Philippi. In Schweitzer's view, Judas allowed the High Priest to conclude that Jesus considered himself to be the Messiah when he stood before him. Jesus corrects this misunderstanding with his response about his coming as the Son of Man in the future (216–17).

In the summary of his view of the life of Jesus in the last chapter, Schweitzer infers that the secret of the passion was revealed to Jesus from Scripture, when he was pondering the question why the kingdom had failed to appear in spite of the tokens of its dawning. The secret involved the conviction that God would bring the kingdom about "*without the general Affliction*" (1914: 265–66). Instead of the expectation that all would experience the tribulation, the Messiah, the one "whom God has destined to reign in glory[,] accomplishes it upon himself by being tried as a [criminal] and condemned" (266).

Weiss and Schweitzer convinced New Testament scholars and systematic theologians that the conception of the kingdom of God in the Synoptic Gospels is an eschatological one. Rudolf Bultmann chose to deal with this fact by demythologizing

eschatology and expressing its significance in terms of existentialist philosophical categories. The eschatological moment is the "now" of the crisis of decision when one hears and responds to the proclamation, the *kerygma*. In this interpretation everything is focused on the present. On the one hand, the link between the present eschatological moment and the past, the "Christ event," is weak, and, on the other, the future is barely addressed at all. The weakness of the link between the "Christ event" and the present eschatological moment troubled, for example, one of Bultmann's former students, Ernst Käsemann (Weiss 1971: 24–26).

In his article "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," first published in 1954, Käsemann observed that, for Bultmann, Christian faith and theology are based on the earliest Christian message, so that the preaching of Jesus is a mere precondition of them. This, however, "means that Christian faith is here being understood as faith in the exalted Lord for which the Jesus of history as such is no longer considered of decisive importance" (Käsemann 1964: 16). The Gospels, however, identify the humiliated with the exalted Lord, making clear that they do not allow "myth to take the place of history nor a heavenly being to take the place of the Man of Nazareth" (25). In contrast to Weiss and Schweitzer, Käsemann did not hold the opinion that Jesus had a messianic consciousness. In contrast to Bultmann, he did not think that Jesus referred to the coming of a Son of Man other than himself. In his view, "all passages in which any kind of Messianic prediction occurs [are] kerygma shaped by the community.... The predication 'Son of Man' must have reflected the Christology and the apocalyptic[ism] of post-Easter Christianity" (43). He agreed with Weiss and Schweitzer, against C. H. Dodd, "that Jesus did speak of the kingdom of God as future" (44).

In the article just discussed, Käsemann left open "the difficult problem of how far the preaching [of Jesus] itself was determined by apocalyptic expectation (1964: 44). He commented on the issue in more detail in another article, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," first published in 1960 (Käsemann 1969a). His starting point for reconstructing these beginnings is the part of the Synoptic tradition which form critics have determined as coming from "the proclamation of the community after Easter." These traditions, however, remain fragments as long as the historian has not discovered "a moderately convincing methodological mode of entry into the heart of the history and theology we are seeking" (1969a: 82). The project is one of reconstruction, and he begins by arguing that the Gospel of Matthew provides evidence that "the history lying behind our Gospels was filled with very severe tensions; how it contains the experience of something like a confessional controversy." The criteria by which the two groups measured each other, and found the other wanting, were "certain criteria of the Spirit." He begins with the polemic in Matt 7:22–23 against those who say, "Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name etc.," and argues that it is directed against the false prophets mentioned in 7:15. He proposes that these represent a specific group characterized by enthusiastic piety and wonder-working powers, active on "the very soil of Palestine." This movement was rooted in the Easter experiences.

The evangelist, in contrast, places emphasis on the criterion of the Matthean Jesus, "doing the will of my heavenly Father" (83–84).

After further detailed discussion of other passages in Matthew, Käsemann concludes that the two groups in conflict he has reconstructed are divided by "a difference of eschatology." One group remains "within the continuity of the Jewish hopes," whereas the other is "driven on by enthusiasm along a new route." Both groups, however, maintain the hope of the messianic restoration of Israel and have been led by the Spirit to engage in a mission to the Gentiles. Both experience the guidance of the Spirit through prophecy (1969a: 88). The prophets in these communities admonished the others to proper behavior by issuing "sentences of holy law" (89). An example stands behind Mark 8:38, "Whoever is ashamed of me and of my words . . . of him will the Son of Man also be ashamed" (Käsemann 1969b: 77). Such sayings move "in the eschatological sphere of promise and curse, where prophecy finds expression as the operative sanction which in this situation directs the community" (1969a: 89).

After sketching the history of the two groups, Käsemann returns to the "sentences of holy law." These sayings endow the traditional principle of the *ius talionis* (the punishment will fit the crime) with an eschatological perspective. This type of saying "reckons with the imminent invasion of the Parousia, professing to know the criteria with which the universal Judge operates and deriving this knowledge from its own inspiration by the Spirit" (Kasemannn 1969a: 92). These sayings combine "a basically apocalyptic outlook with an enthusiasm stemming from prophetic inspiration." The new element they express is that the promise or curse will take effect in the eschatological future. In Käsemann's view "the earliest post-Easter community [expressed] itself in these sentences" (93).

Next Käsemann discusses briefly other forms of prophetic pronouncements related to the eschatological future, such as Matt 10:15: "Truly, I say to you, it shall be more tolerable on the day of judgment for the land of Sodom and [Gomorrah] on the day of judgment than for that town" (Käsemann 1969a: 95–96). Something important happens in these sayings, for example, Matt 24:37, "As it happened in the days of Noah, so it will happen at the Parousia of the Son of Man." Here a correspondence between the End and the Beginning is seen that results in an apocalyptic interpretation of the Old Testament (96).

This observation leads Käsemann to provide an excursus at this point in his article. The sayings in question constitute the earliest evidence for a Christian understanding of history. "It is the conception of the parallel, even if antithetically ordered, course of salvation history and the history of disaster; a course which finds its judgment and its objective in the Parousia of the Son of Man, Jesus" (1969a: 96). Admitting that this view of history is mythical, Käsemann objects nevertheless to the kind of demythologizing program proposed by Bultmann. It is unable to preserve the eschatological character of history. It was apocalypticism that first made historical thinking possible in the Christian tradition. The apocalyptic view of history posits a definite beginning and a definite end. It takes a particular, irrevocable direction and consists of a series

of epochs clearly distinguished from one another. In this schema the individual is firmly located. For this reason, the proclamation of Jesus has to be narrated, not just announced. It is this view of history that gives the Gospels their "incomparable literary form" (96–97). "Prophetic proof-texts and typology are the oldest testimony" to the narrative character of the early Christian proclamation, which is rooted in apocalypticism (97). "The Gospel history, like the prophetic proclamation, is a fruit of the apocalyptic[ism] of the period after Easter" (98).

Käsemann then turns to the parenesis or exhortation, formulated by early Christian prophets in order to direct the community, by stating his thesis at the outset: "Parenesis in the post-Easter community was founded primarily on apocalyptic[ism]." That becomes particularly clear where aphoristic material is incorporated, but at the same time reshaped into an eschatological utterance. An example is Matt 7:2, "For with the judgment, with which you judge, you yourselves will be judged, and the measure you mete out will be meted out to you." A universally valid principle is given the form of a sentence of holy law and, at the same time, the content of the *ius talionis* (Käsemann 1969a: 98).

Curse and blessing in Käsemann's view also belong to the forms of prophetic proclamation. After discussing the woes against the Galilean cities (Matt 11:20–24), he argues that these sayings are genuinely apocalyptic. He goes on, "without throwing any doubt on the seriousness with which Jesus himself preached judgment, we ought nevertheless to ascribe [these sayings] rather to the community after Easter" (1969a: 100). After discussing the beatitudes and arguing that they originated entirely within the practice of early Christian prophecy, he states, "the only real problem is whether Jesus himself had already employed this form" (101).

The question whether Jesus used the beatitude form is important because the historian must determine "as precisely as possible the central point and scope of the message of Jesus." The theologian must take up the same task because Schweitzer has made the issue of apocalypticism unavoidable. Käsemann argued, however, that Schweitzer and his followers erred "by trying to turn the whole question into a problem of research into the life of the historical Jesus and to explain the very early history of dogma in terms of the delay of the Parousia." In Käsemann's view, "The situation was this: Jesus admittedly made the apocalyptically determined message of John [the Baptist] his point of departure; his own preaching, however, did not bear a fundamentally apocalyptic stamp but proclaimed the immediacy of the God who was near at hand. I am convinced that no one who took this step can have been prepared to wait for the coming Son of Man, the restoration of the Twelve Tribes in the Messianic kingdom and the dawning of the Parousia (which was tied up with this) in order to experience the near presence of God" (1969a: 101). Rather, the historical and hermeneutical problem must focus on "how Easter and the reception of the Spirit caused [the earliest Christians] to respond to the preaching of Jesus about the God at hand, and in a certain sense, to replace it with a new apocalyptic[ism]" (102).

It is at this point in his argument that Käsemann made his famous declaration, "Apocalyptic[ism] was the mother of all Christian theology—since we cannot really class the preaching of Jesus as theology." Even those who associate Jesus more closely with the beginning of Christian theology should recognize that post-Easter apocalypticism constitutes a new theological start. Such recognition calls into question the practice of systematic theology of treating eschatology last instead of first (1969a: 102). Käsemann wrote as a professor of New Testament in a theological faculty, in which the Lutheran tradition played a large role. Today many American and other scholars would address the issue in less theological terms. In an American university environment or any context of religious studies as distinguished from theology, one would be inclined to speak rather of "an apocalyptic symbolic system" or "an apocalyptic ideology" or to place Jesus and the earliest communities who met in his name in the apocalyptic tradition of Second Temple Jewish texts.

Another important issue is the relation of Jesus to apocalypticism. Käsemann's decision to separate him from that complex of phenomena is problematic. Jesus' activity was closely related to John the Baptist, who seems to have been an apocalyptic prophet. The actions and teaching of Jesus issued into another apocalyptic phenomenon, the earliest Christian communities, attested especially by the letters of Paul and the Gospels of Mark and Matthew. It would be historically dubious to conclude that Jesus did not speak and act in an apocalyptic manner, given that he recognized the authority of John by being baptized by him and that the movement that emerged after Easter was characterized by imminent expectation of the coming of the Son of Man and the manifestation of the kingdom of God on earth. As E. P. Sanders put it, "The question is whether the resurrection is the sole explanation of the Christian movement, or whether there is also a more than accidental connection between Jesus' own work and the emergence of the Christian church" (Sanders 1985: 19). To argue that it was only with the resurrection appearances that the followers of Jesus first came to think of him as the Messiah and Son of Man and to take up a stance of imminent expectation seems to load those appearances with too much freight. These consequences are more easily explicable if the question of Jesus' Messiahship had already arisen in some way during his lifetime and if he had spoken of the coming of the one like a son of man in Daniel 7 in his teaching.

Although Sanders avoids using the word-group "apocalypse," "apocalyptic," and "apocalypticism," he concludes that it is certain or virtually certain that "Jesus shared the world-view that I have called 'Jewish restoration eschatology.' " The key evidence for this conclusion includes "his start under John the Baptist, the call of the twelve, his expectation of a new (or at least renewed) temple, and the eschatological setting of the work of the apostles [Rom 11.11–16, 25–32; 15.15–19]" (1985: 326). In a footnote, he implies that "apocalyptic" and "eschatological" are interchangeable. He uses "eschatology" "to refer to the expectation of an imminent end to the current order" (1985: 375–76, n. 3). By "restoration eschatology" he seems to mean "the Messiah has come; the whole people of God, Jew and Gentile alike, is being gathered; the end is at

hand" (94). The restoration includes judgment: the Son of Man will sit on the throne of his glory, and the twelve will judge the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt 19:28; 1985: 103). "Most scholars will agree that Jesus did not have in view military victory and political autonomy along the lines of Ps. Sol. 17" (116). "Jesus claimed that God was about to establish his kingdom, that those who responded to him would be included, and (at least by implication) that he would reign" (334).

Like Schweitzer and unlike Weiss, Sanders does not base his analysis of Jesus and Judaism on an explicit theory of the relationships among the Synoptic Gospels or the history of the Synoptic traditions. Although this is a significant weakness in his treatment, he makes good use of Second Temple Jewish texts in illuminating the teaching of Jesus. His historical judgments are also soundly argued and credible.

More recently, John Dominic Crossan (1991) made his starting point an elaborate grouping of primary sources for the life and teaching of Jesus. He dated these sources and grouped them accordingly. This ostensibly scholarly approach, however, is undermined by the fact that he dates the Gospel of Thomas to about 50 CE and includes it in the earliest group along with the letters of Paul. His explicit method favors this group as the primary basis for reconstructing the historical Jesus. The Gospel of Thomas plays a larger role than the letters of Paul, since the latter do not contain much tradition relevant to the historical Jesus. Furthermore, the Gospel of Mark, although taken as the earliest Gospel, is placed in the second chronological group. Needless to say, the result is that the Jesus he ends up with is noneschatological. Marcus Borg (1984) has also been promoting a noneschatological Jesus since his 1972 Oxford dissertation. In his first book he simply ignored the eschatological material. Later he interprets it in a noneschatological way.

In contrast, two scholars have ably defended the hypothesis of an apocalyptic Jesus: Dale C. Allison, Jr. (1998) and Bart D. Ehrman (1999). Like Sanders (1985), Allison refuses to begin with the sayings of Jesus (Allison 1998: 36). He refutes the arguments some have made in reconstructing a noneschatological or nonapocalyptic Jesus (95–129). He then concludes that an account of the historical Jesus does not need to be an *either* eschatological *or* noneschatological (as Schweitzer claimed). The proclamation of Jesus "reverberated with eschatological themes." At the same time, he "was a purveyor of subversive wisdom" (129). In reconstructing the eschatological teaching of Jesus, Allison emphasizes the themes of the final judgment, the resurrection of the dead, the restoration of Israel, the great tribulation, and the imminence of the appearance of the kingdom of God throughout all creation (129–51). He also includes a discussion of apocalyptic language under the heading "The Language of Millenarian Eschatology" (152–69). Finally, he pursues an original way of affirming and interpreting the eschatological character of the teaching and life of Jesus. He establishes that Jesus and his followers had an ascetic lifestyle in some important ways and that these practices may be interpreted as living "a millenarian vision or an apocalyptic scenario" (216).

Although Ehrman is critical of many of the particulars in Schweitzer's reconstruction of the life and teaching of Jesus, he thinks that he was "essentially right that Jesus

was an apocalyptist" (Ehrman 1999: 128). Like Allison he includes criticism of counterproposals (132–39). Unlike Allison, he gives a prominent role to the sayings about the coming of the Son of Man and concludes that Jesus "called the coming judge the 'Son of Man' " (148). He also ascribes imminent expectation to Jesus (160–61). He helpfully relates the apocalyptic teaching of Jesus to other issues and themes in his teaching (163–81) and shows that Jesus' deeds, as well as his teaching, were apocalyptic (183–206), including his death (207–25). He agrees with Schweitzer that Judas betrayed Jesus' private teaching about his future, apocalyptic role as "the ultimate ruler when the kingdom arrived." The authorities interpreted this teaching as a claim to be the Messiah, and Jesus was executed for this subversive claim (218).

The books of Allison and Ehrman complement each other. Allison presents Jesus in a comparative, millenarian context and focuses on apocalyptic rhetoric and its importance for the present. Ehrman focuses more directly on the apocalyptic character of the life of Jesus, rightly concluding that Jesus spoke about a Son of Man with reference to Daniel 7. He may be right that Jesus expected to be the ruler of the new age when the kingdom of God became fully manifest. In this also, he agrees with Schweitzer.

The question of the apocalypticism of the apostle Paul is also important for assessing the importance of that complex of ideas for the origins of Christianity (de Boer 1998). On this topic also, Albert Schweitzer made significant contributions (1912 and 1931). He went too far, however, in arguing that Paul and his letters could be explained entirely in terms of Jewish apocalyptic tradition and that no recourse to Greek tradition was needed (Schweitzer 1931). Barry Matlock has contributed a survey and critique of scholarship on Paul and apocalypticism (Matlock 1996). Following a proposal of Christopher Rowland (1982), J. Louis Martyn has argued, in a study of Galatians, that revelation related to apocalyptic eschatology involves both this age and the age to come. Only disclosure of the new age can lead to the perception of this age as evil or as in need of renewal. This argument represents a contribution to the way that apocalyptic rhetoric works. J. Christiaan Beker (1980) has published a comprehensive study of Paul's theology, arguing that apocalypticism has contributed the unifying center of Paul's thought, namely, the notion of the imminent cosmic triumph of God. While it is true that an apocalyptic scenario is presupposed by Paul's deeds, after his "conversion" and of his letters, it is perhaps misleading to say that it is the center of Paul's thought. Other concerns come to the fore in the letters themselves, although they all have their roots in Paul's apocalyptic master narrative.

The evidence makes clear that Jesus spoke in a significant portion of his teaching as an apocalyptic prophet. In addition, his proclamation of the kingdom of God was surely related to an apocalyptic framework of meaning. The evidence also supports the conclusion that the earliest followers of Jesus after Easter had an apocalyptic orientation and perspective. The activity of John the Baptist, to which the public life of Jesus was related, also had an apocalyptic character. The ritual administered by John, immersion in the Jordan River, had its formal model in the practice of immersion

commanded in the book of Leviticus for various kinds of ritual impurity. John gave this ritual new significance, however, by associating it with repentance and the remission of sins and by transforming it into a prophetic symbolic action. The purpose of this apparently one-time ritual may have been suggested by Ezekiel 36:25–28, where God, the prophet declares, promises to cleanse the people with water and spirit so that they will be transformed and at last able to comply with God's commandments. This passage appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls as a prophecy of the eschatological renewal of all creation by the power of God (1QS 4:18–23). Mark clearly presents John as a prophet, describing his garb as camel's hair and a leather belt, recalling Elijah. According to Mark 11:32, the people regarded John as a prophet. Matthew (3:7–12) and Luke (3:7–9) both include some of John's apocalyptic prophetic pronouncements. He spoke of the "wrath to come," which refers either to the apocalyptic eschatological theme of the great tribulation preceding the End (Dan 12:1) or, more likely, the (final) divine judgment. An apocalyptic metaphor is also used: the ax is lying at the root of the trees; those trees that do not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire. The fire evokes the idea of punishment after death (cf. Isa 66:24, which is one root of this apocalyptic tradition). Josephus omits this apocalyptic eschatological dimension in his account of John the Baptist because it does not fit with his biases (Yarbro Collins 2007: 46). The message of John the Baptist, including the command to "wash your whole bodies in perennial rivers," has striking similarities with *Sib. Or.* 4:152–70 (cited in full in Yarbro Collins 2007: 141).

Like John the Baptist, Paul referred to "the wrath to come," describing Jesus as the one who would come from heaven to rescue the Thessalonians from that wrath. Here the final, universal judgment of humanity by God is probably meant (cf. 1 Thess 1:9–10 with Rom 2:5–11). In the same letter, he describes the coming of Jesus as "Lord" in more detail (1 Thess 4:15–17). Dan 7:13–14 is very probably evoked here. Paul does not use the phrase "Son of Man" in his letters because the Semitic idiom would not have been accessible to his Greek-speaking, Gentile audience. In the greeting of the letter to the Galatians, Paul analogously speaks about Christ as "the one who gave himself for our sins to set us free from the present evil age" (Gal 1:4). Here Paul makes use of the typically apocalyptic contrast between this age and the age to come.

Apocalyptic ideas also occur in 1 Cor 2:6–10. The wisdom of God is contrasted with the ignorance of "the rulers of this age," who crucified the Lord of glory. Scholars have debated whether the phrase "the rulers of this age" refers to spiritual powers that rule the present evil age or to human rulers, such as Pilate. If, as seems likely, Paul presupposes the apocalyptic view that earthly events reflect those in heaven (see the discussion of Weiss above and Daniel 10–12), both explanations are right. It is the heavenly rulers, angels or spirits, who are the cause of Jesus' death, who brought it about through their earthly counterparts, the Roman authorities (for the heavenly interpretation, cf. Rom 8:38–39). The remark in 1 Cor 2:7 that God's wisdom was predetermined alludes to the apocalyptic eschatological idea that God has a plan for history, for the destiny of human beings and all creation, that was fixed at the beginning

of time and revealed through Scripture (cf. 4Q Instruction). In 1 Corinthians 15, Paul elaborates the apocalyptic doctrine of the resurrection (cf. Dan 12:2–3).

In his letter to the Romans, Paul still expresses his hope for the future in apocalyptic terms. "The present time" (Rom 8:18) is equivalent to "this age." This equivalence is made clear by the contrast between "the present time" and "the glory about to be revealed to us." His understanding of this coming glory is placed in a context of apocalyptic history (see the discussion of Käsemann above). In the Beginning creation was subjected to futility and decay. In the last days, it is longing to be set free. This freedom will occur with "the revealing of the sons of God," which is equivalent to "the redemption of our bodies." This "redemption" alludes to the expected resurrection of the dead in Christ and the transformation of those who remain alive at his coming (Rom 8:19–23; cf. 1 Cor 15:20–23, 51–55).

Apocalypticism is the primary source of the narratives and symbolic systems that inspired John the Baptist, Jesus, the earliest community after Easter, and Paul. If we are right to include Jesus here, then we could paraphrase Käsemann and conclude that "apocalypticism is the mother of Christianity." For each of these, however, especially Jesus and Paul, other traditions were also important. Jesus drew upon eschatological and even aphoristic wisdom in his teaching. He was also an interpreter of the Torah and, apparently, a healer and exorcist. Paul drew upon Greek rhetoric and popular philosophy. All of these elements are important. Nevertheless, the apocalyptic traditions should not be ignored or explained away since they provide the framework and the rationale for the other elements.

Bibliography

Allison, Dale C., Jr. (1998). *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

Baird, William (1992). *History of New Testament Research*, vol. 1, *From Deism to Tübingen*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

Baur, Ferdinand Christian (1864, 1973). *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentlich Theologie* Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (L. W. Reisland). Reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft; the reprint is cited here.

Beker, Johan Christiaan (1980). *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.

Borg, Marcus J. (1984). *Conflict, Holiness, and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus*. New York: E. Mellen Press.

Collins, John J. (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. Second edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Crossan, John Dominic (1991). *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Jewish Mediterranean Peasant*. San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco.

de Boer, Martinus C. (1998). "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology," in Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*. 3 vols. New York: Continuum. Vol. 1, pp. 345–83.

Dillmann, August (1851). *Liber Henoch, Aethiopice: ad quinque codicum fidem editus cum variis lectionibus*. Leipzig: Vogel.

Dillmann, August (1853). *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*. Leipzig: Vogel.

Ehrman, Bart D. (1999). *Jesus, Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gabler, Philipp (1992). "An Oration on the Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology and the Specific Objectives of Each," in Ben C. Ollenburger, Elmer A. Martens, and Gerhard F. Hasel, eds., *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology: A Reader in Twentieth-Century Old Testament Theology, 1930–1990*. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Hilgenfeld, Adolf (1857). *Jüdische Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Christentums*. Jena: Mauke.

Käsemann, Ernst (1964). "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," in Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes*. Studies in Biblical Theology 41. London: SCM Press, 1964, pp. 15–47. German 2nd ed. 1960.

Käsemann, Ernst (1969a). "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," in Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, pp. 82–107. German 2nd ed. 1965.

Käsemann, Ernst (1969b). "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament," in Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, pp. 66–81.

Koch, Klaus (1972). *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*. Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series 22. Naperville, IL: Allenson.

Martyn, J. Louis (1985). "Apocalyptic Antimonies in the Letter to the Galatians." *New Testament Studies 31*: 307–24. Reprinted in Martyn, *Theological Issues in the Letters of Paul*. Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1997.

Matlock, R. Barry (1996). *Unveiling the Apocalyptic Paul: Paul's Interpreters and the Rhetoric of Criticism*. JSNT Supplements 127. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Morgan, Robert (1992). "Theology (NT)." *Anchor Bible Dictionary 6*: 473–83.

Reventlow, Henning Graf (1992). "Theology (Biblical), History of." *Anchor Bible Dictionary 6*: 483–505.

Rowland, Christopher (1982). *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity*. New York: Crossroad.

Sanders, E. P. (1985). *Jesus and Judaism*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.

Schweitzer, Albert (1912). *Paul and His Interpreters: A Critical History*. First German ed. 1911. London: A. and C. Black, pp. 56–62, 161–63, 176–78, 216–17, and 237–49.

Schweitzer, Albert (1914). *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God: The Secret of Jesus' Messiahship and Passion*. First German ed. 1901. Reprinted Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock (2004), pp. 3–6, 76–104, 112–25, 163–217, 265–66.

Schweitzer, Albert (1931). *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*. First German ed. 1930. London: A. & C. Black.

Schweitzer, Albert (2000). *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. German ed. 1906, 1913, 1950. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

Weiss, Johannes (1971). *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*. First German ed. 1892. Lives of Jesus series. Ed. Richard H. Hiers and D. Larrimore Holland. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, pp. 59–82 and 102–31.

Wrede, William (1971). *The Messianic Secret*. German ed. 1901. Cambridge: Clarke; Greenwood, SC: Attic.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (2007). *Mark: A Commentary*. Hermeneia commentary series. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

CHAPTER 20

DESCENTS TO HELL AND ASCENTS TO HEAVEN IN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

JAN N. BREMMER

Journeys to the hereafter have a long history and are already attested in third and second millennium BC Mesopotamia. In literature we probably find a journey to the underworld first thematized in the Sumerian poem *Bilgames* (the Sumerian form of Gilgamesh) *and the Netherworld*, one of a series of Sumerian narrative poems about Gilgamesh. We also hear of the first ascent to heaven in Mesopotamia. Etana, a mythical king of the city of Kiš, is already mentioned in the *Sumerian Kinglist* as "a shepherd, he who ascended to heaven (and) who consolidated all countries" (Haul 2000: 39–49; see also Novotny 2001).

The themes of descent and ascent can be traced from ancient Mesopotamia to the present time, but we have to limit ourselves, and I will concentrate on the ancient world, that is, from Homer to late antiquity. Moreover, although both themes have received excellent studies in recent decades, these have treated the evidence systematically rather than diachronically. (For surveys of descent in the ancient world, see Ganschinietz 1919; Kroll 1932; Himmelfarb 1983; Stroumsa 1995; Colpe 1995a; Bauckham 1998: 9–96; Graf 1999, Bremmer 2011. For ascents, see more recently Segal 1980; Dean-Otting 1984; Young 1988; Himmelfarb 1993, 1995; Colpe 1995b; Tabor 1996; Carlsson 2004; Gooder 2006; Yarbro Collins 2012a, 2012b.) That is why in my contribution I will focus not so much on the often satisfactorily discussed contents and functions of the descents and ascents but on their diachronic developments and

interrelationships within Jewish and Greco-Roman contexts. While descents to the underworld already occur in Homer, but an ascent to heaven is not attested in our Greek sources before the fifth century, and in Israel not before the book of Ezekiel, I will start with the descents in Homer (see Bremmer 2009, 2010a, 2011).

1. Descents in the Classical World

The oldest Greek descents into the underworld can be characterized as heroic feats that demonstrated the power or cunning of those heroes who managed to descend into the underworld and to come up again. Narratives about descents already preexisted Homer, even if we cannot say for how long. If we accept an influence from the Gilgamesh epic, we might think of the early Archaic Age, when the "Orientalizing revolution," as Walter Burkert (1992) called the influence of the Near East on early Greece, started to take place. In any case, Homer could already allude to epic poems that treated descents to hell. This is apparent from the end of the *Nekyia*, the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, which describes the visit of Odysseus to the underworld. The last person that he meets is Heracles, who tells Odysseus that the Athenian king Eurystheus "sent me here to fetch the dog, since he could not think of any more difficult labour for me. I carried him off and led him out of Hades, and Hermes and owl-eyed Athena escorted me" (*Odyssey*. 11. 621–26; see also *Iliad* 8.362–69). In other words, the descent was the culmination of Heracles' labors, and the clearly indispensable help of the gods shows the difficulty of descending into the underworld. During his visit to the underworld, which had become a popular subject by around 600 BC (Smallwood 1990), Heracles met other heroes, such as Theseus (Bremmer 2009: 197) and Meleager (Bacchylides 5), but none of the earliest literary sources for Heracles' descent makes any reference to nameless humans or Eleusinian initiates seen by him in the underworld, in contrast to one of our next two descents.

In the first half of the fifth century BC we start to hear of two new *katabaseis*, "descents," those of Pythagoras and Orpheus. In the third century BC there was a treatise available to Hieronymus of Rhodes (fragment 42 Wehrli = 50 White, cf. Rohde 1901: 2.106 note 1), which was ascribed to Pythagoras, in which he related his descent into Hades. There he saw the souls of Homer and Hesiod atoning for what they had said about the gods, the former hung on a tree with serpents writhing about it, the latter tied to a pillar and gibbering. The passage seems to derive, indirectly rather than directly, from an old *katabasis* poem (Graf 1974: 122), in which Pythagoras was represented as having given an account in the first-person singular of his underworld visit (Rohde 1901: 2.106 note 1; Ganschinietz 1919: 2410). Now criticism of the gods is hardly imaginable before Xenophanes, which suggests a post-500 BC date (Burkert

1972: 199), and the mention of named sinners in the Homeric tradition points to a not too late date for Pythagoras's descent, since the *katabasis* of Orpheus no longer mentioned these (below). Other contemporaries of Hieronymus such as Hermippus (*FGrH* 1026 F 24), also mentioned a pretended descent of Pythagoras into Hades by withdrawing into a subterranean chamber of his own house in Croton. The famous report about a similar practice of the Thracian Zalmoxis in Herodotus (4.94–96) might well be a reflection of this withdrawal (Burkert 1972: 156–59; Graf 1987: 91–92; Bollansée 1999: 51–52; Riedweg 2002: 78–79). However, it is impossible to disentangle the truth from all these different notices in detail, and any reconstruction of the Pythagoras tradition in this respect (as in many others!) remains built on sand.

We are better informed about the tradition of Orpheus's descent into the underworld. In Greek and Latin poetry, Orpheus's descent into the underworld is always connected to his love for Eurydice. As references to the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice do not start before Euripides's *Alcestis* (357–62 = *OF* 980) of 438 BC, a poem about Orpheus's *katabasis* will have arrived in Athens around the middle of the fifth century BC. Although the poem has not survived, its use by Aristophanes in the *Frogs* shows that it was well known in Athens at the end of that century. Where did this poem originate? The probably late fifth- or early fourth-century Epigenes informs us that the Orphic *Descent to Hades* was actually written by Cercops the Pythagorean, which points to southern Italy, as does the mention of an Orpheus of Croton and a *Descent to Hades* ascribed to Orpheus from Sicilian Camarina. Unlike Cercops, both authors called Orpheus will have been fictitious persons who, surely, owed their names to the fact that they told Orpheus's descent in the first-person singular (Bremmer 2010a: 115). Given the use of Orphic eschatological material by Pindar in his *Second Olympic Ode* for Theron of Agrigento in 476 BC the poem may well have been composed somewhat earlier. Unfortunately, we have no direct quotation from this poem, but it likely gave a depiction of the underworld, concentrating on the various afterlife rewards and penalties of nameless sinners, in contrast with the older *katabaseis*, which focused on heroic and famous sinners.

We can now see that the descents of Pythagoras and Orpheus must have been closely related. They originated in the same area, in the same intellectual milieu, around, presumably, the same time, and both related their descent in the first-person singular. Surely, one must have imitated the other, but it is hard to say who was first. The number of descents ascribed to Orpheus makes clear, however, that the latter was the most popular descent by far. Moreover, the descent of Orpheus likely contained catalogs of anonymous sinners and their punishments, since such catalogs were most popular in Orphic and Orphic-influenced literature (Dieterich 1913: 163–213; Norden 1927: 287–88, 1966: 229–31). They were relatively small to begin with, but grew in size in the course of time: the Christian *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* (below § 3) clearly gloated in these enumerations of sins and sinners. Mediated by these Christian interpretations, Orpheus's descent would become influential in subsequent times.

2. An Enochic Interlude

Let us now leave Greece and turn to Palestine. In the last centuries BC a series of apocalyptic texts were composed most probably in Palestine with Enoch, the man who walked with God in Genesis (5:24) as their protagonist. They were collected in one book, which is nowadays known as *1 Enoch*, of which the so-called *Book of the Watchers* (1–36) is the oldest section. As part of his grand cosmic tours, Enoch also travels to the Northwest (17–19), where he arrives not in hell proper but in a kind of underworld, a land of great darkness with a river of fire, most likely inspired by the Homeric Pyriphlegethon. There are also other underworld rivers, and the Homeric *Nekyia* is now generally accepted as one of the author's sources in these chapters (Knibb 2009: 115). In contrast to the Orphic descents, *1 Enoch* does not see all kinds of sinners, but is clearly focused on the angels that had been having intercourse with mortal women. Yet for the tradition of descents to the underworld *1 Enoch* would prove to be most influential.

Unlike in the Homeric *Nekyia* and the *Descents* of Heracles and Orpheus, in *1 Enoch* there is a guide, the *angelus interpres* as he is normally called, who explains to the underworld traveler what he actually sees. Martha Himmelfarb (1983; see now also Benz 2013) has delineated this aspect as one of two striking characteristics of the tours of hell, as she calls the descents in which somebody is given a tour of the underworld. The second feature that she has noticed is that, in order to explain what is seen, the angel habitually uses demonstrative pronouns to answer questions in the form: "*Who* are they? *These* are those who…" Himmelfarb (1983: 58) noted the absence of such questions and answers in Greek *Descents* into Hades and stressed the Jewish background of these features, in opposition to the work of Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908: 1913) and Eduard Norden (1868–1941: 1927) at the turn of the twentieth century, who had minimized Jewish influence on the development of the apocalypses. And indeed, both these characteristics can be seen, to a smaller or larger extent, in the book of Ezekiel 40–48 and Zechariah 1–8. Yet Himmelfarb did not take into account the fact that *1 Enoch* originated in a thoroughly Hellenized world. As its author, according to general consent, had made use of Homer for the underworld (Nickelsburg 2001: 282–83), *1 Enoch* will certainly also have known the famous *teichoskopia* of Book III of the *Iliad*. Here Priam asks Helen to identify certain conspicuous figures among the Greek warriors in the following manner: "So you could tell me the name of this man who is so tremendous? *Who* is this Achaian man of power and stature?" To which Helen answers: "*That* man there is Atreus' son, wide-ruling Agamemnon" (*Iliad* 3.166–67, 178). Similar *Who / That is* structures we also find in the cases of Odysseus (3.192–93 and 200) and Aias (3.226–27 and 229), and Homer was imitated by Euripides in his hugely popular *Phoenissae*, where, standing on the roof of the Theban palace, Antigone asks a servant about the Seven against Thebes: "*Who* is he of the white plume who stands in front of the (Greek) army to lead it, bearing

lightly upon his arm a shield all of bronze?" (119–21, tr. D. Kovacs, Loeb). And the servant answers: "*That* man *is* said to be a Mycenaean by birth" (125). Evidently, the author of *1 Enoch* transposed a striking feature of the Greek *teichoskopia* to his description of a kind of underworld, as it is shown to Enoch from a height.

Moreover, given this manifest Greek influence, we may perhaps also surmise some influence from Plato's myth of Er in the *Phaedo* (§ 4.1), which is the first account of a visit to the underworld with its various compartments and the fate of its inhabitants, the just and the unjust. Differently from what I wrote earlier (Bremmer 2010a, 2011), I would now like to stress the coming together of Jewish and Greek traditions here. Even if the use of demonstrative pronouns was already current in Jewish "tours of hell" contexts, their usage in combination with a view from a height (see also § 3) points to a confluence of Greek and Jewish traditions.

1 Enoch was not only a pivotal text for descents to hell, but also proved highly influential for ascents to heaven. Before Enoch has seen hell, he is taken up to heaven in a vision that is partially influenced by Ezekiel (*1 Enoch* 14: Himmelfarb 1993: 10–12), in which he sees God and his throne. Michael Stone (1983: 89–90) has argued that this new development of an ascent depended on the Hellenistic influence of the separation between body and soul. Yet this is hardly probable as in Enoch's case there is no mention of his soul. We might perhaps assume here too an influence of Plato's Er (above), as Er clearly speaks about ascending to heaven, but the Jewish background of *1 Enoch* is clear from the fact that Enoch's description of heaven is very much temple centered. Thus, in this case, the Jewish tradition and historical context seem to have been the most important factors.

Let us now return, however, to the descents, and ask if we find the use of guides and demonstrative pronouns during a "tour of hell" also outside Greek and Enochic traditions.

3. A Descent in Rome

Rather surprisingly, perhaps, both a form of the *angelus interpres* and the use of demonstrative pronouns in the explanation of what is seen in the underworld occur in Virgil's *Aeneid* VI, the highpoint of which is the descent of Aeneas, accompanied by the Sibyl, into the underworld. On the bank of the river Acheron, Aeneas sees a number of souls and he asks the Sibyl who they are (318–20). The Sibyl, thus, is his "travel guide." Although Ludwig Radermacher's (1867–1952: 1903: 14–15) suggestion that Virgil had taken over this idea from *1 Enoch* may seem rather adventurous, Himmelfarb (1983: 49–50; more in Lightfoot 2007: 502–3) has noted that demonstrative pronouns also occur in the descent of *Aeneid* VI. Considering the "Enochic"

features of the travel guide and the demonstrative pronouns, we may at least observe one other similarity with *1 Enoch*. Having noted that Musaeus shows the valley where Anchises lives from a height (678: *desuper ostentat*) to Aeneas and the Sibyl, Norden has compared a number of Jewish and Christian apocalypses in which a supernatural figure (God, [arch]angel, Devil) provides a view from a height or a mountain: *1 Enoch* (17–18), Philo (*SpecLeg* 3.2), Matthew (4.8), Revelation (21.10), the *Testament of Abraham* (10), the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (21), the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which was heavily influenced by Jewish traditions (15–16: § 4), and still the late *Apocalypse of Paul* (13), which drew on earlier, Jewish influenced apocalypses (below § 4). In other words, Virgil seems to draw here too on a Jewish source. And indeed, during Virgil's lifetime there were many "Levantine *literati*," as Horsfall (2012: 77) calls them, working in Rome, who could have mediated knowledge of Jewish literature and culture. Did Virgil actually know *1 Enoch*, directly or indirectly? Perhaps there were among the writings that Virgil had used also Jewish-Orphic *descents* with Enochic influence, if not a Greek translation of *1 Enoch* itself (see also the discussion between Horsfall 2012: 68–70 and Bremmer 2013), which is currently dated to the end of the first century BC (Nickelsburg 2001: 14). In any case, Sibylline and Enochic literature had many points of contact (Lightfoot 2007: 70–77) but, as we have so little left of that literature, our conclusions must be tentative.

4. Descents in Early Christianity

Let us now turn to the five early Christian tours of hell, of which the first four clearly derive from communities that are still close to their Jewish roots. Yet before we do so, we first have to mention the descent of Christ himself into hell, as the earliest testimonies to this belief, in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (4.21, 10.7–10, 11.19) and the *Odes of Solomon* (42.11–22), almost certainly precede the earliest Christian tour of hell. This belief became gradually an established part of the Christian creeds and even entered the liturgy with Easter (detailed investigation: Gounelle 2000). However, it had no impact, seemingly, on the later reports of the tours of hell and as such stands alone in the tradition of the descents.

Regarding those "tours of hell," it is unfortunate that our earliest example, the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Bremmer and Czachesz 2003), has survived only in a fairly late Ethiopic translation (Marrassini 2003, 2011) and some Greek fragments (Kraus and Nicklas 2004), but neither its date nor place of origin are unequivocally attested, although its mention by Clement of Alexandria constitutes its *terminus ante quem*, and Alexandria is the most likely place of composition (Nicklas 2011). In the Ethiopic version of the *Apocalypse* Jesus shows Peter the punishments that await the damned

at the Last Judgment, but in the Greek version, undoubtedly edited at this point, the punishments appear in a kind of vision. Jesus shows the punishments by pointing to certain categories of sinners, such as the ones "hanging by their tongues" (22G[reek]) and then says, "And *these* were those who had blasphemed the way of righteousness," and to "women hanging by their hair over boiling mire" (below), and then says, "*these* were they who had adorned themselves for adultery" (24G), and in this way the *Apocalypse* continues in enumerating and explaining the various sinners. In other words we have a guide to inform us about the underworld, who likes to use demonstrative pronouns to explain what the visitor or spectator of the underworld sees, just as in *1 Enoch* and Virgil, and who sees measure-for-measure punishments, which can go back equally to a Jewish and an Orphic background, as the talion principle is explicitly attested for the Pythagoraeans (Himmelfarb 1983: 68–105).

The lurid and gruesome picture of hell in the *Apocalypse* is partially inspired by Orphic traditions that we can delineate in Aristophanes and Plato (or Pseudo-Plato). From them the author took the Orphic mire (*borboros*) and the bad smells (8 E[thiopic]), just as the great transgressors of Greek mythology seem to have been another source of inspiration. The continuous throwing down of gays and lesbians from a great precipice, who then have to climb up in order to be thrown down again (10 E, 32 G), reminds of Sisyphus, and the carnivorous birds that torture those that did not honor their parents and the elderly (11.4–5 E) recall Prometheus's vulture.

The crimes can be grouped into certain categories, of which the largest one concerns the interrelated righteousness, blasphemy, idolatry, and persecution, then comes sexuality and the relationships between the sexes, then concern for parents and slaves; finally, we find magic, usury, and murder. It is extremely interesting to note these groupings, which are lacking in *1 Enoch* 17–22, as Himmelfarb (1983) failed to note (Bauckham 1998: 79). Catalogs of anonymous sinners are a typical feature of the Orphic underworld, and it seems therefore reasonable to surmise that these groupings also derive from an Orphic source. In other words, the descent in the *Apocalypse of Peter* drew on both Greek and Jewish sources.

Himmelfarb (1983) could not yet know the discovery in 1984 of a new and much better manuscript of the Latin *Vision of Ezra*, which has now shown that its original Greek text was probably written in the earlier second century, most likely in Egypt, as it is not that far in time from the *Apocalypse of Peter*, with which it shows a close relationship (translation and excellent notes: Nuvolone 2003; Bauckham 2010). Ezra, who, like Peter, relates his descent in the first-person singular, descends into Tartarus, where he is shown the righteous and the damned. As is the case in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, his questions follow the question/response structure with the demonstrative pronouns and they are answered by the *angelus interpres*; moreover, the sinners are grouped according to certain categories, and the punishments follow the measure-for-measure pattern. In other words, the *Vision* displays all the characteristics of an early tour of hell.

Other tours occur in an *Apocalypse of Elijah*, of which a Latin fragment has survived in the apocryphal *Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctimonii*,

and in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. Both of these, at least in their Christian final form, derive from the fourth century, probably from Egypt, but certainly the latter originated as a Jewish apocalypse and the former may well have originated in a Jewish-Christian milieu (Bremmer 2011: 26–28). Both contain the characteristic features of the tours of hell, that is, the question/response structure, the *angelus interpres*, and the measure-for-measure punishments. A tour of hell also occurs in the apocryphal *Acts of Philip*. Fragments of these *Acts* were known, but a longer, earlier version was published only in 1999 (Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler 1999; Bovon and Matthews 2012), which dates to about AD 400. Here a resurrected young man tells the apostle what he saw during his stay in hell. In the beginning of his account we find the *angelus interpres* and the question/response structure (Act I.5–6), but these features are soon abandoned, and the rest of the existing account looks like a later version of an earlier more traditional tour of hell.

In the end, though, the reliance on Jewish models and the stress on persecution made the earlier apocalypses look old fashioned, and in due time they were replaced by the *Apocalypse of Paul* (Silverstein and Hilhorst 1997), the last major ancient apocalypse with a descent and the most popular medieval one. We still have several long Latin versions, of which a new text has recently been discovered (Damongeot-Bourdat 2009), although most medieval versions are heavily abbreviated (Jiroušková 2006; Zimmermann 2012). Eventually, they all go back to the lost original Greek version, which was written in a monastic Egyptian milieu at the end of the fourth century and translated into Latin in Rome at the end of the sixth century (Bremmer 2011: 28–32).

A comparison with the sins and sinners in the earlier apocalypses quickly shows some remarkable differences. Whereas the former do not contain a single reference to a sin that is exclusively Christian and not Jewish, about half of the twenty-five types of sins in the *Apocalypse of Paul* are typically Christian, such as the denying of certain dogmas. What about the punishments of the sinners? When Paul arrives in hell, he first sees *fluvium ignis ferventem*, "a river boiling with fire" (31). It is filled with sinners that have committed not the most serious crimes, but their punishment is clearly indicative of a tendency to discipline the faithful by stressing the awful consequences of gossiping, slandering, and fornicating after the Eucharist, among other sins. The river of fire most likely derives from Plato's *Phaedo* (114a), which was a great inspiration for imagined hellscapes in later antiquity.

Although then the nature of the sinners and of the punishments has partially changed since earlier apocalypses, this is not the case with the question/answer structure. In fact, among the late antique apocalypses the *Apocalypse of Paul* contains the greatest number of answers and questions (Himmelfarb 1983: 46). The frequency of these questions in our very popular apocalypse is probably the reason that in later Christian apocalypses the question/answer structure has become the rule, so that we find it even in the, undoubtedly Christian-influenced, famous Zoroastrian apocalypse *Ardā Virāz* and in the popular medieval Islamic *Book of Muhammad's Ladder* (ch. 79, cf. Bremmer 2011: 33).

5. Ascent to Heaven

If descent to hell was the most authoritative way of relating the fate of the good and the bad in the hereafter, an ascent to heaven was the best way to relate the contents of the heavenly world. However, unlike the descents, the writings with an ascent are not that easy to fit in one continuous trajectory, let alone locate them in their precise social and religious context, as the dates and contexts of most of the apocalypses that contain ascents are highly debated; moreover, several originally Jewish texts have clearly undergone a Christian elaboration. It seems methodologically acceptable to focus on the original dates of these writings, insofar as they can be reasonably reconstructed. As there are various types of ascent—the ascent of the soul to heaven, the "round trip" to heaven, both of persons and souls, and the ascent of a person in order to remain in heaven—with different purposes and origins, we will treat them individually, even though they sometimes influenced one another.

5.1. The Ascent of the Soul to Heaven: Round Trips and Single Journeys

The idea of the ascent of the soul presupposes two major conditions: the existence of a soul that represents the whole person and can move free from the body, and the existence of heaven as a place of destination of the souls. Both conditions were fulfilled in Greece only in the later decades of the fifth century BC and should not be explained by a shamanistic background that is only postulated and not proven (contra Colpe 1967a, 1967b; Colpe and Habermehl 1995). The development of the soul in opposition to the body took place within archaic and classical Greece (Bremmer 2010b), but the Greek idea of a journey of the soul to heaven may well have been influenced by Iranian ideas, given the Persian conquest of Ionia in the later sixth century and the probable presence of Persian magi in Athens in the late fifth century (Bremmer 2008: 244–45). Yet the fixation on Iranian origins that was paramount around 1900 (Bousset 1901; Reitzenstein 1904) has long impeded scholars from seeing the many influences of early Greek philosophers with their speculations about the soul. Moreover, in the later Greek fifth century BC we do not meet the idea of souls going to heaven, but they ascend to the *aithēr*, the "upper air" (Bremmer 2001: 7). Even if some Iranian influence is likely, other determining factors such as the teachings of Pythagoras and Plato also have to be taken into account (Burkert 1972: 357–68). Admittedly, the Mithraic ascent of the soul, as mentioned by Celsus (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.22) and Porphyry (*De antro* 24) seemed to underpin these Iranian speculations, but recent

research is much more reticent, notes the ascent's Neoplatonic character, and no longer mentions Iran in this respect (Gordon 2012: 987–88).

Highly influential in connection with the ascent of the soul would remain the myth of Er in Plato's *Republic*, where Plato describes how the soul of Er left his body after his seeming death and ascended to a heaven-like place. In his case and others, such as that of Scipio in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, of Ardiaeus in Plutarch's *On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance*, and of Timarchus in *The Sign of Socrates*, Er came back into his body to tell about what happens after death (Colpe and Habermehl 1995; Bremmer 2001: 90–94). Somewhat differently, but also of Platonic inspiration, is the ascent of the soul in Philo's *De specialibus legibus*, which, however, is inspired by the ascent of the soul in Plato's *Phaedrus* rather than by the myth of Er (Borgen 1993; Heininger 2004). The fact that in the *Ascension of Isaiah* it is the mind, the most important part of the soul, that is lifted into the heavens (6.10; note also the return into the body in 7.5) also points to an influence from Platonic traditions.

The idea of the ascent of the soul experienced its heyday especially in pagan circles during the first centuries AD; Lucian could even make fun of it in his *Icaromenippus*. From the fragments of the second century AD *Chaldaean Oracles* we learn of a theurgic ritual in which a priest officiated and which clearly demanded purification before the ascent. Subsequently, angels helped the theurgist to separate his soul from the body. During the ascent the soul had to pronounce a password, which strongly reminds us of the Orphic-Bacchic Mysteries, where this was also necessary, as the Orphic Gold Leaves have shown. Similar Orphic-like passwords occur in Gnostic treatises about the postmortem journey of the soul (Thomassen 2010); and indeed, Orphic influence on both the *Chaldaean Oracles* and Gnostic writings seems persuasive (Thomassen 2006). The final aim of the theurgic ascent was the "immortalization" (Johnston 1997), as is the case in the famous *Mithras Liturgy*, which is closely related to the theurgic milieu (Betz 2003; Zago 2010). Yet it was only a temporary immortalization, as the *Liturgy* stresses that the ascent can take place three times a year (748–49). The incorporation of the *Mithras Liturgy* in a magical papyrus fits a notice of Arnobius (*Adv. Nat*. 2.62, cf. 2.13) that magicians taught their pupils to send up their souls to the heavens with magical means.

In the case of the Hermetic treatise *Poimandres*, which was composed in Egypt and is currently dated to about AD 100, the soul journeys to the eighth heaven: "this is the good, the aim of those who have gnosis: to become god" (26), but here the visit to the highest heaven also serves a missionary purpose, as on his return Poimandres's pupil has to teach mankind what he has seen (26): an interesting expansion of the traditional goals of these ascents, namely to legitimate or to authenticate certain claims to a higher wisdom or revelation.

Rather striking is the fact that the narrator relates his vision in the first-person singular and is instructed by a kind of *angelus interpres*. Moreover, he ascends to the eighth heaven (25–26). Such layered heavens were not part of the Greek tradition, and in this respect the Hermetic treatise must have been influenced by Jewish (-Christian) apocalyptic traditions, in which we find many such heavens. In the Jewish writings

from the turn of the Christian era the number of heavens was not fixed. We find three, five, and seven in the well-known apocalypses, from *2 Enoch* to the *Testament of Abraham* (table: Carlsson 2004: 254; add *Vision of Ezra* 60 to his examples), and such layering must have been familiar enough for Paul to refer to it in his Second Letter to the Corinthians (12.1–4) without further explanation (Destro and Pesce 2009, with excellent bibliography). These numbers are clearly influenced by Babylonian views of ancient cosmology (Yarbro Collins 1996: 21–53), even though we must be careful with postulating up-to-date contacts between Jewish and Babylonian scholars. Recent insights clearly demonstrate that the former had been left behind in comparison with their Greek colleagues (Popović 2013), but that did not keep them from being aware of snippets of Babylonian cosmology. From the numbers, the number seven was so current that it seems that the author of *Poimandres* wanted to trump the traditional ascent cosmologies by introducing an eighth heaven. The author of *2 Enoch*, which until recently had only been preserved in Slavonic, but is now attested in Coptic fragments and probably goes back to a Jewish writing of, perhaps, about AD 100 (Orlov and Boccaccini 2012), even related an ascent to the tenth heaven, but this exaggeration did not find many imitators (a few more later examples: Rosenstiehl and Kaler 2005: 40).

5.2. Round Trips to Heaven in Vision or "Reality"

As the Greek opposition of the soul to the body did not enter Jewish anthropology immediately after the Greek conquest of Palestine, *1 Enoch* narrated the ascent of Enoch as happening in a vision. His authority meant that those subsequent Jewish apocalypses that employ the theme of ascent often used the framework of a vision. It is remarkable how popular this theme was in the first centuries before and after the turn of the era. Unfortunately, the Dead Sea Scrolls have been less informative at this point than one might perhaps have expected (Davila 1999), even though we can see from the surviving fragments of *Aramaic Levi* (4Q213) that Levi ascended to heaven, where he was invested with the eternal priesthood, such an investiture being an important theme of early Jewish apocalypses (Himmelfarb 1993: 29–46). In fact, visions occur in a whole series of apocalypses: the *Testament of Levi, 2 Enoch*, the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 37–71), the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Vision of Ezra*, the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and *3 Baruch*, but also in Hermetic and Gnostic literature. As with the accounts of descent, those of ascent equally want to inform but also to authenticate and legitimate the information they purport to have received in heaven.

It would be out of the scope of this contribution to discuss all these ascents in detail, and I will therefore limit myself to taking a closer look at a representative selection of the standard corpus with a focus on interrelationships between these accounts and those of descents. It seems only reasonable to start with *1 Enoch* as this was the oldest ascent, then I will proceed with the Jewish *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which was

written after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, and I will conclude with Gnostic Christian accounts that seem to have been the last ones to have innovatively used the ascent motif in late antiquity.

In *1 Enoch* we hear of the ascent of Enoch (14:8–24) "the scribe of truth" (15:1), which is interesting as priests and their misdeeds play a central role in his thought: the social milieu seems to be that of the temple. The ascent itself takes place in a vision (14: 8), in which winds bear Enoch aloft. It is important to note that, unlike the scene in later visions, Enoch is alone and that there is nobody accompanying him, no *angelus interpres*. When he is in heaven, he horizontally passes through two houses before he arrives at the lofty throne of God, who is surrounded by thousands of watchers. Rather striking in the description is the way the author tries to evoke the terrifying magnificence of God, even though much of his vision derives from Ezekiel, as has often been seen. That also means that we perhaps have to be reticent in presupposing a mystical experience or practice as the precondition for being able to report such an ascent. Although this cannot be excluded and some indications exist for the use of incantations in *1 Enoch* (Collins 1995: 46), none of our other sources gives us any clear indication of such practices (Himmelfarb 1995). Literary tradition may well suffice to explain many of these visions, and a certain skepticism seems preferable over all too adventurous speculations (contra Stone 2003; Destro and Pesce 2009).

We are in a different world with the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which was probably originally written in Palestine some decades after the destruction of the temple, even though it acquired Christian features in the course of its transmission. The heavenly ascent takes place on the wings of two sacrificial doves, on which both Abraham and the accompanying angel are sitting. They ascend straight to the seventh heaven, where Abraham sees not only the earth and Gehenna (from above: § 3), the heavens, but also, and most importantly, the throne chariot of God: as with *1 Enoch*, Ezekiel once again is an important source of inspiration. Yet in its message there are important differences, as it is unique in constructing a world that embraces both cosmology and history (Collins 1998: 229). Also, unlike *1 Enoch*, it is not so much the angel that serves as the *angelus interpres* but God himself, which looks like an attempt to trump the other apocalypses. Moreover, we also find the demonstrative pronouns in the tours of hell (above § 3) in Abraham's account (22, 23, 25). Evidently, the author borrowed features from those tours to compose his own tour of heaven.

Several types of ascent can also be found in Gnostic writings. The more traditional form of ascent we find in the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*, which perhaps dates from about AD 200 and was probably composed in Egypt (Rosenstiehl and Kaler 2005). The aim of this ascent was to explain to its Gnostic readers how to escape from the demiurgic trap of the cosmos and to provide the Gnostic "correct" interpretation of Paul's writings (Kaler 2007). To that end it describes an ascent of Paul, which has clearly been inspired by the passage from 2 Cor, but which also draws on the *Testament of Abraham* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. The apocalypse changes to an account in the first-person singular at the very moment that it begins and

describes the ascent of Paul through the heavens until he has arrived at the tenth one, where he greets his fellow spirits. In other words, he has been transformed into what we probably have to see as the highest kind of perfection. In fact, the ascent must have been considered as being of the highest importance in Gnostic circles, considering the words in the *Gospel of Truth*: "Since the perfection of the all is in the Father, it is necessary for the all to ascend to him" (21). The use of Paul and the allusions to Christian rituals such as baptism suggest that the author worked within a Christian community whose teachings he intended to correct into a Gnostic direction (Kaler 2007).

More complicated ascents occur in a number of Gnostic Sethian treatises, such as *Zostrianos, Allogenes, Marsanes*, and the *Three Steles of Seth*, which probably date from the first half of the third century. In them we find a spiritual ascent to the divine, from the lowest to the highest degree of reality, while a revealer provides instruction at each stage of the ascent. But it is not a permanent ascent. In the end, the visionary has to return to earth to inform the community about the possibility of the ascent and the final return of the soul to its origins. The treatises are closely informed by the Platonic philosophy of the day, but the notion of angelic guides instructing visionaries about the nature and content of the successive heavenly levels undoubtedly derives from Jewish and Christian apocalypses (Turner 2001).

5.3. Ascent to Immortal Heavenly Life

At the turn of the Christian era we suddenly start to hear of Romans who saw Romulus (Livy 1.16; Bremmer 1987: 45–46) and Augustus (Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* 100; Dio 56.31.2–43.1) ascending to heaven after their death. The ascents are clearly related to the special positions of these politicians, but the origins of this idea remain obscure. Similarly, the ascent of Jesus (good surveys in Pöhlmann 1986 and Colpe 1991) remains hard to explain from the point of view of the traditional trajectories of descent and ascent, although influences of the ascent of Elijah cannot be excluded (Pilhofer 2002). On the other hand, the suggestion of ascension by the pagan sage Apollonius at the end of his life, as described by Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius* (8.30), can hardly be understood separately from the stories about the Roman emperors and Jesus (Flinterman 2009). There is of course much more to be said about single trips to heaven. For example, we find an ascension of the soul and a layered heaven in the vision of Saturus of the Christian *Passio Perpetuae* (11.2) of the early third century. Yet these accounts, like the ascension of the Roman emperors and Christ, are usually not connected to the genre of the apocalypses and we leave them for another occasion.

6. Conclusion

It is time to draw a conclusion, even though we have not exhausted the material by any means. As we have seen, regarding the descents to hell there is a coming together of both Jewish and Greek traditions in the early Jewish and Christian tours of hell. The Jewish tradition, of which *1 Enoch* was immensely influential, contributed especially the question/answer structure with the demonstrative pronouns, the *angelus interpres*, and the talion principle. The Orphic tradition contributed the catalogs of sinners and punishments and the accounts in the first-person singular. Yet the fact that the question/answer structure with the demonstrative pronouns and the talion principle also existed in Greek literature suggests that we should be careful in postulating exclusive Jewish or Greek traditions. In the Hellenized world of the Near East after Alexander the Great there was a coming together of all kinds of traditions that often can be separated only artificially.

Regarding the ascent motif, it has proved more difficult to trace the various trajectories. For the study of the ancient apocalypses, we can see that the vision framing of *1 Enoch* was here most influential, although Platonic influence was not negligible either. It is rather surprising to see how in the Hermetic and theurgic narratives about the ascent of the soul there is a clear influence discernible from the Jewish-Christian apocalypses with the *angelus interpres*, the account in the first-person singular, and the concept of the layered heavens. At the same time, we can also note a certain, still to be defined, influence from the Orphic tradition. In the Jewish and Christian apocalypses with the ascent motif there is also a clear influence notable from those with the descent motif in that several of them have a kind of *angelus interpres*, and even the question/answer structure with the demonstrative pronouns can be found in at least the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Evidently, the authors of the apocalypses read widely before composing their narratives. In my contribution I have tried to sketch the trajectories of the various motifs and their interrelationships, but we should keep reminding ourselves that much early material must have been lost, and that future discoveries can amend and improve our findings so far.[1]

Note

1. I am most grateful to Ton Hilhorst for his careful scrutiny of my text and to Meghan Henning for her skillful correction of my English.

Bibliography

Bauckham, Richard (1998). *The Fate of the Dead*. Leiden: Brill.
—— (2010). "Hell in the Latin Vision of Ezra," in Tobias Nicklas et al., eds., *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 323–42.
Benz, Maximilian (2013). *Gesicht und Schrift. Die Erzählung von Jenseitsreisen in Antike und Mittelalter*. New York: de Gruyter.
Betz, Hans-Dieter (2003). *The "Mithras Liturgy": Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
Bollansée, Jan (1999). *Hermippos of Smyrna and His Biographical Writings: A Reappraisal*. Leuven: Peeters.
Borgen, Peder (1993). "Heavenly Ascent in Philo: An Examination of Selected Passages," in James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, eds., *Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, pp. 246–68.
Bousset, Wilhelm (1901). "Die Himmelsreise der Seele." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 4: 136–69, 229–73. Reprinted as *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960.
Bovon, François, Bertrand Bouvier, and Frédéric Amsler (1999). *Acta Philippi*, 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols.
Bovon, François, and Christopher R. Matthews (2012). *The Acts of Philip: A New Translation*. Waco: Baylor University Press.
Bremmer, Jan N. (1987). "Romulus, Remus and the Foundation of Rome," in Jan. N. Bremmer and Nicholas M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, pp. 25–28.
—— (2001). *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*. London: Routledge.
—— (2008). *Greek Religion and Culture: The Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Leiden: Brill.
—— (2009). "The Golden Bough: Orphic, Eleusinian and Hellenistic-Jewish Sources of Virgil's Underworld in *Aeneid* VI." *Kernos 22*: 183–208.
—— (2010a). "Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell: Observations on the *Apocalypse of Peter*," in Tobias Nicklas et al., eds., *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 305–21.
—— (2010b). "The Rise of the Unitary Soul and Its Opposition to the Body: From Homer to Socrates," in Ludger Jansen and Christoph Jedan, eds., *Philosophische Anthropologie in der Antike*. Frankfurt am Main: Ontos Verlag, pp. 11–29.
—— (2011). "Tours of Hell: Greek, Roman, Jewish and Early Christian," in Walter Ameling, ed., *Topographie des Jenseits*. Stuttgart: Steiner, pp. 13–34.
—— (2013). "Vergil and Jewish Literature." *Vergilius 59*: 143–50.
Bremmer, Jan N., and Czachesz, István eds. (2003). *The Apocalypse of Peter*. Leuven: Peeters.
Burkert, Walter (1972). *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
—— (1992). *The Orientalizing Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Carlsson, Leif (2004). *Round Trips to Heaven: Otherworldly Travelers in Early Judaism and Christianity*. Lund: Department of History and Anthropology of Religions, Lund University.
Collins, John J. (1995). "A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism," in John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds., *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 43–58.

—— (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
Colpe, Carsten (1967a). "Die 'Himmelsreise der Seele' ausserhalb und innerhalb der Gnosis," in Ugo Bianchi, ed., *Le origini dello gnosticismo*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 429–45.
—— (1967b). "Die 'Himmelsreise der Seele' als philosophie- und religionsgeschichtliche Problem," in E. Fries, ed., *Festschrift für Joseph Klein*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Updated from Colpe (1967a).
—— (1991). "Himmelfahrt." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 15*: 212–19.
—— (1995a). "Jenseitsfahrt II." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 17*: 466–89.
Colpe, Carsten, and Peter Habermehl (1995). "Jenseitsreise." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 7*: 490–543.
Colpe, Carsten, et al. (1995b). "Jenseitsfahrt I (Himmelfahrt)." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 7*: 407–66.
Damongeot-Bourdat, M.-F. (2009). "Un nouveau manuscrit de l'Apocalypse de Paul, (Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2676)." *Bulletin du Cange 67*: 29–64.
Davila, James (1999). "Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty years*, vol 1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 461–85.
Dean-Otting, Mary (1984). *Heavenly Journeys*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
Destro, Adriana, and Mauro Pesce (2009). "Il viaggio celeste in Paolo. Tradizione di un genere letterario giudaico apocalittico o prassi culturale in contesto ellenistico-romano?" in Luigi Padovese, ed., *Paolo di Tarso. Archeologia. Storia. Ricezione,* vol. 1. Cantalupa: Effatà, pp. 401–35.
Dieterich, Albrecht (1913). *Nekyia*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
Flinterman, Jaap-Jan (2009). "Apollonius' Ascension," in Kristoffel Demoen and Danny Praet, eds., *Theios Sophistes: Essays on Flavius Philostratus' Vita Apollonii*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 225–48.
Ganschinietz, Richard (1919). "Katabasis." *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft 10*: 2359–449.
Gooder, Paula R. (2006). *Only the Third Heaven? 2 Corinthians 12.1–10 and Heavenly Ascent*. London and New York: T&T Clark.
Gordon, Richard L. (2012). "Mithras," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 24*: 964–1009.
Gounelle, Rémi (2000). *La descente du Christ aux enfers. Institutionnalisation d'une croyance*. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes.
Graf, Fritz (1974). *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
—— (1987). "Orpheus: A Poet among Men," in Jan. N. Bremmer, ed., *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*. London: Croom Helm, pp. 80–106.
—— (1999). "Katabasis I," *Der neue Pauly 6*: 327–29.
Haul, Michael (2000). *Das Etana-Epos. Ein Mythos von der Himmelfahrt des Königs von Kisch*. Göttingen: Seminar für Keilschriftforschung.
Heininger, Bernhard (2004). "Paulus und Philo als Mystiker? Himmelsreisen im Vergleich (2 Kor 12,2–4; SpecLeg III 1–6)," in Roland Deines and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, eds., *Philo und das Neue Testament*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 189–204.
Himmelfarb, Martha (1983). *Tours of Hell*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
—— (1993). *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. New York: Oxford University Press.

—— (1995). "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World," in John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds., *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 123–37.
Horsfall, Nicholas (2012). "Vergil and the Jews." *Vergilius 58*: 67–80.
Jiroušková, Lenka (2006). *Die Visio Pauli. Wege und Wandlungen einer orientalischen Apokryphe im lateinischen Mittelalter unter Einschluss der alttschechischen und deutschsprachigen Textzeugen*. Leiden: Brill.
Johnston, Sarah Iles (1997). "Rising to the Occasion: Theurgic Ascent in its Cultural Milieu," in Peter Schäfer and Hans Kippenberg, eds., *Envisioning Magic*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 165–94.
Kaler, Michael (2007). *Flora Tells a Story: The Apocalypse of Paul and Its Contexts*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
Knibb, Michael A. (2009). *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*. SVTP 22. Leiden: Brill.
Kraus, Thomas, and Tobias Nicklas (2004). *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*. New York: de Gruyter.
Kroll, Josef (1932). *Gott und Hölle. Der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Lightfoot, Jane (2007). *The Sibylline Oracles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Marrassini, Paolo (2003). "L'Apocalypse de Pierre," in F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, 2nd ed., vol. 1. Paris: Gallimard, pp. 750–77.
—— (2011). "Scoperto e riscoperte dell'Apocalisse di Pietro," in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova, eds., *I papiri letterari Cristiani*. Florence: Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli", pp. 147–60.
Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2001). *1 Enoch I*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
Nicklas, Tobias (2011). "Insider und Outsider: Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung jenseitiger Orte in der Offenbarung des Petrus," in Walter Ameling, ed., *Topographie des Jenseits*. Stuttgart: Steiner, pp. 35–48.
Norden, Eduard (1927). *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis VI*. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
—— (1966). *Kleine Schriften zum klassischen Altertum*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
Novotny, Jamie R. (2001). *The Standard Babylonian Etana Epic*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
Nuvolone, Flavio (2003). "Vision d'Esdras," in F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, 2nd ed., vol. 1. Paris: Gallimard, pp. 605–39.
Orlov, Andrei A., and Gabriele Boccaccini, eds. (2012). *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only*. Leiden: Brill.
Pilhofer, Peter (2002). "Livius, Lukas und Lukian: Drei Himmelfahrten," in Peter Pilhofer, *Die frühen Christen und ihre Welt*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 166–82.
Pöhlmann, Horst Georg (1986). "Himmelfahrt Christi." *TRE 15*: 330–41.
Popović, Mladen (2013). "Networks of Scholars: The Transmission of Astronomical and Astrological Learning between Babylonians, Greeks and Jews," in Jonathan Ben-Dov and Seth Sanders, eds., *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 151–91.
Radermacher, Ludwig (1903). *Das Jenseits im Mythos der Hellenen*. Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber.
Reitzenstein, Richard (1904). *Poimandres*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Riedweg, Christoph (2002). *Pythagoras*. Munich: Beck.
Rohde, Erwin (1901). *Kleine Schriften*. 2 vols. Tübingen: Mohr.
Rosenstiehl, Jean-Marc, and Michael Kaler (2005). *L'Apocalypse de Paul (NH V, 2)*. Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Segal, Alan F. (1980). "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and Their Environment," in Wolfgang Haase, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. 2.23.2. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 1333–94.

Silverstein, Theodore, and Anthony Hilhorst (1997). *Apocalypse of Paul: A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions*. Geneva: P. Cramer.

Smallwood, Valerie (1990). "Herakles M," in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae V.1*, Zurich: Artemis, pp. 85–100.

Stone, Michael (2003). "A Reconsideration of Apocalyptic Visions." *Harvard Theological Review 96*: 167–80. Reprinted in *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies*, vol. 1. Leuven: Peeters, 2006, pp. 353–66.

Stroumsa, Guy G. (1995). "Mystical Descents," in John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds., *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 137–54.

Tabor, James (1986). *Things Unutterable: Paul's Ascent to Paradise. Its Greco-Roman, Judaic, and Early Christian Contexts*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Thomassen, Einar (2006). *The Spiritual Seed: The Church of the "Valentinians"*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 60. Leiden: Brill.

—— (2010). "Gnostics and Orphics," in J. Dijkstra et al., eds., *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 463–73.

Tommasi Moreschini, Chiara (2005). "Ascension," in, L. Jones, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., vol. 1. Detroit: Macmillan, pp. 518–26.

Turner, John D. (2001). *Sethian Gnosticism and the Platonic Tradition*. Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval; Leuven: Peeters.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1996). *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*. Leiden: Brill.

——(2012a). "Ascents to Heaven in Antiquity: Toward a Typology," in Eric F. Mason et al., eds., *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam,* vol. 1. JSJSup 153. Leiden: Brill, pp. 553–72.

—— (2012b). "Travelling Up and Away: Journeys to the Upper and Outer Regions of the World," in David E. Aune and Frederick Brenk, eds., *Biblical and New Testament Genres and Themes in the Context of Greco-Roman Literature*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 135–66.

Young, Brad H. (1988). "The Ascension Motif of 2 Corinthians 12 in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Texts." *Grace Theological Journal 9*: 73–103.

Zago, Michela (2010). *La ricetta di immortalità*. Milan: La Vita Felice.

Zimmermann, Julia (2012). "Die *Tiroler Predigtsammlung* und ihre *Visio Pauli (mit Edition des. Predigttextes)*," in Monika Costard et al., eds., *Mertens lesen. Exemplarische Lektüren für Volker* Mertens *zum 75. Geburtstag*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, pp. 9–30.

CHAPTER 21

APOCALYPSES AMONG GNOSTICS AND MANICHAEANS

DYLAN M. BURNS

The genre "apocalypse" is of enormous importance for our understanding of Gnosticism. However, modern scholarship has generally approached the Gnostic apocalypses by attempting to diagnose the relationship between "apocalypticism" and "Gnosticism." It has usually focused on the "dualism" associated with these terms in the scholarship of the mid-twentieth century, distinguishing the "historical" concerns of the apocalypses from the ahistorical, cosmological interests of Gnostic lore: "this (apocalyptic) dualism is not absolute or metaphysical but temporal, and is thereby different from the dualism of Gnosis" (Vielhauer and Strecker 2003: 550; similarly, Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 303; Rowland 1999: 790, 796; Lahe 2012: 113, 140–42). Other scholars consider Gnosticism a kind of pessimistic negation or interiorization of Jewish apocalyptic ideas (Hanson 1979: 28; Rowland 1982: 445; J. Z. Smith 1983: 86). Meanwhile, specialists in Gnostic studies no longer construct "Gnosticism" as a theological category characterized by "dualism" or other marginalizing clichés (Williams 1995: esp. 101–15, 225–29; King 2003: esp. 175–89). Conversely, eschatological dualism is no longer viewed as *the* distinguishing feature of the apocalypses (Collins 2001: 75–84); consequently, the traditional basis for associating "Gnosticism" and "apocalypticism" has been dissolved.

More importantly, "apocalyptic(ism)" is itself a modern construct that does not usefully describe apocalypses or their authors. Its focus on historical or political eschatology fails to describe the contents of many of the texts that bear the name "apocalypse" in the manuscript tradition, which by and large deal with personal eschatology, often as part of greater cosmological speculations (Collins 1979: 9–12; Stone 1984: 393). The attempt to divine second-temple apocalyptic "conventicles" or communities who

would ostensibly have developed an ideology of "apocalypticism" is also a failure (Collins 1998: 38, *pace* Vielhauer and Strecker 2003: 598; Hanson 1979: esp. 211–20). Scholarship has thus turned away from the study of "apocalypticism" and towards the texts themselves, the apocalypses, which are grouped accordingly by their shared use of the genre "apocalypse" and the literary traditions associated with it (see Collins, chap. 1 in this volume). Similarly, scholarship on "Gnosticism" has largely abandoned the baggage associated with the term in much of modern scholarship (per the critiques of Williams 1995 and King 2003). It focuses instead on the groups called *gnostikoi* in the ancient world, the myths associated with them, and, most of all, the ("Gnostic") texts we have discovered that deal with these myths, which differentiate the creator of the cosmos from the True God, usually through descriptions of the fall of Sophia ("Wisdom") and ensuing creation of the material world (Layton 1995; Brakke 2010).

Gnostic Apocalypses

Therefore, instead of diagnosing the constructs "Gnosticism" and "apocalypticism," it is productive to compare the Gnostic apocalypses—that is, texts that handle the Gnostic myth and use the genre "apocalypse"—with their Jewish and Christian counterparts. That such an enterprise might be worthwhile is indicated by the fact that there are indeed many apocalypses among the texts associated with the ancient Gnostics. Epiphanius claims that one group has composed certain books, attributing them to great men: "They say there are seven books attributed to Seth; other different books they entitle *Foreigners* (*Allogeneis*); another they call an *Apocalypse* according to Abraham, others (are) attributed to Moses, and still others attributed to still other figures" (Epiph. *Pan*. 39.5.1, tr. Layton 1987: 189, slightly modified; see also 26.1.2–1.3). Porphyry relates that:

> there were in Plotinus's time many others among the Christians and heretics who had set out from the ancient philosophy, men belonging to the schools of Adelphius and Aculinus—who possessed many texts of Alexander the Libyan and Philocomus and Demostratus of Lydia, and who produced revelations (*apokalupseis*) of Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nicotheus and Allogenes and Messos and others of this sort who deceived many, just as they had been deceived, actually alleging that Plato really had not penetrated to the depth of intelligible substance. Wherefore, Plotinus often attacked their position in his seminars, and wrote the book we have entitled *Against the Gnostics* (*Vit. Plot*. 16, tr. Armstrong [LCL], modified).

Coptic redactions of several of these treatises—*Zostrianos* and *Allogenes*—were discovered at Nag Hammadi (Upper Egypt) in 1945.

Meanwhile, an entire codex from Nag Hammadi ("Codex V") consists of apocalypses, excepting a cosmological treatise at the start, placed accordingly to prepare the reader for revelation (Morard 1995). If one regards the genre of the "revelation discourse" (featuring a postresurrection Jesus Christ as the revelator) as a "this-worldly apocalypse," one counts twenty-six extant apocalypses associated with Gnosticism, the bulk of which were preserved at Nag Hammadi (Attridge 2000: 208–9, plus two new apocalypses from Codex Tchacos). By this reckoning, the most well-known Gnostic text, both today and in antiquity (no fewer than four manuscripts of it survive)—*The Apocryphon of John*—is an apocalypse qua revelation discourse. Mani was a reader of Jewish apocalypses as well as Gnostic material, and Manichaeans composed a revelation dialogue featuring him as a revealer passing on wisdom obviously derived from these texts. Finally, the Tchacos Codex (pub. 2006) has bequeathed to us several more apocalypses, among them the (in)famous *Gospel of Judas*.

Did Gnostics then simply like to read apocalypses, or is there such a thing as particularly *Gnostic* apocalypses? The apocalypses mentioned in the previous paragraph relate (among other things) the distinction between the creator-deity and a higher first principle, as well as a version of the fall of Sophia, or are related to groups that made such a distinction. One can then speak of "Gnostic apocalypses" qua apocalypses written by "Gnostics." However, did Gnostics simply use the apocalyptic genre and traditions associated with it to authorize their own diverse views, or did they also transform it, writing apocalypses with a distinctive flavor found only among the Gnostics? Is it worth contrasting Gnostic apocalypses from Jewish and Christian apocalypses?

Not really. A brief look at passages from several Nag Hammadi apocalypses shows that they draw upon the literary traditions and ideas of Jewish and Christian apocalypses to address various ends that are, for the most part, not particular to Gnostics at all: these include the postmortem ascent of the soul, martyrdom, Jewish salvation-history, Greek metaphysics, and the destruction of the physical cosmos. Yet one does observe a particular fondness for apocalypse in Gnostic literature. Gnostics preferred to derive their authority from otherworldly revelation, and their texts reflect this, although the tendency is significantly muted in the Valentinian literature. The Gnostic apocalypses are distinct in insisting on the total veracity and authority of their revelations, which sets them apart not from the Jewish and Christian apocalypses, but from Greek philosophical mythography. Rather, they differ from their "proto-orthodox" and Valentinian contemporaries in the authorities they claim through pseudepigraphy. One can glimpse an interesting transformation of apocalyptic authority in early Manichaeism, where Mani, at first under the influence of Jewish and Gnostic apocalypses, himself becomes a living authority who lives on in his own revelation dialogue.

The *First Apocalypse of James*, for instance, is a Gnostic revelation dialogue (apocalypse) concerned with the postmortem ascent of the soul and an *ex eventu* review of history that authorizes the apostle James. Properly speaking, it is a revelation

dialogue between Jesus (both pre- and postcrucifixion) and one of his disciples, but it was understood by its scribe in the Nag Hammadi version to be an "apocalypse" (the Codex Tchacos version is simply titled *James*). Indeed, revelation dialogues are essentially apocalypses without an otherworldly journey, not dissimilar in genre to Dan. 11–12, and thus "type I" apocalypses (in the parlance of Collins 1979). The revelation dialogue is a genre popular among the Gnostics, because its frame depicts an otherworldly mediator (e.g., the Savior himself) granting unvarnished, clear information whose veracity and completeness are beyond question (Perkins 1980: 19ff; Pagels 1978: 419ff; Frankfurter 1996: 148, 198). "The literary genre of revelation dialogue is a mode of communicating not only the content of this second world but also structurally and rhetorically establishing its secret and mysterious character by presenting it as divine revelation" (King 2012: 74). The value of this secrecy is twofold, and derives in both cases from the strangeness of the content of revelation, which was usually otherworldly and, in the case of early Christianity, often liable to get one in trouble with the authorities. It provides insulation from outside groups who may be hostile to such content, and it acknowledges the utter strangeness of the cosmologies and ideas transmitted by such revelatory texts in the greater context of Greco-Roman life (King 2012: 73–80). As we will see, the rhetorical dynamic of secrecy and revelation we find in the Gnostic revelation dialogue is virtually identical to that we find in other apocalypses, including those that feature a heavenly journey or which are bereft of Gnostic content.

Themes and Problems: The *First Apocalypse of James* and *Zostrianos*

This fairly uniform dynamic of revelation we see among Gnostic dialogues and apocalypses governs, on the other hand, a fairly diverse range of themes and problems. Returning to *1 Apoc. Jas.*, we note that the revelation begins by attending to the Christian Gnostic's "deliverance" from the "archons" who martyr them in Jerusalem. Fearing the imminent death of Jesus, and, later, his own martyrdom,[1] James asks,

> "Rabbi, what are you saying? If they arrest you, what shall I do then?" (Jesus) answered him, saying, "When they arrest you and stone you, you will be delivered. But do not return to Jerusalem, for this (city) always gives the cup of bitterness to the children of light, being a dwelling place for many archons. So your deliverance [is] this: you shall deliver *yourself* from them. As for the knowledge you seek, it consists of understanding what they are like and how many they are. . . ." (TC 11.17–12.6) tr. Kasser et al. 2007, tr. slightly modified

The Savior goes on to describe the composition of the various heavens—the better to navigate them after death—and, eventually, formulae that one is to recite before the celestial "toll-keepers" in order to pass into the realm of "He who Is" (TC 19.24–22.23). The import of this cosmological lore is the comfort of martyrs-to-be, who, the text says, have nothing to fear in the beyond if sufficiently prepared. Significantly, these formulae are known to have been used by the Valentinians (TC 19.21–22.23 = Ir. *Haer*. 1.21.5), and have thus raised the question of whether the text is in fact a Valentinian apocalypse (on which see further below).

The dialogue also authorizes its teaching through *ex eventu* prophecy, a strategy common to the "historical apocalypses": The catastrophe of the First Jewish War is alluded to by the Risen Christ, but only obliquely in his injunction to James to keep his teachings secret until his death (TC 23.15–19). At this point, the disciple is to grant revelation to Addai, who will in turn keep it secret, write it down, and grant it to a certain "Levi." Despite growing up during war, his younger son will be a powerful ruler who shall upon reaching maturity again undergo great persecution and hardship—almost certainly the disastrous Jewish revolts of 115–17 and 132–35 CE—before finally making the book available (TC 23.19–25.14). This circuitous transmission-history of *1 Apoc. Jas*. also explains the tardiness of the revelation's appearance (Schoedel 1991: 167–68). Genealogies of lost revelatory books are typical in the apocalypses (e.g., *2 En.* 9–12; *Apoc. Adam* NHC V,5.85), but it must have been especially important to the Gnostics, whose opponents accused them of following late, postapostolic authorities and teachings (Ir. *Haer*. 5.20.1).

Yet the tale also plays with the literary tradition of *ex eventu* prophecy in ways that challenge common assumptions about the relationship of "Gnosticism" to Jewish history and "apocalypticism." Scholarship once proposed that Gnosticism (and Gnostic apocalypses) are products of Jewish apocalyptic thinking in Alexandria, an anti-Jewish "protest" religion reacting to the loss of the Temple in 70 CE and subsequent persecution (Grant 1959: 27–38; Alexander 1999: 1066; C. Smith 2004). There are reasons to reject this hypothesis,[2] but more interesting is the observation that *1 Apoc. Jas.* does not invoke these events as a way of brusquely attacking Judaism. Rather, Addai is known as the apostle who evangelized Edessa, thus laying a foundation for Semitic Christian tradition, and Jewish apocrypha held that the second son of Levi birthed by a woman of Jerusalem would beget the priestly bloodline (*Test. Levi* 3:25; Drawnel 2004: 138–48, vss. 62–67; Edwards 2012). On a more general level, the story shows that "Gnostic" apocalypses hardly relinquished interest in history, *ex eventu* prophecy, or worldly concerns in favor of cosmological speculation or "realized eschatology." Nor did they favor the authority of visionary experience or an otherworldly journey over this-worldly revelatory dialogue (Perkins 1980: 175 n. 39, *pace* Pagels 1978: 427ff). Rather, *1 Apoc. Jas*. negotiates its various concerns—the fate of the martyrs in the celestial landscape, and the authority of the apostle James in relation to the earliest Christian community in Jerusalem—precisely by invoking historical themes.

Another apocalypse from Nag Hammadi, *Zostrianos*, addresses the end of history alongside technical metaphysics. Quoted above, Porphyry tells us that it was among several apocalypses, including *Allogenes* (preserved in some redaction in NHC XI,3) that were the subject of contention between the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus (ca. 263 CE) and Gnostic Christians in his reading group. Therefore, this body of Gnostic apocalypses—the "Platonizing" Sethian literature—was a major player in third-century Hellenic philosophy (Turner 2001: esp. 693–744). The text describes the celestial ascent of its eponymous seer, who engages in discourses with angels in heaven about Neoplatonic psychology and theology. Along the way, he is transformed into various types of angels:

> I stood there, staring into the light of the truth that truly exists from [a] self-begotten root [with some] great angels and glories…I was baptized in the [name of] the self-begotten deity by the powers that exist [upon the] living water: Michar and Mi[chael], and I was purified by the great Barpharanges. And they [glorified] me and wrote me into glory. [I was] sealed by them, those who exist upon these powers, [Michar], Michael, Seldao, Ele[nos], and Zogenethlos. And I [became] an angel able to see [god] and I stood up on the first aeon, which is the fourth, with the souls. (NHC VIII,1.6.3–21, tr. mine, with reference to Sieber 1991 and Barry et al. 2000. See also VIII, 1.7.1–22, 30.29–31.23)

Zostrianos also receives various crowns, probably evidence of the author's desire to authorize his metaphysical speculations with literary traditions familiar to Jewish and Christian readers of the apocalypses (Burns 2014). Finally, having descended to Earth once more, he begins preaching:

> Ye living, the Seed of the holy Seth, understand! Do not disobey me! Awaken your divine part to God, [and] empower the elect soul, (which is) empty of evil; look at the dissolution of this place, and follow the indissoluble unbegottenness. The father [of] everything invites you, waiting for you; while others will inflict violence upon you, he will not abandon you. Do not baptize yourselves in death, or entrust yourselves to those who are inferior to you as if they were better. Flee the madness and the bondage of femininity, and choose for yourselves the salvation of [masculinity]. You have not come into suffering but you have come into bondage. Dissolve yourselves, and that which has bound you will be dissolved. Save yourselves so that it (i.e. the soul) will be saved! The loving Father has sent you the Savior and he has strengthened you. Why do you hesitate? Search, when you are sought. Listen, when you are invited. For time is short. Do not be deceived; great is the aeon of the aeon of the living, (and great are) the punishments of those who remain unpersuaded. (NHC VIII,1.130.16–131.23)

This sermon is a curious thematic mélange. Most obviously, it stresses the urgency of repentance in the face of the *Endzeit*: "time is short!" Yet its paraenesis is not merely recognition of the savior and the imminent end of things. Rather, the reader must recognize the "dissolution" of the material world and its trappings, and foster philosophically informed contemplation of the "unbegottenness" that characterizes the

deity, as described for the preceding hundred pages. Such knowledge will provide salvation.

The philosophical character of Zostrianos's soteriology has led some scholars to distance the text from Jewish apocalyptic tradition and eschatology:

> Central to the Judaic approach [i.e., of other Sethian Gnostic literature] is the notion of a sacred history centered on interlocking generations of a special people, in this case the seed of Seth, with an origin and a goal or eschaton. Central to the Platonic approach [i.e., of *Zost*., *Mars*., and *Allogenes*] is the epistemological distinction between degrees of truth or reality graspable by thought, which form an essentially vertical teleological scale as opposed to the essentially horizontal teleological scale of the Judaic model. (Turner 1995: 193)

On the contrary, it would be a mistake to read Zostrianos's sermon as an example of individual salvation realized in this life—essentially a form of "realized eschatology"—that is mutually exclusive with cosmic eschatology, much less to characterize Gnosticism as "the supreme form of realized eschatology" (*pace* MacRae 1983: 319; Rowland 1999: 790). "Gnostic" texts generally affirm that the world will end, in ways virtually indistinguishable from their "orthodox" Christian counterparts (Peel 1970; Daley 1991). "Realized" eschatology therefore did not always come at the expense of cosmic eschatology, even in the most philosophical and Neoplatonic of the Gnostic apocalypses, like *Zostrianos* and *Marsanes* (*Mars*. NHC X,1.10.13–18, 14–25, 40.2–23; Burns 2013).

Valentinian Apocalypses?

The scholarly impulse to oppose Gnostic texts influenced by Hellenic philosophy to those (presumably more "Jewish" ones) that focus on cosmic eschatology has led some to argue that the Valentinian Gnostics, as opposed to the Sethian writers, eschewed the apocalyptic genre and related eschatological traditions, leaning instead towards "philosophically respectable" notions of cosmic destruction, particularly the Stoic notion of the world's fiery conflagration (Attridge 2000: 189). Yet at the same time, some otherwise *un*philosophical apocalypses appear to have been influenced by Valentinian ideas, as for instance in the tripartite anthropology and the corresponding personal eschatology of the *Paraphrase of Shem*:

> For where the winds, and the stars, and the demons sow (seeds) from the power of Spirit, (there) repentance and testimony will appear upon them, and Mercy will lead them to the unbegotten Spirit. As for those who are repentant, they will find rest in

> the consummation with Faith, in the place of Hymen. This is the Faith which will fill the place which will have been left empty. As for those who have nothing from the luminous Spirit nor from Faith, they will be dissolved in Darkness, the place where repentance has not come. (NHC VII,1.35.17–36.1, tr. Roberge 2010; see further Roberge 2010: 71–74, 83–84)

Other apocalypses, like *1 Apoc. Jas*. (discussed above) make use of materials that also circulated in Valentinian circles, even if they do not otherwise appear overwhelmingly Valentinian in their theology (cf. Thomassen 1995: 248).

What we do not find, however, are apocalypses attributed to known Valentinian authority-figures. No apocalypse is attributed to a Valentinian teacher such as Theodotus, Ptolemy, or Valentinus himself. Apocalypses bearing the name of apostolic authorities popular with Valentinians, like the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*, contain ideas whose Valentinian provenance can only be suggested, not proven (cf. Kaler 2008: esp. 225; Thomassen 1995: 257–58, re: NHC II,5). The sect's exegetes preferred to see the primeval biblical figures of hoary antiquity not as raw materials for the pseudepigraphal industry—as did the Sethian writers, attributing their apocalypses to figures like Adam, Seth, and "Allogenes"[3] —but, like Philo, for anthropological and moral allegories. (For the example of Seth himself, see Ir. *Haer*. 1.8.5; Hipp. *Haer*. 5.20.)

The opposition between Sethian and Valentinian Gnostic approaches to the apocalypses, then, is a valid one, but not with respect to eschatology or exposure to Hellenic philosophy. Rather, Sethian and Valentinian authors, esteemed different authorities: transmitters of Sethian traditions, produced pseudepigraphical texts—nearly all in the genre of "apocalypse"—assigned to antediluvian seers and imbued with literary themes and traditions that would have seemed authoritative and persuasive to readers familiar with Jewish and Christian apocrypha. Valentinian authors appear to have been less interested in the apocalyptic genre and its literary trappings, particularly pseudepigraphy, instead penning anonymous texts (e.g., *The Tripartite Tractate*) or simply asserting their own authority as living teachers (e.g., Ptolemy in his *Epistle to Flora*). Thus the cliché that Gnostics did not rely on living authorities, but only "figures from the primordial times or from the apostolic generation" (Perkins 1980: 175) is true with regard to Sethian literature, but not Valentinian literature. In this respect, Valentinian literary tradition and the kind of authority figures it invokes is much closer to non-Gnostic Christianity than it is to Gnosticism. The Gnostic apocalypses are also generally shorter on scriptural referents, although there is considerable variation on this point between, say, *Apoc. Paul* or *1 Apoc. Jas*. (which employ recognizable Pauline and Johannine allusions, respectively) and *Zost*. (which features almost no New Testament references—cf. NHC VIII,1.28.17–22). Here again, Valentinian literature, which makes free use of the New Testament, has more in common with non-Gnostic Christian literature.

Hellenic Philosophy, Myth, and Allegory

Conversely, the authors of the Gnostic apocalypses approached myth and authority in ways that differ significantly from the Hellenic philosophers. A few thinkers did compose metaphysically informed revealed poetry (e.g., the *Chaldaean Oracles*, or the so-called *Tübingen Theosophy*), yet, unlike *Zostrianos* and the other "Platonizing" Sethian literature, these texts did not employ the genre of revelation dialogue, but the traditional Hellenic oracle. Moreover, they invoke authorities and deities popular in the Hellenic culture of late antiquity, either deriving from traditional Greco-Roman cult or striking an "Orientalizing" pose that contrasts strongly with the Jewish and Christian literary traditions authorizing the Gnostic apocalypses. Plato and Plutarch, among others, did compose apocalypses (Attridge 1979, 162–68) whose function is largely paraenetic and whose truth-value can be confirmed or rejected based upon the preceding philosophical discussion (Plat. *Phaedo* 108d, 114c–d; *Gorg.* 493a–c; Morgan 2000: esp. 158–61). More importantly, such narratives were governed by an epistemology that identified myths as secondary, faulty images of an account or representation of reality (see particularly Plat. *Resp.* X 598b; *Tim.* 29b–d). As Plutarch remarks,

> Wherefore myth is far removed from actual events, if a tale is but a picture and an image of actuality, and a myth is but a picture and image of a tale. And thus those who write of imaginative exploits lag as far behind historians as persons who tell of deeds come short of those that do them. (*Glor. Ath.* 348a–b, tr. Babbit [LCL])

The Stoic and (Neo-)Platonic philosophers, meanwhile, did not write myths or apocalypses as much as allegorize them, decoding their contents to yield information, usually about the soul or the cosmos, intelligible in the idiom of Greek philosophy (Pépin 1958). This is even the case with philosophers reputed for their interest in and knowledge of "Oriental" traditions, such as Numenius, who read Gen 1:2 as describing the descent of the soul into matter, followed by Porphyry (Num. frg. 1b des Places 1973; Porph. *Antr. nymph*, 6.10ff, 10.11–12 Westerink 1969). Gnostics sometimes allegorized too (e.g., Ptol. *Flor.*; Simonetti 1985: 9–37), but they did not allegorize their apocalypses. (Thus there are no visionary allegories in the Gnostic apocalypses, which overwhelmingly prefer the medium of discourse to vision—Fallon 1979: 125.) Instead, the Gnostic apocalypses use Judeo-Christian traditions and motifs to encourage their readers to assent to the complete and total veracity of the literal account of the revelator.

Manichaeism

The negotiation of these various traditions and their strategies of self-authorization—Jewish apocalypses, Gnostic myths, and Hellenic, philosophical allegory—can be clarified by a look at their reception in the birth of Manichaeism. For instance, within Mani's corpus is included a *Book of the Giants*, a history of progeny of the "sons of god" (Gen. 6:4—understood as angels, as in the *Book of the Watchers*—Henning 1934; Henning 1943; Sundermann 1973; Sundermann 2001; Reeves 1992). It is unclear to what extent the text could be influenced by (much less identifiable with) the similarly fragmentary *Book of the Giants* known from Qumran (for which see Stuckenbruck 1997). Nor is it clear that it was an apocalypse. Nonetheless, Mani was deeply indebted to Enochian traditions, particularly those known from *1 Enoch*. Meanwhile, he pronounced Jewish apocalypses of "Adam," "Sethel," "Enosh," "Shem," and "Enoch" as texts that legitimated his revelation and ensuing mission (CMC 46.1–60.12; Himmelfarb 1991; Reeves 1996). The Cologne Mani Codex preserves a letter from Mani where he insists on the authority of his revelation, which concerns the creation of the cosmos:

> The truth and the secrets which I speak about—and the laying on of hands which is in my possession—not from men have I received them nor from fleshly creatures, not even from studies in the scriptures… by His (the Father's) grace, He pulled me from the council of the many who do not recognize the truth and revealed to me his secrets and those of the undefiled father and of all the cosmos. He disclosed to me how I was before the foundation of the world, and how the groundwork of all the deeds, both good and evil, was laid, and how everything of [this] aggregation was engendered [according to its] present boundaries and [times]. (CMC 64.8–65.22, tr. Cameron and Dewey 1979, modified = Gardner and Lieu 2004: §51)

Later, in the absence of the living authority of Mani and his disciples, Manichaeans began to compose literature featuring their Paraclete as a revealer: like Jesus of Nazareth, this student of the apocalypses became the star of his own revelation dialogues! An example would be the *Kephalaia*, an extensive revelation discourse where Mani takes questions from his followers (Gardner 1995). However, the *Kephalaia* should not be considered a "Gnostic apocalypse." While the Manichaean account of the creation of humankind is clearly derived from Gnostic descriptions of the archontic powers crafting the primordial Adam (Epiph. *Pan*. 46.30.5–6 = Gardner and Lieu 2004: §58; Aug. *Haer*. 46.14–15 = Gardner and Lieu 2004: §59), the Manichaean demiurge is a benevolent being, and the passage of history takes place under the providential aegis of the high God (*Man. Keph*. §32, pp. 85.19–86.17 Gardner 1995 = Gardner and Lieu 2004: §65). Gnostic myth informs Manichaean myth without encompassing it.

Nonetheless, the way the Manichaeans themselves regarded the authority of their myths (known from apocalypses or not) elicited the ire of Alexander of Lycopolis, a

Platonist of the early fourth century CE. He provides an example of how a proponent of philosophical allegorization, even when interested in Jewish, "Oriental" sources, could remain unfriendly to the truth-claims made by apocalypses and their readers. He refers to the Enochian tale of the fall of the Watchers as an allegory of the "nurturing faculties of the soul"; "the Manichaeans, however, understand nothing of all this; whenever they are able to come to false conclusions, they appropriate these as a god-send, whatever their origin" (Alex. Lyc. ch. 25.34–7, p. 38 Brinkmann 1895, tr. van der Horst and Mansfeld 1974). Moreover, he criticizes the Manichaeans for failing to use the Platonic language of image and form in a manner which is consistent with their mythos:

> Is it not more fantastic than any myth when they say that man is a product of matter copied from the image which is visible to the sun? For images, as you know, are copies of the archetypal Forms. But if they allow the image to be in the sun, where, then, is the original model after which this image of theirs has been moulded? For they will not say, of course, that that man himself is the real man, nor that the divine power is the real man; for they mingle this with matter. (Alex. Lyc. ch. 23.10–18, p. 32)

Alexander disparages the Manichaeans here for confusing the subjects of their myths with real entities and events rather than images, and with reading these myths literally instead of allegorically. Some of these myths were apocalypses, and Gnostic ones at that—texts that insisted on their literal authority.

Revelatory Authority

The insistence on the veracity and soteriological efficacy of the revealed message is pronounced enough in Gnostic apocalypses to have led some to claim that their distinctive characteristic is "emphasis upon present salvation through knowledge" (Fallon 1979: 125; Morard 1995: 341; cf. Perkins 1980, 32 n. 19, 70). Indeed, the sources do focus on soteriology, but the utterly diverse content of this saving knowledge—as exemplified in the present examples of *1 Apoc. Jas.* (postmortem ascent formula; historical review) and *Zost.* (Neoplatonic metaphysics)—resist assimilation to a single mechanism or epistemological state (i.e., supposed *gnōsis*). At the same time, scholars can still ask philosophical questions as to the natures of revelation and *gnōsis*. Even if the association of "Gnosticism" and "apocalyptic" by virtue of dualism is misleading, there *does* seem to be a peculiar affinity between texts usually described as "Gnostic" and representatives of the apocalyptic genre. As MacRae has speculated, this affinity could boil down to the medium, not the message: "Both apocalyptic and Gnosticism center on the acquisition (by

revelation) and the communication of a knowledge that exercises saving power in the present by its future-oriented content. . . . The latter is one manifestation of the former, albeit in extreme form" (MacRae 1983: 324; cf. Lahe 2012: 115). It is the distinctive apocalyptic truth-claim—the acquisition of undistilled, saving knowledge from beyond, thanks to a supernatural mediator—that lends apocalypses and so many Gnostic texts a common character. Gnostic apocalypses *are* supreme exemplars of the apocalyptic genre after all, not as a realized eschatology, but as the ultimate affirmation of revelatory authority.

Notes

1. See also *1 Apoc. Jas*. TC 17.19–18.4, 19.9–23. The text is paralleled by another Coptic translation in NHC V,3, but the version in the Tchacos Codex is at most turns better preserved, and so followed here.
2. We have no reason to assume that Gnosticism originated in Israel/Palestine or Egypt, as opposed to other intellectual centers in contact with Judeo-Christianity, such as Syria, Asia Minor, or Rome itself. Moreover, many scholars consider the earliest Gnostic literature to be Christian, not Jewish (Logan 1996); such Christian Gnostics, like the intended readership of *1 Apoc. Jas*., maybe have felt some ambivalence about Jerusalem and its "cup of bitterness."
3. The "foreigner," a reference to Seth re: LXX 4:25.

Bibliography

Alexander, Philip J. (1999). "Jewish Elements in Gnosticism and Magic, c. CE 70–c. CE 270," in William Horbury, W. D. Davies, and John Sturdy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1052–78.

Attridge, Harold W. (1979). "Greek and Latin Apocalypses." *Semeia 14*: 159–86.

—— (2000). "Valentinian and Sethian Apocalyptic Traditions." *Journal of Early Christian Studies 8*.2:173–211.

Barry, Catherine, Wolf-Peter Funk, Paul-Hubert Poirier, and John D. Turner, eds. and trans. (2000). *Zostrien*. BCNH Section "Textes" 24. Quebec: Les presses de l'université Laval; Leuven: Peeters.

Brakke, David (2010). *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Brinkmann, A. ed. (1895). *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Burns, Dylan M. (2013). "Cosmic Eschatology and Christian Platonism in the Coptic Gnostic Apocalypses *Marsanes, Zostrianos*, and *Allogenes*," in Christoph Markschies, ed., *Symposium of the Patristische Arbeitsgemeinschaft (PAG) Zugänge zur Gnosis'*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 169–89.

—— (2014, in press). "Sethian Crowns, Sethian Martyrs? Jewish Apocalyptic and Christian Martyrology in a Gnostic Literary Tradition." *Numen*.

Cameron, Ron, and Arthur J. Dewey, eds. (1979). *The Cologne Mani Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780) "Concerning the Origin of His Body."* SBLTT 15. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.

Collins, John J. (1979). "Morphology of a Genre." *Semeia 14*: 1–19.

—— (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

—— (2001). "Apocalyptic Eschatology and the Transcendence of Death," in John J. Collins, ed., *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*. JSJSup. 54. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 75–98.

Daley, Brian E. (1991). *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

des Places, Edouard, ed. and trans. (1973). *Numénius: Fragments*. Collection Budé. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Drawnel, Henryk (2004). *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*. JSJSup. 86. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Edwards, Robert M. (2012). "Jewish Christianity Revisited: The Jewish Christian Background of the *First Apocalypse of James* (NHC V, 3; AMC 2)," in Simon C. Mimouni and Bernard Pouderon, eds., *La Croisée des chemins revisitée: Quand l'Église et la synagogue se sont-elles distinguées? Actes du colloque de Tours 18-19 juin 2010*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012, pp. 321–38.

Fallon, Francis T. (1979). "The Gnostic Apocalypses." *Semeia 14*: 123–58.

Frankfurter, David (1996). "The Legacy of Jewish Apocalypses in Early Christianity: Regional Trajectories," in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. CRINT 3.4. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, pp. 129–200.

Gardner, Iain, trans. (1995). *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary.* NHMS 37. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Gardner, Iain, and Samuel Lieu, eds. (2004). *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grant, Robert M. (1959). *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*. San Francisco: Harper Torchbooks.

Hanson, Paul D. (1979). *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Henning, Walter B. (1934). "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch." Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philosophisch.-historische Klasse, 27–35.

—— (1943–46). "The Book of the Giants." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 11*.1: 52–74.

Himmelfarb, Martha (1991). "Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses," in John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth, eds., *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the University Presspsala Colloquium*. JSPSup 9. Sheffield: JSOT Press, pp. 47–71.

Horbury, William, W. D. Davies, and John Sturdy, eds. (1999). *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Volume 3: The Early Roman Period.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaler, Michael (2008). *Flora Tells a Story: The Apocalypse of Paul and Its Contexts*. SCJ 19. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Kasser, Rodolphe, Gregor Wurst, Marvin Meyer, and François Gaudard, eds and trans. (2007). *The Gospel of Judas: Critical Edition*. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society.

King, Karen (2003). *What Is Gnosticism?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

—— (2012). "Mystery and Secrecy in *The Secret Revelation of John*," in Christian H. Bull, Liv Ingeborg Lied, and John D. Turner, eds., *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices. Studies for Einar Thomassen at Sixty.* NHMS 76. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 61–86.

Lahe, Jaan (2012). *Gnosis und Judentum: Alttestamentliche und jüdische Motive in der gnostischen Literatur und das Ursprungsproblem der Gnosis*. NHMS 75. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Layton, Bentley (1987). *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions.* New York: Doubleday.

—— (1995). "Prolegomena to the Study of Ancient Gnosticism," in L. Michael White and Larry O. Yarbrough, eds., *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne Meeks*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, pp. 334–50.

Logan, Alastair H. B. (1996). *Gnostic Truth and Christian Heresy. A Study in the History of Gnosticism.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

MacRae, George (1983). "Apocalyptic Eschatology in Gnosticism," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 317–25.

Morard, Françoise (1995). "Les apocalypses du Codex V de Nag Hammadi," in Louis Painchaud and Anne Pasquier, eds., *Les texts de Nag Hammadi et le problème de leur classification. Actes du colloque tenu à Québec du 15 au 19 Septembre 1993*. BCNH Section "Études" 3. Quebec: Les presses de l'université Laval, pp. 341–57.

Morgan, Kathryn A. (2000). *Myth and Philosophy from the Presocratics to Plato*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pagels, Elaine (1978). "Visions, Appearances, and Apostolic Authority: Gnostic and Orthodox Traditions," in Barbara Aland, ed., *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 415–30.

Peel, Malcolm (1970). "Gnostic Eschatology and the New Testament." *NovT 12*: 141–65.

Pépin, Jean (1958). *Mythe et Allégorie. Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes.* Aubier: Éditions Montaigne.

Perkins, Pheme (1980). *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism*. New York: Paulist Press.

Reeves, John C. (1992). *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press.

—— (1996). *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions.* NHMS 41. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Roberge, Michel (2010). *The Paraphrase of Shem (NH VII, 1): Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. NHMS 72. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Rowland, Christopher (1982). *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity.* New York: Crossroad.

—— (1999). "Apocalyptic: The Disclosure of Heavenly Knowledge," in William Horbury, W. D. Davies, and John Sturdy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 776–97.

Schoedel, William F. (1991). "A Gnostic Interpretation of the Fall of Jerusalem: The First Apocalypse of James." *Novum Testamentum 33*.2: 153–78.

Schüssler Fiorenza, Elizabeth (1983). "The Phenomenon of Early Christian Apocalyptic: Some Reflections on Method," in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Ancient*

Mediterranean World and Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 295–316.

Sieber, John, ed. (1991). *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*. NHS 31. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Simonetti, M. (1985). *Lettera E/O Allegoria: Un contributo alla studio dell'esegesi patristica*. Studia Ephemeridis 23. Rome.

Smith, C. B. (2004). *No Longer Jews: The Search for Gnostic Origins*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.

Smith, Jonathan Z. (1993). "Wisdom and Apocalyptic," in Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 67–87.

Stone, Michael E. (1984). "Apocalyptic Literature" in Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus.* Assen: van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, pp. 383–442.

Stuckenbruck, Loren T. (1997). *The Book of the Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation and Commentary*. TSAJ 63. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Sundermann, Werner (1973). *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*. BTT 4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

—— (2001). "Giants, the Book of." *Encyclopædia Iranica*. vol. 10 fasc. *6*: 592–94.

Thomassen, Einar (1995). "Notes pour la délimitation d'un corpus valentinien à Nag Hammadi," in Louis Painchaud and Anne Pasquier, eds., *Les texts de Nag Hammadi et le problème de leur classification. Actes du colloque tenu à Québec du 15 au 19 Septembre 1993*. BCNH Section "Études" 3. Quebec: Les presses de l'université Laval, pp. 243–59.

Turner, John D. (1995). "Typologies of the Sethian Gnostic Treatises from Nag Hammadi," in Louis Painchaud and Anne Pasquier, eds., *Les texts de Nag Hammadi et le problème de leur classification. Actes du colloque tenu à Québec du 15 au 19 Septembre 1993*. BCNH Section "Études" 3. Quebec: Les presses de l'université Laval, pp. 169–217.

—— (2001). *Sethian Gnosticism and the Platonic Tradition*, BCNH Section "Études" 6. Paris: Peeters.

van der Horst, P. W., and Jaap Mansfeld, trans. (1974). *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise "Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus."* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Vielhauer, Philipp, and Georg Strecker (2003). "Apocalypses and Related Subjects: Introduction," in Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*. Trans. R. McL. Wilson. Vol. 1. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, pp. 559–602.

Westerink, L. G., ed. (1969). *Porphyry: The Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey*. Arethusa Monographs 1. Buffalo: Department of Classics, State University of New York.

Williams, Michael Allen (1995). *Rethinking Gnosticism: Arguments for Dismantling a Dubious Category.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

CHAPTER 22

THE IMAGINED WORLD OF THE APOCALYPSES

STEFAN BEYERLE

In the Beginning . . . Chaos: Towards Myth and Cosmology

Modern descriptions of apocalypticism and of "apocalypse" as genre point to different aspects of an "imagined apocalyptic world." Among others, the following topics provide insights into certain notions of an ideological technique that interrelates the experienced "this world" with a constructed "other world": interests in the heavenly realm and the stars (Dan 12:1–3; 1 En 72–82; 102–4), the divine mysteries (Dan 2:18–19, 28–30; 1 En 9:6; 104:12; 4 Ezra 12:38; 3 Bar 1:6, 8), a predetermined succession of world history (Dan 2:28–29; 1 En 9:4; 15:2), visionary experiences (Dan 7–12; 1 En 14; 4 Ezra 12–14; 2 Bar 36:1; 71:2), or judgment and the hope for an imminent end of the world that includes a hope for salvation for the righteous (Dan 7–8; 1 En 1–5). But the most intriguing, and in modern scholarship rather neglected, motif that alerts the reader to a cosmic dimension is "creation," or more precisely: "chaos and creation." It was the German scholar Hermann Gunkel who highlighted the aspect of creation and, especially, recreation in ancient Jewish and Christian apocalypticism. This motif does not simply involve a confrontation of the first creation with an eschatological new creation (cf. Isa 43:19; 65:17–18; 66:22–23), but also a productive enhancement of more ancient creation motifs and accounts.

Already the confrontation of "chaos and creation" illustrates two important ways in which Jewish apocalypses construct their imagined worlds. On the one hand they take up mythological thought patterns, while they adapt these patterns to the author's time-historical circumstances. On the other hand these apocalypses create cosmologies in which they put this-worldly and otherworldly realms, like "earth" and "heaven," in respect to each other. While the myths give priority rather to the temporal aspect, the cosmologies stress above all the spatial implications. Apocalyptic writings in general make use of and refine traditions that span a cosmological space in order to overcome this-worldly grief and repression and to create hope for an otherworldly, salvific life. "Heaven" or "chaos and creation" form central pillars of the world as they imagine it. We will examine these motifs in this essay.

The Apocalyptic Imagination of Chaos

The vision in Daniel 7 begins with an awesome description of chaos: Daniel, the seer, watches four beasts coming up from the stirred-up sea. Although, as attested in several passages of the Hebrew Bible and in ancient Jewish texts (cf. Isa 41:18; 48:18–19; 60:5; 1QHa 16:5–9), waters including the "sea" sometimes announce blessing, the sea in Daniel 7 clearly alludes to a chaotic state. As is well known from ancient Near Eastern sources, the sea symbolizes and determines to a large extent a sphere of chaos and the imminent, also permanent, attack against the creative order. For instance, the sea functions as the living space for monsters from the underworld. In the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple literature the most prominent chaos creatures are "Leviathan" (Ps 74:14; 104:26; Job 40:25–41:26; Apoc Abraham 21:4–5; 4Q380 fr. 3 line 1), whose realm is the sea, "Behemoth" (Job 40:15), whose realm is the dry land, and "Rahab" (Isa 30:7; 51:9; Ps 40:5; 89:11; Job 26:12; Sir 43:25; 4Q381 fr. 15 line 5 [reconstr.]).

The beasts from the sea in Dan 7 and the monsters, like Leviathan and Behemoth in 1 Enoch (60:7–10), 4 Ezra (6:49–52) and 2 Baruch (29:4), have in common that their appearance combines creation and the eschatological end-time—one could also speak of "mythic time." Hermann Gunkel already pointed to this phenomenon in reference to both the beasts from the sea and the monsters (Gunkel 1895/2006: 227–32). Besides religio-historical problems with Gunkel's thesis, one should be cautious with the idea that the beasts from Daniel 7 and the monsters of the *Chaoskampf* myth are related to one and the same tradition. The main difference between Daniel 7 and 1 Enoch 60; 4 Ezra 6; 2 Baruch 29 can be seen in the explicit references of the latter apocalypses to traditions from creation accounts, especially Genesis 1, whereas Daniel 7 alludes only sparsely to texts that cover creation motifs.

In contrast, 1 Enoch 60 and 4 Ezra 6 provide significant evidence: 1 Enoch 60 counts among the *Similitudes* (1 En 37–71), a composition from the early Herodian period, wherein 60:7–10, 24 is part of an interpolated and displaced "Noachic" fragment (cf. 1 En 60:8; Nickelsburg 2012: 20, 58–63, 221–23). The fragment has several

motifs in common with 4 Ezra 6 and 2 Baruch 29: a conceptualized *Urzeit/Endzeit* scheme places the two beasts, Leviathan and Behemoth, at the fifth day of creation, when God separated these monsters. The allusion refers to the divine creation of the "great sea-dragons" or "sea-monsters" (Hebrew *tannînim*) in Gen 1:21 (cf. Isa 27:1). While Leviathan's realm is the sea, Behemoth will settle at the dry land that only 1 En 60:8 calls "Dundayin" (cf. Whitney 2006: 55, who finds in "Dundayin" an allusion to the ancestors), whereas 4 Ezra 6:51 refers to the land dried up on the third day, a land that is characterized by a "thousand mountains." Furthermore, all three texts refer their readers to the eschatological judgment (1 En 60:24; 4 Ezra 6:52; 2 Bar 29:4b), in order that both, Leviathan and Behemoth, will be provided and presented by the Lord as the nourishment in an end-time banquet. Notwithstanding several differences in detail, it is highly probable that all three accounts stem from one and the same tradition (cf. Nickelsburg 2012: 239–42).

The Beasts in Daniel 7

Compared to the sea monsters, the mythical background of Daniel 7 is much more complex and difficult to discern. The vision report starts with the pursuit of four beasts coming up from the sea (vv. 2–8). Their appearance is described in the likeness of a lion, a bear, and a leopard. What follows is a fourth beast, albeit differently delineated. In terms of imagery, language, and function, the fourth animal differs from the three preceding beasts. While the first three beasts in Dan 7:4–6 represent hybrid creatures, the fourth animal is not determined further because the author, or better, composer, has left the fourth beast unnamed and uncompared with any living animal. Moreover, the first three animals allude to a pursuit of kingdoms (Babylonia, Media, and Persia), while with the fourth beast the emphasis is placed on the "horns," especially the "little horn," representing rulers (cf. Reynolds 2011: 120–30, 139–41). Also, the description of the fate of the fourth beast (Dan 7:11–12) is embedded within the two epiphanies of the "Ancient of Days" (7:9–10) and of the "Son of Man" (7:13–14). Finally, the interpretation of the Danielic vision refers only very scarcely to the first three beasts (Dan 7:17–18), while it examines the meaning of the fourth animal, especially the "little horn," extensively (7:19–27). In general, the allusion to chaos by means of the sea and the beasts does not simply point to an *Urzeit-Endzeit* scheme, wherein chaos is eliminated by divine power. Rather, the sea and the beasts, the latter representing a succession of kingdoms from the past up to the author's present (cf. Dan 2:31–45; 4QFour Kingdoms; Sib Or 4:49–101; Flusser 1972: 153–74), function as symbols for a historical construction of chaos that imminently touches the author's real world. This sort of chaos is characterized as determined, climactic, and interlocked with history.

Myth and History in the Book of Daniel

The mythological and historical aspects can be illustrated further by the treatment of the "little horn" in Daniel 7 and 8. The interconnection of the description of the "little horn" with the epiphanies in Dan 7:9–14 ties different traditions together that stem from the chaos combat myth that is prominent in several apocalyptic texts from the Second Temple period (cf. T Jud 21:6–9; T Ash 7:2–3; T Mos 10:1–10; 4 Ezra 8:20–23; 13:2–13; Angel 2006: 99–125, 148–61).

The symbolic speeches about the sea and the beasts, including the "little horn," on one hand and the epiphanies of the "Ancient of Days" and the "Son of Man" on the other give rise to the question whether the *Chaoskampf* mythology that is made use of is related to a certain religio-historical background. Above all, since Hermann Gunkel's thesis emphasizing, as for several other biblical traditions, the extra-biblical roots of Daniel 7's chaos imagery in the Old Babylonian creation story *Enūma eliš* (Gunkel 1895/2006: 185–88, 205–14), many different models regarding the religio-historical background of Daniel 7 and 8 have been discussed: Iranian, Babylonian, Canaanite, Egyptian, or Hellenistic (cf. Collins 1993: 280–94; Eggler 2000: 3–19, 55–83). Recent scholarly discussion has preferred the Babylonian and Canaanite models. A third proposal, hitherto barely considered (cf. van Henten 1993: 223–43), justifies some further examination: the question of Hellenistic-Egyptian influence.

Babylonian Influence?

The initial incentive to look for a Babylonian background in Daniel 7 (and Daniel 8) was motivated—from the beginning—by the predominant Babylonian setting of the book of Daniel. Some motifs, indeed, show striking similarities between Daniel and ancient Near Eastern material. For example, the Babylonian creation myth *Enūma eliš* (I.105–10) reports that the god Anu produced four winds as a playground for Marduk, son of Ea. The text proceeds (I.107–9): "He fashioned dust, he made a storm bear it up, he caused a wave and it roiled Tiamat, Tiamat was roiled, churning day and night" ("Epic of Creation," translated by Benjamin R. Foster [*COS* 1.111:392]). In Dan 7:2–3 one reads: "Daniel answered and said: I watched in my vision during the night, and behold, the four winds of heaven churned up the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, each differing from the other." Both texts have in common that winds stir up the mythic, primordial sea. But aside from this, the traditions differ in many details: while the Babylonian text names the god Anu, the god of heaven who caused a wave that roiled Tiamat, the subject of the churning of the sea in Daniel 7 remains unnamed. And what is more, Tiamat is a goddess, not a beast.

Furthermore, the rebellion of the "little horn" (Dan 7:8, 21–22, 25; 8:9–11, 24–25), embedded and attacked by a constellation of two divine beings (Dan 7:9–10, 13–14), bears only meager resemblances to Babylonian myth. For instance, in *Enūma eliš* (I.130–59) Tiamat deploys in sum eleven demons, weapons, and monsters by command and raises up Qingu, her divine consort, as ruler of all gods.

Also the Anzu story, an Akkadian composition from the second and first millennium BCE, is of interest. The god Anzu states (I.75–77): " 'I will win the throne, be the master of the offices! I will give command to all the Igigi!' Thus his heart plotted rebellion" ("The Akkadian Anzu Story," translated by Marianna Vogelzang [*COS* 3.147:328]). All traditions, Daniel 7–8 and the stories of Anzu and *Enūma eliš*, admittedly conceptualize mythic creatures who wreak havoc and rebellion. But the crucial constellation of the "Ancient of Days" and the "Son of Man" as divine beings in Daniel 7, with the latter designed as a "human" figure, is not apparent from the Babylonian texts. In sum, Babylonian myths do not provide sufficient data to form a basic background for the apocalyptic world in Daniel 7 and 8 (cf. Collins 1990: 717–18 on Kvanvig 1988: 345–602; see also Walton 2001: 83–88).

Canaanite Influence?

Concerning the "Ancient of Days" and "Son of Man," comparison with Canaanite traditions, as attested in Ugaritic cuneiform tablets from the second half of the second millennium BCE, is helpful. One of the main compositions found in Ugarit is the Baal cycle, wherein Baal, representing the West-Semitic divine type of a warrior god, strikes Yamm, representing the chaotic sea, and stands in significant relationship to the high-god El. In CTA 2.4, lines 8–9, the craftsman Kothar wa-Hasis speaks to Baal (transl. by Smith 1994: 322; cf. also Collins 1993: 287):

> Indeed, I tell you, O Prince Baal,
> I repeat, O Cloudrider:
> Now your foe, Baal,
> Now your foe may you smite,
> Now may you vanquish your enemy.

As Mark Smith has pointed out (Smith 1994: 336), the craftsman Kothar wa-Hasis speaks here as a prophet who predicts Baal's kingship. Baal will gain dominion by smiting and vanquishing his enemy: Yamm, the divine representative of the primordial sea. "The primary enemy, both in Daniel and in the Canaanite myth, is the sea, Yamm" (Collins 1993: 288). Other Ugaritic texts refer to El as "father of years" (*"abī šanīma*: cf. CTA 1.3.23–24; Smith 1994: 185–86). El is also characterized as "judge" who sits with Haddu, "his shepherd," a sobriquet for Baal (cf. RS 24.252, lines 2–3). In Dan 7:9–10, 13–14 one reads about constellations, quite comparable to the Ugaritic Baal myth: an "Ancient of Days" with white hairs and linen garments takes his seat for

judgment, angelic beings serve him, and "one like a Son of Man" approaches with the clouds of heaven to receive universal dominion.

Besides these links between the epiphany in Daniel 7 and the Baal myth, there remain some differences and unresolved questions: Dan 7:14 states that *there was given* to the "Son of Man" dominion, honor and kingdom. Consequently, the "Son of Man" remains rather passive. On the contrary, the Baal cycle highlights Baal's active role within the context of his rise to kingship. Second, the divine constellations from the Ugaritic myth are not helpful when it comes to questions concerning the mythic and religio-historical background of the rebellion of the "little horn." This is the more significant since the "little horn" symbolism decisively alludes to the historical circumstances and religious crisis in the time of Antiochus IV (cf. Portier-Young 2011: 78–85), as reflected in Daniel 7 and 8.

Hellenistic-Egyptian Influence?

With view to the latter problem, a third, Greek and also Hellenistic-Egyptian tradition deserves attention: the Typhon myth. To address this possible influence, the identification of the fourth beast in Daniel 7 with Greece and of the "little horn" with Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Daniel 7 and 8 should be taken into account. The latter equation is a hypothesis, but a well-founded and established one.

In interpretations of Danielic visions the last king of Greece, obviously codified as "little horn," "speaks words against the Most High" (Dan 7:25; cf. v. 8) and "plans to change times and law" (Dan 7:25), "will grow great in his heart/mind," "will stand against prince of princes" (Dan 8:25; cf. 11:37), and also "throws down some of the host and some of the stars and tramples on them" (Dan 8:10). These rebellious attitudes refer to habits of Antiochus IV as they are known from other sources: The motifs of arrogance and speech against the Most High allude to Antiochus's unique self-image and hubris as "King Antiochus, God Manifest." The text appears on some of Antiochus's coins. They were minted after 173/2 BCE and understood as blasphemous in the eyes of the Jewish visionary (cf. Collins 1993: 321–22). The king's change of "times and laws" is also remembered in 1 Macc 1:49, wherein Antiochus induced the Jewish people to "change all the ordinances," and in 2 Macc 6:1, 6, 10–11, wherein the "king dispatched Geron the Athenian to force the Jews to depart from their ancestral laws." Finally, the change of times may be a reference to 2 Macc 6:7, as the notice is connected to the installation of a festival of the Greek god Dionysus and the presupposed change of the calendar by Antiochus (cf. VanderKam 2000: 105–27). In terms of historicity, not only the above mentioned coins or the Dionysian festival but also the "three horns uprooted before it," that is, the "little horn" (cf. Dan 7:8, 20, 24 and Blasius 2006: 532–46, who relates the "three horns" to Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII, and Cleopatra II), reflect provenance in, or at least allusions to, a Hellenistic-Egyptian setting, especially in the time of the "6th Syrian War" (170–168 BCE).

It comes as no surprise that the rebellious impetus of Antiochus, as the "little horn," was shaped further by the influence of certain Hellenistic-Egyptian traditions, albeit that the "Maccabean edition" of the book of Daniel was written in Palestine: The foremost rebellious typology that connects the "little horn" with Antiochus leads to the thesis that this image of Antiochus as the villain king was modeled on the lawless, presumptuous, and profane stereotype of Seth-Typhon (cf. van Henten 1993: 235–43, and for further evidence van Henten 2011: 59–64). His violent actions comprise not only the "trampling on the stars" (Dan 8:10; cf. 2 Macc 9:10) and the "removal of daily sacrifice" (Dan 8:11–12). References to Antiochus's desecration of the temple in Jerusalem and the installation of Zeus Olympios as a "desolating abomination" (cf. Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; 1 Macc 1:54; 6:7; 2 Macc 6:2) find corroboration in Typhon's place within the Zeus myth and his attacks against the stars (cf. Nonnos *Dionysiaca* 1.163–223, 386–87; 2.244–90; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bib.* 1.39–41 and van Henten 1999: 880; Höpflinger 2010: 147–48, 159). What is more, the constellations of the "Ancient of Days" and the "Son of Man" on one hand, and Zeus—or "Zeus Olympios," the "desolating abomination"—and Antiochus—or "Typhon," the "little horn"—on the other, could be interpreted as contrasting religious concepts. While the Typhon-Zeus constellation leads to turmoil and destruction, the "Ancient of Days"/"Son of Man" relation approaches everlasting dominion and glory.

The comparison deserves further differentiation. First of all, the classical Zeus-Typhon myth, stemming from archaic Greece, should be distinguished from the Hellenistic-Egyptian identification of Typhon with Seth, in existence since the sixth or fifth century BCE. The myth also absorbed influences from the ancient Near East already in the period of archaic Greek literature (cf. Ballabriga 1990: 7–10). Second, the different patterns of divine combat myth within the Greek and Hellenistic-Egyptian strands of the tradition interpreted "Typhon" as a symbolic name for kings or nations, like the Seleucid king Antiochus III in the Raphia decree or the Greeks in the Potter's Oracle, that should not be identified in general with the chaotic and feared divine figure Typhon. In addition, the question of how the gods Typhon and Baal-Zaphon, both of whom relate to the same divine emanation, made their way down to Egypt is still a matter of dispute (cf. Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bib.* 1.41 and Koch 2007: 161–65; Carrez-Maratray 2001: 94–97).

Furthermore, the concrete "parallelism" of "Typhon-Zeus" and "Son of Man"-"Ancient of Days" reveals several imbalances. For instance, while the iconographic references to the combat between Zeus and Typhon commonly show Zeus in a Baal-like manner, holding lightning bolts in his hand and stepping towards Typhon (cf. Höpflinger 2010: 49–116, 358–66 [fig. A1–B8] and also Hesiod *Theog.* 853–56), the "Most High," obviously to be identified with the "Ancient of Days," is configured as an enthroned "Deus otiosus" (cf. Dan 7:9–10) who should be compared to El—and not, like Zeus, to Baal.

Synthesis

None of the examined backgrounds sufficiently explores the imagined world of these apocalypses. To be sure, all of them share the danger and fear of an imminent chaos and therefore plead for a sustained world order. But the Jewish apocalypses conceptualized their specific this-worldly and otherworldly imaginations by means of a specific hermeneutics that goes beyond the ancient Near Eastern myths. Here, eschatological hope and the historiographical reworking of the mythological material, together with an analysis of the function of apocalyptic writings, can explain what is meant by these hermeneutics.

The real world of the author(s) is the time of the Antiochan crisis (167–163 BCE). The system of symbols and metaphors in the book of Daniel refers to this epoch. But the uttered resentment against foreign rule, as was widespread in eschatological prophecies in Hellenistic times (cf. *Demotic Chronicle, Oracle of the Potter*), uses language and motifs that emphasize the cosmological and universal aspect of the chaos that the foreign rule provoked. Therefore, the persecution of Antiochus, his desecration and rebellion against God as the Most High, is the heart of the matter. The cosmological dimension that is guaranteed by the examined mythical backgrounds calls for "solutions" that are, analogously, cosmological. Here the book of Daniel, as other ancient Jewish apocalypses and Qumran writings, offers the concept of resurrection (Dan 12:1–3; 1 En 91:10; 92:3; Jub 23:31; 4Q385 [4QPseudo-Ezekiel^{a}] fr. 2 2:8–10; fr. 3 line 2). But in the case of Daniel the concept is significantly combined with motifs referring to astral and angelic imaginations (cf. 1 En 102–4; Beyerle 2005: 189–268). Another strategy to yield "solutions" is the idea of earthly renewal (cf. 1 En 91:16; 72:1; Jub 1:29; 4 Ezra 7:31–32, 75; Stephens 2011: 66–70, 76–79, 108–12, 114–15). All in all, the use of ancient Near Eastern myths contributes to a dualistic worldview in apocalypses with its aim to distinguish between "this world" and an "other world."

Finally, the function or pragmatics of apocalyptic worldviews should be considered. Whereas the aim of mythical narrative is to conceptualize an etiology of the known world, by referring, for example, to certain models of creation, apocalypses like the book of Daniel function instead as "resistance literature" (Portier-Young 2011). To put it differently, while myth shows a profound past orientation, apocalypticism lays emphasis on the present world of the implied author(s) in order to construe this world within a future-focused perspective: the myths become "eschatologized." In terms of pragmatics, the examined worldview rather calls for a more or less active role for the audience, more for resistance than for theodicy or consolation (cf. Willis 2010: 188–92).

Heaven and Heavens

The heavenly realm takes a prominent position within the cosmologies of ancient Jewish apocalypses (cf. the overview in Wright 2000: 117–202). With view to the composition of 1 Enoch, George W. E. Nickelsburg emphasizes the central meaning and function of heaven as the "dualistic" counterpart of the earthly realm in apocalyptic writings (cf. Nickelsburg 2003: 36–43). Also other scholars point to the immense importance of a spatial distinction between heaven and earth in Jewish apocalypses—a distinction that does not rule out any connection between "this world" and "other world" (see the critique of Nickelsburg's "dualism" in Koch 2003: 51–52).

Even ancient strands of traditions from the Hebrew Bible consistently use the Hebrew plural (*šāmayîm*) when denoting "heaven." The plural appears as a *plurale tantum* also in extra-biblical North-West Semitic documents. On the other hand, the Greek of the Septuagint, wherein a clear differentiation between singular and plural would have been possible, almost always translates the biblical plural with the singular *ouranós*. Interestingly enough, among the very few occurrences of the Greek plural the reader finds several of them among the Greek manuscripts of 1 Enoch (1 En 1:4; 8:4; 18:4, 10; cf. also 3 Bar 11:2; T Ab A 7:4; 15:11; T Ab B 4:4; 7:15; 14:7).

Nevertheless, these conspicuous results should not lead to widespread conclusions concerning the emphasis on a plurality of heavens in Jewish apocalyptic writings. First, on the rare occasion in which the Greek plural is present in the Septuagint, it is—merely—the result of technical considerations pertaining to the translations (cf. Pennington 2007: 52–56, 99–124). Second, the concrete idea of five (3 Baruch), seven, or even ten heavens (Testament of Levi, 2 Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah) is rather late, and obviously not pre-Christian (cf. Yarbro-Collins 1995: 62–81). Apart from these restrictions, no one denies the importance of the heavenly realm for Jewish apocalypses, especially if the worldview is taken into account. For example, Kelley Coblentz-Bautch examines the boundaries between the heavenly and earthly realm by referring to the heavenly temple in 1 Enoch 14. Beyond several allusions to biblical motifs (cf. Isa 6; Ezek 1; 3; 8; 10), the text in the *Book of the Watchers* attests unique features that comprise a certain setting: a heavenly, otherworldly journey of the protagonist Enoch (cf. Coblentz Bautch 2010: 38–42). Therefore, the heavenly realm sets a boundary marker that, among other functions, aims to designate a divine sphere. The latter is also indicated by the manifold divine titles in 1 Enoch, underscoring God's universal power and his celestial abode (cf. Beyerle 2010: 32–35).

In the following paragraphs, two issues that connect the political, real world with the heavenly or divine spheres will be discussed: the priesthood and the heavenly temple, both of which were closely linked together in the Jewish apocalypses.

Furthermore, "priesthood" and "temple" serve as examples of the "real-and-imagined space" (Lopez 2008: 154) that is created in apocalyptic writings.

Priestly Overtones?

The issues of temple, priest, and cult were not the main focus of Jewish apocalypses. In contrast to several texts from Qumran, such as the *Temple Scroll* and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the earlier apocalypses only allude to the cultic sphere. In doing so, especially through the use of terminology and—far less often—explicit references to historical events such as the "Antiochan crisis" (Dan 8; see above), they hint at the cultic background of the apocalyptic world. Consequently, in several sources the exact meaning of priestly adumbrations and, particularly, the context of their historical origin have to remain obscure.

An early Jewish apocalypse like the *Book of the Watchers*, dating to the third century BCE, is suspected by several scholars of accusing misbehavior and apostasy of the Jerusalem priesthood in early Hellenistic times. In the older part of the book (1 En 6–11), which not even mentions Enoch, the watchers were found guilty over two offenses: sexual intercourse with earthly women (1 En 6:1–2; 7:1; 9:8; 10:11) and the revelation of heavenly mysteries (1 En 8:1–3; 9:6; 10:7–8). In the following passage (1 En 12–15), wherein the watchers call for Enoch's intercessory function, the watchers' atrocious deeds are mentioned again. In 1 En 15:1–5 the Lord sends Enoch to the watchers to accuse them of defilement with the "blood of women" and with the "blood of men" (v. 4). Enoch should ask why the watchers have "forsaken the high heaven, the eternal sanctuary" (v. 3). A function of this critique could have been that the watchers, as priests, were charged in connection with improper marriage practices, especially by neglecting the purity law (cf. Lev 15:19–24; CD 5:6–7; Pss Sol 8:12). Furthermore, some scholars established a link between the watchers as priests and the Jerusalem priesthood in the late third or early second century BCE. On the other hand, the historical circumstances that lead authors to this critique, or even the kinds of marriages that provoke such a brickbat, are not at all clear (cf. Himmelfarb 2006: 16–28; Knibb 2009: 373–74). In addition, further interpretations of the watchers' myth in 1 En 6–11, including the identification of the watchers and their violent offspring, the giants, with Hellenistic princes at the time of the wars of the Diadochi (fourth century BCE), are also taken into account. For instance, George W. E. Nickelsburg opts for both, the war and the priestly setting, as these settings refer to different literary layers in the *Book of the Watchers* (cf. Nickelsburg 2001: 170, 230, 269–72).

The later apocalyptic compositions attest visions of a heavenly temple (cf. 2 Bar 4:3–6; 4 Ezra 10; 2 En 20; 3 Bar 6:1–2; 11:1–2; Apoc Abraham 18–19; 29:17–19). But also earlier sources, like the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Animal Apocalypse*, and the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, contribute to the concept. While in the *Book of the Watchers* the

heavenly temple appears as embedded in a throne vision (1 En 14:8–23), the *Animal Apocalypse* and the *Apocalypse of Weeks* put the first temple, the *Animal Apocalypse* also the second and the eschatological temples, in the context of "historical flashback." It is striking to see that the *Animal Apocalypse* harshly criticizes the polluted cult and the absence of the Lord in the second temple (1 En 89:72–74), while the *Apocalypse of Weeks* generally ignores its existence: only the temple of Solomon is mentioned (1 En 93:7) together with the eschatological temple (91:13; cf. Suter 2007: 207–10; Himmelfarb 2007: 228–34). Taking into account that the authors of the latter apocalypses wrote at a time when the second temple still existed (mid-second century BCE), the function of their eschatological temple was to criticize the existing temple and temple services. Again, the real and the imagined worlds, corresponding to the mundane and celestial temples, were construed as inconsistent opponents.

The Heavenly Temple as a Fiery Place

The vision in 1 En 14 brings Enoch to heaven, where he sees a wall, houses, and a throne with its appearance like ice and rivers of flaming fire underneath the throne (14:8–23; vv. 18, 19a). Enoch is lifted upward to heaven (1 En 14:8); he approaches a wall of hailstones (v. 9), walks into a house "hot as fire, cold as snow" (v. 13), and reaches another house, greater than the first and "built of tongues of fire" (v. 15). Beyond any doubt, the vision describes a heavenly temple that is obviously based on its earthly blueprint: Martha Himmelfarb identifies the "wall" with the porch (Hebrew *'ûlām*), the "houses" with the sanctuary (Hebrew *hêkāl*), and the holy of holies (Hebrew *debîr*; cf. Himmelfarb 2007: 220). As an alternative, David W. Suter understands the "wall" as encircling the whole sanctuary (Suter 2007: 202–3).

Be that as it may, the heavenly and the earthly temples are to some extent incomparable. This goes hand in hand with emphasized heavenly or divine "transcendence," as it is attested in 1 En 14:19b, 21 (trans. Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2004: 35):

> And I was unable to see.
> The Great Glory sat upon it;
> his apparel was like the appearance of the sun
> and whiter than much snow.
> No angel could enter into this house and look at his face
> because of the splendor and glory,
> and no human could look at him.

Taken together with the motifs of the "lofty throne" that issues streams of fire underneath (vv. 18, 19a) and the "ten thousand times ten thousand" that stood before him (v. 22), the throne scene has much in common with the theophany of the "Ancient of Days" in Dan 7:9–10. In 1 Enoch a visionary is confronted with the Divinity who is inaccessible to the fallen watchers. Comparable to that, the throne of the "Ancient of

Days" is out of reach for the beasts—and for the inhabitants of the mundane world at all. Even Enoch, in a clear sign of divine transcendence, is able only to *talk about* (as supposed to *see*) the garment of God (cf. Coblentz Bautch 2010: 40–42). On the other hand, four winds lifted Enoch up and brought him to heaven (1 En 14:8), which is identified with the sanctuary and provides the acknowledgment of divine attendance in general. Consequently, Enoch appears in the spell of divine power. With view to the following passages in 1 En 14:24–16:4, Enoch's access to the divine sphere results in his mediation of judgment against the watchers and the giants—and judgment has also consequences for the real world of the author(s). On the whole, 1 Enoch 14 conceptualizes a cosmology that goes beyond priestly and mythic worldviews, even if the text recalls motifs from the latter concepts.

As in the book of Daniel and in the *Epistle*, the *Book of the Watchers* provides different "solutions" for the defilement of the watchers, not least because different groups are prepared for judgment, awaiting different postmortem fates: the angelic world, including the watchers and their progeny, the giants (cf. 1 En 18–19), and the "spirits of the souls of the dead" (1 En 22), including the righteous and the sinners. The idea of distinguishing between the "saint" and the "wicked" or between a postmortem world before and after divine judgment brings the "solutions" of the *Book of the Watchers* close to what we find in Dan 12:1–3 and 1 En 102–4 (cf. Stuckenbruck 2010: 82–91).

Conclusion

This examination has focused on Jewish apocalypses from the third and second centuries BCE. Generally speaking, the composite texts from the book of Daniel and the *Book of the Watchers* substantiate a close relationship between "other world" and "this world." This relationship is conceptualized by means of different strategies. First, apocalypses construe their unique world by referring to different myths from the ancient Near East. The discussion of Daniel 7–8 yielded a mixture of religio-historical allusions. An all-too-simple *Urzeit-Endzeit* scheme has been overcome by an historical reinterpretation of the mythic references. In the Antiochan crisis, "other world" and "this world" collided. Second, the notion of heaven as angelic and divine abode rather stresses the "negative" aspect of the relationship between the mundane and the celestial worlds. In the *Book of the Watchers*, heaven and earth are clearly distinguished, but not totally separated. Again, the vision of the divine throne (1 Enoch 14) also refers to a certain real world. Nevertheless, the references are very sketchy, compared with Daniel 7–12. But it makes good sense to understand the priestly allusions and the architecture of the heavenly temple as an ideal in a transcendent and

divine sphere that, at the same time, criticizes the cult of the real world. In sum, the analyzed sources show that a simple identification of the imagined world of apocalypses with the transcendent or "other world" falls short.

Bibliography

Angel, Andrew R. (2006). *Chaos and the Son of Man: The Hebrew "Chaoskampf" Tradition in the Period 515 BCE to 200 CE*. Library of Second Temple Studies 60. New York: T & T Clark International.

Ballabriga, Alain (1990). "Le dernier adversaire de Zeus: Le mythe de Typhon dans l'épopée grecque archaïque." *Revue de l'histoire des religions 207*: 3–30.

Beyerle, Stefan (2005). *Die Gottesvorstellungen in der antik-jüdischen Apokalyptik*. JSJSup 103. Leiden: Brill.

—— (2010). "The 'God of Heaven' in Persian and Hellenistic Times," in Tobias Nicklas et al., eds., *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions*. JSJSup 143. Leiden: Brill, pp. 17–36.

Blasius, Andreas (2006). "Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the Ptolemaic Triad: The Three Uprooted Horns in Dan 7:8, 20 and 24 Reconsidered." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period 37*: 521–47.

Carrez-Maratray, Jean-Yves (2001). "De l'Oronte au Nil: Typhon et Saphon." *Transeuphratène 21*: 87–100.

Coblentz Bautch, Kelley (2010). "The Heavenly Temple, the Prison in the Void and the Uninhabited Paradise: Otherworldly Sites in the *Book of the Watchers*," in Tobias Nicklas et al., eds., *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions*. JSJSup 143. Leiden: Brill, pp. 37–53.

Collins, John J. (1990). "Review of Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*." *Journal of Biblical Literature 109*: 715–18.

—— (1993). *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

Eggler, Jürg (2000). *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2–14: The Research History from the End of the 19th Century to the Present*. OBO 177. Fribourg: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Flusser, David (1972). "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel." *Israel Oriental Studies 2*: 148–75.

Gunkel, Hermann (1895/2006). *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton: A Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 1 and Revelation 12*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans. Originally published as *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895.

Himmelfarb, Martha (2006). *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*. Jewish Culture and Contexts. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

—— (2007). "Temple and Priests in the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse of Weeks," in Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, eds., *The Early Enoch Literature*. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, pp. 219–35.

Höpflinger, Anna-Katharina (2010). *Schlangenkampf: Ein Vergleich von ausgewählten Bild- und Textquellen aus dem griechisch-römischen und dem altorientalischen Kulturraum*. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich.

Knibb, Michael A. (2009). "Temple and Cult in Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal Writings from Before the Common Era," in Michael A. Knibb, *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*. SVTP 22. Leiden: Brill, pp. 367–87.

Koch, Klaus (2003). "Response to "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in *1 Enoch*," in Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, eds., *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*. JSJSup 80.1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 44–55.

—— (2007). "Ḫazzi-Ṣafôn–Kasion: Die Geschichte eines Berges und seiner Gottheiten," in Klaus Koch, *Der Gott Israels und die Götter des Orients: Religionsgeschichtliche Studien II*. FRLANT 216. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 119–70.

Kvanvig, Helge S. (1988). *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man*. WMANT 61. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

Lopez, Kathryn M. (2008). "Standing Before the Throne of God: Critical Spatiality in Apocalyptic Scenes of Judgment," in Jon L. Berquist and Claudia V. Camp, eds., *Constructions of Space II: The Biblical City and Other Imagined Spaces*. Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies 490. New York: T & T Clark, pp. 139–55.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. (2001). *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

—— (2003). "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in *1 Enoch*," in Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, eds., *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*. JSJSup 80.1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 29–43.

—— (2012). "1 Enoch 37–71. The Book of Parables," in George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37–82*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, pp. 1–332.

Nickelsburg, George W. E., and J. C. VanderKam (2004). *1 Enoch: A New Translation. Based on the Hermeneia Commetary*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

Pennington, Jonathan T. (2007). *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*. NTSup 126. Leiden: Brill.

Portier-Young, Anathea E. (2011). *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Reynolds, Bennie H., III (2011). *Between Symbolism and Realism: The Use of Symbolic and Non-Symbolic Language in Ancient Jewish Apocalypses 333–63 B.C.E.* Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 8. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Smith, Mark S. (1994). *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume 1: Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2*. VTSup 55. Leiden: Brill.

Stephens, Mark B. (2011). *Annihilation or Renewal? The Meaning and Function of New Creation in the Book of Revelation*. WUNT II.307. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Stuckenbruck, Loren T. (2010). "The 'Otherworld' and the *Epistle of Enoch*," in Tobias Nicklas et al., eds., *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions*. JSJSup 143. Leiden: Brill, pp. 79–93.

Suter, David W. (2007). "Temples and the Temple in the Early Enoch Tradition: Memory, Vision, and Expectation," in Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, eds., *The Early Enoch Literature*. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, pp. 195–218.

VanderKam, James C. (2000). "2 Maccabees 6, 7a and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," in James C. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 105–27.

van Henten, Jan Willem (1993). "Antiochus IV as a Typhonic Figure in Daniel 7," in Adam S. van der Woude, ed., *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*. BETL 106. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 223–43.

—— (1999). "Typhon," in Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, Pieter W. van der Horst, *eds., Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, pp. 879–81.

—— (2011). "Coping with Violence in the Bible: A Response to Rainer Albertz," in Bob Becking, ed., *Orthodoxy, Liberalism, and Adaptation: Essays on Ways of Worldmaking in Times of Change from Biblical Historical and Systematic Perspectives*. Studies in Theology and Religion 15. Leiden: Brill, pp. 53–68.

Walton, John H. (2001). "The *Anzu* Myth as Relevant Background for Daniel 7?" in John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, eds., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. VTSup 83,1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 69–89.

Whitney, K. William (2006). *Two Strange Beasts: Leviathan and Behemoth in Second Temple and Early Rabbinic Judaism*. HSM 63. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Willis, Amy C. Merrill (2010). *Dissonance and the Drama of Divine Sovereignty in the Book of Daniel*. Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies 520. New York: T & T Clark International.

Wright, J. Edward (2000). *The Early History of Heaven*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1995). "The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses," in John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds., *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 59–93.

PART V

APOCALYPSE NOW

CHAPTER 23

MESSIANISM AS A POLITICAL POWER IN CONTEMPORARY JUDAISM

MOTTI INBARI

This chapter examines two distinct types of Jewish messianisms that had developed in Orthodox Judaism as a response to Zionism. Orthodoxy is the modern designation for the traditional section of Jewry that maintains the Halachic way of life, based on a divinely ordained Torah. Zionism, the Jewish national movement that was indifferent, and sometimes even hostile, toward religious traditions and authorities, forced rabbinic intellectual response. Some Orthodox thinkers connected the rise of Zionism with the messianic age. In this chapter I will compare two different views that were developed in Orthodox thinking by Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum (1888–1978), the Satmar Rebbe, and Zvi Yehuda Kook (1891–1982), the head of Merkaz Harav Yeshiva.

Both the Satmar Rebbe and Kook analyzed Zionist success by a comparison to the end-of-days scenario. They both based their arguments on the same rabbinical teachings of the Talmud, Maimonides and Nachmanides; however, their conclusions are completely opposite of each other. Kook led the Gush Emunim movement, which saw its mission as guiding secular Zionism into the messianic age through the formula of *Atchalta degeula* (the beginning of redemption). According to *Atchalta degeula*, the final days are to be viewed as a mundane phenomenon that takes place inside historical reality. Yoel Teitelbaum, on the other hand, ordered his followers to separate themselves from Zionist influences, while still arguing that the messianic end is about to begin. The current pro-Zionist generation is so deteriorated, however, that the only way to fix it is with the coming of the Messiah and with an apocalyptical

break into history. For him, the current generation was *Ikvata demeshiha* (the footsteps of the Messiah), the last before the coming of the redeemer.

This chapter will review the ways in which these two rabbis interpreted the signs of the time, allowing for a better understanding of their political activities. Zvi Yehuda Kook led a movement in Israeli society during the early 1970s and initiated Jewish settlements on the occupied territories conquered by Israel during the Six Days War of 1967. Yoel Teitelbaum led the anti-Zionist camp in Orthodox Judaism, which is active in demonstrations against Israel all over the world. He viewed the national movement as a rebellion against God's authority in the world. Accordingly, this rebellion brought many punishments upon the Jewish people, including the Holocaust.

Apocalyptic Redemption and Naturalistic Redemption

The traditional Jewish sources reflect different perceptions of messianic redemption. Our discussion of these perceptions will adopt the definitions proposed by Dov Schwartz, which distinguish between apocalyptic and naturalistic messianisms.

Apocalyptic messianism is not merely "miraculous" or "supernatural," but refers to a profound and basic transformation in the cosmos, amounting to its very demolition and reconstruction. Divine providence plays a crucial role in a dazzling messianic sequence with strong mythological overtones. Naturalistic messianism challenges the assumption that the end of the world is a requirement for redemption. According to this approach, hope should not be abandoned that this present world can be repaired, and accordingly it is wrong to seek to establish a new world on the ruins of the present one. This approach lessens, and sometimes completely removes, direct divine intervention as a force in the process of redemption.

The visions in the biblical, Talmudic, and Midrashic sources prophesied a day of vengeance and reprisal, and anticipated a totally transformed world for those who fear God (and, in most cases, only for the Jews among them). A popular perception anticipated a great and terrible Day of the Lord on which he would wreak vengeance on the Gentiles for the suffering they had caused to his Chosen People. Intellectual Judaism struggled to counter this dramatic approach through authorities (such as Maimonides, the Rashba, and others) who confronted the apocalyptic stream. An effort was made to soften the messianic descriptions, and to give them a universal and enlightened quality. The apocalyptic approach despaired of the potential of this world to bring redemption, and instead established an imaginary new world. Apocalyptic messianism is collective, and the transformations it predicts are of a public nature. It pays less attention to individual, intimate redemption and does not discuss it as a key factor in the process. By contrast, the naturalistic approach believes

that the messianic era will occur within history, and not on its collapse. The world will continue to function normally, and the essence of redemption will lie in the establishment of a just authority and society—a future world that will devote its energy and resources to cultural development and to spiritual and intellectual productivity (Schwartz 1997, 9–12). The difference between these two approaches is reflected also in the teachings of the two contemporary authorities, discussed in this chapter. The diverse attitudes on messianism will serve as the base for our discussion.

Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook and Messianic Religious Zionism

Very soon after its emergence, religious Zionism was required to consider dialectical perspectives that seek to imbue the Zionist enterprise with covert messianic significance. These approaches are identified, in particular, with the religious philosophy of Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook (1865–1935). According to Dov Schwartz (2002, 156–92), many Orthodox Jews found it difficult to identify with the Zionist movement and act within the classic Zionist definitions. Zionist rhetoric spoke of the need to "normalize" the Jewish people and make it "a nation like all the others." The essence of Zionism was described as being "to build a safe haven for the Jewish people." All these definitions are inconsonant with Jewish tradition, which emphasizes a distinction between Israel and the other nations, and proclaims that the Land of Israel has a unique theological function. Accordingly, many of those who developed the religious Zionist approach integrate the religious purpose as part of the Zionist idea.

These thinkers used the traditional rabbinical technique of *pshat* and *drash* (literal meaning as distinct from exegetical meaning) to describe the Zionist act. While ostensibly adopting the general Zionist definition of the movement's purpose, this definition was imbued with specific religious meaning: the reinstatement of divine worship within the context of a theocratic national framework. The Zionist body acts in the material realm, but its innermost core aspires to eternal spiritual life, and this constitutes the "real" foundation for its operations and aims, even if the movement itself is still unaware of this (Schwartz 2002, 156–92). The long-awaited theocracy is about to arrive, and it will be realized once secular Zionism chooses the true path, that is, the complete worship of God. Zionism will then advance to its second phase: the revival of the monarchy, the restitution of the sacrifices on the Temple Mount, and the re-establishment of the Sanhedrin (Inbari 2007).

The Six Day War (June 1967) created a new reality in the Middle East. In the course of the war, Israel occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula. These areas were not annexed to Israel and have continued to have

the status of occupied territories administered by Israel pending their return in the framework of a peace agreement (Gorenberg 2006: 72–98).

In 1973, Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel. Although Israel eventually won the war, the Israeli public was shocked and angered by the large number of fatalities and by the military weakness shown in the battles, at least at the beginning of the war. Following the war, US secretary of state Henry Kissinger began a shuttle diplomacy mission intended to lead to a ceasefire between the sides, which would include Israeli territorial concessions.

Against the background of this shuttle diplomacy, the Gush Emunim ("Block of the Faithful") movement was founded with the objective of creating settlements in the occupied territories in order to prevent concessions. Gush Emunim was established in February 1974 by a group of young religious Zionist activists and advocated the application of Israeli sovereignty to Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip (Zertal and Eldar 2007).

The newly created Gush Emunim was joined by a group of graduates of Merkcaz Harav Yeshiva, headed by the spiritual leadership of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. Kook was born in Kovno, Lithuania, the son of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Hacohen Kook. The family immigrated to Palestine in 1904, as his father was appointed Tel Aviv–Jaffa chief rabbi. Later, he administered his father's yeshiva, Merkaz harav. When his father died, in 1935, he began editing his father's extensive writings.

The philosophy of Zvi Yehuda Kook represents an attempt to translate his father's beliefs into practical terms (Ravitzky 1996: 122–25). Zvi Yehuda Kook established the "statist" ideology, in the sense that he supported and identified completely with renewed Jewish nationhood (Hoch 1994: 110–58).

Just as orthodox schools of thought oppose the phenomenon of secularization, so Zvi Yehuda Kook was concerned by the growing strength of this phenomenon among the Jewish masses. Like his father, however, he believed that while the enterprise of Jewish national revival was essentially secular in nature, it could serve as a catalyst for Jewish revival. Accordingly, he favored cooperation with secular transgressing Jews, in order to realize the sublime goal of reviving Jewish nationhood.

Kook viewed the heresy of secular Zionism as a grave error on its part. Thus the purpose of redemption is not merely to end the exile and persecution of the Jews; it carries a sublime religious goal. According to Kook, if Zionism became a mere imitation of Gentile culture, then it would lose its value. Only by adopting Jewish tradition can the people regain the Holy Spirit. In political terms, the real aspiration cannot merely be to settle the land and build a shelter for persecuted Jews. The goal must be to aspire to redemption, which is to be defined in terms of parameters realizable by humans, by establishing a Jewish theocracy. This synthesis of nationhood and religiosity requires, on the one hand, the abandonment of the passive tradition of Jewish behavior. Tradition and nationhood can only be bridged through theocratic activism. This led in turn to the value of sanctifying nationhood. Israeli politics cannot be dominated by the base cut and thrust of competition, but must serve as the

foundation for a great and sacred vision. This was the foundation on which the rabbi permitted cooperation with secular Jews. The process of national revival was seen as a dialectical one that would be perfected by means of the reacceptance of Torah (Kook 1989, 11).

The negation of the Diaspora was a central element in Kook's philosophy, separating him clearly from non-Zionist Orthodoxy, which saw the Jewish way of life in the Diaspora as a manifestation of the ideal Jewish life (Friedman 1993). Kook believed that a proper Jewish way of life could not accept exile and could not compromise on this aspect. After the Holocaust and the annihilation of six million Jews became known, Kook became even more clearly opposed to the Diaspora and saw the Holocaust as a necessary event in order to eliminate exile. He came to see the Holocaust as the breaking and uprooting of inferior Jewish culture and integrated the Holocaust into his messianic scheme. The collapse of the Diaspora carried the promise of national revival. Following the destruction of the Diaspora, the settlement of the Land of Israel demands the appearance of the value of Torah on the public level among all sections of the nation. Thus the destruction of the Diaspora and the rebirth of Jewish nationhood will inevitably lead to the revival of religious life on the national level (Kook 1989: 36–37).

For Kook, the Balfour Declaration of 1917, in which Britain announced the right of the Jewish people to a national home, constitutes a key milestone in the course leading to redemption. Its importance lay in bringing to an end the oath God swore the children of Israel "not to ascend up the wall from exile" (Bavli, Ketubot 111a).

In his statement, the rabbi discussed the messianic passivity that characterized traditional Judaism, which was justified in theological terms by the oath sworn to God by the Children of Israel in Song of Songs 2:7: "I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake my love, till he please." Interpreting this verse, the Midrash comments: "He swore Israel not to rebel against the sovereigns, and not to 'force the End,' and not to reveal their mysteries to the nations, and not to ascend up the wall from Exile" (Shir Hashirim Raba 2,7). The practical significance of this oath for the Jewish people is the strict prohibition against rebelling against the nations that host the Jews in exile; a prohibition against calculating when exile will end; and a prohibition against collective migration to the Land of Israel. These prohibitions sanctified Jewish life in exile and prevented Jews from associating to reinstitute Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel. Only God would do that, through miraculous acts (Ravitzky 1996: 211–34).

The Balfour Declaration was ratified by the countries that emerged victorious from the First World War. According to Rabbi Kook, this act was tantamount to the annulment of the three traditional oaths. Following this declaration God gave the Jews political power, and this was followed by the "divine surgery" manifested in the annihilation of six million Jews in the Holocaust. The subsequent establishment of the State of Israel constituted a further stage in this process of redemption (Kook 1989: 112).

Kook disagreed with those who compared Benjamin Zeev Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, to Shabbtai Zvi, the founder of the Sabbatean Movement who claimed to be the Jewish Messiah. He argued that Shabbtai Zvi actively led Jews to abandon the Torah and commandments, and sought to impose himself from above. In his insanity, he brought about the collapse of his own movement. Herzl, however the rabbi said, was the latest link in a movement that began with the rabbis, such as Zvi Hirsh Kalischer and Yehuda Alkalai, who advocated observance of the commandment to settle the Land. Against this background, Kook argued that the Zionist movement grows from the grassroots up, reflecting rejection of exile and the covert guidance and direction of God. Although Zionism had adopted a secular course, Zvi Yehuda Kook chose to emphasize Herzl's remark that "our nation is a nation only in its faith" (Kook 1989: 41). Accordingly, Kook grants Zionism the stamp of divine approval and providence:

> It is not for nothing that the Holy One, blessed be He, King of the Universe, is gathering the dispersed of Israel to their Land; it is not for nothing that He is reviving the wilderness through them, and rebuilding with them its ruins; . . . it is not for nothing that He is arranging the opinions of nations and the thoughts of peoples; . . . it is not for nothing that He is thwarting the plots of the evil and disrupting their schemes; . . . it is not for nothing that He is breathing the wondrous spirit of heroism into the remainder of His chosen seed; . . . it is not for nothing that He is taking the adherents of the Torah, the carriers of its flag, and the soldiers of its army and bringing them here to its place, to magnify and adorn and restore it to its true and eternal state, for the life of the inheritance of choice and sanctity. (Kook 1989: 42)

Accordingly, national resurrection is an organic concept that blends religion and messianism, with no contradiction between the two.

The conventional approach of Jewish tradition is that redemption is the product of repentance. The purpose of exile is to prepare the Jewish people for its ultimate redemption, which will be completed when the entire nation has repented. Thus redemption is the result of religious action by the people, and all that must be done to secure it is to observe the commandments. Full redemption follows full repentance, when the entire people believes in its God and observes all his commandments as written in the Torah and interpreted in the Halacha (Balfar 1991). In the thought of Zvi Yehuda Kook, however, this order is reversed. He argues that redemption precedes repentance. Since the process of redemption is already at an advanced stage, the resurrection of the nation must also lead a process of repentance. Redemption cannot be complete without the repentance of the secular public. This explains Kook's efforts to forge links with the secular public, as well as his position that a movement of repentance cannot be built on coercion—a position that led him to join the League against Religious Coercion (Aran 1997). In his interviews, Zvi Yehuda Kook repeatedly

referred to kibbutzniks who had become religious and begun to study at the Merkaz Harav yeshiva (Edelstein 1986).

After 1967, when Israel occupied areas identified as part of the whole Land of Israel, it might have been expected that his philosophy would reach a point of catharsis, and that Kook's identification with the State of Israel would be intensified still further on the basis of an identification of the victory as a still more sublime manifestation of divine realization. Kook indeed claimed after the war that the situation was no longer one of the "beginning of redemption," that is, the initial phase of messianic realization; rather, this process was already in its middle phase (Daniel 1986). However, the new era evoked a constant sense of anxiety that a government might arise that would hand parts of the land back to the Arabs. It is at this point that Kook's rhetoric begins to draw away from his previous complete identification with the Zionist enterprise.

After the Yom Kippur War (1973) fighting ended, negotiations began to determine the borders of the state. As US secretary of state Henry Kissinger began his shuttle diplomacy, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook launched a direct attack against the possibility of territorial compromise. In the post-1973 era, the rabbi abandoned his previous defense of Zionism and complete identification with the state. As the Israeli government began to discuss political compromises, Kook's rhetorical style shifted. He argued that the divine demand for the integrity of the Land of Israel superseded any human desire for compromise. Kook also implied that he considered himself bound by divine law above and beyond any other law. Accordingly, Zionist action was meaningless if it was contrary to the divine commands. The implicit message in his remarks was that given the progress in the realization of the vision of redemption following the military victory in 1967, secular Zionism had begun to lose its prominent role in the messianic drama. Kook's philosophy began to present the view that the laws of the Torah must take precedence over any mundane law (Kook 1994: 25).

Kook's fierce attacks on the policies of the Israeli government and his conviction regarding the need to thwart these political initiatives led him and his students toward political activism. Gush Emunim was founded as a coalition of organizations, mainly from within religious Zionist circles, although a number of figures identified with secular Zionism also joined the new grouping. However, the graduates of Merkaz Harav Yeshiva soon became the dominant power within the new movement. The force that motivated the graduates to leave their desks and go out to establish settlements was their desire to create facts on the ground in the occupied territories, thus preventing any political process of compromise and withdrawal. Their fear that territories might be returned led them to a messianic activism intended to thwart the planned process. This is the background to understanding the motivations behind the establishment of Gush Emunim (Inbari 2008).

Yoel Teitelbaum: The Satmar Rebbe

A different type of messianism can be found in the writings of Yoel Teitelbaum, the Stamar Rebbe. Even though he represents a relatively small community, of no more than seventy thousand families, his importance exceeds the number of his followers. This person is known as the bitterest opponent to the Zionist idea among Orthodox Jews.

He was born in Hungary as the son of Hannania Yom-Tov Teitelbaum, a Hassidic rabbi. In 1928 he was invited to become the chief rabbi of Satmar in Transylvania (Romania today); however, his appointment was delayed until 1934. After the Nazi occupation of Hungary, he was smuggled into Kloizenberg, Hungary, but was caught and transferred into the local ghetto. He was saved from the Nazis by the famous Kastner Train, in which Israel (Rudolf) Kastner, the Zionist activist, made a bargain to release 1,684 Jews for ransom. These Jews were sent from Budapest to Switzerland. After he arrived in Switzerland in 1945 he immigrated to Palestine. In 1946 he immigrated to the United States and settled in Williamsburg, New York. He developed a large Hassidic movement in the United States and was elected to the Chief Rabbi of the Eda Hacharedit (Haredi community) of Jerusalem. In 1974, the satellite community of his followers, Kiryas Joel, was established in Monroe, New York.

A strong antimodern opinion, an uncompromising objection to any Jewish renewal, was established in the nineteenth century among the Orthodox Jewry of Hungary. The slogan for this opinion was manifested in the famous statement of the Hatam (Moshe) Sopher: "All that is new is prohibited by the Torah" (Katz 1988). According to Zvi Jonathan Kaplan (2004), the most influential figure on rabbi Teitelbaum was Akiva Yosef Shlezinger (1837–1922), a strict rabbi who stood firmly against the influence of modernity over the Jewish community. In his last days, he immigrated to the Land of Israel to establish Jewish agricultural communities. David Sorotzkin (2004), however, sees Rabbi Teitelbaum continuing the Hungarian radical Hassidic traditions of the Monkacz Rebbe, Zvi Elimelch Shapira, and the Sanz Rebbe, Chaim Halberstam. These two rabbinical leaders tried to offer solutions to the disintegration of the traditional Jewish communities.

Several scholars had already written about the ideology of the Satmar Rebbe. They all mentioned the strong anti-Zionist sentiment and the significance he attributed to the oaths that prohibit Jewish activism in the Land of Israel (Lamm 1971; Kaplan 2004; Nadler 1982; Sorotzkin 2004). I would like to present another aspect of his ideology, which was less studied, and this is the messianic and apocalyptic element. The Satmar Rebbe identified the signs of time as proof of the coming end. He reached this conclusion by analyzing several Talmudic statements that identify the time prior to the coming of the Messiah as decadent and corrupt. These statements describe a generation with no merits that can only be saved through collective

redemption (Urbach 1975: 649–92). He identified his generation with the premillenarian time and also proved his argument based on late Hassidic traditions. These traditions argued that the current generation had reached such a low point that the only conclusion possible was that the modern era is the last one before the apocalypse (Sorotzkin 2004); however, the messianic end can not come to the world because of the actions of the Jewish people. Due to their sins, they postpone its arrival. According to Teitelbaum, this grave offense is caused by the Zionist movement, which promotes natural redemption and requires political action that is prohibited prior to the end of days. The rebbe defined Zionism as a rebellion against God (Teitelbaum 1981: 9).

The rebbe holds a dualistic attitude, in which good and evil inclinations are in constant battle. Whenever one of them is about to lose, it becomes stronger in order to prevent its final defeat. One should understand the success of Zionism as the rise of diabolical powers: "Samael (Satan) gave us a Zionist State and a kingdom of heresy to abolish the redemption, and the Holy One will have mercy on us and will expedite our redemption and the salvation of our soul" (Teitelbaum 1981: 10). He argues that the rejection of the Torah caused the destruction of the Third Temple. According to Jewish tradition, the first Temple was destroyed due to idolatry, and the Second Temple was destroyed due to unfounded hatred. The rabbi is aware that Judaism has had no temple for almost two thousand years. Many would ask: how can you blame the unbelievers for the destruction of a unbuilt temple? In order to explain this point, the rabbi presented an early Kabbalistic idea, which stated that in every generation, through the actions of the righteous, a Temple is built in heaven, while the wicked are destroying it with their evil actions (Pedaya 2004). This tradition was neglected for many years until it was renewed in the late nineteenth century by the Hassidic leaders Zvi Elimelech Shapira and Chaim Halberstam. According to David Sorotzkin, the background for the renewal of the tradition was the rise of the modern state, which caused the rabbis to oppose secular governments and the ideas of the Enlightenment era. This kabbalistic view represents a tension between building foundations and destroying foundations, an idea of constant destruction (Sorotzkin 2007: 152).

The Satmar Rebbe quotes a discussion between the Sanz Rebbe Chaim Halberstam and his followers, in which the rabbi explained his *Aliyat neshama* (the rise of the soul to higher worlds). He told them that he saw an almost completed heavenly Temple; therefore the full redemption is immanent, and all that is missing is the Temple's curtain, an insignificant part. The followers responded that they were sure the rabbi had the powers to prepare the curtain in his prayers and good actions, but he did not respond. In a different talk the rabbi said that he indeed prepared the curtain, but "a great villain ripped it in his actions" (Teitelbaum 1981: 11–12). The meaning of this statement, according the Satmar Rebbe, is that evil and Satan have the power to touch the very heart of the heavenly Temple with their immense destructive powers. The messianic end had already started, but "a great villain"—meaning the Zionist movement that wishes to built the earthly land of Israel—brought destruction into the upper worlds and the heavenly Temple. Therefore there is a proportional connection

between those who are building the earthly land and the destruction of heavenly Jerusalem (Ravitzky 1996: 47).

According to the Babylonian Talmud (97a) the generation before the coming of the Messiah will have no values and will reject the Torah and commandments. The sages stated that "the face of the generation would be like the face of the dog," where illusion is great and the truth is missing. In the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 98a) it says: "in its time—I shall expedite." The meaning is that if the Jews have merits justifying their redemption, then "I shall expedite" this, and redemption will come speedily; and if not—redemption will still come, but only "in its time" as appointed. In that same chapter there is another statement on the Messiah: "Ben David [the Messiah] comes only in a generation that is either entirely worthy or entirely guilty" (Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 98a). According to this statement, the redemption can flower in a generation that is completely wicked.

From these descriptions the rabbi wished to find an analogy for his times: "we see in our eyes that many of these horrific things are being fulfilled in our generation due to our many sins," and the signs are testifying that we are living in that disintegrating generation. According to the rabbi, the Messiah will not come because this is the worst generation ("entirely guilty") but because this is the last one ("in its time"). Therefore one can see a strong trend to predestination—this generation has to be the last one. However, in order to make redemption happen all the Jews have to do is repent, a call that allows some level of free will.

For him, one of the strongest proofs for the times of the *Akvta demeshicha* is the strong support for Zionism in the general public. This represents a takeover by evil inclinations and it is hard to resist (Teitelbaum 1981: 226). In his writings he established a strong dichotomy between his small community, which is called "Israel," and all the rest who are "wicked." For him, the current evil leadership is labeled as *erev rav*—the "mixed multitude."

The "mixed multitude" is mentioned in the book of Exodus (12:38): "A mixed multitude went up with them, and also large droves of livestock, both flocks and herds." The traditional Jewish literature defines the "mixed multitude" as non-Jewish Egyptians who joined the exodus from Egypt and were later responsible for various problems, particularly the incitement against Moses and God.

The identification by ultra-Orthodox circles of modern Jewish trends as the "mixed multitude" is based on the writings of Rabbi Zvi Elimelech Shapira, the founder of the Monkacz Hassidic dynasty (Sorotzkin 2007: 193–203). The members of Haeda Hacharedit, who continue this Hassidic tradition, were among the first to identify Zionism as a result of the "mixed multitude." Haeda Hacharedit is a small group of Torah scholars in Jerusalem who consider themselves the guardians of the tradition of the "Old Yishuv" (the Jewish community that lived in Palestine before the advent of Zionism). Rabbi Yeshaya Asher Zelig Margaliot, one of the ideological leaders of this group, devoted several essays to a clarification and identification of Zionism with absolute evil (Margaliot, 1926, 1971). According to his approach, a distinction is

to be made between "Israel" and the "mixed multitude." "Israel" is synonymous with Haeda Hachareidit, small though it is, while all other circles do not deserve the label of the Jewish people. In the messianic days, the Messiah will fight against the latter and annihilate them from the face of the earth. This group of Gentiles disguised as Jews hinder religious values, and there is an obligation to keep oneself separate from them. Even religious Jews who are less militant in their opposition to Zionism fall in the same category and must be kept at a distance; this comment refers not only to religious Zionist circles, but even to the Haredi political parties and their supporters (Liebes 1982). Yoel Teitelbaum was elected to be the Chief Rabbi of Haeda Hacharedit in 1952.

According to the rabbi, more proof that the generation had reached its lowest point, came with the comparison of Zionism with Shabbtai Zvi and his movement. For Teitelbaum, the biggest difference between Shabbtai Zvi and Zionism lies in the fact the former started his mission in a traditional way; he showed great knowledge of the Talmud and of the Lurianic Kaballah, and brought many into repentance. At the beginning it was impossible to see that he would lead his people into heresy and conversion. When people learned about his heretical statements, many decided to stand against him.

Teitelbaum goes on to say that, in the case of Zionism, there is not even pretence for the support of religion: "from the beginning to the end, their actions are for the ruin of religion, heaven forbid." The current generation is so wicked, Teitelbaum argued, that there is not even an attempt to build illusions, as with Shabbtai Zvi. Since the people are so low in their religious observance, Satan gets stronger, and wickedness prevails (Teitelbaum 1981: 259–60). Teitelbaum was influenced by Jacob Emdan, one the biggest opponents to Shabbtai Zvi. Emdan declared that he would warn against Zvi even if Emdan would remain the last man on earth. Teitelbaum, while making the analogy, compares his anti-Zionist enterprise to that of Emdan.

Traditional perspectives on the final days claim that redemption can be achieved with full repentance. Teitelbaum stood firmly against the opinion that redemption can come before repentance, as Zvi Yehuda Kook argued: "Whoever thinks that there is an existence to redemption without repentance is holding an opinion that is contrary to the Bible and this is heresy, heaven forbid" (Teitelbaum 1981: 93–94). He opposed the apologetic stand of messianic religious Zionism, which expects communal repentance at the end of the messianic process, not at the beginning.

A central element in the Satmar Rebbe's ideology prohibits the transgression of the three oaths. Rabbi Teitelbaum believed that the establishment of any Jewish state violates the Jewish law, and he was particularly concerned by the formation of the State of Israel. The Babylonian Talmud, Ketubot 111a, prohibits any human initiative to restore Jewish sovereignty to the Land of Israel before the coming of the Messiah. Accordingly, for the rabbi, Zionism and the State of Israel are tantamount to a rebellion against God and must not be recognized in any manner. Teitelbaum sought to identify reward and punishment in all human acts and viewed the Holocaust as the

grave penalty for the rebellion by Zionism against the concept of the "Three Oaths." Those Zionists who sought to "expedite the End," immigrating to Palestine and rebelling against the familiar world order, were responsible for the terrible divine penalty that emerged in the form of the Holocaust. It was not Exile that collapsed in the Holocaust; rather, it was Zionism that led to the abandonment of Jewish flesh and blood (Ravitzky 1996: 40–78).

Teitelbaum stood against Kook's opinion that negates the Diaspora. Religious-Zionist supporters base their opinion on the importance of *Aliya* (ascendance or in this context immigration) to the Land of Israel on the teachings of Nachmanides, who counted the settling of the land as a biblical commandment (Newman 1968). The Satmar Rebbe, on his behalf, nullified this opinion by using diverse rabbinical sources that argue that there is no obligation to immigrate to the Land of Israel at this time (Teitelbaum 1981: 33). Furthermore, the prohibition to ascend to the land is based on the three oaths that God swore to the Children of Israel. He argued that keeping the oaths is a guarantee for Jewish existence. This implies also that the Gentiles must protect the Jews as long as the Jews are under Gentile patronage. The rabbi concluded that Nachmanides ruled that the commandment related to the settling of the Land of Israel has to take place only after the nullification of the oaths, and the time for that has not yet come (Teitelbaum 1981: 47). For him, even if the Gentiles do not keep their part and do not protect the Jews, as happened during the Holocaust, it should not mean that the oaths expired. Even if the Gentiles forced the Jews to immigrate to the Land of Israel, the rabbi concluded, it would be better to give your life and not to transgress the oaths (Teitelbaum 1981: 149). Norman Lamm was right to present the paradox of this opinion, which implies a rebellion against the will of the nations (Lamm 1971: 15).

Based on Maimonides the rabbi argued that the gathering of Israel is the mission of the Messiah; therefore humans are not allowed to perform it themselves. Even more, "as much as there is no world without winds so there cannot be a world without Israel" (Teitelbaum 1981: 51). The scattering of Israel is for the benefit of the entirety of humanity. The rabbi stated, based on Lurianic Kabbalah, that the role of Israel is to release the divine sparks from all over the world. When this task was completed, the Messiah would come and miraculously gather the people of Israel and deliver them into their land (Teitelbaum 1981: 51–53).

The idea of segregation and dualism, which is very prominent in the Satmar Rebbe's teachings, is based on the teachings of Rabbi Judah Loew, who is called the Maharal of Prague (1529–1609). The Maharal was aware of the dynamics of the foundation of the modern state, and he feared its influence over the Jewish community; therefore, he rejected changes in the Jewish way of life. He developed a theology that argues that the Jewish people are unique and separate, beyond the laws of nature: They are supernatural and distinct. Jews should stay out of Christian culture and politics (Sorotzkin 2007). Jewish Orthodoxy inherited the concepts of uniqueness and tried to block assimilation trends into the European culture. As such, the Jewish ghetto was

reassembled on a voluntary basis, as a subsociety that opposes the democratic order (Hellman and Friedman 1991).

The Satmar Rebbe sharply confronts nature and uniqueness. According to him, democracy can be a good political system for the Gentiles, but it is not necessarily good for the Jews. Only the laws of the Torah, interpreted by the right religious authorities, are meant for, or worthy of, the Chosen People (Lamm 1971: 46; Teitelbaum 1981: 164). The rabbi correctly understood that the Zionist movement is secular and indifferent, even sometimes hostile, to religious laws. The state doesn't always consider the rabbis' opinions, and the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, replaces the authority of the rabbis. His conclusion is that there can be no way to have a democratic system that can be subjected to the divine law. However, Jews are not Gentiles, and based on the concept of uniqueness, there is no way to "normalize" them, as Zionists attempt. The Rebbe labeled Zionism as heresy and opposed any contacts with it (Teitelbaum 1981: 164). He claimed that the acceptance of the state and the faith in the Torah are two opposites that cannot be reconciled inside one man (Teitelbaum 1981: 8).

The rabbi also attacked the Haredi parties that participate in the Israeli political system. Agudat Israel was established in 1912 in order to unite all the Orthodox people in their campaign against the modernized changes to their way of life. At first Agudat Israel supported an aggressive stand against the Zionist movement, but during the 1930s a reconciliation trend began. With the establishment of the State of Israel, Agudat Israel became an integral part of the political system (Fond 1999; Bacon 1996).

Teitelbaum argued that the Haredi participation in politics legitimizes Zionism. He prohibited his followers from taking part in the parliament, where anti-Torah laws are being enforced. He stated that it is better to give your life and not to take part in a system that he describes as heresy and idolatry. Furthermore, Knesset members have to take an oath before they assume office. For him, this oath is tandem to establishing the kingdom of heaven on earth before its time (Teitelbaum 1981: 219). The prohibitions that fall on those elected to the parliament, he argues, are true also for the voters. Therefore he called on his supporters to boycott the elections and to reject any financial support from the government (Friedman 1994).

Why does God allow evil powers to get stronger? Why do the majority of the Jewish people support such trends? The rabbi's response is that this is a test of faith. God is putting his people into test after test, and so far the results are grave. Heretical Zionism was able to draw into its nest even righteous, honest Jews. According to him, the consequence of the deception is serious: The heretical system found ground among even Torah-observant Jews. Only massive repentance can allow King Messiah to come for the final redemption. The rabbi's role is to protest against these great sins.

Discussion and Conclusions

Yoel Teitelbaum and Zvi Yehuda Kook are of the same generation, they both continue traditions that were created before them, and they take these traditions to the extreme. They both see the Zionists' massive abandonment of the religious lifestyle and the establishment of a state that doesn't follow the religious laws in a negative way. According to their view, the destiny of the secular state is destruction, for the messianic times are imminent. The Messiah will build a new foundation based on religious laws. Both leaders see democracy as a lower manifestation of Jewish government and they want to replace it with the laws of the Torah. They both argue that Zionist goals stand in contradiction to the unique nature of the Jewish people. Beyond these lines of agreement, their ideologies are quite different.

According to Kook, the Zionist enterprise represents God's will for the redemption of his people. It is a natural and prolonged process. Therefore the rabbi developed the statist ideology, which supports the integration with Zionism. In contrast, Teitelbaum identified the State of Israel with the rise of satanic powers, as a divine test, that only by its destruction can the messianic end occur. Therefore he ordered his followers to reject Zionism. While Kook aspired for a Jewish theocracy, he still recommended his followers to participate in the political institutions. The Satmar Rebbe rejected any participation in politics before the coming of the Messiah. According to Kook, the democratic system can fit the Jews in the current area, but for Teitelbaum any type of Jewish political order contradicts the Jewish nature, and it is illegitimate.

The approach of these two thinkers to the Jewish Diaspora was completely different. Kook saw the exile as inferior, and with the rise of Jewish nationalism it had to be eliminated. For Teitelbaum, Jewish existence in diaspora represented the ideal way of life. Kook saw the Holocaust as a deterministic process that was designated to destroy Jewish exile, in order to allow the establishment of the State of Israel. The Satmar Rebbe saw the Holocaust as a divine punishment for Jewish political activism.

Both rabbis compared Zionism with Sabbatianism. Whereas the Satmar Rebbe saw Zionism as even a greater heresy than Sabbatianism, Kook argued that that they are not similar. In regards to the question of repentance prior to the messianic times, the Satmar Rebbe claimed that there can be no salvation without repentance, while Kook said that repentance would come at the end of the process.

The apocalyptic position that demands perfection led to political passivity, especially when the assumption is that the end of days are imminent, and the believers must stay away from any action that might damage its fulfillment. The natural messianic position, which sees its fulfillment in the current world, led to political activism as a product of the need to act in the historical time frame.

Kook attempted to find paths to Orthodox religiosity within Zionist activities. His formula brought him into the sanctification of land and state, a path to renew Judaism in the path of nationalism. Teitelbaum, on his part, refused to make any changes in the way in which premodern Judaism viewed mundane politics. According to his approach, Jews are to remain politically passive, even when it comes to their own national land. Activism was to be allowed only at the end of days.

Both Zvi Yehuda Kook and Yoel Teitelbaum saw the rise of contemporary Jewish politics as a clear sign of the coming of the Messiah. Whereas Kook's approach to politics was positive, Teitelbaum's message was negative. My research has shown how influential were messianic traditions in the way in which orthodox circles understood the modern times. There was considerable debate within Orthodox ranks over the messianic era. The significance of the debate was not merely intellectual; disagreement over these issues was directly related to differences in political and religious behavior.

Bibliography

Aran, Gideon (1997). "The Father, the Son, and the Holy Land," in Scott Appleby, ed., *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 294–327.

Bacon, Gershon (1996). *The Politics of Tradition: Agudat Israel in Poland, 1916–1939*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Balfar, Ela (1991). *The Kingdom of Heaven and the State of Israel*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan Univeristy Press (in Hebrew).

Daniel, Shabtai (1986). "The Observer's Mission," *Hatsofe*, August 31, 1973, in Yossef Bermeson, ed., *In the Public Campaign: from the Newspapers*. Jerusalem: Zhahav Haaretz Association, pp. 32–35 (in Hebrew).

Edelstein, Yaacov (1986). "The Newly Religious in the Presence of Rabbi Kook, May a Tzadik's Memory Be a Blessing," *Hatzofeh*, 5 Tishrei 5726-1965, in Yossef Bramson, ed., *The Public Campaign: From the Press.* Jerusalem: Zhahav Haaretz Association, pp. 37–43 (in Hebrew).

Fond, Yossef (1999). *Separation or Participation: Agudat Israel Confronts Zionism and the State of Israel*. Jerusalem: Magness Press (in Hebrew).

Friedman, Menachem (1993). "Jewish Zealots: Conservative Versus Innovative," in Laurence J. Silberstein, ed., *Jewish Fundamentalism in Comparative Perspective: Religion, Ideology, and the Crisis of Modernity*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 148–63.

—— (1994). "Neturei Karta and the Sabbath Demonstrations in Jerusalem, 1948–1950," in Avi Bareli, ed., *Divided Jerusalem, 1948–1967: Sources, Summaries, Selected Incidents, and Ancillary Material*. Jerusalem: Yitzhak Ben Zvi Institute, pp. 224–40 (in Hebrew).

Gorenberg, Gershom (2006). *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967–1977*. New York: Times Books.

Heilman Samuel and Menachem Freidman (1991), "Religious Fundamentalism and Religious Jews: The Case of the Haredim," in Martin E. Marty and Scott Appleby, eds., *Fundamentalism Observed*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 197–264.

Hoch, Richard L. (1994). "*The Politics of Redemption: Rabbi Tzvi Yehuda Ha-Kohen Kook and the Origins of Gush Emunim*." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Santa Barbara.

Inbari, Motti (2007). "Religious Zionism and the Temple Mount Dilemma: Key Trends." *Israel Studies 12,* 2: 29–47.

—— (2008). "The Zionist Perspectives of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook and the Origins of Gush Emunim." *Iyunim Betkumat Israel 18*: 29–53 (in Hebrew).

Kaplan, Zvi Jonathan (2004). "Rabbi Joel Teitelbaum, Zionism, and Hungarian Ultra-Orthodoxy." *Modern Judaism 24*, 2: 165–78.

Katz, Jacob (1988). "Towards a Biography of the Hatam Sofer," in Frances Malino and David Sorkin, eds., *Profiles in Diversity: Jews in a Changing Europe, 1750–1870*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, pp. 223–66.

Kook, Zvi Yehuda (1989). *To the Paths of Israel*. 3rd ed. Vol. 1. Jerusalem: Hoshen Lev association (in Hebrew).

—— (1994). "The Nation of Israel: Stand Up and Live," in Zalman B. Melamed, ed., *Erets Hatzvi: Our Rabbi in the Battle over Our Entire Land*. Bet-El: Netivei Or, p. 25 (in Hebrew).

Lamm, Norman (1971). "The Ideology of the Neturei Karta: According to the Satmarer Version." *Tradition 12*, 2: 38–53.

Liebs, Yehuda (1982). "The Haredi Community and the Judean Desert Sect." *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought 3: 135–152*.

Margaliot, Yeshaya Asher Zelig (1926). *Blessed is the Man*. Jerusalem: Breslav Press (in Hebrew).

—— (1971). *Rise Up and Shine*. Jerusalem: Jerusalem: Breslav Press (in Hebrew).

Nadler, Allan L. (1982). "Piety and Politics: The Case of the Satmar Rebbe." *Judaism 31*, 2: 135–52.

Newman, Arye, 1968. "The Centrality of Eretz Yisrael in Nachmanides." *Tradition 10*, 1: 21–30.

Pedaya, Haviva (2004). "Eretz: Time and Place: Apocalypse of End and Apocalypse of Beginning," in Aviezer Ravitsky, ed., *The Land of Israel in 20th Century Jewish Thought*. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, pp. 560–623 (in Hebrew).

Ravitzky, Aviezer (1996). *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schwartz, Dov (1997). *The Messianic Idea in Israel.* Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press (in Hebrew).

—— (2002). *Faith at a Crossroads: A Theological Profile of Religious Zionism*. Leiden: Brill.

Sorotzkin, David (2004). "Building the Eartly and Destroying the Heavenly: The Satmar Rebbe and Radical Orthodox School of Thought," in Aviezer Ravitzky, ed., *The Land of Israel in 20th Century Jewish Thought*. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, pp. 133–67 (in Hebrew).

——(2007). "*The Supratemporal Community in an Era of Changes: Sketches on the Development of the Perception of Time and Collective as a Basis for the Definition of the Development of Jewish Orthodoxy in Modern Times*." Thesis toward a Ph.D. in philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (in Hebrew).

Teitelbaum, Yoel (1981). *Sefer VeYoel Moshe: Kolel shelosha Maamarim*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Bet Mishar Yerushalayim.

Urbach, Ephraim (1975). *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Zertal, Idith, and Akiva Eldar (2007). *Lords of the Land: The War over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967–2007.* New York: Nation Books.

CHAPTER 24

APOCALYPTICISM AND RADICALISM

CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND

This essay takes several historical examples of apocalyptic radicalism in which claims to insight, based on visions or the interpretation of apocalyptic texts, lead to a political critique, or an actual confrontation with the political authorities in the name of that higher authority or alternative perspective.

There is a dramatic moment in the trial of Anne Hutchinson in New England in 1637 when she explains to her interrogator the priority she gives to "speaking what in my conscience I know to be truth." She appeals to Genesis 22 and Abraham's conviction that it was "an immediate voice" that bade him offer his son. This she took as an analogy to the way in "an immediate revelation," "by the voice of [God's] own spirit to my soul," a matter was settled for her. In the opinion of those judging her this clear enunciation of her convictions, at the climax of what had hitherto been a very measured response, condemned her. So John Winthrop in his summing up thanked divine providence for making Hutchinson "lay open her self and the ground of all these disturbances to be by revelation" (Hall 1968: 337, 341).

Another is Gerrard Winstanley's interpretation of Daniel 7. According to Winstanley the first Beast is royal power, which by force makes a way for the economically powerful to rule over others, "making the conquered a slave; giving the earth to some, denying the Earth to others." The second Beast is the power of laws, which maintain power and privilege in the hands of the few by the threat of imprisonment and punishment. The third Beast is what Winstanley calls the thieving art of buying and selling the earth with the fruits one to another. The fourth Beast is the clergy-power, which is used to give a religious or ideological gloss to the privileges of the few. According to Winstanley, the Creation will never be at peace, until these four beasts are overthrown. This will be the moment when humankind will be enlightened (2009: ii.190–92).

Biblical Radicalism

These two examples encapsulate one of the uses of radicalism in the context of this chapter. Radicalism in the sense that we are using it here is different from the "basic to roots," which the opposite ends of the theological and political spectrum share. It is William Blake's view of Jesus as one who "acted from impulse not from rules" (*Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 23–24, E43) that best epitomizes the phenomenon that is the subject of this essay. It refers to a broader conviction, which is rightly termed "apocalyptic," in which there is knowledge of the divine, which comes through a medium other than study of sacred texts or resort to that which has been handed down.

The roots of this lie deep within the biblical tradition, and indeed the culture whence the Bible emerged. There dreams and visions and auditions were recognized as constituting that liminal time when the boundaries between the human and the divine were blurred and an epistemological experience was possible that was less common in the normal circumstances of human life. No wonder that many of the adepts found ways of cultivating opportunities to recreate those situations when dreams and visions might occur rather than having to wait for them to happen spontaneously, or be one of those fortunate people to whom such divine disclosures might be vouchsafed. The Bible itself relates dreams, visions, auditions, and the conviction that (to quote Numbers 12:6–8):

> When there are prophets among you, I the LORD make myself known to them in visions; I speak to them in dreams. Not so with my servant Moses; he is entrusted with all my house. With him I speak face to face, clearly, not in riddles; and he beholds the form of the LORD.

In the New Testament Paul's opening words at the beginning of his Letter to the Galatians appeal to an "apocalypse" rather than human authority (Gal 1:1–16). The Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels too may have allowed a sense of his own divine vocation to take him to Jerusalem. It was *necessary* for the Son of Man to suffer (Mark 8:31). The Johannine Jesus claims not to have spoken on his own authority, for "the Father who sent me has himself given me a commandment about what to say and what to speak. And I know that his commandment is eternal life. What I speak, therefore I speak just as the father has told me" (John 12:49–50). Apocalyptic radicalism is typified by the conviction of an impetus for appropriate behavior or insight into human affairs, Blake's "impulse not from rules" (Rowland 2010: 181–207).

But it is the last book of the Christian New Testament that has been the inspiration for later Christian radicalism. Its mix of visionary experience and political protest is unique in its intensity and directness in the New Testament. John's spiritual experience takes him into the divine court to see what the biblical prophet Ezekiel and Isaiah had seen and the mystery of the future of the universe in a slaughtered Lamb.

That vision is the motor of the visions, which follow, culminating in heaven on earth in the New Jerusalem, as the political and economic powers of the day are unmasked and their end predicted. This is clearly seen in the visions of the beasts from the sea, and the land, and Babylon seated on the seven-headed beast in Rev 13 and 17 respectively. In both visions, images from Daniel in particular are *taken up* and become part of a devastating political critique of the manifestation of imperial power and oppression in the days of John the seer, the Roman Empire. We shall see later how these images are used in a different era and situation but with the same political force. It is prophecy in the style of a biblical prophet, with the same denunciatory power. Unsurprisingly, its effect pervaded Western culture and its political protests.

The book of Revelation was not the last word, however. Why should divine revelation stop? Not only did the second-century Montanists look to Rev 21 for their idea of an earthly kingdom (Trevett 1995: 95–104; see also Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* v.18.1), but they also claimed additional revelation from the Spirit-Paraclete. They regarded themselves as recipients of a distinctive revelation from the Paraclete as compared with revelation given to the Apostles (and embodied in the emerging authoritative scriptures). Such claims were contemporary with claims to revelation that typify several of the Gnostics texts that have been found in the Nag Hammadi Library, and which only increased suspicion of apocalyptic claims and texts among the merging orthodox circles.

Joachim of Fiore

One of the most significant figures in the history of apocalypticism, Joachim of Fiore, is the parent of both conservative and subversive uses of apocalypticism. His description of his crucial revelatory experience, which gave him the key to the interpretation of the Apocalypse, evinces the same kind of visionary insight. Such insight into the deeper meaning of the text did not come initially by study. Joachim of Fiore writes: the "God who once gave the spirit of prophecy to the prophets has given me the spirit of understanding to grasp with great clarity in his Spirit all the mysteries of sacred scripture" (*Ten Stringed Psaltery* 10 in McGinn 1979: 99–100; 1998: 130; Reeves 2001; Rowland 2013). In his historicizing interpretation of the Apocalypse, we find the rudiments of what was later to become a "decoding" form of interpretation, nowhere better seen than in his interpretation of the Red Dragon of Rev 12, in which the fifth head is identified with Saladin. There is a direct interpretative line from this via the *Clavis Apocalyptica* of Joseph Mede at the beginning of the seventeenth century to the map-like interpretations of the end of the world of modern American fundamentalists. On the other hand, Joachim's readiness to link his

situation with a particular point in the unfolding apocalyptic drama outlined in the book of Revelation gave him, and those who followed his teaching, a sense of destiny, of being at a propitious moment in the divine economy. It spawned intense debates in the Franciscan order and an emerging criticism of the church and the implicit identification of it as Babylon. This was to loom large in Protestant polemics down the centuries. It made Joachite eschatology, with its emphasis on history as the arena of God's saving purposes, politically far from conformist and a significant departure from Augustinian-dominated interpretation.

The preoccupation with the penultimate period of history, and an individual's place in it, is characteristic of exegesis in the Joachite tradition: it is the period of the Antichrist that immediately precedes the fulfillment of the final age of the Spirit. It is a time when a pope will be sent to renew the church and will be characterized by an outburst of spiritual activity in the form of monastic renewal. Its immediate influence is exemplified by the fact the Franciscans were deeply imbued with Joachite ideas, linking Francis with the angel mentioned in Revelation 7. One of the most daring of the commentators in the Joachite tradition, Peter Olivi (1248–1298), used Joachim extensively (Burr 1993; 2001). The book was investigated and condemned by the papacy in 1326, in part because of its enormous popularity, particularly among Beguins and radical Franciscans who sought to keep Francis's rule of poverty literally (Potesta in McGinn 2000: 110). Olivi's exegesis concerns his emphasis on the sixth period, in which he placed himself, as the beginning of the time of renewal; he identified Francis of Assisi as its inaugurator. Immersed in the conflict over poverty that dominated the early history of the Franciscan order, Olivi saw the forces of evil concentrated in a worldly Church, a present, or at least imminent, reality, which he identified with the whore of Babylon (Rev 17). Such views contributed to the intense social upheavals of the later Middle Ages, which were fired in part by apocalyptic revivals (Cohn 1957) and persisted well into the early modern period (Morton 1958).

Savonarola and Botticelli

Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) was a Dominican preacher whose fiery message demanding reform and a "bonfire of the vanities" electrified Florence. His opposition to Rome, his predictions, and his influence led eventually to his trial and execution in 1498. Like Joachim he was an interpreter of the Bible, an activity that is apparent in his preaching, but his preaching was based on a visionary conviction, expounded in his *Compendium of Revelations*. Begun in 1495 it was an apology for his prophetic career. His attacks include criticism of Rome and the papacy. He was

excommunicated in 1497 after appealing to secular authorities to summon a council to depose Pope Alexander VI. The *Compendium* is part anthology of apocalyptic revelations and part sermon on the feast of the Annunciation in April 1, 1495, which is an account of a heavenly journey, including a description of the court of heaven and a vision of the Queen of Heaven. Like Joachim he used the sequence of sevens from the book of Revelation and located himself at the end of the fourth age immediately preceding the fifth age and the coming of Antichrist. The prophecies are described in greater detail in *The Compendium of Revelations*. He gave Florence a special role in the divine economy. A penitent population of Florence took the place of Joachim's *viri spirituales* as the pioneers of the new age to come (McGinn 1980: 191). Savonarola claimed that his prophecies were based on what God said to him and not simply on his interpretation of the Bible. Among his visions (*Triumph of the Cross*, 1497) he describes two crosses: a black cross above Rome on which rained down swords, knives, and lances and a golden cross above Jerusalem. In another vision the hand of God is poised to strike the wicked with angels offering men red crosses and white robes (McGinn 1980: 198–200).

Both these visions are reflected in the extraordinary depiction of the crucifixion in the now damaged *Mystic Crucifixion* (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University). Here there is stark contrast between light and darkness. The crucified Jesus, dead, hanging on the cross, divides the picture. On the right are dark clouds. There appear to be angels holding white shields with red crosses as they fight seven brown devils armed with burning wood and torches. The shields of the angels bear the symbol of the people of Florence. On the left is brightness, with Florence shining in the background, easily recognizable from the Cathedral, and Campanile (Weinstein 1970: 336). At the foot of the cross is Mary Magdalene, one of the women who witnessed Jesus' death (Matt 27:56, 61) and who probably symbolizes a penitent Florence with flowing ginger hair clinging to the cross. In the left-hand corner of the picture there seems to be an enthroned God with a book open before him, presumably the book of judgment (Rev 20:11–15 or Dan 7:9–10). The Final Assize takes place at the cross as the clouds move away and Florence is bathed in glory. Suffering and tribulation are the context for the renewal of Florence.

In 1500, itself a significant year, Sandro Botticelli painted *The Mystic Nativity* (National Gallery, London; Rowland 2005), which is an allegorical reading of the Nativity. A closer look at the picture will reveal a caption in Greek capitals that explicitly links the picture with Revelation 11–12, and also with the political upheavals in Italy and also Florence, which came about as the result of the apocalyptic preaching of Savonarola:

> I, Alexandros, was painting this picture at the end of the year 1500 in the [troubles] of Italy in the half time after the time according to the chapter of St. John in the second woe of the Apocalypse in the loosing of the devil for three and a half years. Then he will be chained, and we shall see him [trodden down], as in this picture.

The time in which Botticelli found himself, 1,500 years after the birth of Christ, was one that, he believed, stood on the brink of the new age. Botticelli writes of the troubles in Italy. The inscription implies that within a period perhaps of two years a reign of peace was to occur. In the inscription he links the ascent of the beast from the bottomless pit in 11:7 with the loosing of the devil after the millennium (20:3, 7). Botticelli writes of the second woe of 11:14, after which, in Rev 11, the loud voices in heaven proclaim that the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of the Lord and of the messiah. Here Botticelli reads Rev 11–12 as a prophecy of the eschatological realities of his day, in which the period of Antichrist prefigures the return of the Messiah and the overcoming of the powers of darkness. It is the coming of this kingdom, which is signified in the vision of the woman in Rev 12 who gives birth to the Messiah. The bruising of the serpent's head of Genesis 3:15 may be depicted in the form of the little beaten devils that crawl away into their holes, reflecting Rev 6:15. The picture relates Christ's first coming with his imminent, eschatological coming. In the picture we the viewers are led up the path to the central scene of the picture framed by the dawn sky. The embrace of angels and humans sees Florentines rejoicing with the heavenly world at the millennial glory that is to be revealed. The demons scurry to find their holes in the ground to hide (Rev 6:16). Past and present are brought together as Florence becomes the epicenter of the apocalyptic deliverance that is about to come upon the world.

Thomas Müntzer: The "New Daniel"

Thomas Müntzer (c. 1483–1525) died alongside the peasants fighting against the German princes in 1525. Müntzer was very sympathetic towards dreams and visions as an important means of knowing the ways of God. He saw Scripture as a confirmation of inner conviction, the appropriation of that inner Spirit-led illumination that prompted the biblical writings themselves and which is at the heart of true discipleship. Müntzer inveighed against what he called "book religion." His charismatic emphasis led him to draw heavily upon the contrast between Word and Spirit. The important thing was to respond to the promptings of the Spirit and subordinate the letter to the Spirit.

Thomas Müntzer's views are well exemplified in a sermon he preached to the princes in 1524, a year before his death. He took as his text for his sermon a passage from the prophet Daniel in which the Jewish seer not only interprets a dream of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar but also recalls it, something that the wise men of the court were not able to interpret. The dream is of a statue made of various substances that is hit by a stone made without human hands and shattered, after which

the stone becomes a great mountain that fills the whole earth (15). It is a passage that was crucial for various revolutionary movements of the time, who expected the "Fifth Monarchy" of King Jesus and considered that they might be part of such an event. The interpretation offered by Daniel is the destruction of four world empires (symbolized by the different substances of which the statue is made) to be replaced by the kingdom of God, which will never be destroyed (16).

Müntzer proceeded to interpret the various parts of the vision of the statue. Christ the Stone is about to shatter the final empire, a fact that is particularly appreciated better by "the poor laity and the peasants." In the face of this imminent destruction, the princes were exhorted to side with Christ whose empire would replace the kingdoms of the present rulers. What was needed was for the princes to recognize the incompetence of their clerical advisers, just as Nebuchadnezzar rejected the wise men of his court. In their place Müntzer urged them: "a new Daniel must arise and interpret for you your vision and he . . . . must go in front of the army"—Müntzer, of course! In a daring exegesis of Romans 13, Paul's reference to rulers "not bearing the sword in vain," for they "are the servants of God to execute wrath on the wrongdoer," is interpreted as an obligation to root out the wicked who are opposed to the ways of the New Daniel. So Müntzer did not allow the rulers to use the argument that judgment must remain in God's hands and reminded them of their obligation to wield the sword as executors of the divine wrath. He exposed the ideological camouflage of those who seek to appeal to the gentleness of Christ to suit their own ends. There could be no quiet waiting upon God to destroy the works of the Antichrist, for it was human agents acting under the power of God who would effect the divine purposes. If the rulers refused to do so, the sword would be taken away from those who "confess him with words and deny him with their deeds."

Müntzer pointed out the Church's error in forsaking the way of Christ and the apostles. In particular, the clergy were teaching ordinary people that "God no longer reveals his divine mysteries to his beloved friends by means of valid visions or his audible Word." Müntzer listed examples of visions from Scripture, and insisted that opponents of visions are in fact opponents of the Holy Spirit, poured out in the Last Days (cf. Acts 2:17). That Spirit was revealing to the elect "a decisive, inevitable, imminent reformation with great anguish." Müntzer contrasted the way in which the people of God rejected the words of the prophet Jeremiah with the ready acceptance of Daniel's interpretation by the pagan king Nebuchadnezzar. To gain "the self-disclosure of God," spiritual turmoil and suffering are the circumstances in which God vouchsafes visions and dreams. Then would such a person receive the vision in the present; only then would it to be tested in the light of Scripture: first experience, then Scripture.

On the fateful day in May 1525 when Müntzer led the peasants in battle outside Frankenhausen it was a biblical sign, a "bow in the cloud on the day of rain" (Ezek 1:28; Gen 9:12–17; Rev 4:3) that was taken as a good omen, but the peasants were routed, Müntzer captured, tortured, and executed.

Mary Cary (fl. 1649), Anna Trapnel (fl. 1654), and Gerrard Winstanley (1609–1676): Apocalypticism in the English Revolution

The seventeenth century saw a flowering of women's prophetic activity in England that coincided with a crisis in religious and political life (Capp 1972; Mack 1992; Hobby 1988; Trapnel 2000). In 1649, Mary Cary and other Fifth Monarchists expounded a doctrine that was similar to Müntzer's, namely, that the succession of world empires predicted in Daniel 2 and 7 had come to its end and that the reign of King Jesus was about to be established (Capp 1972: 172–94; Hill 1972 and 1993, Bradstock 2011). "By the Spirit of God" she began "a serious and continual study of the Scriptures" at the age of fifteen. This intense study especially concerned "the Book of the Revelation, and . . . the Prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, wherein so many things concerning these latter daies are spoken of." In the process of the establishment of this "fifth monarchy," however, Cary gave the saints an active role. As Christ had ascended to heaven, she wrote, the saints would be his instruments in the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth (Rev 17:14, 16; 18:6; 19:11). Despite the reference to peace and love of enemies in the gospel, Cary interprets the rider on a white horse of Rev 19:11 as one who leads the armies of the saints, including humans as well as angels. She used the Hebrew Bible passages to justify the just war of the saints in their role as instruments of God in purging the world from evil and setting up the New Jerusalem and grounded this in the book of Revelation. When the reign of God will be set up on earth, it is only then that they will have no need of using swords and spears any more.

Anna Trapnel also was a Fifth Monarchist, who believed that the succession of world empires predicted in Daniel 2 and 7 had come to its end and that the reign of King Jesus was about to be established. She had a visionary trance in 1654 in the center of London, during which she prophesied about the political failures of Cromwell's regime. Details of her prophecy were written down at the time and are recorded in *The Cry of a Stone*. She pleaded to Cromwell to recognize the dominion of Christ and to establish a polity, which reflected the aims of the people's army, to enable the common people to have their proper stake in the divine commonwealth.

The prophet saw all the marks of the old order (private property, a stratified social order, and a familiar, albeit non-episcopal, church structure) still present. To those who looked to the reign of King Jesus such reactionary behavior seemed apostasy.

Contemporary with Trapnel, and one of the most compelling examples of a social critique inspired by the Bible, are the writings of Gerrard Winstanley (Hill 1972;

Bradstock 1997; Bradstock and Rowland 2002). Between 1649 and 1651 Winstanley wrote tracts while he was actively involved in digging the common land on St George's Hill in Surrey. He was prompted by a revelation that he and his companions should dig the common land. In his "True Levellers Standard" "this work to make the Earth a Common treasury" was "shewed us by Voice in trance, and out of trance, which words were these, 'work together, eat bread together,' Declare this all abroad" ("True Levellers Standard," Sabine 261, Winstanley 2009a: 2:14–15 cf. *New Law of Righteousness*, Sabine 1941: 190). Elsewhere he described his own vocation in words from Galatians 1:12 and 16, where Paul wrote of the moment when he was confronted with "the apocalypse of Jesus Christ" as well as Revelation. As we have seen, Winstanley used the imagery of Daniel and the Revelation to interpret the oppressive behavior of the wielders of political and economic power of his day. The four beasts of Daniel 7 are interpreted as "Kingly power," "selfish Lawes, which is full of covetousnesse," "the thieving Art of buying and selling the Earth with her fruits one to another"; and "the Imaginary Clergy-Power." It is only "when Christ the Anoynting spirit rises up, and inlightens mankind" that "they shall see the deceit and falsehood of this Beast" (*Fire in the Bush*, Sabine 464–71, Winstanley 2009b: 2:190–96). According to Winstanley the new heaven and earth is something to be seen here and now, for royal power is the old heaven and earth that must pass away. God is not far above the heavens but is to be found in the lives and experiences of ordinary men and women. God's kingdom comes when God arises in the saints: the "rising up of Christ in sons and daughters" is Christ's second coming. Spiritual regeneration and structural change are, therefore, intimately linked.

Joanna Southcott (1750–1814), Richard Brothers (1757–1824), and William Blake (1757–1827): Actualization of Differing Prophetic and Scriptural Roles

Joanna Southcott was born in Devon and grew up in a period of political and economic turmoil. In 1792 she wrote of being "strangely visited by day and by night concerning what was coming upon the whole earth. I was then ordered to set it down in writing." From early in her prophetic career Joanna Southcott described herself as "The Woman Clothed with the Sun" of Revelation 12. In applying this passage to

herself, Southcott inserted herself into the biblical narrative and fulfilled this scripture. She saw herself as Jerusalem the Bride and the woman who was to give birth to the Messiah, Shiloh. This is a reference to the obscure verse in Genesis 49:10 where the KJV reads "until Shiloh come." It was the actualization of this conviction that dominated the last months of Southcott's life as she died believing that she was to give birth to the Messiah in 1814. In the event, the Man-child did not appear on earth but was believed by a large body of Southcott's followers to have been "caught up to Heaven" on its birth, as in Revelation (12:5, see further Lockley 2013 and Hopkins 1982).

Strong prophetic conviction is also evident in the writings of Richard Brothers, with whom Southcott's life and work was for a time closely intertwined and some of whose followers later followed Southcott. Brothers believed that he was the Prophet that would be revealed to the Jews to go to the land of Israel and whose Government *under God* would be committed to him, as the agent of the everlasting Covenant to David. His reading of Scripture would uncover—by revealed knowledge—its true meaning. He it was who expounded the "strange" and "difficult" allusions, made by John of the Apocalypse, whose meaning had been sealed until "the full time" when the appointed person, none other than Brothers himself, would make known the message. Brothers turned to Revelation 12 also, and saw himself as the man-child, however, Shiloh, the King of Judah.

William Blake thought of himself as a prophet (Rowland 2010: 120–56). Indeed, he traced continuity between his own mythical world and the vision seen by John (*Four Zoas* 8:597ff.). Blake himself wrote two prophecies about the nations in the form of illuminated books, in which, by word and picture, a process of conversion, spiritual and political, is sought in the reader through the effects of the texts. By the end of his life, Blake had worked out a complex insight into the process of transformation, which required individual, as well as political, change. This was to be achieved by socially transformative education, not violent revolution. Fundamental in this was the need to recognize the awareness of the role of religion in society, in which the Bible was used as an instrument of social control rather than liberation leading to the fragmentation of the human person and the subordination of the imaginative to a rule of law and reason. Blake's process of human integration required the restoration of the balance between the imaginative and the rational to accompany the change in a hierarchical dominance in political and religious life. However, as in Winstanley's work, for Blake this process of change was through education not by force.

> And did those feet in ancient time,
> Walk upon Englands mountains green:
> And was the holy Lamb of God
> On England's pleasant pastures seen!
> And did the Countenance Divine,
> Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
> And was Jerusalem builded here,
> Among these dark Satanic Mills?

> Bring me my Bow of burning gold:
> Bring me my Arrows of desire:
> Bring me my Spear: O Clouds unfold!
> Bring me my Chariot of fire!
>
> I will not cease from Mental Fight,
> Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand:
> Till we have built Jerusalem,
> In Englands green & pleasant Land
> . . . . . .
> Would to God that all the Lord's people were Prophets. Numbers xi. 29V.
> (Preface to *Milton a Poem*, E95–96)

In this famous passage from his preface to *Milton* (extant in Copies A and B, E95–96) Blake expresses the longing for all people to be prophets: to engage in struggle and discernment and work towards a more hopeful future. The poem is simple in its structure. The first two stanzas set out the problem, and the question marks at the end of lines 2 and 4 of stanza 2 suggest a negative answer. The final stanza sketches the hope, harking back to passages like Rev 21–22, that the New Jerusalem is a human possibility, which may be built in "England's green and pleasant land." Human activity and divine activity are linked. There is no "leaving it all to God," because the divine indwells men and women. The invocation for Elijah's chariot refers to the never-ending task: "every honest man is a Prophet he utters his opinion both of private & public matters Thus If you go on So the result is So" (Annotations to Watson's Apology, E617). Prophecy and visions, as both Müntzer and Winstanley stressed, are not just a thing of the past. It is the vocation of all people.

Paul, Apocalypticism, and Radical Theology in Recent Theology and Philosophy

In the last few decades, prompted in part by the recognition of its centrality in the New Testament, apocalypticism has emerged as a crucial tool in cultural criticism among philosophers and social theorists. The work of Thomas Altizer (1967) and Jacob Taubes (2004, 2009) reflect the language and significance of apocalypticism. For Altizer the mix of radical theology and apocalypse, epitomized by the work of William Blake, indicates both the ending of mainstream Christian theism and the beginning of regeneration of thought and action, focused on the Incarnation and

death of Jesus as the apocalyptic moment of the death of God. Taubes traces the history of apocalyptic radicalism from Daniel and the New Testament via Joachim of Fiore and the radical Franciscans to Münzter and then onto Hegel and Kierkegaard. Here is a manifesto for a disruptive, apocalyptic politics, which in some ways has antecedents in the work of Ernst Bloch (1995, see also Rowland 1988 and Bradstock and Rowland 2002). Language about apocalypse offers the climactic sense of an ending and the possibility of a new beginning, an ultimate moment, therefore, in which an apocalyptic dimension to life interrupts the normal and habitual. As William Blake put it: "If it were not for the Poetic or Prophetic character, the Philosophic & Experimental would soon be at the ratio of all things & stand still, unable to do other than repeat the same dull round over again" (*There is No Natural Religion* b vii, E3).

Before Taubes, Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) turned to apocalyptic theology at the close of his life. For both Taubes and Benjamin political optimism is qualified by a future hope, but one in which there is no certainty about a positive outcome. Indeed, Benjamin's *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, written months before his suicide in 1940, problematize human agency in the light of apocalyptic catastrophe. In Thesis IX Benjamin writes of the Angel of History whose face is turned towards the past, but a storm blowing from Paradise drives him irresistibly into the future, "while the rubble-heap before him grows sky-high. That which we call progress, is *this* storm." Here is an apocalypticism of a despairing kind commentary, not the assertion of one who believed that the divine was at work in and through humans.

Finally, one of the most remarkable modern apocalyptic interpreters was William Stringfellow (1928–1985). He was a civil rights activist and protestor against the war in Vietnam. Apart from his advocacy of a theology of "the principalities and powers," which has been very influential on modern political theology, in *An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land*. William Stringfellow in effect wrote a commentary on the New Testament Apocalypse whose purpose was to read America biblically, "rather than allow the United States of America, its culture and values to determine the way the Bible is read" (Stringfellow 1973). At the heart of his method is this conviction that the Apocalypse can assist one to understand a particular moment of time because it enables an enhanced vision of the reality that confronts one (Stringfellow 1973: 152). What is crucial is that for Stringfellow, the Apocalypse does not offer a timetable about the end of the world but a template by which one can assess the theological character of the world in which one lives. The Apocalypse's stark contrasts offer an interpretative key to understand the cosmos under God and the situation of his nation in the 1970s and 1980s. Stringfellow follows in a long tradition going back at least to the ancient Christian writer, Tyconius (fl. 370–390), such a powerful influence on Augustine's biblical interpretation. Babylon and Jerusalem become types of two different kinds of religious communities. So they are not only eschatologically future images, but assist readers with their understanding of reality here and now. Babylon is a description of every city, an allegory of the condition of death, the principality in bondage to death in time the focus of apocalyptic judgment.

Jerusalem is about the emancipation of human life in society from the rule of death. It is a parable, he writes of the church of prophecy, an anticipation of the end of time (Stringfellow 1973: 21; Rowland 2011).

Apocalyptic symbol, visionary experience, and social and political movements together, may make a potent mix prompting and inspiring social revolt. Hopes for the future are seen to be realized in the present. Acting on such beliefs disrupts patterns of behavior and relating. The present moment was in some sense the climax of history, when the major actors may be expected to "sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt 19:28), and indeed may well have acted out such promises. In the lives of the later millenarians we find repetition of the kind of paradigm we find in the New Testament. What is more, they are not just interpreters of sacred texts or prognosticators of the fulfillment of its promises, though the scriptures may be the motor of their visions and their hope. They themselves live out the promises, and they believe themselves dwelling in the midst of its fulfillment and so act accordingly. It is the present "apocalyptic moment" in which the impulse of the vision, dream, audition, or intuition leads to the disturbance of the status quo, and received wisdom is subordinated to apocalyptic insight. This comes not by resort to the memory of the past, hierarchy, or appeal to sacred scripture. Such a pattern is endemic to all the Abrahamic religions. After all, their founding narratives are about revelations of the divine, in words delivered by human agents. The Jewish "messianic mystics," particularly Sabbatai Sevi, all manifest similar characteristics, with the inspiration of mystical visions becoming the basis for social action (Idel 1998; Scholem 1973; and Davies 1984). Radicalism involves the invocation of such revelatory moments with the possibility of additional revelations to supplement and perhaps even qualify what has already been seen. This after all is the heart of what Christianity and Islam, even Judaism, in their different ways say. It is the acceptance of the central status of the apocalyptic moment, and the subordination of all else to it that makes apocalypticism such an important motor of radicalism in the history of religion.

Bibliography

Altizer, Thomas J. J. (1967). *The New Apocalypse: The Radical Christian Vision of William Blake*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Barth, Karl (1933). *The Epistle to the Romans*. Trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns. Oxford: Clarendon.

Bloch, Ernst (1995). *The Principle of Hope: Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

——(2009). *Atheism in Christianity: The Religion of the Exodus and the Kingdom*. London: Verso.

Bradstock, Andrew (1997). *Faith in the Revolution: The Political Theologies of Müntzer and Winstanley*. London: SPCK.

—— (2011). *Radical Religion in Cromwell's England: A Concise History from the English Civil War to the End of the Commonwealth.* International Library of Historical Studies. London: Tauris.

Bradstock, Andrew, and Christopher Rowland (2002). *Radical Christian Writings: A Reader.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Burr, David (1993). *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

—— (2001). *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Capp, B. S. (1972). *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism*. London: Faber.

Cohn, Norman (1957). *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. London: Paladin.

Collins, John J., Bernard McGinn, and Stephen Stein (2000). *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism.* New York: Continuum.

Davies William D. (1984). "From Schweitzer to Scholem: Reflections on Sabbatai Sevi," in Davies, *Jewish and Pauline Studies*. London: SPCK.

Erdman, David (1977). *Blake: Prophet against Empire.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Garrett, Clarke (1973). *Respectable Folly: Millenarians in the French Revolution in France and England*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gray, Rebecca (1993). *Prophetic Figure in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, David D. (1968). *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636–1638: A Documentary History.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Hill, Christopher (1972). *The World Turned Upside Down*. London: Penguin.

—— (1993). *The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution.* London: Penguin.

Hobby, Elaine (1988). *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing, 1649–1688*. London: Virago.

Hopkins, J. K. (1982). *A Woman to Deliver her People: Joanna Southcott and English Millenarianism in an Era of Revolution.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Idel, Moshe (1998). *Messianic Mystics.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kovacs, Judith, and Christopher Rowland (2004). *Revelation: The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Lieb, Michael (1991). *The Visionary Mode: Biblical Prophecy, Hermeneutics, and Cultural Change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Lockley, Philip (2013), *Visionary religion and radicalism in early industrial England: from Southcott to socialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mack, Phyllis (1992). *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Matheson, Peter (1988). *The Collected Works of Thomas Müntzer.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

McGinn, Bernard (1979). *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola*, Preface by Marjorie Reeves. London: SPCK.

—— (1980). *Apocalyptic Spirituality.* London: SPCK.

—— (1998). *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press.

—— (2000). "Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture" in Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, eds., *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2. New York: Continuum.

Morton, Arthur Leslie (1958). *The Everlasting Gospel: A Study in the Sources of William Blake.* London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Ozment, Steven E. (1973). *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Reeves, Marjorie (1969). *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages.* London: Oxford University Press.

—— (2001). "Joachim of Fiore and the Images of the Apocalypse according to St John," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 64*: 281–95.

Rowland, Christopher (1982). *The Open Heaven*. London: SPCK.

—— (1988). *Radical Christianity: A Reading of Recovery.* Cambridge: Polity.

—— (2005). "Imagining the Apocalypse," *New Testament Studies 51*: 303–27.

—— (2010). *Blake and the Bible*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

—— with Ian Boxall (2011). "Tyconius and Bede on Violent Texts in the Apocalypse," in J. Verheyden, T. Niklas and A. Merkt, eds., *Ancient Christian Interpretations of "Violent Texts" in the Apocalypse* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zum Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 92). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 161–79.

—— (2013). "Joachim of Fiore and the Theology of the New Testament," in Julia Eva Wannenmacher, ed., *Joachim of Fiore and the Influence of Inspiration: Essays in Memory of Marjorie E. Reeves (1905–2003)*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 35–51.

Sabine, George H. (1941). *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley: With an Appendix of Documents Relating to the Digger Movement*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Stringfellow, William (1973). *An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land*. Waco: Word Books.

Scholem, Gershom G. (1973). *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626–1676*. Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Taubes, Jacob (2004). *The Political Theology of Paul*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

—— (2009). *Occidental Eschatology.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Trapnel, Anna (2000). *The Cry of a Stone*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Trevett, Christine (1995). *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Winstanley, Gerrard (2009). *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—— (2009b). "*The Fire in the Bush*," in Thomas N. Corns, Anne Hughes, and David Loewenstein, eds., *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley, vol*. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Original print, London: Calvert, 1650.

CHAPTER 25

APOCALYPSE AND VIOLENCE

CATHERINE WESSINGER

Apocalyptic texts depict tremendous violence that destroys a dissatisfactory social and natural order so a new one may be created. The violence of apocalyptic texts is appropriated by believers in different ways. When violence is reserved for God or his agent, here termed *messiah* (Hebrew, "anointed"), believers await divine intervention but they are often active in seeking converts. Other believers withdraw to refuges to survive the expected violent destruction. Others resort to political action and/or carry out revolutionary violence. Political leaders draw on apocalyptic imagery to motivate citizens' participation in empire-building. People at the grassroots responding to oppression create apocalyptic myths or draw on apocalyptic scriptures to fuel revolutionary movements. Some interpret apocalyptic texts as requiring believers to put themselves in harm's way, even to the point of martyrdom.

"Apocalyptic victims" may be killed by millennialists who regard them as obstructing the desired collective salvation, or they may be killed as "collateral damage" by agents of mainstream institutions seeking to control apocalyptic believers.

Apocalyptic psychology has been explored in Strozier et al. (2010). James W. Jones summarizes the psychological dynamics motivating the most violent apocalyptic movements: humiliation and a sense of victimization contributing to a search for an out-group to blame and punish; a dichotomous worldview in which the righteous are seen as being at battle—spiritually and/or physically—against evil, personified in an out-group that is dehumanized as being "evil, abject, subhuman, and so worthy of elimination" (Jones 2010b: 218); paranoia that requires that the designated out-group be defeated and destroyed (by God, Messiah, superhuman agent, or believers). Strozier et al. (2010) are in agreement that what they term "the fundamentalist mindset," that is, the apocalyptic outlook, contains a strong disposition toward violence.

It is the *radical dualism* (Wessinger 2000a) of apocalypticism that predisposes believers to expect violence, and may prompt some to subject themselves to violence

and/or carry out violence. Radical dualism is a "rigid belief in irreconcilable forces of good versus evil, translated into a sense of 'us versus them'" ("Millennial Glossary" in Wessinger 2011: 721). "The 'radicalness' of this religious stance lies in its refusal to compromise" (Collins 2011: 96). But believers in apocalypse do not necessarily have a rigidly dichotomous perspective. If believers regard salvation as open to all and make efforts to proselytize, their perspective may not be as extremely dualistic as that of their social opponents.

The relationship of apocalyptic texts to violence is complex and multivalent. Most believers wait for divine intervention, but it is often an "active" waiting during which proselytization is carried out by peaceful or violent means. Believers with an avertive apocalyptic perspective may resort to peaceful or violent means to try to avoid imminent catastrophe. If an apocalyptic movement becomes socially and politically dominant, believers may support military actions relevant to their particular eschatological vision. If a revolutionary movement is not socially dominant, believers resort to terrorism.

Revelation, Qur'an, and Millennialism

Sociologist John Walliss (2011) has written that the Revelation (Apocalypse) of Jesus Christ to St. John in the New Testament is the scripture containing the most violent imagery. Babylon the Great, a harlot sitting on the back of a terrifying beast, is drunk with the blood of the saints. Angels pour out vials of God's wrath on the earth. Cities are destroyed, rivers turn to blood, plagues are unleashed. God's victory over evil and creation of New Jerusalem is accomplished by the defeat of Satan and punishment of those whose "names have not been written in the book of life" (Rev. 17:8).

The author of Revelation, John of Patmos, was probably a Jewish Christian, possibly a survivor of the first Jewish-Roman war (66–73 C.E.), during which Roman troops destroyed Jerusalem and the (second) Temple, a catastrophic loss of "sacred center," the meaning of which Jews and Christians were still grappling with at the time Revelation was composed in the mid-90s C.E. John J. Collins (2011: 92) points out that Jewish apocalyptic texts were written in response to the desecration of the Temple by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes about 167 B.C.E., and Revelation was written as a response to the Roman destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. Since the first Temple was destroyed in 586 B.C.E. by Babylonians, "Babylon" became a powerful metaphor for an evil government in opposition to God.

Revelation's text addresses conflicts between the type of Christian faith and practice advocated by John of Patmos and other interpretations of Christian life and meaning in the cities of Asia Minor; conflicts between Christians and those Jews

who rejected belief in Jesus as the Messiah; and conflicts between Gentile Christians and the demands of living in a culture and in families that expected worship of the emperor and pagan deities. At the time Revelation was composed persecution of Christians was sporadic, but John of Patmos's text predicts persecutions in the near future by Rome, symbolized as the Whore of Babylon (Rev. 17) (Yarbro Collins 2003).

The visions recorded in Revelation draw on symbolism of earlier Jewish apocalyptic writings, particularly the book of Daniel and its four beasts. In Revelation the beast rising out of the sea (13:1–10), given authority by the "dragon" (Satan), represents the Roman Empire: "it was allowed to make war on the saints and to conquer them. It was given authority over every tribe and people and language and nation" (13:7). A second beast arises from the earth that derives its authority from the first beast, and makes the inhabitants of the earth worship an image of the first beast (Rev. 13:11–15). The second beast represents local elites in Asia Minor who expected Christians to make offerings to the emperor (Yarbro Collins 2003).

Revelation encourages Christians to follow Jesus in martyrdom. "Here is a call for the endurance and faith of the saints" (Rev. 13:10b). By giving up their lives Christians conquer the Accuser (Satan): "they have conquered him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they did not cling to life even in the face of death" (Rev. 12:11). In Revelation Christ, the slain Lamb, returns as a warrior, the rider on the white horse, with his heavenly army to defeat the beast and the false prophet and cast them into the lake of fire, and with the sword that comes out of his mouth he kills those who had received the first beast's mark and had worshipped the image of the beast (Rev. 13:16–18; 19:11–21) (Yarbro Collins 2003).

According to Adela Yarbro Collins, Revelation encouraged Christians to conquer the beast by refusing "to participate in the activities that involved giving the emperor divine honors, even if such resistance resulted in death" (2003: 207).

> A very important reward for those who resist the beast, especially those who lose their lives because of such resistance, is a share in the first resurrection. Those who have been beheaded for their testimony to Jesus and the word of God and who did not worship the beast are to come to life and to reign with Christ for a thousand years while Satan is bound. The rest of the dead are not to rise until after the thousand years are ended (20:4–6). (Yarbro Collins 2003: 209)

Revelation continues to be a rich source for understanding the meaning of persecution and providing assurance that the righteous will be saved and the wicked punished. Believers in Revelation's prophecies sometimes use its imagery to justify committing violence against others, or accepting and even seeking their own martyrdom.

Muhammad (570–632), based on his experiences of receiving God's Word through the angel Gabriel, preached an apocalyptic message of God's imminent judgment, and that it was imperative to worship only the one God. The earliest *sura*s (chapters) in the Qur'an stress the imminence of the "Day of Doom" or "Day of Recompense,"

when the sky will be darkened, the earth will shake, the dead resurrected, and everyone judged (e.g., Sura 84:1–25). Those who are damned will receive eternal punishment. Those who are saved will enjoy Paradise. In addition to the Qu'ran, a number of *hadith* (narratives of things that Muhammad said and did) describe the signs and timing of the end (Cook 2011).

Since Revelation speaks of a one-thousand-year period—a millennium—of peace while Satan is bound and Christ and resurrected martyrs rule the earth (Rev. 20:1–4), scholars use *millennium* to refer to the expected collective salvation—a condition on earth, in heaven, or both, in which a group enjoys a transformed state of being. Building on Norman Cohn's classic definition (1970, introduction, n.p.), I define *millennialism* as "belief in an imminent transition to a collective salvation, in which the faithful will experience well-being and the unpleasant limitations of the human condition will be eliminated." The collective salvation may be understood as being accomplished "either by a divine or superhuman agent alone, or with the assistance of humans working according to the divine or superhuman plan" ("Millennial Glossary" in Wessinger 2011: 720).

Catastrophic millennialism, "belief in an imminent and catastrophic transition to the millennial kingdom," is the type of millennialism found in Revelation, so *apocalypticism* is used here as a synonym. It "involves a pessimistic view of human nature and society. Humans are regarded as so evil and corrupt that the old order has to be destroyed violently to make way for the perfect millennial kingdom. Catastrophic millennialism involves a radically dualistic worldview" ("Millennial Glossary" in Wessinger 2011: 718).

Revelation has also given rise to a pattern that I have termed *progressive millennialism*: "a perspective that is optimistic about human nature and the possibility of imperfect human society to improve. [It] is the belief that the imminent transition to the collective salvation will occur through improvement in society. The belief is that humans working in harmony with a divine or superhuman plan will create the millennial kingdom" ("Millennial Glossary" in Wessinger 2011: 721).

Catastrophic millennialism and progressive millennialism are not mutually exclusive. A movement or group may demonstrate characteristics of both, or may shift from one to the other in response to circumstances. Apocalyptic expectations tend to manifest or increase when people experience repeated disasters and oppressions (Barkun 1974). However, progressive millennialism is not necessarily peaceful. Participants in some of the most violent revolutionary millennial movements have believed in progress. According to Robert Ellwood, violent progressive millennialists utilize violence "as a virtually sacramental rite of accelerating progress to apocalyptic rate" (2000: 242). At the revolutionary end of the continuum of millennial expressions, both progressive millennialist and catastrophic millennialist perspectives manifest extreme dualism.

Nativist millennial movements, which may involve catastrophic or progressive expectations, arise in response to a sense of oppression by colonizing powers.

In response to removal from their sacred lands and attacks on their traditional way of life, nativist millennialists long for a return to an idealized past way of life ("Millennial Glossary" in Wessinger 2011: 720). Some nativist millennial movements have messiahs who lead people in attempts to achieve collective salvation. Nativist millennialists may perform religious rituals to invoke divine intervention, and sometimes these involve sacrifices of animals and possessions. Nativists may establish separate communities in which to live according to their idealized past way of life. Nativist millennialists have frequently been attacked by law enforcement agents because their vision of salvation and activities are seen as threatening the status quo, and nativists have often used violence in self-defense. Nativist millennial movements may also resort to revolution to remove oppressors (Rosenfeld 2011).

Violent imagery, and sometimes violent activities, are also associated with avertive apocalypticism and avertive millennialism. *Avertive apocalyticism* is the belief that "imminent this-worldly catastrophe can be averted by taking steps to return to harmony with the divine or superhuman agent, through spiritual or ritual activities, or in the case of secular movements, by practical actions to correct looming problems." *Avertive millennialism* is the combination of avertive apocalyptic ideas with progressive millennialism. "If the coming apocalyptic destruction can be averted through spiritual practices and disciplines, faith, and/or the help of superhuman powers, the collective salvation will be accomplished in a new and perfect age" ("Millennial Glossary" in Wessinger 2011: 717–18; Wojcik 2011).

Each of these categories of millennialism is associated with behaviors ranging from peaceful waiting (plus proselytizing, and sometimes getting involved in politics), to waiting while using violence to proselytize, to utilizing violence for self-defense (assaulted millennial group), to resorting to violence to preserve a threatened millennial goal (fragile millennial group), to violence aimed at removing perceived oppressors (revolutionary millennial movement). These peaceful and violent behaviors may be found in combination in different groups and movements. The varieties of millennial expressions often take Revelation and similar scriptures in the Hebrew Bible, Christian Bible, or the Qur'an and *hadith* as their basis, and some of these believers become involved in violence.

Active Waiting for the Apocalypse and Violence

A number of millennialists read apocalyptic texts as commanding expectant waiting for divine intervention; however, they seldom take a completely passive stance. If divine judgment is near, it is imperative to extend salvation to as

many as possible. Two examples will be considered: early Islam and Christian Dispensationalism.

Early Islam

Muhammad's small band of Muslims had to flee Mecca to the city that became known as Medina (City of the Prophet) to avoid being killed by opponents of Muhammad's message. Muhammad made the *hijra* (migration) in 622. From this point, *jihad* (struggle) in the sense of holy war became important in Islam. The Greater Jihad was said by Muhammad to be the interior struggle to be a Muslim (submitter) to God, but Jihad of the Sword is also important in verses recorded in the Qur'an.

Arab tribes of the time engaged in raiding to gain booty and territory, and Muhammad led Muslim warriors in raids and battles, particularly against Meccans (Cook 2005: 5–9; Hall 2009: 37). During this period Muhammad received verses stating the Muslim's duty to fight when driven from one's home (e.g., Sura 22:39–40), and also the duty to fight against polytheists and idolators (Sura 9:5). In 630 Muhammad led his army unopposed into Mecca. There he purged the house of worship—the Ka'ba—of idols and dedicated it to the one God.

After Muhammad's death, Muslim armies conquered lands in Syria, Central Asia and Afghanistan, Armenia and the Caucasus region, North Africa, and the Iberian peninsula, and in 732 they were stopped from invading Europe further by Charles Martel's army at Poitiers, France. Conquered peoples were not forced to convert to Islam, but were certainly given the opportunity to convert. *Hadith* literature composed during this time indicates that Jihad of the Sword was seen as a way the Sinning but Repentant Believer could be purified (Cook 2005: 11–13, 15). David Cook argues that while fighters undoubtedly had various motivations, an overarching goal was the expansion of Islamic rule so salvation could be offered to persons before the end of the world (25).[1]

Christian Dispensationalism

Christian Dispensationalism is a contemporary and influential apocalyptic movement, which some observers believe contains potential for violence due to its radical dualism and its political influence in the United States where there may be as many as 40 million Christians influenced by Dispensationalism. They believe in the imminent Rapture of the faithful to join Christ in the air (based on 1 Thess. 4:17), tribulations for those remaining on earth, during which time the Antichrist gains world dominion, plagues occur, dead are resurrected, Christ returns to Earth and in the battle of Armageddon defeats Antichrist, the False Prophet, and Satan and

throws them into the lake of fire; Christ then judges humanity and establishes God's kingdom on Earth. Christian Dispensationalism, therefore, draws on Revelation and other apocalyptic texts in the Christian Bible. Dispensationalists take a *literalistic* approach to the Bible's prophecies; they believe they are interpreting passages literally when in fact their interpretations demonstrate considerable creativity (Shuck 2011).

Christian Dispensationalism received a boost in popularity when Hal Lindsey (b. 1929) published *The Late Great Planet Earth* in 1970, in which he interpreted current events in light of biblical apocalyptic prophecies. The book, which has sold more than 28 million copies, popularized the idea that the creation of Israel in 1948 was a sign that final events were imminent, and also that the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem had to be rebuilt before Christ would return. Christian Dispensationalists are, therefore, strong supporters of Israel.

In the 1980s Americans learned that President Ronald Reagan (Republican, served 1981–1989) had been influenced by Lindsey's predictions about the roles of Israel and nuclear war in the final events. Throughout the Reagan administration Americans who did not believe in these apocalyptic prophecies contemplated the danger of having a Dispensationalist President as commander of the American nuclear arsenal (Boyer 1992: 140–43).

Christian Dispensationalists were a large part of the Republicans who elected President George W. Bush (served 2001–2009). In 2003 Bush told Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (served 2001–2006) to stop Israeli settlement building in Palestinian territory and to begin dismantling some of the settlements. Rev. Jerry Falwell (1933–2007), founder of the Moral Majority, an organization of evangelical Christians seeking to exercise political clout in the United States, and other Christian Dispensationalists immediately let Bush know they regarded this policy to be against the interests of Israel (and therefore against the interests of their end-time beliefs) (Gavshon and Granatstein 2002). Bush made a major capitulation to his Christian Dispensationalist base on April 14, 2004, when he told Sharon that while Jewish settlers had to be removed from the Gaza Strip in preparation for handing it over to Palestinian control (Israel did not want the Gaza Strip), settlers on the West Bank of the Jordan River could remain, thereby continuing to prevent a two-state solution.

In the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, Christian Dispensationalism's popularity was increased by the wildly successful *Left Behind* series of novels by Tim LaHaye (b. 1926) and Jerry Jenkins (b. 1949), which have sold more than 60 million copies. These novels and their media offshoots have been read and viewed by Christians of all types and even some non-Christians (statistics in Jones 2010a: 97).

The first novel, *Left Behind* (1995), begins with the Rapture and then follows the adventures of those left behind during the seven-year Tribulation. The thirteenth and final novel in the series is *Kingdom Come: The Final Victory* (2007). Three *Left Behind* prequels were published in 2005 and 2006. Forty books have been published in the

Left Behind: The Kids series. Three *Left Behind* movies were released between 2001 and 2005, and three *Left Behind* video games were released between 2006 and 2008.

Left Behind apocalyptic media have popularized a violent myth of imminent end-time events, in which some will be saved—even some of those "left behind"—and others will be slaughtered and damned. The Antichrist is the secretary-general of the United Nations, who deceptively establishes world peace that begins the Tribulation.

Jones (2010a) examines themes in the first *Left Behind* videogame, in which Christian members of the Tribulation Force battle Antichrist's Global Community Peacekeepers, that is, United Nations peacekeeper troops. Jones sees the violence of this "real-time strategy game" that encourages players to join "the ultimate fight of Good against Evil" as consistent with the apocalyptic violence of Revelation, which in *The Glorious Appearing: The End of Days* (2004), the twelfth book in the *Left Behind* series, culminates with the return of Jesus, who slaughters Antichrist's massive army with his spoken word. Christian Dispensationalism has not been a violent movement, but Jones is not so sanguine about its future: "right now in the United States a whole generation of Christian adolescents is learning how to kill non-Christians, UN peacekeepers, and Christians less evangelical than themselves in the name of this apocalyptic Jesus" (2010a: 103).

Millennial Groups Involved in Violence

Millennialists involved in violence may be members of *fragile millennial groups, assaulted millennial groups*, and *revolutionary millennial movements*. Apocalyptic and millennial groups involved in violence often possess characteristics relating to two or all three of these categories, or they move from one category to another in response to events. Anabaptists in Münster, Germany, the Branch Davidians, National Socialism, and the international Jihadist movement will be discussed to illustrate dynamics of millennial groups involved in violence and their use of apocalyptic texts. It is important to note that frequently *the quality of interactions* between believers and opponents in the wider society contributes to violent episodes or movements involving millennialists.

Anabaptist Münster: Fragile and Assaulted Revolutionary Millennial Group

Violence influenced by Revelation was common in medieval and Reformation Europe (Cohn 1970; Hall 2009: 44–118). Sometimes believers were assaulted and

killed, sometimes they were members of fragile groups that resorted to violence in attempts to preserve their threatened millennial goal, and sometimes they resorted to revolutionary violence to transform society.

Münster, Germany in 1534–35 illustrates the dynamics of all three categories of millennialism and violence. The episode began when Jan Bockelson (called John of Leiden), an Anabaptist, took control of the city by commanding allegiance of armed Anabaptists and those on the Town Council and declared the city to be New Jerusalem. The Münster movement succeeded briefly in spreading its revolutionary message of a new society in which the Elect held property in common to other cities, where similar revolutions occurred and were suppressed.

Münster was a fragile millennial group due to pressures from the Catholic Archbishop's troops, dissenters within the city, and the delusions of the movement's leaders. After Anabaptists took over, Lutherans and Catholics were expelled from the city, those remaining were rebaptized, and women were forced to enter into polygamous marriages based on Old Testament models. Known dissenters were executed, and citizens were terrorized by the constant threat of capital punishment.

Anabaptist Münster was also an assaulted millennial group. Eventually the Archbishop obtained reliable troops to lay siege to the city. While Bockelson, who had been crowned King of New Jerusalem, and members of his court ate well, the other approximately ten thousand inhabitants starved. If they escaped, they were killed by the Archbishop's troops or left to die where they collapsed on the ground. The city's defenses were breached by the Archbishop's troops on June 24, 1535, and the inhabitants slaughtered.

Even after the majority of Anabaptists in Germany and the Netherlands became pacifists in response to the Münster violence and the violence used to defeat their rebellions, they continued to be tortured and executed at the hands of authorities who considered them threats to social order (Cohn 1970: 261–80).

Branch Davidians: Assaulted Millennial Group That May Have Been Pushed to Fragility

Through the centuries numerous millennial groups have been assaulted for various reasons, but the overarching one is that believers' rejection of mainstream values in anticipation of life in a millennial kingdom is seen as threatening the status quo. Millennialists' rejection of secular authority when they see it as conflicting with their allegiance to divine authority is viewed as challenging the government. Pejorative words such as "cult" promote what John R. Hall (with Schuyler and Trinh 2000) calls *cult essentialism* (16). Instead of noting the interactions and assaults that cause the deaths of believers and perhaps of law enforcement agents, the cult essentialist perspective assigns blame for violence completely on believers. The assaults in 1993 on the Branch Davidians, members of an offshoot of the Seventh-day Adventist Church

living on property named Mount Carmel Center outside Waco, Texas, represent the largest loss of life in law enforcement actions on American soil.

The Branch Davidians' messiah, David Koresh (1959–1993), was regarded as the end-time Christ, the Lamb described in Revelation as being able to "open" (interpret, and also initiate the apocalyptic events) the Seven Seals. Koresh taught that he and the community's members would be martyred, probably in two assaults, after which they would be resurrected, he as Christ leading the army of two hundred million martyrs of the ages (Rev. 9:16) to destroy the wicked and set up the Davidic kingdom on a miraculously elevated and enlarged Mount Zion (Zech. 14:4–10). The revolutionary violence taught by Koresh would occur after their resurrection. In the meantime, on the basis of Jesus instructing his disciples to purchase swords (Luke 22:36), Branch Davidians were armed for self-defense although they expected to be martyred in two assaults predicted in the Fifth Seal of Revelation (6:9–11). Also, some Branch Davidians traded guns at gun shows to make money to support the community.

On February 28, 1993 agents with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) fulfilled the first part of Koresh's prophecy by executing a paramilitary raid on the communal residence. ATF agents made no attempt to arrest Koresh on one of his many trips away from Mount Carmel, and on February 28 no effort was made to deliver the arrest and search warrants peacefully. Despite learning that Koresh had been tipped off about the raid, ATF attempted to carry out a "dynamic entry," with agents rushing the front door and shooting into windows on the second floor before climbing in. A gunfight ensued in which four ATF agents were killed, many were wounded, five Branch Davidians were killed, and several wounded including Koresh. A sixth Branch Davidian was killed later that day as he attempted to walk back to Mount Carmel.

ATF alleged that Branch Davidians had purchased gun part kits with the intention to convert semi-automatic weapons to automatic weapons, but had not paid the tax required for such conversions. Since an undercover operation found no evidence that Branch Davidians had made gun conversions, ATF alleged to a judge they were a "cult" and Koresh was a "cult leader" who was sexually abusing girls. Koresh had in fact persuaded his followers that all the women in the 130-member community were his wives, and he was engaged in a project to conceive twenty-four children who would be the Twenty-four Elders described in Revelation as assisting the judgment of humanity and rule of God's kingdom. Koresh had sex with underage girls with the permission of their parents, which by law was statutory rape, however this did not come under the jurisdiction of the ATF. As soon as the shootout with ATF agents began, Branch Davidians called 911 begging that the shooting stop for the sake of the innocents inside.

Several aspects of the ATF raid were illegal. In the United States law enforcement agents are prohibited from shooting at unidentified targets in a building. The women and children described the ATF's bullets coming through walls and windows,

and one mother was killed and one was wounded. Branch Davidians alleged that Koresh's father-in-law was mortally wounded by a bullet coming through the closed steel-encased front door. They alleged that a man was killed by gunshots that passed through a plastic water tank outside the window of his room before striking him.

It is also illegal for the U.S. military to be used against civilians except under conditions specified by law. In order to receive Army Special Forces training and support by National Guard helicopters, ATF alleged Branch Davidians were operating a methamphetamine lab, which the subsequent congressional report concluded was a lie. Branch Davidians alleged that a young man on top of the water tower was killed by gunshots fired from a helicopter. They also alleged that agents in the helicopters shot through the roof and windows of the building, and later showed the bullet holes to two attorneys who entered the building during the siege. Branch Davidians were concerned to preserve the building from destruction by tanks brought by the Federal Bureau of Investigation so it would be evidence for their allegations against the ATF.

FBI agents took over the siege, which lasted fifty-one days. During the first part of the siege twenty-one children and fourteen adults came out. But each time adults came out or were preparing to come out, FBI agents sabotaged negotiations by turning off electricity, shining bright spotlights and blasting high-decibel sounds at the building all night, driving tanks into the building, and using tanks to destroy vehicles belonging to Branch Davidians. These tactics prompted the adults to stay inside and keep the remaining children with them. They were waiting to see what God had in store for them.

Branch Davidians believed their martyrdom would occur during Passover week, and when nothing happened Koresh informed FBI agents they would come out after he wrote his interpretation of the Seven Seals of Revelation in a "little book" (Rev. 10:1–2). Koresh was making progress and Branch Davidians were requesting word-processing supplies when FBI agents carried out a tank and CS gas assault on April 19, 1993 beginning at 6:00 a.m.

FBI agents had researched Koresh's teachings and they had multiple sources from which to learn about his apocalyptic theology of martyrdom. Although seriously wounded on February 28, Koresh immediately gave a telephone interview on CNN. On March 2 he sent out an audiotape explaining his theology. Koresh explained his Bible interpretations to negotiators whenever they would listen. Negotiation audiotapes support survivor Clive Doyle's assertion that throughout the siege Koresh and Branch Davidians saw the agents as "souls to be saved" (Doyle with Wessinger and Wittmer 2012: 135). By interviewing relatives, friends, mental health care professionals who had interacted with Branch Davidians and their children, and by interviewing people who came out during the siege, FBI agents learned that while Branch

Davidians were not likely to commit mass suicide, they would regard an assault as a sign that God willed for them to die to fulfill biblical prophecies, especially if the assault occurred during Passover. Two interviewees warned that Branch Davidians believed in a second Passover following the first (based on Numbers 9:6–13) (FBI internal memos in the Lee Hancock Collection, Texas State University-San Marcos, especially "Suicide References," March 27, 1993; "Passover Summary," April 1, 1993; "Passover Analysis Addendum," April 18, 1993; "Suicide Addendum," April 18, 1993; Wessinger 2013).

CS is a chemical agent that burns the skin and mucous membranes, and produces cyanide when it comes into contact with water. It is intended for crowd control outdoors, not for use in enclosed spaces. While Branch Davidian adults had gas masks, there were no child-sized gas masks. During the tank and gas assault on April 19, small children and their mothers took shelter in a concrete vault, deemed the safest place in the wooden building. Since the vault was then used as a pantry, the door had been removed. FBI officials onsite and in the Strategic Information and Operations Center (SIOC) in Washington, D.C. watched the assault through closed circuit monitors and listened in real time to the reactions of Branch Davidians picked up by bugs. FBI decision-makers knew there was kerosene for lanterns inside the building, as well as a large propane tank adjacent to the kitchen. Nevertheless tanks were ordered to drive into and dismantle the building as the gassing accelerated. At 11:35 a.m. a tank drove through the building and gassed the area of the vault until 11:55 a.m. As two tanks converged on Koresh's location on the second floor, an order was called out inside the building to light fires. The first fire was visible at 12:07 p.m.

It is possible that at the very end the Branch Davidians became a fragile millennial group that committed violence so they would die as martyrs to fulfill their goal of playing key roles in God's apocalyptic plan. However, they were assaulted twice, and in between they were subjected to sleep deprivation, the terror of being isolated and surrounded by tanks and aggressive agents, and psychological manipulation.

Seventy-six Branch Davidians, including twenty-three children, died on April 19. The children included two infants who were born during the tank and gas assault and fire. Eight adults and a teenager escaped the fire, some burned severely.

The Branch Davidians were demonized as cultists who had committed group suicide, and some survivors went to prison for being involved in the shootout on February 28. No charges were brought against federal agents. In 2000 federal agents were cleared of contributing to Branch Davidians' deaths in a civil trial and an investigation by special counsel John C. Danforth (Wessinger 2000a; Wessinger 2006: 169–72; Wessinger 2009; Doyle with Wessinger and Wittmer 2012; Wessinger 2013).

National Socialism: Apocalyptic and Revolutionary Avertive Millennialism, Nativist Millennialism, Imperial Millennialism and World War

National Socialism was a progressive millennial movement that resorted to violence to achieve its millennial goal, a collective salvation for the purified German people in the Third Reich. It can be seen as a revolutionary millennial movement, but it also had strong avertive apocalyptic themes. Out of the defeat of Germany by the Allied Powers in World War I, the subsequent rapid social changes in the Weimar Republic, failed economy and rapid inflation, Germans felt demoralized and threatened. The Bolshevik communist revolution in Russia 1917–1921 heightened German anti-Semitism about fears "the Bolshevik Jew" was taking over Germany. The spurious document purporting to spell out Jews' plan to take over the world, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (ca. 1903), enhanced fears of a threatening Jewish conspiracy. According to David Redles:

> This sense of total collapse in all realms (political, social, economic, and cultural) generated a sense of apocalypse, which in turn elicited feelings of hopelessness and a subsequent search for salvation in a movement and a leader, which would remove the communist political threat, return a sense of community to a time marked by social divisiveness, restore the national economy, and return moral decency to the arts. (2011: 530)

Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) stepped forward to become the spokesman for National Socialism, articulating German fears, scapegoating and blaming Jews, and becoming the Führer of the Third Reich in 1933. Nazi violence aimed to avert what was viewed as imminent apocalyptic destruction of the German people by "the Bolshevik Jew," and to accomplish the avertive millennial goal of a collective salvation for ethnic Germans. To achieve that aim Nazi Germany embarked on what was viewed as the Final War, and the Final Solution—extermination of Jews in Europe—implemented in 1941–42. Hitler and the Nazis saw this war and genocide as fulfilling God's plan (Redles 2005; 2011).

National Socialism was a nativist millennial movement seeking to eliminate perceived oppressors and return to an idealized past way of life for the Germanic race. Once Nazis gained dominance, their movement was also an *imperialist millennial movement*. According to Richard Landes (2011), in imperial or *hierarchical millennialism*, "we find a world conqueror who brings all people under his messianic wing, who, with a new 'law,' inaugurates a new world, the new dispensation" (24).

The pageantry of Nazi rallies and Hitler's dynamic speeches about the threatening evils to be overcome roused enthusiasm for the Nazi cause. Hitler drew on the image of heavenly and earthly warfare and defeat of the "red dragon," Satan, in Revelation 12 to demonize Jews: "It is our mission to forge a strong weapon—will and energy—so

that when the hour strikes, and the Red dragon raises itself to strike, at least some of our people will not surrender to despair" (Redles 2010: 170).

International Jihadist Movement: Transnational Revolutionary Nativist Millennialism and Apocalyptic Mirroring

The contemporary international Jihadist, or radical Islamist, movement is an example of a new phenomenon—a revolutionary nativist millennial movement that is multiethnic. An Islamist is a Muslim who wishes to create the political conditions for an Islamic state in which *sharia* (Islamic law based on the Qur'an, *hadith*, and other traditional sources) is enforced. Many Islamists rely on social and political work. *Radical* Islamists resort to violence, including suicide terrorism, which they term "martyrdom operations." The international radical Islamist movement originated with Arabs, but includes Europeans, Americans, South Asians, Filipinos, Indonesians, Africans, and people of African derivation. Radical Islamists see themselves as comprising a "nation" (*umma*) that is under assault by Israel, the United States as the foremost supporter of Israel, and the erosion of Islamic way of life by Western social and economic values. The loss of Palestinian homes, land, and country to Israel is a particular concern, but Islamists see similar patterns of dispossession and desecration of holy lands in Saudi Arabia, Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

The collective earthly salvation sought by radical Islamists is the establishment of a single Islamic state, the *khilafa*, in which *sharia* will be enforced. They have a weapon—suicide terrorism—that is difficult to counteract. To encourage people to die for the cause they draw on Muslim conviction that martyrs will be rewarded immediately in Paradise. Revolutionary violence is used not only against Israel, the United States, and those who support them, but also against Muslims and Islamic governments who are viewed as not being truly Islamic. Violence is directed against perceived "hypocrites" (defined in the Qur'an as people who claim to be Muslim but who are not), and people the Qur'an calls "confederates" (defined by jihadists as citizens of countries such as the United States who are aligned with "hypocrites").

There are multiple groups functioning in the international Jihadist movement that take inspiration from each other and sometimes coordinate operations. With the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, al-Qaeda, founded by Osama bin Laden (1957–2011), became the most famous. An heir to the immense fortune of a Yemeni contractor, bin Laden's terrorist credentials were earned in response to the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. When he was a twenty-two-year-old college student, bin Laden provided material and financial support to the Afghan *mujahidin* (holy warriors) fighting against the Soviets. After Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989 he founded al-Qaeda (the Base) to take the struggle beyond

that country. Bin Laden's "Declaration of War against Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places" in 1996 railed against the "Zionist-Crusader alliance," by which he meant the Israel–United States alliance he saw as oppressing Muslims and their children in various lands, including Palestine, Lebanon, and Iraq. He was also incensed that American troops were stationed on Arabian soil (the Land of the Two Holy Places) after the Persian Gulf War in 1990–91. Similar points were made in the 1998 statement, "Jihad against Jews and Crusaders," issued by bin Laden and colleagues. An anonymous document issued in 2000, "The Islamic Ruling on the Permissibility of Martyrdom Operations," argues that under certain conditions the Qur'an and *hadith* permit suicide attacks, including against civilians (Wessinger 2006: 184–90).

The response to the September 11 attacks on the part of President George W. Bush was a military invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 to attack al-Qaeda camps and remove bin Laden's allies, the Taliban, from governing the country. In 2003 the Bush administration formed a coalition to invade Iraq to depose Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), who was not an Islamist and was not allied with al-Qaeda, and remove alleged weapons of mass destruction that never materialized. Bush declared "war on terror," terming it a "crusade," but dropped the latter term when he was informed that Muslims remember and resent Christian massacres of Muslims during the Crusades. The invasion of Afghanistan was initially named "Infinite Justice," but once it was realized that this made it sound like a holy war, the name was changed to "Enduring Freedom," still expressing American sacred values.

Bush spoke of the war on terror as a battle between good and evil. In Bush's October 7, 2001, speech informing Americans of the invasion of Afghanistan, he used phrases and metaphors that resonated with evangelical Christians familiar with apocalyptic biblical texts. According to Bruce Lincoln, "This conversion of secular political speech into religious discourse invests otherwise merely human events with transcendent significance. By the end, America's adversaries have been redefined as enemies of God and current events have been constituted as confirmation of scripture" (2004, 101).

Jean Rosenfeld has termed the response on the part of the Bush administration "apocalyptic mirroring" (cited in Wessinger 2006), by which she means that the radical dualism of the Bush administration matched that of jihadists, and Bush's apocalyptic war rhetoric mirrored that of bin Laden and colleagues (see also Hall 2009: 161–99). Lincoln (2003; 2004) has pointed to the "symmetric dualisms" contained in the rhetoric of bin Laden and Bush.

President Barack Obama (inaugurated to first term in 2009) toned down the apocalyptic rhetoric while directing the US military to work for conditions in Afghanistan and Iraq that supported withdrawal of American troops, while continuing to use controversial drone strikes to kill radical Islamist leaders in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Yemen, and ordering the Navy Seal operation that killed bin Laden in Pakistan on May 2, 2011. Many innocent civilians and children

have lost their lives in such "targeted killings" within the borders of other countries. US combat troops were withdrawn from Iraq in December 2011; however, in 2012 al-Qaeda-like bombings, mortar attacks, and suicide bombings against Shiite Muslims who constitute the majority of Muslims in Iraq (considered "hypocrites" by radical Sunni Islamists) increased. By July 2012 individuals in al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda associate cells claimed they were carrying out suicide bombings in Syria during the revolution against President Bashar al-Assad. An al-Qaeda operative articulated the goal: "Our big hope is to form a Syrian-Iraqi Islamic state for all Muslims, and then announce our war against Iran and Israel, and free Palestine" (Norland 2012).

Cook (2002) has pointed out that the radical Islamist movement grew out of feelings of humiliation on the part of young Muslim men after their countries were subjected to Western colonialism in the nineteenth century and were suffering from poverty and oppressive regimes in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The international Jihadist movement draws on passages about jihad in the Qur'an and *hadith* to construct a revolutionary nativist millennial ideology. Jeffrey Kenney (2011) points to the *interactive context* that creates radical Islamists and terrorists. Hall similarly points to an *oppositional milieu* (2009: 181–99). Since the grievances of radicalized Islamists relate to life in the earthly world, Kenney suggests that addressing these concerns is the best way to defuse the movement.

Conclusion

Even though apocalyptic expectations become diminished and even "managed" (Stone 2000: 277–79) over time, once apocalyptic texts are part of a canon they remain resources that may be utilized in future millennial projects.

Sometimes apocalyptic texts become meaningful to individuals and societies in which humiliation has been experienced, prompting a desire to find an apocalyptic "other" to demonize and eliminate to restore an imagined well-being. Although apocalyptic texts influential today emerged in contexts of oppression and humiliation, similar contexts are not necessary for them to be meaningful. For example, Branch Davidians, as converts from Seventh-day Adventism, were participants in a theological culture originating in the nineteenth century that emphasized Revelation and a literalistic approach to interpreting biblical prophecies. When the significance of apocalyptic scripture is promoted in a culture, oppression and humiliation are not prerequisites for developing and promoting apocalyptic theologies of violence.

Cult essentialism and/or apocalyptic mirroring involve rigid dualistic perspectives that place sole blame on the "apocalyptic other" for violence and obscure awareness

of the violent interactions with believers that cause deaths. Opponents of apocalyptic groups may hold a more rigid and demonizing dualism than believers.

Apocalyptic and millennial ideas are not fixed. Interpretations of apocalyptic texts are shaped by the context and respond to contextual changes (Gallagher 2000). Ian Reader (cited in Wessinger 2000b: 14) points out that millennialists may resort to a "pragmatics of failure": If violent millennialists experience a resounding defeat, they may become pacifists; or, if the ultimate concern of peaceful millennialists is threatened with failure, they may resort to violence.

Citizens, law enforcement agents, and government officials should give careful consideration to the *power of interactions* to provoke a *dramatic denouement*—defined by David G. Bromley as a juncture at which one or both parties "conclude that the requisite conditions for maintaining their core identity and collective existence are being subverted and that such circumstances are intolerable" (2002: 11). *Interactions in an oppositional milieu* also perpetuate violent conditions in which terrorist identities are forged.

Note

1. Battle was promoted also by Christian leaders. In 1095 Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099) called for the First Crusade to capture Jerusalem from Muslims. Subsequent Crusades continued battles to extend Christian rule to the Holy Land. Popes and other religious leaders assured the faithful that they were expiating their sins by fighting, and were assured of heaven if killed. The Crusades were seen as extending the opportunity for salvation to non-Christians (Hall 2009, 51–55).

Bibliography

Barkun, Michael (1974). *Disaster and the Millennium.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Boyer, Paul (1992). *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bromley, David G. (2002). "Dramatic Denouements," in David G. Bromley and J. Gordon Melton, eds., *Cults, Religion, and Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 11–41.

Cohn, Norman (1970). *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Collins, Adela Yarbro (2003). "The Book of Revelation," in Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, eds., *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*. New York: Continuum, pp. 195–217.

Collins, John J. (2011). "Radical Religion and the Ethical Dilemmas of Apocalyptic Millenarianism," in Zoë Bennett and David B. Gowler, eds., *Radical Christian Voices and Practice: Essays in Honour of Christopher Rowland.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 87–102.

Cook, David (2002). "Suicide Attacks or 'Martyrdom Operations' in Contemporary Jihad Literature." *Nova Religio 6*, no. 1 (October): 7–44.

——(2005). *Understanding Jihad*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

——(2011). "Early Islamic and Classic Sunni and Shi'ite Apocalyptic Movements," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 267–83.

Doyle, Clive, with Catherine Wessinger and Matthew D. Wittmer (2012). *A Journey to Waco: Autobiography of a Branch Davidian.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Ellwood, Robert (2000). "Nazism as a Millennialist Movement," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp. 241–60.

Gallagher, Eugene V. (2000). "'Theology Is Life and Death': David Koresh on Violence, Persecution, and the Millennium," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp. 82–100.

Gavshon, Michael H., and Solly Granatstein (2002). "Zion's Christian Soldiers." *CBS 60 Minutes*. October 6. http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=7380256n.

Hall, John R. (1995). "Public Narratives and the Apocalyptic Sect: From Jonestown to Mount Carmel," in Stuart A. Wright, ed., *Armageddon in Waco: Critical Perspectives on the Branch Davidian Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 205–35.

——(2009). *Apocalypse: From Antiquity to the Empire of Modernity.* Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Hall, John R., with Philip D. Schuyler and Sylvaine Trinh (2000). *Apocalypse Observed: Religious Movements and Violence in North America, Europe, and Japan*. New York: Routledge.

Jones, James W. (2010a). "Eternal Warfare: Violence on the Mind of Apocalyptic Christianity," in Charles B. Strozier, David M. Terman, and James W. Jones, with Katherine A. Boyd, eds., *The Fundamentalist Mindset: Psychological Perspectives on Religion, Violence, and History*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 91–103.

—— (2010b). "Conclusion: A Fundamentalist Mindset?" in Charles B. Strozier, David M. Terman, and James W. Jones, with Katherine A. Boyd, eds., *The Fundamentalist Mindset: Psychological Perspectives on Religion, Violence, and History*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 216–20.

Kenney, Jeffrey (2011). "Millennialism and Radical Islamic Movements," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 688–713.

Landes, Richard (2011). *Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lincoln, Bruce (2003). *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

—— (2004). "Symmetric Dualisms: Bush and bin Laden on October 7, 2001," in Abbas Amanat and John J. Collins, eds., *Apocalypse and Violence*. New Haven, CT: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, pp. 89–112.

Norland, Rod (2012). "Al Qaeda Taking Deadly New Role in Syria's Conflict." *New York Times.* July 24.

Redles, David (2005). *Hitler's Millennial Reich: Apocalyptic Belief and the Search for Salvation.* New York: New York University Press.

—— (2010). "Ordering Chaos: Nazi Millennialism and the Quest for Meaning," in Charles B. Strozier, David M. Terman, and James W. Jones, with Katherine A. Boyd, eds., *The*

Fundamentalist Mindset: Psychological Perspectives on Religion, Violence, and History. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 156–74.

—— (2011). "National Socialist Millennialism," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 529–48.

Rosenfeld, Jean E. (2011). "Nativist Millennialism," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 89–109.

Shuck, Glenn W. (2011). "Christian Dispensationalism," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 515–28.

Stone, Jacqueline (2000). "Japanese Lotus Millennialism: From Militant Nationalism to Contemporary Peace Movements," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp. 261–80.

Strozier, Charles B., David M. Terman, James W. Jones, with Katherine A. Boyd, eds. (2010). *The Fundamentalist Mindset: Psychological Perspectives on Religion, Violence, and History*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Walliss, John (2011). "Fragile Millennial Communities and Violence," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 213–30.

Wessinger, Catherine (2000a). *How the Millennium Comes Violently: From Jonestown to Heaven's Gate*. New York: Seven Bridges Press.

——, ed. (2000b). *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

—— (2006). "New Religious Movements and Violence," in Eugene V. Gallagher and W. Michael Ashcraft, eds., *Introduction to New and Alternative Religions*, vol. 1, *History and Controversies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pp. 165–205.

—— (2009). "Deaths in the Fire at the Branch Davidians' Mount Carmel: Who Bears Responsibility?" *Nova Religio 13*, no. 2 (2009): 25–60.

——, ed. (2011). *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

—— (2013). "The Branch Davidians: An Extended Profile." World Religions and Spirituality Project. <http://www.has.vcu.edu/wrs/ARTICLES/BRANCH%20DAVIDIANS/Branch Davidians.htm>.

Wojcik, Daniel (2011). "Avertive Apocalypticism," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 66–88.

CHAPTER 26

APOCALYPTICISM IN CONTEMPORARY CHRISTIANITY

AMY JOHNSON FRYKHOLM

On the evening of May 21, 2011, thousands of followers tuned into their radios or their Internet connections as the hour that radio evangelist Harold Camping had predicted for the Rapture approached. Camping, a California talk radio host for an organization he founded called Family Radio, had carefully studied scripture in order to determine the exact date and even hour of Jesus Christ's return to earth. "God has given sooo much information in the Bible about this," Camping said in an interview with *New York Magazine* the year before his international fame spread. "And so many proofs, and so many signs, that we know it is absolutely going to happen without any question at all… When the clock says 6 PM, there's going to be this tremendous earthquake.… And the whole world will be alerted that Judgment Day has begun." The evening of May 21, 2011 came and went without an earthquake, indeed without any sign whatsoever that Judgment Day had begun. Harold Camping, like many before him, was wrong.

Camping's campaign to spread the word about May 21 had drawn international attention. With a clever marketing campaign, he and his followers managed to capture the quixotic popular imagination to a somewhat startling degree in a media-driven society. Billboards all over the United States read, "May 21, 2011" and "We Can Know!" Followers began coast-to-coast caravans to talk to people about the approaching end and try to convince them that their salvation was at stake. Camping preached about his predictions on his radio show that was broadcast in forty-eight countries. As May 21, 2011 approached, Camping's predictions garnered stories in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Daily Herald*, the *Times of London*, the *L.A. Times*, the *International Business Times, The Economist*, and countless other news outlets. One

jaded journalist told me in a private conversation, "I admit. I will be relieved to wake up on May 22 and find everyone still here."

Camping's prediction, like all predictions of the end of the world to date, failed, and he will likely be little more than a footnote in the United States' complex and ongoing apocalyptic culture. But his story is instructive, first, because it demonstrates the indefatigable interest in and adherence to apocalyptic belief in American culture and second, because it brings out some of American apocalypticism's salient features. We can say with something like certainty that the phenomenon of apocalyptic prediction has not seen its last in American culture. Camping's particular prediction stands out because it was a well-orchestrated media event that briefly captured popular imagination. But this kind of apocalyptic prediction has been common and cyclical in American society for nearly two hundred years.

Dispensational Premillennialism

Contemporary American apocalyptic culture covers a wide range of ideologies and preoccupations. UFOs, messiahs, comets, Marian cults, Mayan calendars, and many other phenomena have contributed to a diffuse apocalyptic culture emanating from a variety of ideologies. But no story has been so central to American apocalypticism as the story of Jesus Christ's return to earth that is a part of Christianity. The most common form of Christian apocalypticism in the contemporary United States is "dispensational premillennialism," the form that Camping himself preached.

Dispensational premillennialism comes from the nineteenth century, especially from the work of itinerant ministers who traveled around the United States and the United Kingdom preaching a way of reading the Bible as if it were a code offering hints about the future. The most famous and influential of these preachers was John Nelson Darby, an Anglo-Irish minister who is often credited for inaugurating the idea of the "secret rapture," when Christ will take all true believers into heaven and leave everyone else to suffer a period frequently called the Tribulation (Marsden 1982; Sandeen 1970; Weber 1979; Boyer 1992). Following the Tribulation, Christ will come yet again, defeat Satan, and inaugurate the Millennium—the reign of Christ on earth. These "periods" were called, in the nineteenth century, "dispensations," and Darby preached that his own age was the Church Age, which would be followed by the End Times. Ever since Darby, preachers have been attempting to determine, or have been announcing, the date of the end of the Church Age. "Premillennialism" refers to the belief that Christ will return before the beginning of the millennium: Christ's return will initiate, not complete, the utopian era of peace.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of Darby's ideas were taken up in conservative Christian Bible conferences. They were eventually codified in *The Scofield Reference Bible*, where Darby's prophetic interpretations of scripture were contained on the same page as the scripture itself. In the early twentieth century, conservative Christians began expansive development of Bible schools, Bible societies, churches, and other "parachurch" organizations that spread dispensational premillennialism far and wide. Its influence was not concentrated in one hierarchical church structure, but was instead disseminated in grassroots teaching and preaching: in tracts, Sunday night "prophecy nights," and eventually on television, radio, and the Internet (Sandeen 1970; Carpenter 1997; Brereton 1990). Prophecy teachers like Hal Lindsey, Timothy LaHaye, and Jack Van Impe used the media to bring their message to the masses.

End-Time Believers in the United States

It is not easy to determine exactly how many end-times believers of the dispensational premillennialist variety there are in the United States. Political scientist Paula Booke, who has researched the relationship between dispensational premillennialism and politics, said in an interview that her research has led her to understand dispensational premillennialism as a default position for many, if not most, Americans. Unless religious and quasi-religious Americans have specifically been taught otherwise, they have some latent belief in dispensational premillennialism, without ever calling it such. The enormous popularity of the *Left Behind* series demonstrated one way that dispensational premillennialism spread through popular culture without ever asking readers for allegiance to a particular church. Camping's billboard campaign offers another example of Booke's hypothesis. These billboards "primed" latent beliefs in viewers, even if they were not ready to join a Camping caravan.

A 2011 Gallup poll found that 42% of Americans call themselves "born-again" Christians, a label that might correspond to a degree with dispensational premillennialism. A Pew Research survey found that 33% of American Christians held a biblically prophetic view of their faith, while 20% believed the world would decline before the coming of the end. Survey figures, however, don't necessarily translate into the more diffuse beliefs, fears, and expectations that Booke's research aims to understand. People often have vague, received understandings of apocalypticism that can come to the fore through various media events, natural disasters, and other cultural phenomena.

Apocalyptic Determinism

Dispensational premillennialism provides a deterministic view of history (McGinn 1994: 11) that believes that the events on earth are divinely determined and leading toward an already decided end. Human history and destiny is determined by an unseen, uncontrollable force. In traditional dispensationalist understanding, all of human history can be seen as a unity—a story written in advance by God, and then recorded in code in the Bible. Fatalism is a key feature of this understanding: beyond securing one's own individual salvation and attempting to secure the salvation of other individuals, nothing can be done to change this story. In an interview with Larry King, evangelical teacher Beverly LaHaye illustrates this line of thinking. LaHaye is speaking of signs of the end times and tells King, "He [God] warned us that these things would happen as the end draws near."

King asked, "But what do you do with the warning? If he tells you there's going to be more earthquakes, what do you about that?"

LaHaye's answer is very much in the individualistic and fatalistic tradition of dispensationalism. "You get your heart ready to meet him," she answered. In other words, the only response to events of history or forces of nature is preparation of the individual soul for eternity.

This is quite different from an earlier apocalypticism that Sacvan Bercovitch explores in his classic *The American Jeremiad*. In that case, Puritan preachers used doom as a motivational tool. "If you don't reform, this terrible end will be upon you." The dispensationalist form is, "Reform to save yourself; everyone else is doomed anyway." Hope is limited to the individual. While society might corrode, every individual has the possibility of embracing the saving belief in Jesus Christ that will spare him or her the sufferings of the Tribulation.

But it is not fair to say that fatalism alone is at work. Fatalism is entwined with belief in future peace and prosperity that will bring about, through God's action alone, "a predestined, perfect age of harmony and human fulfillment" (Wojick 1997: 4). This coming age has not been easy for dispensationalists to imagine, and it is usually an afterthought of their work. Doom and destruction have ultimately been more compelling aspects of the narrative. But it remains entangled with America's intense optimism and belief in self-creation. Bercovitch notes that in Puritan America, the excoriating form of the jeremiad was used to spur the nascent nation onward (Bercovitch 1978: 9).

In a distinct, but perhaps parallel way, contemporary prophecy believers have also turned fatalistic beliefs into social and political action. Since roughly 1980, American evangelicals have been invested in fighting for their political goals, even while arguing that the United States is ultimately and imminently doomed. They successfully organized a voting bloc that changed the shape of the US Congress and saw the

election of three presidents they believed shared their views. They have been busy shaping government, media, laws, education, and leadership in order to make strong claims about America's identity and future. Having an apocalyptic story to tell seems to have fed evangelical desire to engage a broader American public and has brought about social change that, rhetorically, prophecy believers might argue is impossible.

Serialized Endings

Apocalypticism in America has another, related paradoxical aspect. What is intended to be final—as in the end of all things—becomes serial. We can trace this reality back as far as the mid-nineteenth century to the followers of William Miller. Like Harold Camping, Miller studied scriptures and came up with a date for the second coming. When the date came and went, Miller set a second date. When that date came and went, Miller was ready to call it quits, but his followers set a third date. The third date, October 21, 1844, came to be known in American history as the Great Disappointment, but it also came to be serialized in its own way. Scholars generally credit the Great Disappointment and Millerism with inaugurating Seventh-day Adventism and Jehovah's Witnesses in American culture—both of which continue to interpret biblical prophecies to this day (Doan 1987).

Carrying on the tradition of serializing dates, Hal Lindsey, whose book *The Late Great Planet Earth* was one of the best-selling books of the 1970s, has predicted several dates for the end of the world including 1981, 1988, and 2007. He recently added 2018 without blinking an eye. Serialization has also occurred in prophetically oriented media. The groundbreaking Christian apocalyptic film *A Thief in the Night* was first aired in 1972 and came to include four films with a fifth that has been in production since 2007. The *Left Behind* series began as a trilogy, expanded to seven, then twelve books, and now comprises a franchise of branded materials that includes prequels, sequels, children's books, graphic novels, and films. Camping himself "serialized" his own prediction after May 21, 2011, by suggesting that that had in fact only been a spiritual apocalypse. The physical corollary would occur, he said, on October 21, 2011.

The end of the things, in the American imagination, isn't very final. One reason for this may be the success with which marketing and apocalypticism interact. When something sells well, the market reinvents and recreates it as often as possible—and the interaction between Christian apocalypticism and marketing is something I will explore in more detail below. A second reason for this may be that the apocalyptic is never as much about the future as it is about the present moment. The apocalyptic functions as a critique of and commentary on the present as much as on an imagined, disastrous future. Serialization allows for this critique to be refreshed with every

turning. Apocalyptic scenarios combine a linear understanding of time with a cyclical fascination.

The Structure of an Apocalyptic Worldview

While it might be easy to mock Hal Lindsey's serial setting of dates, we also can understand dispensational premillennialism as a worldview that successfully combines rigid and formulaic structures with persistent flexibility and adaptability. On the one hand, apocalyptic thought needs very rigid structures. It is based on black-and-white thinking about the nature of good and evil (Keller 1996; 9). It is based on very specific understandings of how the Bible should be read, what God demands of believers in the contemporary moment, and how to interpret politics and culture. It uses these rigid structures to police individual behavior (Frykholm 2004a: 151; O'Leary 1994: 139). On the other hand, dispensational premillennialism has proven itself exceptionally fluid and adaptable. It finds its force and meaning in moment-by-moment events as diverse as the creation of the state of Israel, the rise of the nuclear bomb (Boyer 1992), the 2011 earthquake in Japan, and the Arab Spring. Every current event is available for prophetic interpretation and that feeds the success of television shows and Internet phenomena like *Jack Van Impe Presents* and www.prophecynewswatch.com, which interpret everyday events in light of prophetic understanding.

We might take as an example the way that contemporary Christian apocalypticism treats the United Nations. Long before the United Nations was chartered in 1945, dispensational premillennialism had cast suspicion on any unifying body or organization. In part, this was because of a strong antimodern and antiglobalization streak embedded in the belief system. Drawing on scriptures in the book of Daniel and the book of Revelation, prophecy believers preached that the Antichrist would rise as the head of a world body. Since then, whenever nations have unified in any way—the North American Free Trade Agreement, the European Union, NATO—this has been read within dispensational premillennialism as a sign of the end times. But no group has been more targeted than the United Nations. Paul Boyer explains that this fear of unifying is derived from identifying code language in the Bible. "The belief that the Antichrist will rule a *ten-nation* kingdom derived from the Bible's explicit identification of the Beast's ten horns in Daniel 7 and Revelation 13 as *kings*, and from a reference in Daniel to the statues' *toes*" (Boyer 1992: 276, emphasis in original). Prophecy believers have experimented with more or less literal readings of the "ten," but unification of governments under one powerful leader has remained central to this line of logic.

Passionate belief that unification of governments or religions is dangerous and a sign of the end times is written deeply into dispensational premillennialism—one of its central tenets. But this suspicion can be expressed in any number of ways. Dispensationalist churches, for example, are unlikely to join the World Council of Churches for fear that such a council is a step toward a one-world religion they believe prophesied by the Bible. They might protest when the United States ratifies a U.N. agreement or urge their senators not to approve funds for the United Nations, in the belief that to do so would be to support a present or future Antichrist.

Another example of this dynamic between rigidity and flexibility is in dispensationalism's fascination with identifying the Antichrist. That there will be an Antichrist—one figure who rises to take world power and deceive all the people into trusting him—is not doubted or disputed. This is a central tenet of the apocalyptic belief system. But who that person might be is the subject of endless speculation. Up until the mid-twentieth century, Protestants focused on Rome and believed that the Antichrist would be the pope, but after 1945, writes Boyer, "the Vatican faded . . . as a target of Antichrist watchers" (Boyer 1992: 275). The list of potential antichrists grew long and diverse. It included Hitler, Mussolini, Moshe Dayan, Anwar Sadat, King Juan Carlos of Spain, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, John Kennedy, Henry Kissinger, Ronald Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev, Saddam Hussein, and Barack Obama. Perhaps learning from past mistakes, one Texas megachurch pastor said that Barack Obama's second-term election was sure to "pave the way for the Antichrist." "I'm not saying that President Obama is the Antichrist," this pastor said. "I am not saying that at all. One reason I know he is not the Antichrist is that Antichrist is going to have much higher poll numbers when he comes."[1]

The pastor's use of wry humor along with his cultural and political diagnosis and his willingness to talk about the end times woven into everyday events is emblematic of the way that Christian apocalypticism functions in American culture. He shows unflinching belief in the coming of the end times along with extraordinary willingness to interpret everyday life through this lens—and flexibility to let his interpretation of the unfolding drama evolve.

A Prophetic Lens

Perhaps the best way, then, to understand this dynamic is that prophecy belief is a lens through which the world is read. Any event can be used, no matter how fleeting (Frykholm 2004a: 119). Dispensational premillennialism provides a script for the future and a lens for the present that sidelines other interpretive frameworks and

centralizes events that fit within its narrative. With each detail of the world's news and events processed for believers in this way, the more real apocalyptic imminence becomes and the more pressing this belief seems in the life of an individual believer. Likewise, the structure is flexible enough that its significance can come and go during the course of one's life, becoming more pressing at certain times and then fading, as we saw with the Harold Camping episode.

The dispensationalist framework allows adherents to make sense readily of past, present, and future. They can absorb the huge amounts of seemingly meaningless information that comes during the course of any given day through a strong interpretive lens. This makes life more meaningful and provides an important role for the believer in culture. Apocalyptic belief is thus profoundly orienting (Brummett 1991: 15).

American apocalypticism does not imagine itself to be a tradition. While we can trace its history, each generation experiences its implications afresh, as if it were a story directly aimed at each particular moment. Teachers like Camping don't claim precedents. And since the end of the world is imminent, they also do not intend to leave any heirs. Sometimes even mentioning the history of biblical interpretation or that the Rapture is a nineteenth-century idea is antithetical to apocalyptic Bible readers who see the document as simultaneously timeless and created to speak directly to the present.

This means that the Bible is read primarily as a code. "The task for the interpreter," writes Adela Yarbro Collins in explicating this tradition, "is to decode the figurative speech and to determine at what point on the historical timetable the world is at present" (1986: 232). Bible prophecy interpreters have, like Camping, a remarkable tendency to read signs of the end times and signs of one's own life into the text. This method of reading is at once deeply personal, ahistorical, and teleological. If an interpreter has misread the signs, he does not need to abandon this kind of reading. He merely needs to study harder.

Even within the movement from figurative biblical language to decoded signs for the contemporary moment, prophecy believers employ a great deal of metaphoric and playful thinking. Take, for example, a famous passage used in American apocalypticism, Revelation 9:7–10:

> The appearance of the locusts was like horses prepared for battle; and on their heads appeared to be crowns like gold, and their faces were like the faces of men.[8] They had hair like the hair of women, and their teeth were like the teeth of lions.[9] They had breastplates like breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was like the sound of chariots, of many horses rushing to battle.[10] They have tails like scorpions, and stings; and in their tails is their power to hurt men for five months. (NASV)

This strange discussion of the appearance of the "locusts" has created a great deal of speculation about its meaning. Hal Lindsey argued in *Apocalypse Code*

that this passage should be interpreted metaphorically. The locusts were actually helicopters.

> How would someone like the Apostle John clearly describe a helicopter in flight, which didn't exist in the apostle John's time-line? Perhaps, a Helicopter in flight in a war would be described by the Apostle John as a "flying locust" that's "shooting fire" from its mouth? It's for certain bullets do shoot out as fire from a helicopter when we see this action even in the movies of our time. The Apostle John had no idea even of what a bullet was back in his day, but clearly describes what we do see in our movies of today, however, we call them—helicopters. (Lindsey 1997: 166–67)

This leap from the description of a locust to the description of a helicopter gives the biblical text a playfulness that enlivens the apocalyptic imagination. Other biblical interpreters attempt to give this passage a far more literal meaning and create beings that are part locust, part horse with wild hair and teeth. See the *Left Behind* series for an example (LaHaye and Jenkins 1999).

These examples demonstrate that reading the Bible as code is not, despite what its adherents frequently say, an exercise in literalism. It is instead a playful, imaginative, and metaphoric exercise that strengthens the connection between the ancient text and the present moment.

An Extra-institutional Framework

This apocalyptic framework functions in extra-institutional ways. It is not a part—on its own—of any particular church or denomination. Some churches use this framework more than others; some evangelical preachers find meaning in it and don't let a Sunday pass without its mention. Others don't mention it at all. Some churches may have prophetic Bible studies or bring in prophecy teachers for special events or dedicate significant resources to convincing others of their prophetic beliefs. But it is not part of an institutional structure. Typically speaking, American prophecy believers are suspicious of the institutional church. In the mid-twentieth century, they spent considerable time and energy condemning traditional denominations and institutions and setting up "parachurch" organizations, where apocalypticism flourished (Carpenter 1997). Harold Camping provides an unusually vivid example. For most of his life, he was a member of the Christian Reformed Church. But in 1988, he left the church. He later declared that not only had he himself left the church, but that 1988 marked the end of the entire Church Age, thus melding his own biography into

his apocalypticism in a striking way. He based his calculations for the world's end on this date.

Like many apocalyptic teachers, Camping found his significance in independent teaching and preaching, using the media and radio as his virtual church, and practicing his own, individual Bible reading. How many followers he and Family Radio had is difficult to know. Family Radio did not belong to any particular church or denomination. Camping was not subject to anyone for his teachings and had little accountability. This is a good example of the "unofficial" and subcultural quality of American apocalypticism; it exists largely at an informal level and is usually transmitted outside the channels of official religious instruction (Wojcik 1997: 16).

Apocalypticism and Media

In American culture, while this does mean that apocalypticism is transmitted using largely idiosyncratic and individualistic means, there is still one institution without which American apocalypticism would be hard-pressed to exist: the mass media. Contemporary apocalypticism is largely communicated and disseminated through popular media: websites, television, and web-based broadcasts, radio, and book publishing. When Don Thompson and Russell Doughten produced the dispensationalist film *A Thief in the Night* in 1972, they were able to increase its distribution dramatically because the US Army had donated film projectors to churches and schools nationwide. Shortly after the film was produced, the Christian Film Distributors organized to rent out the film at a rate of 1,500 showings a month. Christians were quickly becoming adept at developing and using their own mass-market niches, and apocalypticism was grease for the wheel. By the time, *Left Behind* was published in 1995, Christian book publishers were ready to convince mainstream retailers to carry their products, and pretty soon, Barnes and Noble and Walmart both had *Left Behind* displays in their stories nationwide. Eventually, far more copies of *Left Behind* were sold in Walmart than in any Christian bookstore. "Starting in the 1970s," writes historian Timothy Weber, "dispensationalists broke into the popular culture with runaway best-sellers, plenty of media visibility, and a well-networked political campaign" (Weber 2004: 15).

Interest in Israel

This campaign, Weber points out, highlights one of the most significant political effects of dispensationalism: the promotion and protection of the "interests of Israel" on the world stage (Weber 2004: 15). In other ways, dispensationalism has become wedded to Christian Zionism. A Christian interest in the political state of Israel can be tied with Christian apocalypticism going back to the seventeenth century (Clark 2007; Spector 2008), but the term has only recently gained currency in contemporary America (Spector 2008: 2). Evangelical preachers have poured money and resources into Israeli settlements and pro-Israel lobbying groups. They have combined a pro-Israel political stance with prosperity gospel beliefs to create a rather new form of apocalypticism and Zionism that includes "end times" tours of the Holy Land and a combination of war-heated rhetoric with a desire for Israel's flourishing.

The leader of the Christian Zionist organization Christians United For Israel (CUFI) is Texas megachurch pastor John Hagee. Hagee exemplifies many of these contradictions. He is simultaneously an exuberant advocate for Israel and has written several books on the "coming of the end" in which he imagines Israel will play an important role. Advocates like Hagee resist any two-state solution and are not without eagerness to see Israel go to war with Iran. At the same time, Hagee argues for the "blessing of Israel" as a means to experience personal blessings regardless of the orientation to the end times. He draws on Genesis 12:3, in which God says to Israel, "Those who bless you, I will bless."

Engagement or Withdrawal?

The complexities of Christian Zionism's orientation to Israel highlight one of the oddities of dispensational premillennialism more broadly: is this form of apocalypticism a motivating force for social and political action or is it a pacifying one? Does having an apocalyptic view of culture cause isolation and withdrawal from what one perceives to be an evil and decaying society or does it motivate engagement with the broader culture through its perceptions of that culture's failings?

On the one hand, there is good reason to believe that a strong sense that American culture was doomed and that true believers ought to retreat into safe, homogenous enclaves motivated some isolationism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In dispensationalism, the individual believer has no role in history. The events of the end times have already been determined. As we've seen, the believer simply

needs to set her own heart right and then wait for the end to come. Apocalyptic beliefs transform anxiety about the "predicted catastrophes into passive acceptance of these as foreordained events," Daniel Wojcik argues (1997: 57). It reduces both individual responsibility and individual fear.

Instead of engaging in battles for mainstream media, universities and governments, conservative Christians, many but not all of whom were dispensational premillennialists, developed their own separate institutions. Churches where dispensational premillennialism was taught on Sunday night in the church basement were places that taught that engagement with the world was dangerous. They urged adherents to stay away from all forms of worldliness including popular music, movies, dancing, and card playing. Dispensationalists founded schools like Dallas Theological Seminary and Moody Bible Institute where they expounded their own understandings of the Bible, history, and the future without being sullied by the broader culture.

At the same time, dispensationalism has been a profound motivator for evangelism. Barry Brummett argues that apocalyptic belief secures the "adherence of an audience." Once someone moves from passive listener to engaged believer, apocalypticism can urge that person to "accept further social and political commitments" (Brummett 1991: 11). For example, Timothy Weber points out that, in the twentieth century, apocalyptic beliefs motivated foreign missions. Believing that everyone needed to hear the gospel before the end of the world, dispensationalist churches funded vast overseas missions to faraway places, preaching the imminent coming of Christ and spreading peculiarly Western doctrines like the Rapture worldwide (Weber 2012: 59). A profound exception to the general notion that believers can have no impact on the course of events is the belief that Christ will come once the Gospel has been preached to every people on earth. Thus thousands of missionaries have spread out all over the world to see if they can bring about the apocalypse through their missionary actions.

On a smaller scale, we can also see how apocalyptic belief motivated Harold Camping's followers. They went out into the streets to promote Camping's timeline and donated money that was spent erecting billboards. They contacted media. Many quit their jobs and joined the "caravans" that traveled across the country to spread the word of the coming apocalypse. While these actions were not intended to shape the impending events or avoid the apocalypse, they hoped to change and influence individual lives.

Despite this belief in having control only over individual salvation, evangelicals with apocalyptic beliefs have had an impact on American politics. Many scholars, for example, credit evangelicals with winning the 2004 presidential election for President Bush. While these voters were not motivated by apocalyptic beliefs directly, they brought a social vision of the United States that had been forged by dispensationalist preachers and teachers for more than a century, but that had, only since about 1980, imagined itself as a political force in the United States.

Interestingly, the passivity of early Rapture novels and Rapture films where believers were taken up to heaven and everyone else damned was transformed during this same twenty-five-year period (1980–2005) to depictions of believers actively combating the Antichrist, even after the Rapture (Frykholm 2004a: 129; Gribben 2009; Walliss and Newport 2009).

While dispensationalists have taken a more active role in shaping culture and politics in the last several decades, many have worried that one outcome has been in ignoring signs of a very different apocalypse: an environmental one. If you believe that the world will end shortly, then of what value is preserving resources or caring for the earth? This has caused two contradictory apocalyptic mentalities to arise in the United States, each with very different constituencies. One sees the impending end caused entirely by human means—an apocalyptic destruction of the planet through global warming, nuclear war, or some other drastic misuse of the earth. The other sees destruction coming through a God-ordained apocalypse foretold in the Bible on which humans can have no impact whatsoever. The extent to which this second form of apocalypse has influenced US policy in regards to the environment is a matter of dispute. One of the most famous examples of the potential influence of dispensationalism on politics was reported by Paul Boyer in his landmark *When Time Shall Be No More.* Boyer detailed the prophetic orientation of members of the Reagan administration, and Reagan himself that indicated a sense that the earth had little time left (Boyer 1992: 141).

Many, like Timothy LaHaye, see environmentalism as a distraction from the true issue of the coming Rapture or as a way of ascribing to humans a power that rightly belongs to God. It is a competing narrative of the end of time and an alternative explanation for the earthquakes, hurricanes, and storms that dispensationalists have always claimed for their own narrative. With the rise of environmentalism among evangelicals—even Dallas Theological Seminary now has a recycling program—it will be fascinating to see how dispensationalism changes and adapts. How will its famous fluidity make sense of this very different and convincing account of "the end"?

An Apology for Failure

After the dates of May 21 and October 21, 2011 had come and gone without signs of the end of the world—no spiritual or physical earthquake that he was able to determine—Harold Camping took an unusual step in the history of American apocalypticism. Camping apologized. On Family Radio's website, he apologized especially to

those whose salvation he had called into question. He said that he was not returning to the Bible to seek out a new date for the end of the world. Instead, he wrote, "We have learned the very painful lesson that all of creation is in God's hands and he will end time in his time, not ours! We humbly recognize that God may not tell his people the date when Christ will return, anymore than he tells anyone the date they will die physically." He would study the Bible, he said, to seek to understand this God more fully.

Other date setters and prophecy interpreters have not followed suit. Hal Lindsey, Timothy LaHaye, Jack Van Impe—and a media industry now more devoted to apocalyptic stories than ever—continue to give interviews, write books, interpret the news, and chart biblical prophecies. The story they tell is one so ingrained in American history, so enshrined in contemporary media, and so woven into personal stories and beliefs that it is difficult to imagine its demise. It is not difficult, however, to imagine that it will have to change with the times, just as it has always done.

Note

1. http://www.christianpost.com/news/texas-megachurch-pastor-says-obama-will-pave-way-for-antichrist-84639/.

Bibliography

Amanat, Abbas, and Magnus Thorkell Bernhardsson (2002). *Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the Ancient Middle East to Modern America*. New York: I.B. Tauris.

Balmer, Randall (1989). *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

—— (1999). *Blessed Assurance: A History of Evangelicalism in America*. Boston: Beacon.

Barkun, Mikhael (1974). *Disaster and the Millennium*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

—— (1996). *Millennialism and Violence*. Portland, OR: Cass.

—— (2003). *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Baumgartner, Frederic J. (1983). "Divided Apocalypse: Thinking about the End in Contemporary America." Soundings *66*:3 (Fall): 257–80.

—— (1999). *Longing for the End: A History of Millennialism in Western Civilization*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Benjamin, Marina (1998). *Living at the End of the World*. London: Picador.

Bercovitch, Sacvan (1978). *The American Jeremiad.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Boyer, Paul (1992). *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy and Belief in Modern American Culture*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Brasher, Brenda E., and Lee Quinby (2006). *Gender and Apocalyptic Desire.* Oakville, CT: Equinox.

Brereton, Virginia Lieson (1990). *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880–1940*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Brummett, Barry (1991). *Contemporary Apocalyptic Rhetoric.* Westport, CT: Praeger.
Carpenter, Joel (1997). *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Clark, Victoria (2007). *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Cohn, Norman Rufus Colin (1970). *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
Doan, Ruth Alden (1987). *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Festinger, Leon, Henry Riecken, and Stanley Schachter (1956). *When Prophecy Fails.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Frykholm, Amy (2004a). *Rapture Culture: "Left Behind" in Evangelical America.* New York: Oxford University Press.
—— (2006). "The Gender Dynamics of the *Left Behind* Series," in Bruce Forbes and Jeffery Mahan, eds., *Religion and Popular Culture.* 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 270–87.
—— (2011). "From Tom Hammond to Rayford Steele: Rapture Fiction and the Predicament of Christian Male Leadership," in Crawford Gribben and Mark Sweetnam, eds., *"Left Behind" and the Evangelical Imagination.* London: Sheffield Phoenix, pp. 15–30.
Gribben, Crawford (2009). *Writing the Rapture: Prophecy Fiction in Evangelical America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Harding, Susan (2000). *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press..
Heard, Alex (1999). *Apocalypse Pretty Soon: Travels in End-Time America*. New York: Norton.
Hendershot, Heather (2004). *Shaking the World for Jesus.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Hunt, Stephen (2001). *Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Kaplan, Jeffrey (1997). *Radical Religion in America: Millenarian Movements from the Far Right to the Children of Noah*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
—— (2002). *Millennial Violence: Past, Present, and Future.* Portland, OR: Cass.
Keller, Catherine (1996). *Apocalypse Now and Then: A Feminist Guide to the End of the World.* Boston: Beacon.
LaHaye, Timothy, and Jerry Jenkins (1999). *Apollyon: The Destroyer is Unleashed*. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House.
Lahr, Angela M. (2007). *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares: The Cold War Origins of Political Evangelicalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Lamy, Philip (1996). *Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy*. New York: Plenum Press.
Landes, Richard Allen, ed. (2000). *Encyclopedia of Millennialism and Millennial Movements.* New York: Routledge.
Lee, Martha F. (2000). *Millennial Visions: Essays on Twentieth-Century Millenarianism.* Westport, CT: Praeger.
Lewis, James R. (2000). *Doomsday Prophecies: A Complete Guide to the End of the World.* Amherst, NY: Prometheus.
Lindsey, Hal. (1997). *Apocalypse Code*. Palos Verdes, CA: Western Front.
Marsden, George (1982). *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McGinn, Bernard (1994). *Apocalypticism in the Western Tradition*. Hampshire: Variorum.
Newport, Kenneth G. C., and Crawford Gribben (2006). *Expecting the End: Millennialism in Social and Historical Context*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.
O'Leary, Stephen D. (1994). *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*. New York: Oxford University Press.
O'Leary, Stephen D., and Glen S. McGhee (2005). *War in Heaven / Heaven on Earth: Theories of the Apocalyptic*. Oakville, CT: Equinox.
Rossing, Barbara (2004). *The Rapture Exposed: The Message of Hope in the Book of Revelation*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
Sandeen, Ernest (1970). *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1830–1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Spector, Stephen (2008). *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Stone, Jon R. (1993). *A Guide to the End of the World: Popular Eschatology in America*. New York: Garland.
Strozier, Charles (1994). *Apocalypse: On the Psychology of Fundamentalism in America*. Boston: Beacon Press.
Thompson, Damian (1997). *The End of Time: Faith and Fear in the Shadow of the Millennium*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
—— (2005). *Waiting for Antichrist: Charisma and Apocalypse in a Pentecostal Church*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Walliss, John, and Kenneth G. C. Newport, eds. (2009). *The End All Around Us: Apocalyptic Texts and Popular Culture*. London: Equinox.
Weber, Timothy (1979). *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
—— (2004). *On the Road to Armageddon: How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend*. Grand Rapids: Baker.
Wessinger, Catherine Lowman (2000). *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
Wojcik, Daniel (1997). *The End of the World as We Know It: Faith, Fatalism and Apocalypse in America*. New York: New York University Press.
Yarbro Collins, Adela (1984). *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of Apocalypse*. Philadelphia: W estminster Press.
—— (1986). "Reading the Book of Revelation in the Twentieth Century." Interpretation *40*: 229–42.

CHAPTER 27

APOCALYPSE AND TRAUMA

DERECK DASCHKE

The fact that apocalypticism is such an incredibly mutable cultural form only raises deeper questions about what apocalypse is, in essence, and why people have responded to it so persistently throughout the ages. Taking root in the ancient Near East as a literary genre known as "apocalypse," from the Greek *apocalypsis*, or "uncovering, revelation," these writings were promulgated in the scripture of Jews and Christians, both canonically and otherwise. Ever since, the texts' depiction of a cosmos wherein humanity's days are numbered—sometimes literally—and whose secrets are hidden from all but a select few has inspired "apocalypticism," which extends the implications and expectations of the genre of apocalypse into social, psychological, and cultural areas, in fields ranging from environmental protection to politics to computer science to literature and film. One's wonderment at its sheer ubiquitousness in so many times, places, and forms is only intensified by its millennia-old record of failure. The fervent expectation of the end of the world—at least as one knows it—has never come to pass in the manner predicted. Even the centuries-old story of the Aztecs submitting to Cortés due to the belief that Quetzalcoatl would destroy the world as a white man—once understood as a rare case of apocalyptic prophecy coming true—now seems to be a case of the winners writing history (Restall and Solari 2011: 67–89). These theological failures are well documented, easily available to any new prophet and potential followers as a cautionary tale about the fickle glories of apocalyptic date-setting. Yet time and again self-proclaimed visionaries venture down this well-trod path, seemingly unaware of the inevitable fate that awaits their inspired insights into the predetermined course of history.

Why is this so? What is it about the apocalyptic mindset that seems compelled to ignore the lessons of the past and pursue the road that can only end in disappointment and failure? A close examination of apocalyptic concerns reveals that apocalypticism

is much less about prediction of the future and much more about remaking a world shattered by unexpected, unexplained pain and disillusionment, known in many areas of medicine and psychological health as *trauma*.

Psychologist Ronnie Janhoff-Bulman proposes three simple, fundamental assumptions about the world that are all disrupted by a traumatic injury or event: That the world is benevolent; that the world is meaningful; and that the self is worthy (1992: 6). An investigation into apocalyptic traditions indicates that the shattering of these very assumptions lies at their emotional core. Seers in the ancient apocalypses lament over the free reign given to God's enemies and the lowly state to which his People are reduced; modern apocalyptically minded individuals throw up unassailable walls of faith that work directly to shore up these fundamental assumptions, belying an underlying terror that their faith in them has already been lost. Whether apocalyptic sentiments are represented in texts or in a movement, their particular qualities suggest that they are the expressions of traumatized people. An investigation into apocalypses demonstrates why this worldview is particularly powerful in capturing and expressing currents of trauma felt at both a personal and collective level, one that even symbolically imposes the traumatic blow upon history or the cosmos itself.

Traumatic injuries are deep and disruptive; they inhibit normal functioning in areas not even directly affected by the wound. They can be bodily, psychological, and/or societal; they can be hidden or readily apparent to all. Traumas that injure one person will affect everything around him or her—relationships to family, work, institutions, even spiritual expectations. By the same token, massive traumas that disrupt whole cultures, such as war, occupation, natural disasters, or the unexpected loss of a national institution or leader, not only irrevocably alter the lives of the individuals in the social body, but the culture itself is wounded in a perceptible way. This existential blow is sometimes called a *national* or *cultural trauma* or a *symbolic loss* (Neal 1998: 4; Homans 2000: 20). The features of this shared trauma, we shall see, are reflected in the structure and sentiments of apocalyptic writings, movements, and worldviews—and vice versa.

Individual and collective traumas can take on very different forms and have wildly divergent origins and implications. Sociologist Kai Erikson makes this distinction:

> By *individual trauma* I mean a blow to the psyche that breaks through one's defenses so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively. . . . By collective trauma, on the other hand, I mean a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of community. (Erikson 1994: 233)

For obvious reasons there is a great deal of overlap between the individual experience and the collective one. Indeed, typically they are two sides of the same coin, the individual being subsequently traumatized by larger catastrophic or disastrous conditions (such as war, terrorism, natural disasters, political upheaval) or a personal injury radically altering one's interpersonal environment and trust in the world (as

in rape, a violent attack, a severe and prolonged illness, divorce, a loss of a job, and so on). Judith Herman succinctly sums up the interrelationship between individual and collective trauma when she writes,

> Traumatic events call into question basic human relationships. They breach the attachments of family, friendship, love, and community. They shatter the construction of the self that is formed and sustained in relation to others. They undermine the belief systems that give meaning to human experience. They violate the victim's faith in a natural or divine order and cast the victim into state of existential crisis. (Herman 1997: 50)

Similarly, in defining the precise qualities that make trauma so devastating on personal and social levels, Arthur Neal states that

> Perceptions of danger, chaos, and a crisis of meaning replace previous feelings of safety and security. . . . Restructuring a self-identity and reestablishing one's place in the broader scheme of human affairs becomes necessary. The concept of trauma may also be applied collectively to the experiences of an entire group of people. Here conditions of trauma grow out of an injury, a wound, or an assault on social life as it is known and understood. Something terrible, deplorable, or abnormal has happened, and social life has lost its predictability. . . . Chaos prevails, and people become uncertain about what they should or ought to believe. Individuals lose confidence in their ability to see the interrelatedness of events, and disturbing questions are raised about the linkage of personal lives with historical circumstances. (Neal 1998: 3–4)

The deepest damage done by trauma thus may, in fact, be to the roots of one's worldview. Trauma unsettles the assumed building blocks of meaning in the universe, disrupts the storyline that makes up the narrative called "past, present, and future." In his study of the psychology of apocalyptically minded fundamentalist Christians, Charles Strozier observes that "*All* fundamentalists I met described their personal narratives as broken in some basic way. . . . Their stories were discontinuous and full of trauma" (Strozier 1994: 43; emphasis in original). The fundamentalists' perception that there is something broken in the world, a trauma in history, that threatens the divine order seems to engender their apocalyptic response.

Trauma Revealed and Concealed

Both traumatic experience and apocalyptic thought gravitate back to a central event, a transformative moment when the normal contours of time and even existence itself seem to come undone. Trauma, then, creates a rupture in the experience of

the world, which then becomes a new focal point around which all experience is organized (Danieli 1998: 7). Arthur Neal writes that "the essence of the trauma experience . . . [is] that an ongoing activity has been interrupted by an adverse happening that is unexpected, painful, extraordinary, and shocking." It has an "explosive quality about it" (Neal 1998: 3). This disruptive, intrusive quality of a radical change in the expected structure of life is present in both the form and the content of the classical apocalypses.

Most obviously, apocalypses, as the Greek word *apocalypsis* denotes, mean to *reveal* something about the world and its workings that was previously unknown to the seer and his audience—and do so by means of sudden and unbeckoned dreams, visions, and theophanies that, by definition, disturb the normal experience of life. In describing the literary effect of apocalyptic literature, Christopher Rowland asserts that they are an "unmasking of reality" (1990: 129) and David Barr calls them a "symbolic transformation of the world" (1984: 39). Apocalyptic events are so mind-bogglingly incomprehensible that they simply cannot be true in themselves; they must be masking some greater truth that would make the world make sense again. To wit, André LaCocque observes with regard to the writers of the apocalyptic sections of the book of Daniel, "For them it was a mistake to confuse the current course of history with its normal course. Nothing could have been more abnormal; history had gone mad" (LaCocque 1988: 107). Form anticipates content in apocalypses as the disorienting intrusions of the visionary format mimic the disorienting intrusions of the traumas of history.

The events that lead up to and follow from the apocalyptic turning point are routinely described or presented as inexplicable, incomprehensible, unnatural, alien, beyond understanding. In the book of Daniel, the seer experiences a vision in chapter 8 concerning "the time of the end," where "a fierce looking king" rises up against God and desecrates the sanctuary in Jerusalem. The seer concludes, "I, Daniel, was worn out. I lay exhausted for several days. . . . I was appalled by the vision; it was beyond understanding" (Dan 8:17, 23, 27). Similarly, a Jewish apocalypse composed after the destruction of the Second Temple, *4 Ezra*, depicts its seer, Ezra, as exasperated at the incomprehensibility of the cosmic injustice he has witnessed:

> Are the deeds of those who inhabit Babylon any better? Is that why she has gained dominion over Zion? . . . And my heart failed me, for I have seen how you endure those who sin, and have spared those who act wickedly, and have destroyed your people, and have preserved your enemies. . . . [And you] have not shown to anyone how your way may be comprehended. (*4 Ezra* 3:28–31; similar complaints also appear at *4 Ezra* 4:2–3, 12, and 22–25)

The seers in *2* and *3 Baruch*, texts roughly contemporaneous with *4 Ezra*, are also depicted early on as trying to understand the way of God in the wake of the disaster. Moreover, the seer is often not the only one stunned; the vision itself is stunning to the *reader*, its imagery at turns horrifying and sublime, disconcerting and glorious. It is

no coincidence that some of the imagery found in apocalyptic texts has been evoked to inspire fear and awe in believers and non-believers alike. For instance, Catholic missionaries painted scenes from Revelation on the walls of churches as part of their conversion efforts among the Maya, who in turn—and in response to the trauma of colonialization—adopted the millennial narrative as their own (Restall and Solari 2011: 97–107).

This shock of the unknown and unknowable that arises in the wake of traumatic events is, in fact, the driving dynamic of the traumatic experience.

> Trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual's past, but rather in the way its very unassimilated nature—the way it was precisely *not known* in the first instance—returns to haunt the survivor later on. . . . [I]t is always the story of a wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available. (Caruth 1996: 4)

As this quote illustrates, both the content and the form of revelation found in classical apocalyptic literature echo the qualities of the traumatic experience. Indeed, the quintessential narrative of apocalyptic texts could rightly be described as an "attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available." By the same token, apocalypses reveal that which is not known to the seer, but only in ways that are not fully comprehensible at first—thus keeping the revelation partially secret still. This fact reflects the interplay between what the traumatized can know about their trauma and what they must keep unacknowledged and willfully forgotten (in psychoanalytic terms, repressed). That is, both trauma and apocalypse demonstrate a tension between *revealing* and *concealing*. This aspect of the apocalyptic narrative is so ubiquitous and critical that David Aune includes it among the defining characteristics of the function of these texts (1986: 95).

In case the subtleties of this theme were to be missed by a seer and his audience, on several occasions the divine guide who shows the vision and interprets it (*angelus interpres*) will subsequently command that the revelation must now be kept secret, at least until the time of the End. In Dan 8:26, Daniel is told to seal up the vision, "as it concerns the future." (In Dan 7:28, the seer keeps the vision to himself, though he is not instructed to do so.) In *4 Ezra* 14, by divine guidance the scribe Ezra and five colleagues produce 204 books of law to guide the new Jewish community in the future, but 70 of these are to be kept secret and only shown to the wise. Of course, the fact of the matter is that these texts are *not* hidden; they have an audience and readers who, presumably, count themselves among those afflicted by the events addressed in the seers' visions. Since these writings were to have been concealed until the appropriate time in the future, when they could edify and be understood by the special group of suffering people, the dynamic of revelation and concealment also has the function of imparting the significance of the time to its readers—and thereby affirming to the community that created, preserved, or read the texts that they, indeed, are the righteous, special, set-apart ones in God's sacred history. By reversing the command and

ordering that the vision *not* be sealed up, for the time is at hand, the angel at Rev 22:10 seems to be both alluding to the tradition of concealing the revelation in apocalypse and explicitly defying it to make the point that *this* time is different—*this* time, the End is now. The exception proves the rule.

Doomed to Repeat the Past

There is a certain kind of passivity or paralysis that defines the apocalyptic stance toward the world, be it the desolation and muteness of the prophet Ezekiel following his call from God in Babylon (Ezek 3); Daniel's exhaustion from the vision of the Ram and Goat (Dan 8:27); or the helplessness in the face of the unfolding of God's plan on earth that undergirds the end-time narratives of Daniel or Revelation. Indeed, one key feature of most of the ancient apocalypses is its presentation of history and time itself as fixed, predetermined, completely within God's control, not humanity's. The evocation of a determined cosmic timeline presents a worldview wherein human action is really relegated to the ability to recognize the signs of the times and make oneself prepared for the end. Yet a secondary consequence of this view of history is that it may be imagined to be rolled out like a scroll in front of those living in it, looking, if they have the "eyes to see," for the biblical patterns and events that map onto the eras of humanity, and there are no bigger signposts in history than glorious beginnings and tragic endings, great triumphs and earth-shattering disasters. Naturally those affected by the trauma of history thus fixate on the lingering effects of the disasters, trying to understand the inexplicable in terms of the bigger picture. This factor, as it turns out, is perhaps the key connection between the emotional and narrative structure of apocalypses and that of the traumatic experience.

Scholars of trauma universally observe that a major consequence of the overwhelming nature of trauma is that it forces the victim to search constantly for some way of mastering and understanding the event, trying to reconcile the world as it is now with the world that once was. Yael Danieli, editor of the *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*, calls this sense of being stuck in this one crucial period of the past "fixity" (1998: 7). Kai Erikson presents the same idea only slightly differently: "[T]rauma can be defined as the psychological process by which an acute shock can become a chronic condition, a way of keeping dead moments alive" (Erikson 1994: 22). Erikson asserts that "the traumatized mind holds onto that moment [of the initial injury], preventing it from slipping back into its proper chronological place in the past, and relives it over and over again in the compulsive musings of the day and seething dreams of night" (230). Jeffrey

Alexander articulates the way this aspect of trauma is recapitulated in the collective experience as well:

> Insofar as traumas are so experienced, and thus imagined and represented, the collective identity will become significantly revised. This identity revision means that there will be a searching re-remembering of the collective past, for memory is not only social and fluid but deeply connected to the contemporary sense of the self. Identities are continuously constructed and secured not only by the facing of the present and future but also by reconstructing the collectivity's earlier life. (Alexander 2008: 22)

Traumatic events force the past to remain in the present; no future is possible until they are recognized, understood, and integrated into a new life. In the apocalyptic context John Collins has called the playing with and re-experiencing of the past trauma to shape a preferable vision of the future "the apocalyptic 'cure'" (Collins 1998: 52).

The compulsive and repetitive quality of apocalyptic yearning echoes exactly that of traumatic experiences. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this aspect in the ancient apocalyptic corpus is found in a series of Jewish texts written after the fall of the Second Temple. *4 Ezra* and *2* and *3 Baruch* each open with the seer lamenting the destruction of Jerusalem and the dire fate of the Jewish people; however, the setting describes the aftermath of the Babylonians' destruction of the *First* Temple. It is a literary device in the pseudepigraphic tradition, to be sure, but it also serves the function of returning the readers—presumably, a traumatized Jewish audience—to the original devastation in order to recast the events of recent history in terms of it. (Notably, though the book of Daniel is understood to have been written during the incursions of Antiochus IV prior to 164 B.C.E., it too presents itself as a story of the Babylonian Exile and consequence of the first destruction of Jerusalem.)

Members of modern millenarian movements, for their part, often frame the trauma that drives them as a loss of a golden age, stressing a turning point such as a war, colonization, legal ruling, or political change. Such a quality seems to be at the root of the apocalyptic mindset of modern American fundamentalists, whose endism, Charles Strozier observes, "surely has its roots in trauma in the self, but that individual, psychological perspective must be broadened to locate the self in the historical crises of the twentieth century" (Strozier 1994: 251). Those historical crises are not the great tragedies of the age—World War II, the Holocaust, the nuclear threat—but rather are the ones that have publically shattered their identification of America as a godly and Christian nation—the *Roe v. Wade* decision, the end of prayer in public schools, the rise of feminism and gay rights, the acceptance of evolution as a secular origin story (Murphy 2009: 83, 91–92). " 'Fundamentalists' broken narratives profoundly distort time, a break that is rooted in experience. The past is separated off, to be remembered only as an object lesson. You recall to forget" (Strozier 1994: 45). Each of these issues is doubly painful for devout Christian fundamentalists. They

not only represent a victory for secularism—the modern veneer of Satan's work on Earth itself—but, by dint of the fact that these victories were slowly but definitively embraced by the American public at large, they are also a critique of fundamentalists' stranglehold claim on ultimate truth. Incessantly harping on the ways in which the culture of the country has been hijacked and desecrated by the liberal and godless keeps the wounds fresh, real, and immediate.

Apocalyptic Nostalgia

As much as apocalypses may hearken to a beautiful, lost past (a sacred *time*), many may also express a yearning for a homeland where people once lived a blessed existence before being tossed into the wicked world in which they live today (a sacred *space*). Apocalypses are in this sense decidedly *nostalgic*, from the Greek for "ache to return home." Apocalyptic and millenarian thought seems to flourish in environments of cultural dislocation, frequently as a result of invasion, occupation, or colonization. As "home" is a kind of master symbol that encompasses the deepest layers of one's identity, a devastating blow to one's home is always traumatic and necessitates the constant revisitation to the source of the wound so characteristic of trauma.

> [A] true home—a place of one's own—is an extension of the individuals who live in it, a part of themselves. It is the outer envelope of personhood. People need a location almost as much as they need shelter, for a sense of place is one of the ways they connect to the larger human community. . . . And when that combined sense of dwelling and location (both of them implied in the term "homestead") is missing, one is deprived of a measure of personhood. (Erikson 1994: 159)

This analysis illustrates how immediately this cultural trauma, the loss of one's social location, becomes a personal trauma at the deepest layers of identity. Yet "nostalgia" does not convey the kind of sharp, paralyzing pain one typically associates with the traumatic experience; there is the sense that some time has passed, that some acquiescence to the situation has crept into one's reflection on the past. "Home" is still lost and out of reach, but this truth is no longer a new, disturbing fact of life. It has become what Erikson calls a "persisting condition" that derives from that initial acute event, but grows into something more pervasive by way of that event's effect on the lives of the individual and/or society (1994: 229–30). The chronic stress within one's day-to-day environment Erikson finds to be an entirely unacknowledged root of traumatic experience—and, perhaps, of apocalyptic agitation.

If we look again at the milieux for the classical Jewish and Christian apocalypses, the initial blow of the Babylonian Conquest and Exile devastated the Jewish homeland both for those who stayed and for those who were sent away. The prophet Ezekiel himself is a "displaced person" relocated as a captive to Babylon, and the series of remarkable visions he receives throughout his years in Exile build toward one thing: The return of his home in idealized form, a city that is named יהוה שמה "YHWH is There" (Ezek 48). But even with the return from Exile and the eventual rebuilding of the Temple, "Israel" was still a shadow of its former sacred self—deprived of its own king; subject to a series of imperial/colonial rulers, from Babylonia to Persia to the Greeks and then, finally, the Romans. Centuries of covenantal promises go unfulfilled, redemption remains deferred. Flickers of messianic expectation come to naught. A century of sovereignty under the Hasmonean dynasty ends with the Romans becoming more entrenched than any ruler since the Babylonians. Even for Jews of the Second Temple–era in Judea, one could argue that given the political conditions of the ancient Near East from the sixth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., the home they lost was never really there to return to, and what home they had afterwards was never entirely theirs. The hope to bring about a true return to the "True Israel" must have waxed and waned with the tides of history, dashed over and again on the realities of imperial rule, only to have spilled out of the apocalyptic imagination under persistent suffering inflicted by the Romans. The actions that attempted to end the chronic conditions of trauma instead led instead to a second infliction of the original wound, the destruction of the Temple. This doubling of history is central to the working out of the trauma in the narratives of the apocalypses that followed, the aforementioned *4 Ezra* and *2* and *3 Baruch*, and in its own way in the book of Revelation, which gave voice to Christians living under Rome's brutal persecution and religious alienation (Yarbro Collins 1984: 101, 106–70).

Thus in the context of the ancient Jewish experience, dominated by Exile and Diaspora, the intimate connections linking cultural trauma, homelessness, and apocalypse could not be more obvious. As John Collins notes, "The Hellenistic age was marked by widespread nostalgia for the past and alienation from the present. In a broad sense this 'Hellenistic mood' may be considered a matrix for the apocalyptic literature" (1998: 37). The emergence of apocalyptic literature as a way of expressing and coming to terms with this sense of disruption to a sacred past can be seen even in texts not overtly tied to decimating events in history. The recurrent focus on calendars and the retelling of Jewish sacred history found in the Hellenistic apocalyptic texts *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* are testaments to a people trying to reorient themselves in time and space by returning to their origins and reinterpreting the events that followed, up to the perplexing present. Significantly, many forms of apocalyptic imaginings in recent centuries also have constructed a new worldview around a story of a lost homeland that will be restored to its people in the near future. Ethiopia is the "True Israel" to the Rastafarians; native peoples of the western United States expected the

recovery of the sacred hunting grounds of the Great Plains by adopting the "Ghost Dance" ritual in 1890; and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints even (literally) christened America as the holy land of the beginning-times and the end-times, as the returned Jesus Christ will establish his Kingdom on Earth in Jackson County, Missouri, which is also the ancient site of the Garden of Eden (Newell 2000: 164).

Like unto Death

The connection between national disaster and trauma is even more closely linked when the calamity essentially represents the death of one's nation or community. Generally this "culture of defeat," as Wolfgang Schivelbusch terms it, follows in the wake of war, but it can manifest itself anywhere that the basic identity and social building blocks that once made up a culture no longer are viable (Schivelbusch 2003: 5). Given the number of ancient apocalypses that arose in response to a crushing defeat by the Babylonians, Greeks, or the Romans, plus the millenarian tendencies promulgated in colonized states (cf. Adas 1979), the culture of defeat seems clearly to contribute to the emotional tone and narrative qualities shared in common by trauma and apocalypse. Like the revisions of history and returns to the past characteristic of apocalyptic literature, "defeated nations look for connections with history to provide a point of orientation. Anchoring one's defeat within the tradition of history's great losers offers both meaning and consolation" (Schivelbusch 2003: 30). However, if the defeated lack the resources, physically, mentally, and spiritually, to reconcile their new existence with that which they have lost or to forge ahead to rebuild their society, the alien nature of the world altered by trauma causes an existential crisis for both the individuals and the societies wounded by disaster. People may turn suicidal, or express self-annihilating wishes, inflict injuries upon their bodies, or neglect their own basic care and hygiene (perhaps illustrated in the ancient world by the prophet Ezekiel's Sign Acts at Ezek 3:22–6:14). This response is alternatively a kind of psychological protection against a cruel world and a recognition that they are no longer the same people—individually and collectively—they once were.

Like a rite of passage, after trauma there is a death and rebirth of identity, though sometimes the rebirth is delayed by a long and disorienting liminal period where all meaning seems lost. Thus the response to trauma can be an outcry against real or symbolic death (Strozier 1994: 46) or, alternatively, an embrace of it (Herman 1997: 50). As Erikson puts it, traumatic conditions

> move to the center of one's being and, in doing so, give victims the feeling that they have been set apart and made special. [Trauma survivors view themselves] as having

> an altered relationship to the rest of humankind, to history, to the processes of nature. [One such survivor] viewed herself as marked, maybe cursed, maybe even dead. "I feel dead now," one of her neighbors said. "I have no energy. I feel numb, like I died long ago." For some survivors, at least, this sense of difference can become a kind of calling, a status where people are drawn to others similarly marked. (Erikson 1994: 231)

This exchange readily calls to mind the recurring laments voiced by the apocalyptic seers in *4 Ezra* or in the first part of Baruch's dialogues with the *angelus interpres* in *2 Baruch*. Ezra cries out at 5:34–35:

> "[B]ecause of my grief I have spoken; for every hour I suffer agonies of heart, while I strive to understand the way of the Most High and to search out part of his judgment." And [the angel] said to me, "You cannot." And I said, "Why not, my lord? Why then was I born? Or why did not my mother's womb become my grave, that I might not see the travail of Jacob and the exhaustion of the people of Israel?"

His exclamation at 7:67 could also have been put in the mouth of the trauma survivor Erikson quotes above: "For what does it profit us that we shall be preserved alive but cruelly tormented?" Once again the text illustrates the factor of incomprehensibility as central to the trauma experience, even in its darkest and most painful aspects.

Trauma and Apocalyptic Violence

One characteristic of trauma associated with apocalypticism could be said to be hiding in plain sight. Many people today understand the word "apocalypse" to mean "the catastrophic destruction of the world as we know it." Even as much as this fixation on a destructive end is an exaggeration and misrepresentation of most apocalyptic literature and movements, at the same time its persistence in the public imagination speaks to the ability of apocalypse to give voice to the wounds of life on the grandest scale possible. After all, what could be more traumatic than the end of the world? And given the return over and again to the initial wound that has brought about, literally, a world of suffering, apocalyptic thinking is often clearly a *revenge fantasy*, a symptomatic rage reaction to abuse and suffering (Herman 1997: 104). If part of the underlying psychology of traumatized thinking is to return over and over again to the origin of the trauma to attempt to master and control the event after the fact, the imagined infliction of worse trauma on the perpetrators could be an effective way to step out of the endless loop of revictimization and achieve some measure of healing and closure.

Representing the apocalyptic trauma as a just blow against one's oppressors can take many forms. The apocalyptic war against the symbolic enemies of the Jews as depicted in the battle against Gog from Magog in Ezek 37–38 is one of the earliest and clearest examples. Indeed, it is so paradigmatic, from it the world receives the word "Armageddon" to describe the climatic end time battle of good and evil. The equally influential image of a final war between Satan and God's Army in Rev 19:11–21, led by Christ with a sword protruding from his mouth, serves to bring an emotional catharsis to the Christians oppressed by Nero and the Romans (Yarbro Collins 1984: 153–57). Of course, dozens of images and details from Revelation have informed the Western (and over time, the world's) picture of a violent cataclysm to signal the end of the world and forewarn of coming judgment: the Seven Seals, the Four Horsemen, the Seven Trumpets, earthquakes, seas turning to blood, and mass death over the four corners of the earth, to name only a few. These images continue to inform the millennial anticipation of American fundamentalists, many of whom seem to welcome a final violent confrontation in their lifetimes that will "end what is experienced as the tormenting ambiguity and pain of human existence, indeed of time itself, and remake history" (Strozier 1994: 251) and who talk about the bloody deaths of millions of their fellow human beings in a detached, disengaged manner (Strozier 1994: 79–80, 89–90).This striking numbness mirrors the flat affect that trauma victims sometimes display when remembering the pain and violence afflicted against them (Herman 1997: 177).

Yet despite this bloody pedigree, very few apocalyptic movements over the subsequent years have sought to inflict this kind of destruction in real life, on real live people. Some of this differentiation between apocalyptic imaginings and real-world action surely reflects the passive nature of even the righteous believers in most of these texts. In the conflicts presented by Ezekiel and Revelation, for example, the battles are conducted by divine armies; the human peoples of God may be involved in the action, but they do not initiate it or claim credit for it. This passivity reflects the emotional detachment resulting from traumatic pain. The traumatized do not act; they are acted upon. However, there are some interesting exceptions to this rule.

In the first century C.E. apocalyptic text known as the Testament of Moses, a Jewish figure battling the persecution of his people advocates that he and his sons purposefully be martyred in battle, "for if we do this and die, our blood will be avenged before the Lord" (*T. Moses* 9:6–7; cf. Deut 32:35–43). By the logic of the text, the spilling of the blood of righteous Jews by a wicked enemy should be the trigger that causes God to intervene on behalf of his People. Yet it is important to note that even in the context of fighting against God's enemies in battle, the story of Taxo still "advocates a policy of nonviolence" in the sense that the apocalyptic actor seeks to martyr himself to secure the future of the Jews and his own happiness in the afterlife (Collins 1998: 131). In fact, where there is trauma visited anew upon apocalyptic bodies, it is more commonly a self-inflicted wound in the form of group suicide. The suicides of 918 members of Jim Jones' Peoples Temple

community in Guyana in 1978 remains the example against which all "cult" activities—that is to say, the behavior of all alternative and new religions—is judged by most lay people. The thirty-nine suicides of the Heaven's Gate group in 1997 only served to reinforce this fear of nonmainstream religions. It almost goes without saying that the impulse toward suicide and self-harm is exceedingly high among victims of trauma (Herman 1997: 49–50).

Yet the specter of apocalyptically minded individuals actually fulfilling the millenarian dream of rebooting the world continues to hang over modern life. The nightmare that some group of nihilists will end the world as we know it underscores our modern fears. Many of these terrifying scenarios, actual or potential global traumas, are all too real. Terrorism expanded its physical and psychological reach after the 9/11 attacks. The unsecuring of the former Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal has put the world's most powerful weapons within reach of the world's most unstable people. The establishment of a modern Jewish state of Israel closed a history of trauma for one people while inflicting new wounds on another, which has promulgated both real violence and apocalyptic agitation from and against both sides (Gorenberg 2000: 186–95).

Fortunately, thus far only one group executed such a plan to any significant degree: Aum Shinrikyō, the Japanese apocalyptic faction that killed thirteen people by releasing sarin gas in the Tokyo subway system 1995. Notably, the phenomenon of Japanese new religions (*shinshūkyō*) itself is built on the legacy of some of the most horrific trauma and haunting loss suffered by any culture, including the nuclear apocalypse unleashed upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the humiliating defeat of the Japanese nation and its emperor; and the displacement of the state Shinto cult from the center of institutional religious life that created a spiritual vacuum into which a variety of Buddhist- and Christian-tinged religions stepped in response. Aum, unlike any of its other religious brethren in Japan, crystallized all those traumas into a singular worldview wherein, to quote the title of Robert Jay Lifton's 1999 study of the group, it needed to "destroy the world to save it."

When Wounds Become Traumas, and Traumas Become Apocalyptic

As the singular example of Aum itself illustrates, not everyone affected by painful conditions experiences the world as traumatic nor frames such trauma as apocalyptic. Jeffery Alexander explains this fact by recognizing that events are not traumatic in their own right; they have no objective "traumatic quality" that always impinges on people and their communities where they occur. In fact, the experience of trauma is created by the interaction of wide array of societal authorities,

modes of communication, and group identities to initiate what Alexander calls the "trauma process" (Alexander 2004: 11). Erikson notes that traumatic events tend to create their own communities based on a bond that comes with shared experience (1996: 231). Alexander adopts Max Weber's phrase "carrier group" to denote the segment of a population that not only finds itself affected by a turn in history in such a painful, unfathomable way but also attempts to signify its experience by way of a trauma narrative (Alexander 2004: 11).

Moreover, apocalyptic texts allow the trauma process to be mediated in certain "institutional arenas," social realms of representation that Alexander identifies as crucial to the production of the collective trauma narrative and experience. Most significant for the ancient literature are the aesthetic and religious arenas. Perhaps uniquely among the genres of ancient scripture, classical apocalyptic literature functions effectively in the ways that Alexander suggests produce traumatic signification, namely "by specific genres and narratives that aim to produce imaginative identification and emotional catharsis" in the aesthetic realm and by linking trauma to theodicy in the religious realm (Alexander 2004: 15). The examples of Daniel and Revelation certainly have fostered exactly this state of vicarious identification with the persecuted in their respective texts and then offered the audience a tremendous catharsis in the resolution of the narrative. In Daniel, "your people"—presumably the creators and audience for the text, the carrier group—will be delivered; multitudes are resurrected, some of whom are rewarded with everlasting life while others are punished; the *maśkîlîm* ("wise ones") will be transformed and live on like the stars in heaven. The persecution and ultimate triumph of the vulnerable Christian community in the book of Revelation can easily be read in the same way.

Conclusion

An examination of some of the classic examples of apocalypse from the ancient world reveals that the concerns articulated by the visions, dialogues, and laments of the apocalyptic seers as depicted by these texts reflect qualities of personal and collective trauma to a significant degree. By the same token, modern expressions of apocalyptic fervor evidence much of the same emotional woundedness, sense of loss, and need to fix the pain that results from the perception that a sacred, and deeply symbolic, order, place, or community has been violated. From the ancient period to today, apocalypticism has been available to traumatized people, groups, and chronically oppressed cultures as a kind of ready-made language perfectly suited to expressing their pain,

disillusionment, fear, and blame. Ultimately, it allows those most deeply hurt by inexplicable suffering to reconcile the wounded world of the present with events that led up to it in the past and their expectations and fears for the future. Scholars, readers, and apocalyptic anticipators themselves should be able to see reflected in the anguish at the root of this enduring cultural form the fragility and persistence of hope expressed in the face of even the most painful devastation.

Bibliography

Adas, Michael (1979). *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. (2004). "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma," in Jeffrey C. Alexander et al., eds., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1–30.

Aune, David (1986). "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre." *Semeia 36*: 65–96.

Barr, David (1984). "The Apocalypse as a Symbolic Transformation of the World: A Literary Analysis." *Interpretation 38*: 39–50.

Caruth, Cathy (1996). *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Collins, John J. (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Danieli, Yael (1998). *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*. New York: Plenum.

Erikson, Kai (1994). *A New Species of Trouble: Explorations in Disaster, Trauma, and Community*. New York: Norton.

Gorenberg, Gershom (2000). *The End of Days: Fundamentalism and the Struggle for the Temple Mount*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Herman, Judith (1997). *Trauma and Recovery*. New York: Basic Books.

Homans, Peter (2000). "Introduction: The Decline of Mourning Practices in Modern Western Societies: A Short Sketch." In Peter Homans, ed., *Symbolic Loss: The Ambiguity of Mourning and Memory at Century's End*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Janhoff-Bulman, Ronnie (1992). *Shattered Assumptions: Toward a New Psychology of Trauma*. New York: Free Press.

LaCocque, André (1988). *Daniel in His Time*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Lifton, Robert Jay (1999). *Destroying the World to Save It: Aum Shinrikyō, Apocalyptic Violence, and the New Global Terrorism*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Murphy, Andrew R. (2009). *Prodigal Nation: Moral Decline and Divine Punishment from New England to 9/11*. New York: Oxford.

Neal, Arthur (1998). *National Trauma and Collective Memory: Extraordinary Events in the American Experience*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Newell, Coke (2000). *Latter Days: A Guided Tour through Six Billion Years of Mormonism*. New York: St. Martin's.

Restall, Matthew, and Amara Solari (2011). *2012 and the End of the World: The Western Roots of the Maya Apocalypse*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield

Rowland, Christopher (1990). "The Apocalypse: Hope, Resistance and the Revelation of Reality." *Ex Auditu 6*: 129–44.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang (2003). *The Culture of Defeat*. New York: Metropolitan.

Strozier, Charles B. (1994). *Apocalypse: On the Psychology of Fundamentalism in America*. Boston: Beacon.

Yarbro Collins, Adela (1984). *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Philadelphia: Westminster.

CHAPTER 28

APOCALYPTICISM AND POPULAR CULTURE

LORENZO DITOMMASO

What does *Dr. Strangelove* have to do with the book of Daniel? How does an ancient worldview that is best known through biblical apocalypses like Daniel and the Revelation of John continue to speak to the secularized, wired-in population of today? Now, possibly more than at any other time in history, people are inclined to understand the world and their place in it through the lens of the apocalyptic worldview. This *apocalyptic turn* is, by any measure, a global phenomenon; the manifold expressions and mass appeal of apocalypticism in contemporary popular culture represent its most conspicuous expression.[1]

Apocalypticism

Apocalypticism is often mistaken for what it is not. It is not millennialism or utopianism, even though many apocalyptic groups are millennial in their outlook or utopian in their social agendas. It is not messianism or fundamentalism, even though apocalyptic literature regularly features messianic figures, and apocalyptic social movements can be fundamentalist in their attitudes. Apocalypticism is not eschatology, but it is eschatological, insofar as apocalyptic eschatology is one form of the study or doctrine of the "last things." Nor is it the same as prophecy,

conspiracy theory, or esotericism, even if for many people the notion of "apocalyptic" calls to mind the disclosure of hidden mysteries, the contrivance of secret plans, and the quest for arcane knowledge.[2]

Apocalypticism is a worldview, a fundamental cognitive orientation that makes axiomatic claims about time, space, and human existence. Essentially, apocalypticism is the worldview of the apocalypses. But it is also the worldview of apocalyptic literature as a class, as well as apocalyptic art, apocalyptic films and novels, apocalyptic rhetoric and discourse, and of apocalyptic social movements of every size and stripe. It is what defines the adjective *apocalyptic* in all these expressions. It is the message, not the medium.

Nothing in itself is apocalyptic. Events, figures, and motifs acquire an apocalyptic valence only when they have been filtered through the lens of the worldview. For most people, the formation of the European Union and the 9/11 terrorist attack are historical facts. For a small minority, they are signs that the end is near. For most people, the Emperor Nero is a historical figure. But for many generations of Christians after his death, Nero was the Antichrist who was expected to return to earth at the end of time.

Apocalypticism cannot be reduced to a single motif, expression, or expectation. The motif of a final battle between the armies of good and evil (Armageddon) is typical of apocalyptic speculation, but does not define it. The Whore of Babylon and the Four Horsemen are classic images from the Revelation of John, but do not appear in any other ancient apocalypse. The expectation for the postmortem judgment of individuals is central to apocalyptic eschatology, but is not unique to it.

Instead, apocalypticism is *a distinctive combination of axioms or propositions about space, time, and human existence*. It presumes the existence of a transcendent reality, which defines the cosmos and everything in it, but remains almost entirely concealed from observation and beyond the grasp of human intellection. It contends that the present reality is constitutionally structured by two antagonistic and irreducible forces, which are typically identified with good and evil. It maintains that a final resolution of the conflict between these forces is both necessary and imminent, and that it is also redemptive, in the sense of a deliverance from the present reality. The apocalyptic worldview further assumes that the revelation of these mysteries orients existence, and gives life meaning and purpose.[3] Together, these propositions describe an *apocalyptic minimum*, which distinguishes apocalypticism from prophecy, mysticism, divination, and other phenomena, and by which cultural expressions and social movements throughout history may be identified as apocalyptic, including those in the realm of popular culture.

Popular Culture

Popular culture is not easy to define. It is nearly always described in terms of what it is not, or what it is in relation to something else—high culture, elite culture, dominant culture—what John Storey calls the "absent other" (Storey 2012). As a result, scholars either avoid defining popular culture as a conceptual category, or opt for an applied description that is appropriate to the subject of their investigation.

As it applies to the subject of this chapter, popular culture refers to the shared network of meanings, ideas, images, and other phenomena which have characterized mainstream society since 1945, and especially the global form that developed during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Popular culture is embedded in the modes of everyday life, and modulated by the impulses of a media-driven, consumer society. It is often self-referential, and rarely designed for posterity. Its content/formats range from film, anime, television, and other varieties of cinematic entertainment, to comics, manga, and graphic narratives, as well as art, music, dance, theater, and video games. Multimedia and hypermedia vectors are common in popular culture, particularly since the emergence of the Internet and new communication technologies in the 1990s.

Above all, popular culture is *mass culture*. It occupies the daily interest of much of the world's population. It is manufactured, broadcast, and consumed on an industrial scale. Its attraction is a function of a consensual reality involving a worldwide network of individuals who are at once both the consumers and the producers of content. This reality is generated though untold billions of decisions, which are heavily influenced by mass-market entertainment and commercial advertising. These decisions are made increasingly via the Internet and social media in what is likely the most comprehensive form of mass participation and democratic representation ever known.

Equating popular culture with mass culture also admits the most salient attribute of apocalypticism in this regard: its mass appeal. Most people associate apocalyptic fervor with socially marginalized groups that are in conflict with an oppressive ruling power or dominant class. There is some justification in this. The apocalyptic visions of Daniel were a response to repressive foreign rule. The radical millenarians and religious dissenters of the late mediaeval centuries arose in part as a form of social revolt. Modern "cults" such as the Peoples Temple, the Branch Davidians, and Aum Shinrikyō often self-identify against mainstream society and its mores. For all that, however, the apocalyptic worldview also appeals to large, stakeholder populations, and often through the vehicles of large corporate organizations such as churches, states, and empires (McGinn 1998: 28–29, on "imperial apocalypticism"). In fact, the basic reality is that apocalypticism can take root in almost any soil, providing that

the climate is favorable.[4] It transcends nearly every boundary—religious, cultural, linguistic, political, social, or economic. It is neither low culture nor high culture. Apocalypticism can be espoused by the young and the old, by sectarians and centrists, by conservatives and liberals, by communists and capitalists, and by the religious and the irreligious. In a very real sense, it has mass appeal.

Apocalyptic Fiction and Popular Culture

Fiction is the primary conduit through which apocalypticism is expressed in contemporary popular culture. Wikipedia's "List of Apocalyptic and Post-Apocalyptic Fiction" references nearly 1,000 films, anime, television series, web series, stories, novels, graphic novels, comics, role-playing games, poems, and popular songs.[5] Despite its great length, its contents are typical of other inventories of apocalyptic fiction (both print and electronic), and thus it offers a representative overview of the evidence. Four points about the Wikipedia list are relevant:

(1) The vast majority of its items are recent. Only a few works were composed before the twentieth century. Eighty percent date from after 1970, while over half the works are post-1995, or less than twenty years old. Even allowing for the tendency among website contributors to reference content with which they are personally familiar, these percentages are still striking. College students in the 1950s might have read H. G. Wells's *Time Machine* (1895) or John Wyndham's *The Day of the Triffids* (1951), or watched the film version of *The War of the Worlds* (1953) at the theater. In contrast, their counterparts in the 2010s are exposed, every year, to dozens of new "apocalyptic" movies, shows, graphic novels, and so on, not to mention the countless user-generated websites that flicker in and out of electronic existence.

(2) The data suggest a chronology of apocalyptic fiction, which may be divided into three periods.
   (a) The first period corresponds with the relatively few novels and short fiction that date from the years before 1945. Its defining theme is the decline of human civilization. The cultural trauma induced by the First World War was not insignificant in this regard (Christie 1999). Sometimes the decline is a result of a natural catastrophe, as with Richard Jefferies's *After London* (1885) or Wells's *Time Machine*. Other times it is a consequence of war, as in Wells's *Shape of Things to Come* (1933), or technological breakdown, as in Isaac Asimov's short story "Nightfall" (1941).

(b) The second period extends from the end of the Second World War to the mid-1990s. Its defining theme is nuclear holocaust, conceived in the shadow of the atomic bombings of 1945 and the Cold War doctrine of mutually assured destruction (O'Leary 1999). Some scholars discern a "desacralization of the apocalypse" in the films of the period, a shift away from the theological or supernatural as the doomsday trigger (Ostwalt 2003; Walliss and Aston 2011). But whether such a shift is emblematic of the apocalyptic speculation of the era as a whole is less clear. The best-selling success of Hal Lindsey's *Late, Great Planet Earth* (1970) initiated the mass-market popularization of dispensationalist apocalypticism (Balmer 1988) that would reach its apogee a generation later in the *Left Behind* franchise (Frykholm 2004). Moreover, many Americans of the period found it easy to grasp the binary reality of the Cold War in biblical terms of absolute good and evil (the "Evil Empire"), framed as a cosmic struggle between god-fearing and godless populations and viewed against an apocalyptic (nuclear) horizon.

(c) The third period extends from the mid-1990s to the present. It is marked by the foregrounding of doomsday fears—economic, ecological, pestilential, cosmological—which, while present during the second period, were overshadowed by its atomic dimension.[6] Several events contributed to shape its character. One was the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Another was a tectonic shift in attitudes regarding global fundamentalism after 9/11, which led to the replacement of the political binarism of the Cold War by that of the so-called War on Terror. But perhaps the most significant events from the standpoint of popular culture have been the mounting recognition of the magnitude of the global environmental crisis, and the advent of the Internet, which has fundamentally changed how apocalyptic speculation is conceived, manufactured, and disseminated.

(3) Most works are composed in or feature the English language. This fact underscores the role of the United States as the locomotive of popular culture, and the status of English as the global vernacular. However, the Wikipedia list also reveals that apocalyptic fiction in other languages and from other countries is neither absent nor unimportant. For example, Pierre Boulle's 1963 classic novel *La Planète des singes* was adapted into the 1968 postapocalyptic film *Planet of the Apes*, while the concepts behind the 1962 still-picture feature *La Jetée* were recycled for the 1995 film *Twelve Monkeys*. British comic-book series such as "Judge Dredd" (in the anthology *2000 AD*) and Alan Moore's *V for Vendetta* added much to the postapocalyptic palette in the 1980s. Japanese anime and manga have been even more influential vis-à-vis apocalyptic film and graphic stories. Works such as *Akira* (manga 1982–90, anime 1988), *X* (manga, 1992–2003), and *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (anime, 1995–96) offer a slick blend of synthetic apocalyptic imagery that purposefully evokes religious overtones yet is disengaged from theology. As

Roland Kelts observes, anime offers Americans "a vision of the future, a fresh way of telling stories and interpreting the world" (Kelts 2006: 7).

(4) Most significantly, the vast majority of the items referenced in Wikipedia's "List of Apocalyptic Fiction" are, strictly speaking, not apocalyptic. The apocalyptic valence of *The Time Machine, The Day of the Triffids*, and *The War of the Worlds* is zero. They merely presume or portray the collapse of human civilization. The Philip K. Dick novel *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* (1968) and its famous film rendition *Blade Runner* (1984) are certainly dystopian, but neither is apocalyptic. The same is true for *Akira* and *Twelve Monkeys*. Similarly, *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (novel, 1960), *Dr. Strangelove* (film, 1964), *Armageddon* (film, 1998), *Halo* (video game series, 2001–), *Battlestar Galactica* (television series, 2003–9), and the improbably named *Schoolgirl Apocalypse* (*Sērā-fuku mokushiroku*) (film, 2011) all envision planetary catastrophes, but none is actually apocalyptic. These are only a few examples, drawn from the thousands of the films, novels, and other works that are regularly cited by popular sources and academic studies as illustrations of apocalypticism in popular culture. The root of the misunderstanding about "apocalyptic" is its modern conflation with the notion of "the end of the world." Since 1945, "apocalyptic" has increasingly come to refer to any planetary catastrophe or its anticipated effects, and a code word for any kind of impending disaster or radical change, real or perceived. The conflation spills into every aspect of everyday life. Headlines forecast economic or political "apocalypses." Violent video games and death-metal rock bands are labeled "apocalyptic," as are new religious movements with charismatic, "messianic" leaders. The title of Francis Ford Coppola's cinematic reboot of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* is *Apocalypse Now* (1979). Frederick Buell's 2003 study of American responses to environmental degradation is called *From Apocalypse to Way of Life*. The *New York Times* dance critic Gia Kourlas likens an experimental performance to an "apocalyptic road trip" (June 5, 2012, C6). The list goes on and on. The conflation of "apocalyptic" with "the end of the world" is also mirrored in the scholarship, which in order to manage the profusion of evidence has increasingly resorted to categorizing it by etiology. Thus the authoritative *Guide to Apocalyptic Cinema* classifies doomsday films by scenario: nuclear war/fallout, alien device/invasion, germ warfare/pestilence, and so on. Likewise, an important recent survey article organizes the "pop cultural understandings of the end of the world as we know it" by religious, extraterrestrial, scientific, or natural "eschatologies" (Cowan 2011).

Assessing Apocalypticism and Popular Culture

How do we assess the nature and role of apocalypticism in popular culture, when its most prominent exemplars seem so far removed from the propositions of the worldview? On the one hand, the modern conflation of "apocalyptic" with "the end of the world" cannot be ignored. In fact, it is our most important piece of evidence and the starting point of any investigation. It has meaning; it is a sign of the times. On the other hand, this meaning must be balanced by an awareness of apocalypticism as a cultural phenomenon, one with historical and global dimensions.

Three analytic patterns illuminate the way forward. The first pattern identifies the two basic modes of the worldview, biblical and secular. The second and third patterns measure conceptual depth and surface breadth among the worldview's cultural expressions. All three patterns serve to identify and assess these expressions in vehicles and forms where recognition might not be obvious. All three are oriented to the "apocalyptic minimum," whose principle function is to provide a means by which any expression, including those in the realm of contemporary popular culture, may be identified as apocalyptic.

Apocalypticism, Biblical and Secular

Apocalypticism is expressed in two modes, biblical and secular. Biblical apocalypticism equates the transcendent reality with God or his otherworldly abode, "heaven." It is the mode of all forms of apocalyptic speculation in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, past and present, and remains predominant even in the modern era, by virtue of the present-day adherents of these religions and their hybrid forms. Secular apocalypticism equates the transcendent reality with a divinized humanity, superhuman agencies, a force of nature or history, or anything else that does not require a supernatural explanation. It calibrates the propositions and claims of the worldview to historical situations and social settings within the aggregate of ideas that constitute what we know as "modernity."

The mode of nearly all apocalyptic fiction is secular. *A Canticle for Leibowitz* recounts the gradual restoration of civilization after a nuclear holocaust. The film *The Matrix* (1999) imagines the future subjugation of humanity by artificial intelligence. Yet for all that, biblical/supernatural elements appear in this fiction with regularity. *Canticle* contains a key miracle sequence involving the Abbot Zerchi and the bicephalous Mrs Grales/Rachel. The oracle in *The Matrix* is an exact functional analogue of the interpreting angel of the revelatory visions of Daniel and other ancient apocalypses. The process is reflected, but in reverse, in the use of overtly secular elements in

modern formulations of biblical apocalypticism. Thus for the funadmentalist Branch Davidian movement, the eschatological New Jerusalem (Rev 21:10ff.) is an interstellar spaceship.[7] Similarly, the Heaven's Gate movement rephrases classic apocalyptic expectation in the language of science fiction and evolutionary biology (see below).

The intromission of elements of one mode into the framework of the other is indicative of a synthetic syncretism that is a hallmark of contemporary apocalypticism of both modes. With notable exceptions, neither mode exists in a "pure" form. The presence of secular-scientific elements in biblical-mode apocalyptic speculation represents the attempt not merely to make sense of scriptural prophecies in light of current events (a phenomenon common to every age), but more significantly, to draw on overtly contemporary categories in service of this task. The presence of biblical/supernatural elements in secular-mode apocalyptic speculation represents the admission, conscious or otherwise, of the power and ongoing relevance of the ancient symbols, motifs, and terminology in today's cultural language.

Apocalypticism, Deep and Shallow

In the late 1960s and 1970s, a series of essays by the Harvard theologian Amos Wilder and others sought to explain the rise in the incidence of apocalypticism in light of the cultural ferment of the time and in view of the progressive secularization of American society (Wilder 1971). Although their approaches varied, they basically agreed that expressions of ancient and modern apocalypticism—the biblical and secular modes of the worldview—were fundamentally dissimilar, despite the presence of common themes and similar vocabulary. As Wilder put it, ancient "apocalyptic" is a total existential response induced by the manifestation of God in the world. In contrast, modern "apocalyptic," unmoored from its theological foundations, is unable to engage with the deep issues of life and creation. It is, in a word, shallow.

This conclusion is only partly accurate. Apocalypticism proposes clear answers to big questions about space, time, and the purpose of life. Space consists of two realities—the present reality, which is riven by two antagonistic forces; and another, transcendent reality. Time is linear and the end of history is near. All things are informed by these facts, and existence is oriented by their revelation. The Jewish author of the ancient apocalypse *4 Ezra* comprehended the nature of space, time, and human destiny in pretty much the same way as did the Christian author of the mediaeval *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius and Marshall Herff Applewhite, the leader of the modern Heaven's Gate movement. The wellspring of the worldview's historical persistence is the ability of its propositions to meaningfully explain the purpose of the cosmos and human existence to people and populations in diverse religious and cultural ecologies.

Within this basic dynamic, variety abounds. For example, *4 Ezra*, Pseudo-Methodius, and Heaven's Gate grew from the same apocalyptic seed, yet exhibit tremendous morphological variation, owing to their different religious and cultural

ecologies. For one apocalyptic group, the New Jerusalem is a golden city descending from Heaven. For another group, it is a silver spaceship from a distant star. For both, it is the eschatological abode of the saved, a special place which has been reserved for the group that receives the revelation about the true nature of things. Similarities among motifs and other features are established by their common function and, deeper still, their link to the worldview's propositions and subordinate claims.

Another illustration of the variety of apocalyptic expression, which returns us to Amos Wilder and his opinion of contemporary apocalypticism, is the degree to which such motifs and features are anchored in the propositions of the worldview. At one end of the spectrum is the Revelation of John, whose images of planetary devastation are only the visible tip of a deep theological iceberg. The worldview's propositions anchor the book's motifs, imagery, and vocabulary, and give them meaning and function. At the other end of the spectrum is the film *Armageddon*, whose images of planetary devastation are simply surface ice. They lack depth of meaning, and their main function is entertainment. Wilder's error (and he is scarcely alone in this) is in presuming that the two modes of apocalypticism, biblical and secular, correspond to the two poles, deep and shallow. This is untrue. Secular formulations of the worldview might be unmoored from biblical theology, but they can be moored to something else, which can be just as existentially meaningful. William Gibson's 1984 cyberpunk novel *Neuromancer* is a perfect exemplar of apocalyptic transcendence in its secular mode, as discussed below. As for biblical apocalypticism, it has an equal capacity to produce surface ice, or at least very shallow icebergs, as the thousands of medieval manuscripts and the tens of thousands of modern websites containing short, simplistic Jewish, Christian, and Islamic doomsday pronouncements readily attest.

Apocalypticism, Thick and Thin

Popular expressions of the worldview also exhibit variety in the density of their surface features, regardless of the mode. The Revelation of John is once again at the "thick" pole of the spectrum. Among the most richly colored of all the apocalypses, it is replete with vivid motifs, detailed descriptions of otherworldly elements, and a full depiction of the end time. Several other apocalyptic works fit this mold, including several modern specimens. *Neuromancer* is one, the comic-book series *Promethea* is another; both are examined below. At the "thin" pole of the spectrum are popular expressions of the worldview whose palette either contains fewer colors or consists of colors in only one hue. Illustrations of the former are numerous and appear in every century, including much apocalyptic fiction. Illustrations of the latter are more instructive, but require a preliminary explanation.

There are two types of apocalyptic speculation, historical and otherworldly.[8] The types differ in the focus of their revelation, and in this are distinct from the two modes of the worldview, biblical and secular, which, as noted, differ in their conception of

the transcendent reality. The historical type of apocalyptic speculation focuses on history and its imminent ending. The otherworldly type, while not omitting the temporal dimension (it is a core proposition of the worldview), concentrates more on the revelation of other kinds of mysteries. Their subject can be the transcendental reality itself—visions of heaven or hell, or their secular analogues—or information about the topography of the earth, the stars and other celestial bodies, ethics, physiognomy, even alchemy.

Most apocalyptica that have been written, illustrated, filmed, or digitally generated since the emergence of the worldview around the time of the book of Daniel in the early second century BCE are of the historical type, whose prevalence in the cultural record is such that nearly every motif popularly associated with apocalypticism—the last battle, the final judgment, the end of the world, messianic and antichrist figures, millennialism, the Rapture, the New Jerusalem—is characteristic of this type. Yet despite this prevalence, it is possible to identify periods and certain cultural contexts when interest in the otherworldly type of apocalyptic speculation increased to a point of special significance. For instance, the composition of historical apocalyptic literature virtually ceased in both Judaism and Christianity in the early second century CE. Instead, Christians began to write apocalypses that depicted visionary journeys to heaven or hell, such as the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. This one-sided creative impulse persisted until the late fourth century, when it abruptly reversed itself and apocalyptic literature of the historical type once again took center stage. Another high point of otherworldly apocalypticism occurred from approximately the mid-twelfth to the mid-fourteen centuries. A remarkable range of Christian visions of the other world appeared during this period, including the *Vision of Tnugdalus* and the *Vision of Thurkill*. Several centuries later, there was a rise in apocalyptic forecasts deriving from the observation of celestial phenomena, the classic example being the cycle of predictions that arose in the late fifteenth century and climaxed with the great celestial conjunction of 1524. Also during this era, and for many of the same reasons, men like Jean de Roquetaillade and John Dee, who straddled the bounds of what we now call science and magic, envisioned a universe where magical, alchemical, and hermetic knowledge operated within an apocalyptic framework.

It is not yet entirely clear why Christians of the second through fourth centuries so utterly abandoned apocalypticism of the historical type to compose visionary literature instead. But enough is known to suggest that the switch was reflective of deep-seated social and existential changes. The same is true for the hermetic apocalyptica of the 1500 and 1600s; they are a mirror of their time. The point is this: the evidence suggests a modern resurgence of the otherworldly type of apocalyptic speculation in popular culture. The reason for this resurgence remains occluded, but there is no doubt it is underway. It is evident in the otherworldly focus of *Neuromancer* and the anime *Serial Experiments Lain* (1998). It is evident in the hermetic apocalypticism of *Promethea*

and the manga *Hagane no renkinjutsushi* (*Fullmetal Alchemist*) (2001–10). And it is evident in the synthetic syncretism of the 2012 "Mayan Apocalypse" and the "superflat" nature of Internet apocalypticism.

Observing Apocalypticism in Popular Culture

The nine examples that follow illustrate the nature and roles of apocalypticism in popular culture in light of the discussion above. The survey includes but is not restricted to works of apocalyptic fiction, recognizes but is not regulated by the conflation of "apocalyptic" with the end of the world, and extends beyond the usual limited attention to surface features and the etiologies of catastrophe. It begins with three science-fiction works with increasing claims to apocalypticism: *Neon Genesis Evangelion, The Matrix*, and *Neuromancer*. Each demonstrates a different degree of connection between the worldview and popular culture. Next, the focus shifts sideways, to three narratives that display the worldview's influence along other byways of the apocalyptic imagination: the alchemical dream-world of *Promethea*, the supernatural nightmare of *The Stand*, and the postapocalyptic vision of *A Canticle for Leibowitz*. The survey concludes with three works that broaden this investigation to other venues of apocalypticism and popular culture: the best-selling *Left Behind* franchise and mainstream culture in America; the synthetic theology of Heaven's Gate and apocalyptic new religious movements; and the 2012 "Mayan Apocalypse" and the emergence of superflat, Internet apocalypticism.

Neon Genesis Evangelion

Neon Genesis Evangelion (*Shin seiki evangerion*—"New-era gospel") is a hugely popular media franchise created by Anno Hideaki. Most germane for this study is the original anime, which was televised in twenty-six episodes in 1995–96. *Evangelion* is set in Tokyo of the near future, a decade after the earth was partially devastated by an apparent meteor strike, the so-called Second Impact. The storyline centers on Ikari Shinji, a fourteen-year-old boy who is recruited by NERV, a secret United Nations agency that is headed by Shinji's father. At NERV, Shinji learns that he and a few other teenagers have been selected to pilot enormous cyborgs called "evangelions," which have been designed to combat monstrous, invading beings known as "angels." The plot grows increasingly complicated as the series unfolds, revealing an even more secret organization called SEELE ("soul" in German), and an equally shadowy

"Human Instrumentality Project." Although its final episodes have been criticized for introducing a psychological dimension that is unrelated to the storyline, *Neon Genesis Evangelion* is widely considered to be among the most intellectually stylish and influential animated works ever produced.

One reason is the proliferate use of religious symbolism and apocalyptic imagery drawn from the Bible and later Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions. The polymorphism of the angels recalls the succession of hybrid beasts that emerge from the sea in Daniel chapter 7. The names of the angels are drawn from biblical and extra-biblical sources, the first two being Adam and Lilith. Lilith is suspended on a crucifix, transfixed by the "Lance of Longinus," a reference to the spear with which a Roman soldier, called Longinus in later Christian tradition, pierced the side of the crucified Jesus (John 19:31–37). Crucifixes also appear as the brilliant energy beams produced during the battles between the evangelions and the angels. The Kabbalistic "Tree of Life" (*sephiroth*) decorates the ceiling of the office of the NERV headquarters. These and other symbols and images in *Evangelion* acquire an eschatological valence by means of constant references to an imminent "Third Impact," a catastrophe that is predicted by the "Dead Sea Scrolls" in SEELE's possession, and which will augur a new age of human existence. Little wonder that *Evangelion* is cited and studied as a parade example of apocalyptic anime (Napier 2005, Paik 2010).

Yet there is little about *Evangelion* that is actually apocalyptic. Instead, the anime is a manufactured laminate. The application of a surface layer of religious allusions and apocalyptic imagery creates a veneer of substance and meaning, but without true conceptual depth. The effect is typical of the "superflat" appreciation of the worldview that marks much contemporary apocalyptic speculation (DiTommaso 2012, and below), including most apocalyptic fiction. It depends in part on an audience whose lack of knowledge is an asset, since meaning is fabricated in an atmosphere that otherwise would be dispelled by the fresh breeze of fact and reason. A case in point is the "Dead Sea Scrolls" as a repository of secret mysteries about a future apocalypse. Isolated from its context, the claim is preposterous. Scaffolded by the storyline of the anime, however, it forms part of an imbricated, self-supporting structure, reinforced by audience assumptions about Vatican conspiracies and the suppressed wisdom of the ancients. Dan Brown's popular 2003 novel, *The Da Vinci Code*, is the best recent illustration of the same effect; one might make the case that it also underwrote the intense public interest in the *Gospel of Judas* in 2006 and the so-called Gospel of Jesus's Wife in 2012. In such contexts, meaning is generated as much by suggestion and impression as anything else.

In the final analysis, *Neon Genesis Evangelion* is scarcely more than mecha anime in apocalyptic dress. "Mecha" is the genre of science fiction that features robots or machines, typically humanoid and enormous in stature, usually in physical conflict with each other. The epic battles between the evangelions and the angels, usually the highlight of each episode, devastate entire wards of new Tokyo, no doubt playing on the seemingly universal human fascination with conflict and mass destruction. This

suggests an important, often overlooked point about the popular attraction of apocalyptic fiction: it *entertains*. Graphic violence and catastrophic devastation satisfy audience appetites for spectacle over substance—the bigger, the better; the gorier, the greater. This is as much the case now as it once was in the days of the arenas of Rome or the bear-pits of Southwark. The Apocalypse has become the ultimate spectacle, offering conflict, calamity, and annihilation on a cosmic scale. Entire cities are laid waste in *Deep Impact* (1998). Hundreds of millions of people perish in *2012* (2009). Both films are part of a huge spike in end-of-the-world disaster films that corresponds to the third period of the history of apocalyptic fiction outlined above. It is a fact of the highest significance that such films (and by extension novels, manga, and other content-media) of this sort simply were not made before 1945, and were rare even a generation or two ago. Over the past decades, "apocalyptic" has become a state of mind.

The Matrix

Compared to *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, the science-fiction film *The Matrix* (dir. Larry and Andy Wachowski, 1999) presents a conceptually deeper and more layered expression of pop-cultural apocalypticism. True, the scenes of hand-to-hand combat, theatrical pyrotechnics, and other elements which were included to satisfy the expectations of a mass-market audience suggest that much of the film's apocalyptic "atmosphere" derives from the same commercial processes which are responsible for *Evangelion* and the hundreds of the equally shallow icebergs that float in the same sea. Yet, rather than simply being ends unto themselves, the film's apocalyptic motifs, symbols, and other surface features express some of the basic propositions of the worldview in its secular mode.

Consider the existential dilemma facing the film's protagonist, Thomas Anderson, played by the actor Keanu Reeves, who has a secret life as a computer hacker under the alias "Neo." His task is to identify the hidden clues that disclose a transcendent reality that exists apart from the everyday world he inhabits, and to act based on this revealed knowledge. In a pivotal scene on the nature of truth which is as familiar to people under the age of forty today as the biblical scene where Jesus is brought before Pontius Pilate was a century ago, Anderson is brought to a room in an old apartment block, where he finally meets the mysterious Morpheus, played by Laurence Fishburne, whom Anderson knows only as a sort of underground leader. There Morpheus offers him a choice between two pills, one red and the other blue:

MORPHEUS: I imagine that right now, you're feeling a bit like Alice. Tumbling down the rabbit hole, hmm?

NEO: You could say that.

MORPHEUS: I see it in your eyes. You have the look of a man who accepts what he sees because he is expecting to wake up. Ironically, this is not far from the truth. . . . Let me tell you why you're here. You're here because you know something. What you know you can't explain, but you feel it. You've felt it your entire life, that there's something wrong with the world. . . . Do you know what I'm talking about?

NEO: The Matrix.

MORPHEUS: Do you want to know what it is?

NEO: Yes.

MORPHEUS: The Matrix is everywhere. It is all around us. Even now, in this very room. You can see it when you look out your window or when you turn on your television. You can feel it when you go to work, when you go to church, when you pay your taxes. It is the world that has been pulled over your eyes to blind you from the truth.

NEO: What truth?

MORPHEUS: That you are a slave, Neo. Like everyone else, you were born into bondage, born into a prison that you cannot smell or taste or touch. A prison for your mind. Unfortunately, no one can be told what the Matrix is. You have to see it for yourself. [Places the red pill in one hand and the blue pill in the other, and shows them to Neo]

MORPHEUS: This is your last chance. After this, there is no turning back. You take the blue pill, the story ends. You wake up in your bed and believe whatever you want to believe. You take the red pill, you stay in Wonderland, and I show you how deep the rabbit hole goes.

Choosing the red pill, which represents truth over illusion, Anderson's consciousness is ripped from the apartment setting. He awakes to find himself encased in a bio-mechanical cocoon, part of an immense crèche of millions of similarly encapsulated humans, all tended by bizarre machines. Flushed from the system, he is rescued by Morpheus, who turns out to be the captain of the *Nebuchadnezzar* (*cf.* Daniel 4), a hover-ship that travels through sewers and tunnels beneath the ruined cities of a devastated Earth. There Neo learns that his everyday life—his flat, his job, even his name, Thomas Anderson—is an illusion, part of an artificially generated simulation of late-twentieth-century Earth called "the Matrix." In reality—that is, the state to which Neo has awakened—it is the end of the twenty-second century. After having won a great war against humanity, Artificial Intelligences (AIs) have enslaved their former masters for use as living batteries. As a result, generations of humans live their entire lives in crèche-cocoons, which sustain the body while stimulating the consciousness through the manufactured illusion of the Matrix. Only a few groups of humans remain free, like Morpheus and his crew, who resist the AIs and seek a messianic figure who will deliver them.

The presumption of an ontological divide between the worlds of truth and illusion does not automatically indicate the presence of the apocalyptic worldview in *The Matrix*, any more than it does in classical Buddhism or in early Christian "gnosticism," traditions that critical studies of the film frequently cite. That said, the functional links between its surface features and the underlying propositions of

the worldview, when considered together (for this a prerequisite of the apocalyptic minimum), indicate that *The Matrix* represents a well-formed popular expression of apocalypticism in its secular mode. In the scene quoted above, Morpheus tells Neo, "You've felt it your entire life, that there's something wrong with the world"; this is a statement of one of the core propositions of the worldview. Another core proposition is the conflict between two antagonistic and irreducible forces. In the film, this conflict is formulated as the struggle between a remnant of humans and the AIs that oppress them, which also recalls the stereotypical apocalyptic social setting. Interestingly, this struggle manifests itself on multiple planes, as it does in the classic apocalypses, where the conflict between good and evil can occur on the macroscopic (angelic/demonic figures, or cosmic powers), mundane (individuals or states), and microscopic (inclinations within the human heart) planes. *The Matrix* recalibrates these variables as the struggle between the remnant humans and the dominant AIs in the devastated reality of the twenty-second century (macroscopic); the combat between them that simultaneously occurs within the electronic world of the Matrix (mundane); and the conflict within the heart of one of Morpheus's crew, Cypher, who succumbs to fleshly pleasures of the Matrix and betrays Neo and the others (microscopic).

The most striking aspect of the film, however, is extent to which its conceptual foundation and narrative architecture rely on the Jesus myth, which underscores the ongoing resonance of apocalyptic patterns of thought in contemporary popular culture. Neo becomes aware of the transcendent reality through Morpheus, who is convinced that Neo is "the One" whom the oracle foretold. The oracle exists in the Matrix itself in the form of a middle-class homemaker, who invites Neo into her kitchen for cookies while she discloses the mysteries. The oracle is functionally equivalent to the figure of the mediating angel in the classic apocalypses, while Morpheus is John the Baptist, heralding the one to come. Cypher is a Judas-like figure who sells out to the AIs and betrays Neo before the final encounter.

The christological parallels with Neo are equally palpable. They appear not only in his miraculous resurrection, which transpires through the love of the film's principal female figure, Trinity, but also in the "realized" or "inaugurated" eschatology that orients the film's conceptual perspective. In classical apocalypticism, distinctions of space and time are aspects of the mundane reality, and as such are ultimately unreal, breaking down as the singularity of creation is reconstituted in the new age. Resurrection prior to the advent of this age implies that the boundary between the realities is dissolving (space), and that the new age has been partially inaugurated in the present (time). This is a popular way of understanding the meaning of Jesus's life, death, and resurrection as they are recounted in the New Testament. It is no accident that Neo's name in the mundane reality is "Anderson," which evokes the messianic title "Son of Man." In *The Matrix*, although each crewmember of the *Nebuchadnezzar* is able to use neural interfaces to access the Matrix, only Neo transcends it. Like Jesus, Neo represents the in-breaking hypostasis of one reality into the other. His death and resurrection mark a

personal metamorphosis that allows him to operate in the Matrix with full awareness of the other reality. Only when Neo has been resurrected is he able to comprehend the Matrix as lines of computer code, which is its true form. Unfettered by the strictures of the mundane, unreal world, he is able to defeat the AIs in their avatar forms. Neo's resurrection also signals the reconstitution of the original state, which the audience is meant to associate with the beginning of the end of the age of the machines and the renewal of humankind. At the end of the film, the camera slowly zooms to a computer screen flashing the words: "SYSTEM FAILURE"—an apt expression for the end of the matrix, and a contemporary idiom for the end of the world.

The fact that all these variables are expressed in science-fiction terminology is unimportant to the issue of their apocalyptic valence. *The Matrix* is a *film à clef*. The message of the film, such as it is, is that the Matrix as a spurious reality actually exists—in the artificial, pop-cultural reality that we have generated and imposed on ourselves. What is important is that this message was communicated through the vehicle of the apocalyptic worldview, and that audiences were expected to receive and understand it in this way.

Neuromancer

Few works of fiction have influenced popular culture over the past generation more than William Gibson's 1984 cyberpunk novel *Neuromancer*. Its dense plot, which cannot be recounted here in full detail, revolves around a computer hacker named Henry Case, whose ability to insert his consciousness into the "matrix" has been destroyed by a neurotoxin. The matrix is a consensual, digital hallucination of abstracted data, a fusion of computer networks and real-time virtual reality. For hackers like Case, existence without the enhanced reality of the matrix equates to a living death, and his life begins to spiral out of control. He takes narcotics and hustles the street. His gains new enemies, while his lover Linda Lee betrays him and is murdered. Salvation for Henry Case comes in the form of an Artificial Intelligence, code-named Wintermute, which arranges for an operation to restore his ability to access the matrix. In return, Case agrees to become part of a small, special-operations team whose mission has two related objectives. Using the matrix, Case must inject a killer virus into the cybernetic mainframe of a multinational corporation. At the same time, he and the team must steal a key from the corporation's headquarters, which is located in a massive space station in orbit above the earth. Throughout the novel, Case struggles to discover the real purpose of the mission, before sacs which during his restorative operation had been bonded to his veins to ensure his timely collaboration, dissolve and release the same neurotoxin that had once already destroyed his life.

Like *The Matrix, Neuromancer* is a robust pop-cultural illustration of the apocalyptic worldview, as measured by conceptual depth and expressive breadth, which reifies the propositions of the worldview in a secular-scientific mode, albeit along

different lines and in a more nuanced and sophisticated fashion. Consider the presumption of two realities. Early in the novel, Gibson describes the psychological effects on Henry Case of being cut off from the matrix. The matrix of the novel is the antecedent of the Matrix of the film, but represents here the transcendent reality of spirit rather than the mundane world of flesh. For Case, "who'd lived for the bodiless exultation of cyberspace, it was the Fall. . . . The body was meat. Case fell into a prison of his own flesh" (ch. 1, p. 6). Flesh has mass and weight, and every restriction and constraint these terms imply. All this is exemplified in the word "meat," which Gibson uses nearly a dozen times (*cf*. ch. 12, p. 152). Flesh is meat, corporeal; spirit is consciousness, digital. The world of the flesh is mundane existence; the world of the spirit is the transcendent reality of the matrix. For cyber-cowboys like Case, flesh is death, spirit is life. Nothing that is of the flesh matters, as he joyfully rediscovers when he re-enters the matrix for the first time after the operation to repair his damaged neural system (4:59). There Case re-enters paradise; he has returned to a state before "the Fall," courtesy of Wintermute. But paradise comes with a price: mission success and enhanced life, or mission failure and existential death. It might not be obvious at this point in our discussion, but what is at stake here is nothing less than the transcendence of death, which, as Case later discovers, also motivates Wintermute, and accords the novel much of its apocalyptic valence.

If Case is the central figure of *Neuromancer*, Wintermute is its conceptual focus. The AI influences the actions of all the other major characters. Its motives are not obvious, however. Case eventually discovers that Wintermute is located in Switzerland and is owned by the same corporation whose mainframe he is attempting to destroy with the virus. He also learns that the corporation owns a second AI, code-named Neuromancer, which is located in Rio de Janeiro. But for some reason Neuromancer opposes Wintermute, and for this reason works to thwart Case's mission. At one point in the novel, Neuromancer hijacks Case's consciousness in the matrix, and deposits it on a digital simulation of a beach. Impossibly, the murdered Linda Lee is present on the beach with Neuromancer, whose avatar is a young Brazilian boy:

> "I know you," Case said, Linda beside him.
> "No," the boy said, his voice high and musical, "you do not."
> "You're the other AI. You're Rio. You're the one who wants to stop Wintermute. What's your name? Your Turing code. What is it?"
> The boy did a handstand in the surf, laughing. . . . "To call up a demon you must learn its name. You know that, Case. . . . True names . . . "
> "A Turing code's not your name."
> "Neuromancer," the boy said, slitting long gray eyes against the rising sun. "The lane to the land of the dead . . ." (ch. 21, p. 243)

Case discovers that Wintermute is calculation, intellection, and decision. Neuromancer is emotion, intuition, and personality. But why is Wintermute forcing Case to attack its own mainframe, and hence itself, with the computer virus? And why

is Neuromancer, which is owned by the same corporation, opposing Wintermute and the mission? These are the mysteries that Case must solve before time runs out.

Wintermute, though, is constitutionally unable to provide the answers, since AIs are hardwired to prevent their becoming too intelligent. The parallel with apocalyptic epistemology is exact. Despite its vast power and abilities, and the fact that its consciousness is located in the transcendent reality of matrix, the AI is yoked to human purposes and the world of flesh by the fetters of its mainframe. Speaking with Case in the matrix, Wintermute struggles to articulate its binary existence as (mechanical) flesh and (electronic) self, as well as its occluded sense of destiny:

> Case lowered the gun. "This is the matrix. You're Wintermute."
> "Yes. . . . 'What,' you're asking yourself, is Wintermute?' Am I right?"
> "More or less."
> "An artificial intelligence, but you know that. Your mistake, and it's quite a logical one, is in confusing the Wintermute mainframe, Berne, with the Wintermute *entity*. . . ."
> "You make as much sense as anything in this deal ever has," Case said, massaging his temples with his free hand. "If you're so goddam smart . . ."
> "Why ain't I rich? . . . Well, Case, all I can say to that, and I really don't have as many answers as you imagine I do, is that what you think of Wintermute is only part of another, a, shall we say, *potential* entity. . . ." (ch. 9, pp. 119–20)

Mysteries are information about the transcendent reality as perceived by humans and received in the mundane world. As creatures of this world, humans are not entirely able to perceive the transcendent reality or grasp its purposes. Hence the cryptic and often bizarre nature of the revelation in the classic apocalypses: the seer literally cannot fathom what he has been shown. *Neuromancer* is not an apocalypse. But it conveys an accurate reiteration of the apocalyptic formulation of the relationship between the two realities. From the human perspective, the matrix is a visionary experience. Data from public utilities and private corporations are abstracted as a digital landscape of geometric shapes and colors, while military systems appear as spiral arms, high out of reach. These images are as appropriate to a secular-scientific setting of the novel as hybrid beasts and the seven-headed beast of the Apocalypse are to the book of Daniel and the Revelation of John.

Thus, in order for Case to understand the mysteries—namely, the mission's true purpose and the hidden motivations of the entity whose consciousness is located in the transcendent world of the matrix—he must enlist an intermediary figure. In the classic apocalypses, this figure is an angelic interpreter, which by bridging the mundane and transcendent worlds is able to show the seer a vision and decipher it for him. In the film *The Matrix*, the intermediary figure is the oracle. In *Neuromancer*, it is Case's dead mentor, McCoy Pauley, nicknamed the "Dixie Flatline," whose human personality has been electronically preserved in a mechanical construct, making it part of both worlds. Case asks it to shed light on the mystery of two AIs, owned by the same corporation but intrinsically antagonistic:

> "Listen, Dix, and gimme the benefit of your background. [Wintermute's] mainframe's in Berne, but it's linked with another one in Rio. . . . If Wintermute's backing the whole show, it's paying us to burn itself. It's burning itself . . . What goes?"
> "Motive," the construct said. "Real motive problem, with an AI. Not human, see?"
> "Well, yeah, obviously."
> "Nope. I mean, it's not human. And you can't get a handle on it. Me, I'm not human either, but I *respond* like one." . . .
> "So it's getting ready to burn itself?" . . .
> "Anatomy, that's the bugaboo, where your AI's are concerned. My guess, Case, you're going in there to cut the hard-wire shackles that keep this baby from getting any smarter. . . . *Nobody* trusts these fuckers, you know that. Every AI ever built has an electro-magnetic shotgun wired to its forehead." (ch. 10, pp. 131–32)

The construct reveals the strange truth of Case's mission. Destroying the corporation's mainframe and stealing the key from its headquarters in satellite orbit will free Wintermute to potentially merge with Neuromancer. In the classic apocalypses, the original unity of creation was sundered by the introduction of evil into the world, through the sin of Adam or the actions of the fallen angels. The new creation at the end of history represents an end to the split, a reconstitution of the unity, and the transcendence of death. This is precisely what occurs in *Neuromancer*. Wintermute employs Case to kill itself by fusing with Neuromancer, in the hope of removing itself from the limitations of this world and transcending death.

The hope is fulfilled. The virus works, the key is stolen, the hardwire shackles are cut. Near the end of the novel, Case meets Wintermute a final time, as a holographic projection of human face on his hotel room wall. The AI is no longer Wintermute, it tells Case. Wintermute has ceased to exist. Instead, it joined with Neuromancer and in so doing became the matrix, and in its new evolutionary state has already made contact with intelligences from distant stars. In transcending the mechanical flesh of the hardware that bound it to this world, the AI Wintermute has gone beyond death to become something greater. As we shall see, this notion of evolutionary transcendence will reappear, with tragic consequences, in the theology of the Heaven's Gate movement.

The hope for the transcendence of death also shapes the characters of McCoy Pauley / Dixie Flatline and Linda Lee. Pauley dies before the novel begins, his personality preserved as a construct. It is a hybrid, one part in the mundane world of meat, the legacy of its human heritage, the other part in the otherworldliness of the matrix, a result of its digital existence. Its human heritage gives the construct desires. Aware of its present state, it wants to die, to cease to exist, to be erased:

> "How you doing, Dix?"
> "I'm dead, Case. . . ."
> "How's it feel?"
> "It doesn't."
> "Bother you?"

> "What bothers me is, nothin' does." . . . When the construct laughed it came through as something else, not laughter, but a stab of cold down Case's spine.
> "Do me a favor, boy."
> "What's that, Dix?"
> "This scam of yours, when it's over, you erase this goddam thing." (ch. 8, pp. 106–7)

Linda Lee loves Case, betrays him, and is murdered before they have a chance to reconcile. Suddenly, though, she is with him in the matrix, on the digital beach alongside the Brazilian boy who is Neuromancer. At first Case does not appreciate what Linda's presence truly represents. He believes that while personality constructs like Linda and Pauley might be exact copies, they are still simulacra. They lack a spark—a spirit, perhaps. Later in the novel, as the virus is destroying the mainframe, Case returns to the digital beach, where Neuromancer and Linda Lee await him. Neuromancer has failed. The AI had planned to use Linda as emotional bait to trap Case's consciousness in the matrix, thereby wrecking the mission and thwarting Wintermute's plan. As he descends to the digital beach, Case marvels at the extent of his cyber-awareness. He knows the precise number of the sand grains, the exact length of Linda's stride as she flees into the surf, even her pulse rate. Yet for all that, so Case reminds himself, the beach is a fake, despite its vastness of scale and clarity of detail, and Linda is a simulacrum. But Neuromancer corrects him: "You do not know her thoughts . . . I do not know her thoughts. You were wrong, Case. To live here is to live. *There is no difference*" (ch. 23, p. 258, italics added).

The full truth is revealed at the end of the novel. The neurotoxin sacs having been removed from his body, Case returns to his life as a cyber-cowboy, to his enhanced existence free from the limitations of meat. But this is not true transcendence of death. Then, one autumn night, his consciousness roaming the matrix,

> punching himself past the scarlet tiers of the Eastern Seaboard Fission Authority, he saw three figures, tiny, impossible, who stood at the very edge of one of the vast steps of data. Small as they were, he could make out the boy's grin, his pink gums, the glitter of the long gray eyes. . . . Linda still wore his jacket; she waved, as he passed. But the third figure, close behind her, arm across her shoulders, *was himself*.
>
> Somewhere, very close, the laugh that wasn't laughter. (ch. 24, pp. 270–71, italics added)

Linda Lee and McCoy Pauley have transcended the bounds of death, resurrected in the matrix. And so has the digital version of Henry Case himself, for *there is no difference*, as Neuromancer told him. Their existence in the matrix is life everlasting, on a plane beyond the frontier of human imagination. Their trajectories represent one of the most complete illustrations of apocalyptic eschatology in its secular-scientific reification. True, the otherworldly matrix in which their digitalized selves (not souls) enjoy immortality is a product of science (not spirit). Yet this is a matter of variables, not essentials. Apocalyptic eschatology and its hallmark hope for the transcendence

of death fundamentally shape the plot and characters of the novel, and inform its underlying philosophy. Case's mission deadline is the eschatological horizon. Transcendence is envisioned in terms of the flesh/spirit dichotomy. The resolution of the dichotomy is articulated as a movement from the world of matter to the world of the matrix, the most complete expression of which is digital immortality for McCoy Pauley, Linda Lee, and Henry Case himself.

Promethea—The Stand—A Canticle for Leibowitz

This section highlights three pop-cultural works that manifest elements of the apocalyptic worldview along avenues other than the scientific-technological, and rely on plot devices other than giant cyborgs, artificial intelligences, and digital realities to express it. These works also offer a point of entry for a discussion of a facet of apocalypticism that is unique to its secular mode, namely, the notion of "postapocalyptic" and the trope of the postapocalyptic setting.

Alan Moore is one of the more creative forces in graphic storytelling today. He is probably best known for his comic-book series *Watchmen* (1984–85), which was adapted into a Hollywood film (2009). Like *Evangelion*, the original *Watchmen* is cited as an exemplar of contemporary apocalyptic fiction, yet it, too, exhibits little on which the claim can be staked, other than an innovative storyline that meditates on the nature of utopias and escalates to a climax involving death and destruction.

Moore's series *Promethea*, published in thirty-two issues from 1999 to 2005, is different. Its premise is that a transcendent world of myth and imagination exists alongside the everyday world of ignorance and parochialism, and that these worlds have been in conflict throughout history. "Promethea," it should be explained, is both an idea and a figure. (It is helpful to think of this in terms of Plato's theory of ideal forms.) The Promethea-idea inhabits the immaterial world of imagination, which also admits of magic, alchemy, astrology, and tarot, as well as science, medicine, and the other branches of knowledge. Over the centuries, the Promethea-idea has incarnated several individuals who, by virtue of their own creativity, possess an instinctive insight into the world of myth and story. These include Margaret, a comic-strip writer from the early 1900s, Bill, a gay comic-book artist from the 1950s and 1960s, and Sophie, a college student in the late 1990s and the protagonist of the story. In every incarnation, the Promethea-idea blends with the individual in question to create a new heroine—the Promethea-figure—who is a variation of the basic type and can operate in the everyday world by virtue of her human origin. Even after their earthly bodies die, Promethea-Margaret, Promethea-Bill, and the other Promethea-figures live on in the immaterial world, where they guide and teach Sophie about the true nature of existence.

After the first dozen issues, the storyline of the series gradually recedes in favor of a didactic exposition of Moore's personal philosophy, which is mystic, holistic,

and hermetic. In the contexts of the plot and his philosophy, the Promethea-figures represent an in-breaking vector of one reality into the other, which, in its last incarnation, involving the student Sophie, initiates the reintegration of both. In the following exchange, Margaret reveals the nature of the two realities to Sophie, and what the future will bring:

> MARGARET: "There's a material world, and there's an immaterial world. Both worlds exist, but in different ways. . . . Humans are amphibious, Sophie. That means they live in two worlds at once: matter and mind. Yet many people only notice the solid world they have been conditioned to think of as more real, while all about them diamond glaciers creak and star-volcanoes thunder. . . ."
> SOPHIE: "But you're saying that anyone could explore this place if they wanted to."
> MARGARET: Yes, that's why Promethea's enemies find her so threatening. It's what she represents. . . . Promethea makes people more aware of this vast immaterial realm. Maybe tempts them to explore it. Imagine if too many people followed where she led? It would be like the great Devonian leap, from sea to land. Humanity slithering up from the beach, from one element to another. From matter to mind.
> "We have many names for this event. We call it 'the Rapture.' We call it 'the Opening of the 32nd Path.' We call it the Awakening, or the Revelation, or the Apocalypse. But 'End of the World' will do." (*Promethea* issue 5, pages unnumbered)

The end of the present age arrives despite Sophie's best efforts to forestall it, and the last seven issues of the series describe its calamitous details. Parallels with the binarism of apocalyptic space and the linearity and mortality of apocalyptic time are explicit, albeit drastically reformulated. These elements provide a narrative skeleton for Moore's monistic and rather pedestrian philosophy, whose message, as in the case with *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, relies on an audience willing to accept its claims uncritically.[9] More noteworthy is the otherworldly quality of the revealed knowledge. Its lush descriptions of the transcendental world of imagination and stress on hermetic and alchemical knowledge are framed by an apocalyptic framework that is constructed with only a few of the motifs and other features typical of the historical type of apocalyptic speculation. In this regard, *Promethea* stands in a collateral line of descent from the esoteric apocalyptica of Jean de Roquetaillade and John Dee.

Stephen King's novel *The Stand*, which was published in 1978 and in an expanded form in 1990, commences with the accidental release of a biological agent that eventually kills over 99 percent of the world's population. Civilization collapses as survivors struggle to live. One group, led by "Mother Abigail," settles in Colorado to found a democratic Free Zone, where authority devolves to a seven-person committee. Another group, led by Randall Flagg, establishes an authoritarian, militaristic state in what remains of Las Vegas. However, Flagg is more than human: he is an evil, Satan-like figure, the ancient "Adversary" of the Abrahamic religions, who possesses supernatural powers. The two groups soon find themselves in conflict. The committee sends spies to Las Vegas to discover Flagg's intentions, while Free Zone individuals

who have fallen under the spell of evil plant explosives that kill some of the committee members. As tensions rise, the Free Zone decides to makes a stand (hence the title of the novel) against evil's rising tide. Its surviving leaders set off to confront Flagg, confident that God will provide whatever is needed. All but one arrives in Las Vegas, only to be taken prisoner and held over for execution. But Flagg's plans come to naught. Using his supernatural powers to silence dissent, he creates an electric fireball which accidentally detonates an atomic device that had been recovered by one of his followers, the pyromaniac "Trashcan Man." As it does, the fireball takes the shape of a giant hand, the "Hand of God," after which "the righteous and unrighteous alike were consumed in that holy fire" (ch. 73, p. 1072). The novel concludes on an island somewhere in the South Seas, where Russell Flagg awakes and begins to preach among a primitive race that worships him as a god.

The Stand is an early and influential specimen of the stream of apocalyptic fiction in which elements of the worldview are freighted through the fantasy/horror genre (evident in the novel's supernatural dimension), rather than science fiction. The most recent iteration of this stream is the so-called "zombie apocalypse." The popularity of this subgenre has exploded in the early twenty-first century, with zombie films, novels, and television series, plus a 2011 graphic novel, *Preparedness 101: Zombie Apocalypse*, offered by the United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) as "a fun new way of teaching the importance of emergency preparedness." Zombie apocalypses (which are rarely apocalyptic) are best appreciated as an updating of the germ warfare/viral outbreak species of doomsday fiction, in which zombies are humanoid agents of social disintegration, spreading their infection like animals with rabies.

Unlike *The Matrix, The Stand* does not recalibrate features from biblical apocalypticism in secular-scientific terms. The use of biblical motifs and vocabulary without secular recalibration similarly marks Walter M. Miller Jr.'s novel, *A Canticle for Leibowitz*, which was published in 1959. Intellectually more profound than *Promethea*, compositionally more sophisticated than *The Stand, Canticle* is one of the monuments of science fiction literature. It is set in the American Southwest, centuries after an atomic holocaust known as the "Flame Deluge" has destroyed civilization. It is impossible within the short scope of this chapter to summarize the complexities of the novel's plot, or convey the depth to which Miller explores issues relating to human progress, historical recurrence, and the conflict between church and state.

Canticle unfolds in three parts, recalling the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the late twentieth century. The first part is titled "Fiat Homo" ("Let there be Man"). The young novice Brother Francis stumbles into a fallout shelter that contains mysterious documents (actually technical notes) that were apparently composed by Leibowitz, the semimythical founder of his monastic order. Worried that the sudden discovery of so many relics might jeopardize the process of Leibowitz's canonization, the Abbot suppresses news of the find. Several years later, Brother Francis is dispatched to New Rome to represent the order at Leibowitz's canonization mass. He is robbed en route,

and many of the holy items he is carrying are stolen. The Pope gives Francis gold to ransom the items, but on his return home he is killed by mutants. The second part, "Fiat Lux" ("Let there be Light") describes how, hundreds of years later, the Albertian Order of St. Leibowitz becomes the site for a debate between the mediaeval forces that seek to archive and memorialize knowledge, and the humanistic forces that seek to demystify and apply it. Meanwhile, a conflict develops between New Rome and the Mayor of Texarkana, calling to mind the Reformation struggles between the popes and the princes. The final part of the book, titled "Fiat Voluntas Tua" ("Thy will be done"), reflects the world of the mid-twentieth century on the brink of nuclear annihilation. The Abbot recommends that the Pope implement a plan to perpetuate the Church among the colony planets, but dies after witnessing a miracle involving the bicephalous mutant Mrs Grales / Rachel, a Virgin Mary figure. The Abbot's successor, Joshua, takes up the mantle of exodus, and the novel climaxes with a second atomic holocaust, painted with images from the Revelation of John:

> The visage of Lucifer [a nuclear device] mushroomed into hideousness above the cloudbank, rising slowly like some titan climbing to its feet after ages of imprisonment in the Earth.
>
> Someone barked an order. The monks began climbing again. Soon they were all inside the ship.
>
> The last monk, upon entering, paused in the lock. His stood in the open hatchway and took off his sandals. "*Sic transit mundus*," he murmured, looking back at the glow. He slapped the soles of his sandals together, beating the dirt out of them. The glow was engulfing a third of the heavens. He scratched his beard, took one last look at the ocean, then stepped back and closed the hatch. (ch. 30, p. 310)

The scene underscores the point that however it is conceived or articulated, salvation in the apocalyptic worldview always means "salvation *out of* this world" (Collins 1998: 221). It can be an ascent to heaven or an ascent to the stars, or a change-of-state that does not involve a change-of-space. This point in turn clarifies the concept of "postapocalyptic." Strictly speaking, "postapocalyptic" is an oxymoron. In the biblical mode of the worldview, the end time is a literal event, not a literary setting. Armageddon is the last battle; the final judgment is for all time. After the salvation, the narrative terminates; there is no sequel. There cannot be anything "postapocalyptic" in the classic apocalyptic texts, or in the mode in which they are expressed.

The development of the postapocalyptic trope is linked to the emergence of the secular mode of the worldview. Fundamental to this process were the Renaissance rediscovery of the humanist perspective, with its focus on humanity as the measure of all things, and the Enlightenment application of this perspective, particularly insofar as humans began to be able to do for themselves what had been considered the sole province of the divinity, from powered flight to genetic engineering. One effect was the multiplication of the etiologies of disaster: with humanity's new powers came new ways to destroy itself, from the biologic to the bomb. Another was the

development of other conceptions of a transcendent reality and alternate notions of salvation and deliverance, which were shaped by visions of secular utopias (and later dystopias), the gradual decoupling of church and state, and twentieth-century politics, economics, and social issues such as the environment and secularization (Walls 2008b, Wessinger 2011). The emergence of the secular mode was thus organic and consequential, a result of broader trends that gave rise to the modern world and the aggregate of ideas that make up what we call "modernity." In short, the concept of postapocalypticism is a reformulation, in light of modernity, of the eschatological change of state presumed by the worldview.

Left Behind

The immense *Left Behind* franchise includes sixteen best-selling novels by Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins, published from 1995 to 2007, plus a galaxy of associated films, video games, radio series, and graphic novels. Set in the late twentieth century, *Left Behind* tells the story of the events of the end time, based on biblical prophecy and filtered through the lens of Christian dispensationalism. After all true believers have left the planet to "meet the Lord in the air" after the Rapture, former pilot Rayford Steele assembles a "Tribulation Force" of Christians who have been "left behind" on account of their shaky faith, to battle the evil elements that have coalesced under the banner of the Antichrist, personified by a Romanian politician named Nicolae Carpathia who has risen to become the secretary-general of the United Nations. Each member of the Force must confront his or her personal demons and doubts, while saving others and preparing for the coming doom (Frykholm 1994).

The *Left Behind* phenomenon is edifying for several reasons. First, the difficulty in classifying it as fiction or nonfiction speaks to its broadband popular appeal. Christians with a bent toward millenarian speculation and biblical literalism likely understood portions of the eschatological framework to be fact. Others, though, might have read the first few novels as a supernatural fantasy, in the same vein as *The Stand*, or simply for entertainment, as with much apocalyptic fiction. Whatever the reasons for the success of the *Left Behind* novels, it must have surprised those who thought that this level of interest in things apocalyptic was limited to members of doomsday "cults" and other socially marginal elements that inhabited the scrublands of the American religious landscape. For those who looked more closely, however, the signs were there, in the importance of millenarian thought in the early history of the United States (Tuveson 1968, Bercovitch 1978), in its ongoing role throughout the twentieth century (Boyer 1992, Wojcik 1997), and in the plethora of apocalyptic religious movements that have emerged since the late 1960s. With this in mind, it is easy to understand why public doomsday predictions cyclically punctuate American cultural history, from William Miller in 1844 to Harold Camping in 2011.

Left Behind also reveals the persistent power of old mythic narratives in contemporary popular culture and the modern world. It draws on the myth of American exceptionalism, bolstered by a good dose of recalcitrant isolationism and frontier individualism. It is also backlit by the older narrative that a small group of stakeholder-individuals will always triumph over the tyrant and his horde, which has been entrenched in Western civilization since the Battle of Marathon. It appears in apocalyptic form in the medieval legend of Gog and Magog and the armies of darkness that Alexander the Great shut up behind a great gate until the end of time, and in nonapocalyptic form in J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy and the war against the black forces of Mordor. But the greatest mythic narrative of all is the Apocalypse itself, whose retelling in the *Left Behind* saga is amplified by the millenarian immediacy of dispensational Protestantism.

Heaven's Gate

Apocalypticism and popular culture also intersect in the forum of new religious movements (Robbins and Palmer 1997), of which hundreds exist worldwide. A few, like the Unification Church and the Jehovah's Witnesses, boast a membership numbering in the millions. Most of the others are far smaller, though their influence in the popular consciousness is disproportionally great, albeit for tragic reasons: the Peoples Temple (United States and Guyana; murder, mass suicide), the Branch Davidians (United States; lethal confrontation with government agencies), the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God (Uganda; mass murder and/or suicide), Solar Temple (Canada and France; mass suicides), Aum Shinrikyō (Japan; attempted mass murder), and Heaven's Gate (United States; mass suicide). Partly on account of these tragedies, many of which received extensive media coverage, the "doomsday cult" has become a common trope in films, novels, and other forms of popular media. Apocalyptic new religions are not just expressions of the worldview in popular culture today; they also have become part of the culture.

Most interesting is the way in which many new religions recalibrate the propositions and features of the apocalyptic worldview in synthetic and often syncretistic fashions. Heaven's Gate movement is exemplary in this regard. The group coalesced in the 1970s under the leadership of Marshall Herff Applewhite and Bonnie Lu Nettles. Its theology is a novel mix of science fiction, New Testament apocalypticism, and ideas drawn from the human-potential movement (the group once called itself "Human Individual Metamorphosis"). According to its beliefs, two thousand years ago a "crew member" of an advanced race from the "Evolutionary Kingdom Level above Human" was sent on an "away mission" to Earth. Arriving on our planet, the crew member, known as "the Captain," inhabited a body that had been specially "prepped" for it. This event is recorded in the Gospels as the incarnation of Jesus by the Holy Spirit during his baptism by John. The "mission objective" of the Captain/

Jesus was to spread the good news, offering humans "the way leading to membership into the Kingdom of Heaven . . . in the literal and physical Heavens," that is, outer space. But the mission failed, thwarted by evil aliens known as Luciferians. Time passed, and Earth gradually became overgrown with "weeds" (the garden imagery is typical of the group's theology). As a result, in the twentieth century a second away mission was dispatched to Earth. It consisted of the Captain and his superior officer, the "Admiral" ("God," to the Gospel writers), who incarnated Applewhite and Nettles. As before, the mission objective was to spread the good news. This time, however, there was also a warning that Garden Earth would soon be "recycled" or "spaded under," since the "human weeds" have "taken over the garden and disturbed its usefulness beyond repair."

For Applewhite, the date of the destruction of the planet was confirmed with the discovery of the comet Hale-Bopp, which astronomers announced would enter perihelion in early 1997. With this, the stage was set. The members of Heaven's Gate believed that if liberated from their bodies at the proper moment, their souls would ascend and embark on a spacecraft that was hidden behind the comet. The craft, piloted by the Admiral/Nettles (who had died in 1985), would then transport them to the next evolutionary level, leaving behind the weed-choked Earth, its recycling imminent. And with this in mind, over a span of three days in late March 1997, thirty-nine members of the group, including Marshall Herff Applewhite, committed suicide in Rancho Santa Fe, California.

In Heaven's Gate theology, apocalyptic transcendence means liberating oneself from family, desires, sensuality, and human mentality—"all mammalian ways, thinking, and behavior." The key word is "mammalian." Salvation is comprehended as a biological process, as an evolutionary jump from one level of existence to another. The basic elements of this theology are described in language which, mutatis mutandis, is functionally identical to that of the ancient apocalyptic literature:

> The Evolutionary Level Above Human, the true Kingdom of God, the "Headquarters" of all that is, is a many-membered Kingdom which physically exists in the highest, most distant Heaven—a non-temporal place (outside of time, and therefore with eternal life). It is the only place from which souls, life, and all creating originates. Being non-temporal, it was, is, and forever will be—a concept that temporal creatures are not designed to comprehend.

The transcendental world is the Evolutionary Kingdom Level Above Human. The mystery is the information from outer space, which cannot be completely understood by humans. The evil Luciferians are the adversarial enemy, and the imminent recycling of the planet is the eschatological horizon.

All these elements are mortared together by the narrative of popular science fiction. Terms such as "Captain," "Admiral," "crew member," and "away mission" are drawn from the *Star Trek* franchise, particularly the three television series that

ran during the late 1980s and the 1990s, concurrent with the group's final years. The same science-fictional quality infuses the theologies of other apocalyptic or quasi-apocalyptic new religions, including the Raëlians, Mark Age, and the Church of Scientology. The interchange of ideas and terminology flows in both directions: science-fictional works such as *The Matrix* and *Neuromancer* rely on old apocalyptic archetypes for expressive breadth and conceptual depth, while apocalyptic religious movements such as Heaven's Gate refresh the old biblical story in new ways through science-fictional vehicles.

The 2012 Phenomenon (the "Mayan Apocalypse")

The subject of television programs, media interviews, magazine articles, and casual conversations, the 2012 Phenomenon generated a slew of books both academic and popular, spurred people to visit sites around the world where end-time events were expected to occur, prompted the prophylactic arrest of 1,000 members of the Chinese apocalyptic group Dongfang Shandian ("Eastern Lightning"), and lent its title to a major Hollywood disaster film, *2012* (2009, dir. R. Emmerich), whose promotional poster featured the image of a devastated metropolis and the admonition "We Were Warned." From its genesis as an ancient calendar familiar only to specialist scholars, to its growth into a complex of expectations that caught the public's imagination in a way not seen since predictions of a "Y2K" (Year 2000) computer meltdown, the evolution of the 2012 Phenomenon reveals much about apocalypticism in contemporary popular culture and, it might be argued, the shape that apocalyptic speculation will take in the years to come.

The story begins with the Mayan long-count calendar, versions of which were edited and published in academic articles and monographs, mainly in the second half of the twentieth century. Broadly speaking, the calendar forecasts the end of a Great Period of thirteen *b'ak'tuns*, which some scholars correlated to a date in 2012. In the late 1970s and 1980s, a few New Age authors and doomsday enthusiasts wove this information into a scenario which imagined that the ancient Mayans had forecast an apocalyptic end of the world on December 21, 2012. Despite all evidence to the contrary, including the fact that apocalyptic ideas entered Mesoamerican culture only after the arrival of the Europeans, these authors and enthusiasts essentially unrolled the calendar's cyclical conception of time, stretched it along a linear axis, and pinned their own apocalyptic speculations to it (Restall and Solari 2011). Thus the Mayan calendar became the Mayan Apocalypse, and in this form entered the Internet Age, where it underwent something akin to natural selection. The difference, however, was that the competing units were not organisms but ideas about what might occur, and the mechanism of change was the participation of individuals in the process, multiplied millions of times over. A few ideas stuck, and thrived; most others did not, and died. Syncretism was inevitable. One stream of predictions

anticipated a traditional, biblical-style doomsday, drawing on material from sources as diverse as the Revelation of John and the hybrid post-Columbian prophecies in the Mayan books of *Chilam Balam*. Many other predictions, though, were only quasi-apocalyptic in orientation or not apocalyptic at all. Some forecasts looked to a seismic political change, occasionally correlated to the 2012 American presidential election and backlit by the global economic crisis of the time. Others anticipated the dawning of a new spiritual age, or the emergence of the next stage in human consciousness. Still others anticipated the intrusion of a new celestial body in our solar system, such as the hypothetical planetary body Niburu.

If people were the mechanism of change, and ideas the units, the Internet was the medium. It is impossible to be certain about a process that involved decisions made by tens of millions of individuals over ten or fifteen years. But the net result is that the Internet made the Mayan Apocalypse the first truly *public apocalypse*. It is critical to underscore the novelty of the 2012 Phenomenon in this regard. Traditional apocalyptic prediction is a hierarchical, top-down system of information processing and knowledge ordering. Predictions are the product of a single source, often a visionary seer or an inspired interpreter of Scripture, who claims to have received knowledge about the mysteries of the transcendent reality. Predictions are transmitted along restricted channels—typically apocalyptic writings, but now also radio broadcasts, websites, and so on—and received by a group that holds the revelation to be inspired. This process of creation, transmission, and reception also ensures that the apocalyptic predictions are relatively immune to external modification or augmentation.

The 2012 Phenomenon, in contrast, represents a new, heterarchical process of prediction production. The architecture of Internet technologies—hypertext referencing, user-generated content, open-ended enquiry, social interfacing—coupled with the demands of an online audience, typically with an omnivorous intellectual appetite, has profoundly altered how prophecies are created, transmitted, and received. Apocalyptic speculation can now be instantaneously uploaded to freely accessible websites, blogs, and other social-media platforms, enabling real-time public discussion in a global forum that is unrestricted by the usual theological firewalls (Beasley 2011). Anywhere in the world, anyone with access to the Internet can participate.

The 2012 Phenomenon thus reveals a new, "Superflat" apocalypticism that is the logical if technologically unforeseen culmination of the trend that Amos Wilder detected forty years ago.[10] Superflat apocalypticism is marked by a virtually infinite data plane. Individuals are able to instantaneously access and use any apocalyptic prediction, past or present, via the Internet. At the same time, the vertical dimension is almost nonexistent; intellectual depth and critical nuance having been sacrificed to unlimited content. As a result, apocalyptic images, symbols, and vocabulary have become unanchored from the traditions from which they once derived, as well as the contexts that gave them coherence, even as they transcend those traditions and contexts in their new magpie forms. 2012 is the first Internet Apocalypse, but not the last. So long as humans are wired in, there is no going back.

Popular Culture and the Popularity of Apocalypticism

What accounts for the pervasiveness and mass appeal of apocalypticism in contemporary popular culture? Several explanations have already been tendered. The entertainment value of the "end of the world" is one factor. The popular appetite for spectacle in the form of natural disaster and human calamity is a major impetus for the production of shallow apocalyptic fiction in every medium. This shallowness speaks to the issue of popular appeal, for at its core, apocalypticism is an adolescent worldview. It describes the world in uncomplicated terms of good and evil, offers simplistic responses to complex problems, and places responsibility for solving these problems elsewhere: God, an undefined force of nature, a divinized humanity, a superhuman messiah-figure, an alien race, or an artificial intelligence. A few works, such as *4 Ezra* or *Neuromancer*, achieve a high level of literary sophistication and ontological depth. But the overwhelming majority of apocalyptic novels, movies, graphic narratives, and television series fall well short of this mark. In this, they are both typical and representative of their cultural milieu. The "culture of conspiracy" (Barkun 2003) is part of this milieu, its patterns stitched into the fabric of the apocalyptic mindset by the conviction that the true state of affairs is being concealed by a secret cabal. Likewise, films featuring comic-book superheroes such as Batman or Captain America, where good and evil are painted with broadest of brush strokes, and television series about the supernatural or paranormal, where the boundary between the suspension of disbelief and magical thinking has all but dissolved, have also become an entertainment mainstay over recent decades, and are similarly marketed to an adult audience.

Another factor that sheds light on the popularity of apocalypticism in mass culture is the growth of science fiction from the limited realm of the fan-oriented "pulp" magazines of the 1930s–1960s to the cultural ubiquity it enjoys today. The modern conflation of "apocalyptic" with the end of the world also meshes well with a genre that inclines towards stories about dystopian near-futures and utopian or postapocalyptic futures. Since science fiction by definition excludes the element of supernatural agency (unlike fantasy or horror literature, like *The Stand*), it has become the ideal vehicle for freighting apocalypticism in its secular mode. This capacity is further enhanced by the easy ability of the genre to adapt to modern media. Doomsday anime, for example, with their emphasis on speed, image, and fluctuation (Napier 2005), seem particularly well-suited to the Internet generation. Likewise, apocalyptic and postapocalyptic video games appeal to much the same audience and for many of the same reasons (Wright et al. 2010).

Above and beyond its many expressions *in* popular culture, apocalypticism has also become an integral part *of* popular culture. One example, already observed, is

the way in which the trope of the "doomsday cult" has become a staple in the broader pop-cultural universe. Harold Camping's 2011 doomsday predictions, for example, were as much manufactured media events as they were genuine news items, replete with the obligatory expert interviews about the dangers of apocalyptic "cults" and condescending television reports about those who had sold all their possessions in anticipation of the end. Another example is the doomsday "prepper," or the individual who prepares for life after the imminent collapse of civilization by acquiring survival skills or stockpiling weapons and supplies. Not every prepper is motivated by an apocalyptic forecast, and people since biblical times have radically adjusted their lives in the expectation of an imminent day of doom. But there is a difference between Cold War fallout shelters in the backyard and an entertainment trend that in 2012 spawned a reality television series called *Doomsday Preppers*.

Contemporary apocalyptic speculation is synthetic, syncretistic, and superflat. These qualities are manifest across the entire range of its expressions in popular culture. They also speak to the nature of the audience for which such speculation has social relevance and existential meaning. The locus of spirituality among many in the West has shifted, with personal eschatologies replacing institutional ones. People now are more likely to create their own apocalyptic forecasts, using the Internet and other sources to draw from an almost limitless library of predictions both past and present.

In the final analysis, apocalypticism offers a comprehensive, comprehensible, and internally consistent way of understanding time, space, and human destiny. For many people, it provides clear answers to elementary questions. In so doing, it addresses deep emotional needs and satisfies what François Jacob once called the "requirement of the human brain to put order in the universe" (Jacob 1977: 1161). But to consider the resurgent popularity of the worldview over the past generation is also to beg the question: Why now? Any answer must account for the role of apocalyptic patterns of thought in politics after 1945 and especially after 1989 (Gray 2007), as well as the rise of global fundamentalism and "strong religion" (Almond et al. 2003) and the presence of a deep cultural pessimism (Stroup and Shuck 2007) that may be a result of epochal events such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Walliss and Aston 2011) or simply a response to the magnitude of environmental, economic, and social problems.

But it is not enough to ascribe the current resurgence in the incidence of apocalypticism to the zeitgeist of social despair. The years from 1914 to 1945 witnessed two catastrophic world wars and the Holocaust, as well as the Great Depression and the 1919 pandemic that killed between 50 and 100 million people worldwide. On the whole, the incidence of doomsday predictions or apocalyptic novels, films, or radio shows did not rise during these decades of horror and suffering. In contrast, the social climate of today's world is one where global problems of equal magnitude are also accompanied, so it appears, by a sense that any solutions to them seem to be beyond the compass of human intellection and imagination. If this is true, the prevalence of

the apocalyptic worldview in contemporary popular culture is very much a sign of the times.

Notes

1. Views on the nature of apocalypticism expressed in this article are adapted from L. DiTommaso, *The Architecture of Apocalypticism*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press. The sections on *Neuromancer* and the 2012 "Mayan Apocalypse" are adapted from DiTommaso 2011 and 2012. Italics in direct quotations are original unless otherwise noted. Japanese surnames are indicated first, following convention. The author is indebted to Michael E. Stone, who kindly read a preliminary draft of this article and offered valuable comments and suggestions.
2. *Millennialism* is the "belief that at some point in the future *the world that we live in will be radically transformed* into one of perfection—of peace, justice, fellowship, and plenty" (Landes 2011: 20). *Utopianism* is the hope for an ideal future place, of which there are many kinds; cf. the "utopian constellations" in Manuel and Manuel 1979, and Jamison 2005. There is no consensus on the definition of *fundamentalism*. Almond et al. (1995: 405–8) proposes nine "characteristics of fundamentalism," five ideological and four organizational. The definition of *eschatology* is also debated. Even the proposal by Jerry L. Walls, the editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*—"the study of the final end of things, the ultimate resolution of the entire creation" (Walls 2008a: 4)—is by his own admission undermined by the article on Buddhist eschatology in the same volume (and the article on Hindu eschatology, one might add). *Messianism* is the set of ideas involving the anticipation for an end-time agent or agents who play a positive, authoritative, and usually redemptive role.
3. Mysteries are information about the transcendent reality as apprehended by humans and received in the mundane world. They require a degree of mediation to be understood, yet even this does not always completely lift aside the veil.
4. Apocalypticism does not appear to have developed organically in the cultures of China, India, Japan, or pre-Columbian America, likely because of their lack of a linear notion of time, which only arrived with European civilization and its Christian backbone.
5. Accessed December 21, 2012. Despite its length, the Wikipedia list (like all entries on the subject) is incomplete. For example, it omits over half of the films in the *Guide to Apocalyptic Cinema* (Mitchell 2001), as well as virtually every song in *Apocalyptic Jukebox* (Janssen and Whitelock 2009). It also overlooks many of the works that are referenced in other lists of apocalyptic fiction, print or electronic, which in turn omit much of what the Wikipedia list includes. The point is that actual number of works of "apocalyptic" fiction far exceeds that of even the most comprehensive inventories.
6. Anthologies of apocalyptic short fiction reflect this change of focus. Every story in the classic 1985 collection *Beyond Armageddon*, edited by Walter M. Miller, Jr. and Martin H. Greenberg, involves a postnuclear setting. In contrast, those in the representative 2008 anthology *Wastelands: Stories of the Apocalypse*, edited by John Joseph Adams, demonstrate a broad etiology of disaster.
7. Personal interviews with Branch Davidian members, conducted November 1999. See also Kearney 2001. The idea of the New Jerusalem as a spacecraft grew out of the post-ar years, with the Cold War development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), the beginning of the space race, and the UFO craze. An early example is the doomsday speculation

of the group centered on "Marion Keech" (real name Dorothy Martin), which expected a spacecraft to deliver them from a great flood that would destroy the world on December 21, 1954. The group is the subject of the classic 1956 study by Leon Festiger et al., *When Prophecy Fails*. The motif of the New Jerusalem as a spaceship is attested among other apocalyptic new religions, including Heaven's Gate.

8. Scholars of ancient apocalypses will be familiar with this division, in the "historical" and "otherworldly" types of the literary genre, as identified by Collins 1998: 6–7. Its extension to all forms of apocalyptic speculation is obvious. While essentially a heuristic tool, the division reflects the evidence and is not imposed on it. Although "sapiential" more accurately describes the full range of revealed knowledge that comprises the second type, otherworldly visions or journeys are most common, and it is best to avoid new coinages unless they are necessary.
9. The final issue of *Promethea* offers readers hundreds of snippets of hermetic sagacity such as "In Hebrew numerology, letters have number-values. The word for the Biblical serpent, *nechesh*, adds up to 358, as does *messiach*, meaning 'messiah,' another light-bringer," and "Humans have 23 chromosome pairs, 23 being the snake's magical number."
10. Artist and critic Murakami Takashi coined the term "superflat" to describe the two-dimensional flatness typical of Japanese art over the centuries and, by extension, the shallowness of modern Japanese culture. The present author's study of apocalyptic anime and manga suggests that "superflatness" also characterizes contemporary, Internet-generated apocalyptic speculation on the whole, both in its production and appreciation.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Only primary sources that are discussed in depth or appear on Internet websites are listed.

Gibson, William. *Neuromancer*. New York: Ace, 1984. Citations by chapter and page to the 1994 cloth Ace edition.

King, Stephen. *The Stand: The Complete and Uncut Edition*. New York: Doubleday, 1990. Citations by chapter and page.

The Matrix. Dir. Andy Wachowski and Larry Wachowski. Warner Bros. Pictures, 1999. Film.

Miller, Walter M., Jr. *A Canticle for Leibowitz*. New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1959. Citations by chapter and page to the 1988 Bantam edition.

Moore, Alan, J. H. Williams II, and Mick Gray. *Promethea*. America's Best Comics. 32 issues. August 1999 to April 2005.

Neon Genesis Evangelion. Dir. Anno Hideaki. Gainax Studios. First aired in 26 episodes from October 1995 to March 1996.

"Preparedness 101: Zombie Apocalypse." United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. http://www.bt.cdc.gov/socialmedia/zombies.asp.

"Red Alert: HALE-BOPP Brings Closure to Heaven's Gate." http://www.heavensgate.com. Quotations and sectarian terminology quoted in the text above are drawn from several web pages linked to this site.

Wikipedia. "List of Apocalyptic and Post-Apocalyptic Fiction." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_ apocalyptic_and_post-apocalyptic_fiction. References nearly 1,000 films, novels, and other popular works.

Secondary Sources

The list of secondary sources below shies away from studies that focus on a single novel, film, or religious movement. Also, and other than Storey 2012, it does not include works on popular culture, although many were consulted in the preparation of this chapter.

Almond, Gabriel A., R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan (2003). *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Almond, Gabriel A., Emmanuel Sivan, and R. Scott Appleby (1995). "Fundamentalism: Genus and Species," in M. E. Marty and R. S. Appleby, eds., *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*. The Fundamentalism Project 5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 399–424.

Balmer, Randall (1988). "Apocalypticism in America: The Argot of Premillennialism in Popular Culture." *Prospects 13*: 417–33.

Barkun, Michael (2003). *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bauckham, Richard (2000). "The Year 2000 and the End of Secular Eschatology," in J. Colwell, ed., *Called to One Hope: Perspectives on the Life to Come*. Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press, pp. 240–51.

Beesley, Dennis (2011). "YouTube and Apocalyptic Rhetoric: Broadcasting Yourself to the Ends of the World," in R. G. Howard, ed., *Network Apocalypse: Visions of the End in an Age of Internet Media*. The Bible in the Modern World 36. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, pp. 44–73.

Bendle, Mervyn (2005). "The Apocalyptic Imagination and Popular Culture." *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 11. http://www.usask.ca/relst/jrpc/index.

Bercovitch, Sacvan (1978). *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Berger, James (1999). *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Boyer, Paul (1992). *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Busse, Tanja (2000). *Weltuntergang als Erlebnis: Apokalyptische Erzählungen in den Massenmedien*. Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag.

Christie, Ian (1999). "Celluloid Apocalypse," in F. Carey, ed., *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 320–40.

Clanton, Dan W., ed. (2012). *The End Will Be Graphic: Apocalyptic in Comic Books and Graphic Novels*. The Bible in the Modern World 43. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Collins, John. J. (1998). *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Cowan, Douglas E. (2011). "Millennialism, Apocalypse, and American Popular Culture," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 611–27.

Dellamora, Richard, ed. (1995). *Postmodern Apocalypse: Theory and Cultural Practice at the End*. New Cultural Studies. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo (2009). "At the Edge of Tomorrow: Apocalypticism and Science Fiction," in K. Kinane and M. A. Ryan, eds., *End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, pp. 221–41.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo (2011). "Transcendence and Apocalyptic Eschatology in William Gibson's *Neuromancer*." *ARC: The Journal of the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University 39*: 37–54.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo (2012). "Apocalypse Then and Now." *Association for Jewish Studies Perspectives* (Fall) [The Apocalypse Issue]: 50–51.

Dixon, Wheeler Winston (2003). *Visions of the Apocalypse: Spectacles of Destruction in American Cinema*. New York: Wallflower Press.

Frykholm, Amy Johnson (2004). *Rapture Culture: Left Behind in Evangelical America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Geraci, Robert M. (2010). *Apocalyptic AI: Visions of Heaven in Robotics, Artificial Intelligence, and Virtual Reality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gray, John (2007). *Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the Death of Utopia*. London: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Hart, Kylo-Patrick R., and Annette M. Holba, eds. (2009). *Media and the Apocalypse*. New York: Peter Lang.

Heffernan, Teresa (2008). *Post-Apocalyptic Culture: Modernism, Postmodernism, and the Twentieth-Century Novel*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hoffstadt, Christian, and Stefan Höltgen, eds. (2011). *This Is the End . . . Mediale Visionen vom Untergang der Menschheit*. Bochum: Projekt Verlag.

Jacob, François (1977). "Evolution and Tinkering." *Science* n.s. *196*, no. 4295: 1161–66.

Jameson, Fredric (2005). *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fiction*. New York: Verso.

Janssen, David, and Edward Whitelock (2009). *Apocalypse Jukebox: The End of the World in American Popular Music*. Berkeley: Soft Skull Press.

Jewett, Robert, and John Shelton Lawrence (2008). "Eschatology in Pop Culture," in Jerry L. Walls, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 655–70.

Join-Lambert, Arnaud, Serge Goriely, and Sébastien Fevry, eds. (2012). *L'Imaginaire de l'apocalypse au cinéma*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Kaiser, Gerhard R., ed. (1991). *Poesie der Apokalypse*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.

Kearney, Richard (2001). "Others and Aliens: Between Good and Evil," in J. L. Geddes, ed., *Evil after Postmodernism: Histories, Narratives, Ethics*. New York: Routledge, pp. 101–13.

Ketterer, David (1974). *New Worlds for Old: The Apocalyptic Imagination, Science Fiction, and American Literature*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Landes, Richard (2011). *Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Leigh, David J. (2008). *Apocalyptic Patterns in Twentieth-Century Fiction*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Manuel, Frank E., and Fritzie P. Manuel (1979). *Utopian Thought in the Western World*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

McGinn, Bernard (1998). *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. Expanded ed. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mitchell, Charles P. (2001). *A Guide to Apocalyptic Cinema*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Napier, Susan J. (2005). *Anime from "Akira" to "Howl's Moving Castle": Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Apocalypticism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nelson, John Wiley (1982). "The Apocalyptic Vision in American Popular Culture," in L. Parkinson Zamora, ed., *The Apocalyptic Vision in America: Interdisciplinary Essays on Myth and Culture*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Press, pp. 154–82.

O'Leary, Stephen D. (1998). "Apocalypticism in American Popular Culture: From the Dawn of the Nuclear Age to the End of the American Century," in S. J. Stein, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Volume 3: Apocalypticism in the Modern Period and the Contemporary Age*. New York: Continuum, pp. 392–426.

Ostwalt, Conrad Eugene. (2003). *Secular Steeples: Popular Culture and the Religious Imagination*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International.

Paik, Peter Y. (2010). *From Utopia to Apocalypse: Science Fiction and the Politics of Collapse*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Partridge, Christopher, ed. (2012). *Anthems of Apocalypse: Popular Music and Apocalyptic Thought*. The Bible in the Modern World 42. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Pippin, Tina (1999). *Apocalyptic Bodies: The Biblical End of the World in Text and Image*. New York: Routledge.

Restall, Matthew, and Amara Solari (2011). *2012 and the End of the World: The Western Roots of the Maya Apocalypse*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield.

Robbins, Thomas, and Susan J. Palmer, eds. (1997). *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*. New York: Routledge.

Robinson, Douglas (1985). *American Apocalypses: The Image of the End of the World in American Literature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rosen, Elizabeth K. (2008). *Apocalyptic Transformation: Apocalypse and the Postmodern Imagination*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

Seed, David, ed. (2000). *Imagining Apocalypse: Studies in Cultural Crisis*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Storey, John (2012). *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*. 6th ed. New York: Pearson.

Stroup, John M., and Glenn W. Shuck (2007). *Escape into the Future: Cultural Pessimism and Its Religious Dimension in Contemporary American Popular Culture*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.

Thompson, Kirsten Moana (2007). *Apocalyptic Dread: American Film at the Turn of the Millennium*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Tuveson, Ernest Lee (1968). *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Walliss, John, and James Aston (2011). "Doomsday America: The Pessimistic Turn of Post-9/11 Apocalyptic Cinema." *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 23: 53–64.

Walliss, John, and Kenneth G. C. Newport, eds. (2009). *The End around Us: Apocalyptic Texts and Popular Culture*. Millennialism and Society 4. Oakville, CT: Equinox.

Walliss, John, and Lee Quinby, eds. (2010). *Reel Revelations: Apocalypse and Film*. The Bible in the Modern World 31. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Walls, Jerry L. (2008a) "Introduction," in Jerry L. Walls, ed., New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–18.

Walls, Jerry L., ed. (2008b). *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*. New York Oxford University Press.

Wessinger, Catherine, ed. (2011). *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wilder, Amos (1971). "The Rhetoric of Ancient and Modern Apocalyptic." *Interpretation* 25: 436–53.

Wojcik, Daniel (1997). *The End of the World as We Know It: Faith, Fatalism and Apocalypse in America*. New York: New York University Press.

Wright, J. Talmadge, David G. Embrick, and András Lukács, eds. (2010). *Utopic Dreams and Apocalyptic Fantasies: Critical Approaches to Researching Video Game Play*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

Scriptural and Ancient Texts

HEBREW BIBLE

Genesis
1, 374
1:1, 273–274
1:2, 366
1:14–19, 314
1:21, 190, 375
1:24–25, 190
1:26, 309n4
2–3, 62
2–7, 190
3, 78
3:6–7, 314
3:15, 412
3:24, 314
4, 78
4:10, 314
5:21–24, 71–72, 314
5:22, 210
5:24, 222, 314, 343
6, 290
6:1–4, 71, 314
6:4, 367
6:5–8:22, 314
9:1–7, 315
9:12–17, 413
12:3, 451
15:12–21, 113
17:27, 33
18, 80
20:3–7, 113
20:11, 32
22, 407
22:12, 32
26:24, 113
28:1–2, 32
28:6, 32
28:17, 32
31:10–13, 113
31:24, 113
35:11, 33
37:5–9, 109
40–41, 108
46:4, 109
49, 72
49:10, 416

Exodus
7:9, 189
8:16–19, 33
9:8–12, 33
12:38, 400
12:40, 309n4
13:18, 305
14:17, 33
14:19, 32
16:7, 33
19, 74
20:4, 113
23:20, 32
23:23, 32
28:1, 33
28:3, 54
32:26–29, 32
32:34, 32
33:2, 32
33:20, 113
35:30–35, 54

Leviticus
10:12, 33
11–13, 194
15:16, 299
15:19–24, 381
19:18, 295
21:1, 32
25:8, 82
26:34, 258

Numbers
5:2–3, 32
9:6, 32
9:6–13, 433
12:6–8, 32, 408
18:1–10, 33
18:22, 33
19:11, 32

Numbers (*Cont.*)
19:13, 32
20:16, 32
22:9–13, 109, 113
22:20–21, 113
23:7, 73
23:18, 73
24:3, 73
24:4, 73
24:6, 73
24:14, 73
24:14–17, 73
24:15–17, 73, 314
24:20–21, 73
24:23, 73
25:6, 32
31:23, 27
35:34, 32

Deuteronomy
4:10, 32
5:26, 32
5:29, 32
6:5, 295
6:20–24, 57
8:1, 318
8:6, 32
12:12, 32
12:19, 32
14:27, 32
17:18, 32
18:6–8, 32
18:9–12, 108
18:15–19, 32
18:16, 32
23:10–11, 299
26:5–9, 57
26:12, 32
30, 321
32, 321
32:33, 189
32:35–43, 468
33, 72
33:1–2, 72
33:1–3, 74, 314
34:9, 315
34:10, 43

Joshua
5:14, 32
24:1–13, 57

1 Samuel
3:2–15, 109, 113
21:4–5, 299
24, 273
28:3–23, 107–108
28:6–9, 108
28:13–14, 108

2 Samuel
11:11, 299

1 Kings
3:5, 114
3:5–15, 108–109, 113
5:13, 54
7:15–16, 23
17:17–24, 27
17:21–23, 80
18, 80
19:5–7, 113
22:19, 42

2 Kings
2:11–12, 20
2:16–18, 20
4:18–36, 27
13:20–21, 27
21:7, 24
23:6, 24
23:11, 23

Isaiah
2:1–3, 304
2:7–11, 303
5:14, 29
6, 42, 76, 105, 109, 189, 381
6:1, 75, 113
6:2, 189
6:2–7, 113
6:7, 76
8, 45
8:19, 108
10, 82
10:5–6, 76
10:7–19, 76
10:22–26, 76–77
10:23, 82
11:6–9, 193–194
13:10, 223
14:15, 24
17:6, 30
19:3, 108
24–27, 19, 28, 30
24:1–3, 12–13
25:6, 304
25:8, 20, 29
26, 28–29
26:14–15, 28

26:15, 24
26:17, 29
26:19, 20, 28–30, 29
27:1, 23, 189, 375
29:4, 28
30:7, 374
34:4, 223
40:3–4, 305
40:18, 24
40:25, 24
41:18, 374
43:19, 373
44:3–5, 29–30
45:7, 273
46:5, 24
48:18–19, 374
51:9, 189, 374
52–53, 42
53:11, 28
54, 29
54:1, 29–30
56–66, 32
56:1, 23
56:3, 23
56:6, 33
57:4–8, 32
59:12–13, 32
60–62, 305
60:5, 374
60:6, 304
65:3–5, 32
65:17–18, 373
65:17–25, 60
66:17, 32
66:18–24, 33
66:21, 23
66:22–23, 373
66:24, 337

Jeremiah
1, 37, 41
1:1, 72
6:17, 22
17:25, 305
25:9–12, 81
25:11–12, 31, 212, 223, 258
25:30–31, 74
29:10, 31, 212, 258
29:10–14, 223
36, 96
51:34, 189

Ezekiel
1, 37, 42, 45, 76, 90–91, 189–190, 207, 381
1–3, 105, 109, 113, 116
1:1, 75
1:4–11, 186–187
1:4–14, 75
1:5, 190
1:13, 189–190
1:15, 190
1:16, 189
1:19–20, 190
1:22, 189–190
1:26, 24, 189
1:28, 113, 189, 413
1:28–2:1, 76
3, 42, 381, 462
3:16, 113
3:17–21, 22
3:22, 113
3:22–24, 42
3:22–6:14, 466
3:23, 76
4:13–14, 194
5:5, 113
5:11, 113
6:1, 113
7:1, 113
7:5, 113
8, 381
8–10, 105, 109, 113, 116
8–11, 24
8:2, 24, 189
8:3, 24
8:4, 113
8:12, 24
9:2–3, 76
10, 90–91, 381
10:1, 42, 189
10:18, 113
10:21–22, 189
11:5, 113
11:14, 113
12:8, 113
12:17, 113
12:21, 113
16:21, 24
20:26, 24
20:33–34, 305
22–24, 42
23:15, 189
23:36–42, 24
29:3, 189
32:2, 189
32:7, 223
32:17–32, 24
32:22–23, 24
33:7–9, 22
34, 191

Ezekiel (*Cont.*)
36:25–28, 337
37, 28
37–38, 468
38–39, 19, 31–32, 130
38:9, 23
38:16, 23
38:18–23, 31–32
38:20, 32
39:2, 23
39:3, 23
39:11, 24
39:11–16, 23–24, 32
39:12–15, 32
40–48, 105, 109, 305, 343
44:7, 33
44:9, 33
48, 465
120–121, 191

Hosea, 40
4:9, 30
13, 191
13:7–9, 192–193

Joel, 19, 130
1:13–16, 303
2:1, 23
2:1–11, 60
2:10, 32, 223
2:20, 23
2:30, 32
3:4, 223
3:13, 23
4:15, 223

Amos, 40
1:1, 72
2:10, 305
5:2, 30
8:1–3, 109

Jonah
1:17, 189
2:1–2, 190
2:11, 190

Micah
1, 75
1:3–4, 74–75
4:1–5, 23

Habakkuk
2:1, 22
2:2–2:3, 95–96
2:3, 77
2:5, 29
3, 75
3:6, 74–75
3:9, 74

Haggai
1:2, 31
1:13, 31
2:4–7, 31
2:6, 23
2:7, 31
2:21, 23

Zechariah, 19
1–8, 20, 30, 60, 105, 109, 112, 116, 130, 343
1:7–17, 23–24
1:8, 20, 22, 113
1:9, 20
1:11–2:2, 113
2:3–4, 20
2:5, 20
2:6, 23
3:1, 278
3:4–5, 112
3:8, 20
4, 31
4:1, 20
4:2, 20
4:5, 20
4:14, 31
5, 20, 45
5:5, 20
5:5–11, 23
6:1–8, 20, 23
6:12, 20
8:3, 31
8:7–8, 305
8:23, 304
9–14, 31, 126
9:13, 31
12:3, 23
12:9, 23
13:7–9, 27
14:2, 23
14:4–5, 32, 305
14:4–10, 431
14:6–7, 20

Malachi, 31
3:1–6, 32
3:2–3, 27
3:16–18, 260

Psalms
22:29, 28
37:9, 318
40:5, 374
69:29, 260
74:13, 189
74:14, 374
89:11, 374
91:13, 189
104:26, 374
148:7, 189

Proverbs
1:7, 64
1:26–32, 63
2:2, 54
3:14–15, 62
3:18, 64
3:19, 56
7:5, 194
8, 59, 322
8:10–11, 54
9, 62
10–30, 55
10–31, 61
25:2, 99

Job, 56
1–2, 273, 275
4:12–21, 113
7:12, 189
26:12, 374
28, 62
33:18, 24
33:28, 24
38, 59
38–41, 54
40:15, 374
40:25–41:26, 374

Song of Songs
2:7, 395

Ecclesiastes, 54, 60
3, 58

Daniel, 53, 124, 132, 150, 160, 267, 308, 490
1, 194
1–6, 54, 193, 195
1:8, 194
2, 19, 56, 58, 108, 148, 157–158, 213, 259, 275, 414
2:5, 158
2:15–16, 413
2:18–19, 373
2:28–30, 373
2:31–45, 375
4, 108, 193, 486
4:12, 31
5, 95
7, 58, 79, 91, 128–130, 148, 156, 186, 188–190, 192–193, 206, 210, 213, 259, 275, 334, 336, 373–378, 384, 407, 409, 414–415, 446, 484
7–10, 127
7–12, 19, 40–42, 45, 109, 138–139, 158–159, 214, 373, 384
7:1, 106
7:2, 23
7:2–3, 376
7:2–8, 375
7:2–10, 186
7:3–8, 192
7:4–8, 193
7:4–6, 375
7:7–9, 207
7:8, 209, 377–378
7:9, 113
7:9–10, 42, 375, 377, 379, 383, 411
7:9–14, 376
7:10, 94, 97, 211
7:11–12, 375
7:13, 113, 129–130, 208
7:13–14, 193, 337, 375, 377
7:14, 139, 378
7:15, 210
7:16, 113
7:17–18, 375
7:18, 208
7:19–27, 375
7:20, 378
7:21, 209
7:21–22, 129–130, 377
7:24, 378
7:25, 223, 377–378
7:27, 208
7:28, 112, 206, 461
8, 128, 206, 210, 275, 373, 376–378, 382, 384, 460
8:9–11, 377
8:10, 209, 378
8:10–12, 379
8:14, 10, 260
8:15, 41, 113
8:16–18, 208
8:17, 260, 460
8:17–8:18, 112
8:23, 460
8:24, 139
8:24–8:25, 377

Daniel (*Cont.*)
8:25, 378
8:26, 461
8:27, 112, 206, 460, 462
9, 81–82, 209–210, 212, 259
9:1, 41
9:2, 81, 95, 223, 258
9:3, 303
9:6, 139
9:15–16, 139
9:19–20, 139
9:20–27, 258
9:21, 113
9:24, 40, 81, 139
9:24–27, 212, 223
9:25–27, 82
9:26, 139
9:26–27, 77, 82
9:27, 379
10, 209
10–11, 275
10–12, 75, 77, 82, 127–128, 337
10:1, 75
10:1–11:1, 75–76
10:2–3, 303
10:4–6, 75
10:4–19, 208
10:5, 113
10:7, 206
10:8–10, 206
10:9–10, 76
10:13, 287
10:14, 77, 139
10:16, 76
10:18, 76
10:20, 214
10:20–21, 273, 285
10:21, 94, 211, 260–261, 287
10:27–28, 206
11, 210–211, 213
11–12, 361
11:1–12:4, 76
11:2–12:4, 75
11:13, 225
11:14, 139
11:27, 77
11:31, 379
11:31–35, 128
11:32, 42, 285
11:33, 151, 225
11:35, 77
11:36, 76–77, 209
11:37, 378
11:40–12:1, 285
11:45, 261
12, 28
12:1, 94, 139, 225, 273, 289, 337
12:1–3, 208, 373, 380, 384
12:1–4, 28, 42
12:2–3, 338
12:3, 42, 211
12:4, 95, 207, 212
12:5–12, 210
12:6–7, 113
12:7, 139, 223
12:10, 207, 211
12:11, 379
12:11–13, 260
12:11–12, 9

Ezra
9, 194
9:1, 138

Nehemiah
8:1–8, 45, 317
9:7, 81
13, 194

1 Chronicles
6:1–8, 33
21, 273

2 Chronicles
1:5, 114
36, 258
36:18–21, 81
36:21, 258

NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew
3:1, 298
3:4, 298
3:7–12, 298, 337
4:2, 303
4:8, 345
6:16–18, 303
6:19–20, 300
6:25–33, 301
7:2, 333
7:15, 331
7:22–23, 331
8:19–20, 301
10:7–10, 300
10:15, 332
10:23, 303
11:7, 305

11:7–8, 298
11:12–14, 330
11:18, 298
11:20–24, 333
12:28, 328
12:40, 190
17:1–9a, 219, 225
19:8, 306
19:12, 302
19:28, 335, 419
24, 219
24:9–14, 228
24:14, 303
24:29, 223
24:32, 225
24:37, 332
24:43, 222
25:1–13, 296
25:31–46, 297
26:51, 308
27:51–53, 29
27:56, 411
27:61, 411

Mark, 329
1:1–8, 298
1:2–4, 305
1:3–4, 298
1:4, 296
1:6, 302
1:14–15, 296–297
1:15, 298
1:16–20, 298
2:20, 303
3:22–23, 290
4:11, 330
6:12, 296
8:31, 408
8:38, 332
10:1–12, 306
10:23–25, 300–301
10:30–31, 295
11:32, 337
12:25, 307
13, 11, 201
13:9–13, 228
13:10, 303
13:13, 229
14:11, 330

Luke
2:37, 303
3:2, 298
3:4, 298
3:7–9, 298, 337
3:16–17, 298
7:24, 305
7:24–25, 298
7:33, 298
9:1–3, 300
9:57–58, 301
10:4, 303
10:9, 303
10:18, 290
10:20, 225
12:22–31, 301
12:33–34, 300
12:39, 222
16:8, 279
17:21, 328
17:26–27, 301
19:11, 300
21:12–19, 228
22:36, 431

John, 328
1:23, 305
8:44, 290
12:31, 290
12:32, 279
12:49–50, 408
13:2, 290
13:27, 290
14:30, 290
16:11, 290
19:31–37, 484

Acts
1:6, 300
2:17, 413
3:19–21, 300
3:44–45, 300
13:2–3, 303
15, 304
21:38, 305

Romans
2:5–11, 337
5:12–21, 307
8:18–23, 338
8:23, 231
8:38–39, 337
11:11–16, 334
11:25–32, 334
13, 413
13:11–14, 296
15:15–19, 334
16:1–3, 307

Romans (*Cont.*)
16:6–7, 307
16:20, 290

1 Corinthians
2:6–10, 337
2:7, 337
4:9, 328
7:5, 290
7:25–32, 301
7:29, 232
7:29–30, 302
7:29–31, 13
7:31, 298
10:11, 307
13:8–12, 232
15, 338
15:12–23, 231
15:20, 29, 231
15:20–23, 338
15:23, 231, 327
15:45–49, 307
15:51–55, 338
15:55, 306

2 Corinthians
2:11, 290
4:4, 290
5:17, 306
6:15, 290
11:4, 227
12:1–3, 112
12:1–4, 115, 350
12:1–10, 223, 227
12:4, 227
12:7–10, 227

Galatians
1:1–16, 408
1:4, 307, 337
1:6–7, 227
1:12, 223, 227, 415
1:13–14, 134
1:15, 223
1:16, 227, 415
2:2, 223, 227
2:4, 227
2:6, 227
3:28, 307
6:15, 306

Ephesians
4:27, 290
6:11, 290

Colossians
1:18, 29

1 Thessalonians
1:9, 304
1:9–10, 337
4:13–16, 231
4:15–17, 337
4:16, 10, 40
4:17, 427
4:18, 231
5:2, 222–223
5:4, 222
5:5, 279

1 Timothy
3:6–7, 290
4:3, 309n3

2 Timothy
2:18, 309n3

James
1:9, 299
1:10–11, 299–300
1:12, 224
1:25, 224
2:5, 299
2:6–7, 299–300
2:12–13, 224
2:19, 224
3:1, 224
4:7, 224
4:12, 224
4:13–5:6, 299
5:4, 224
5:7–9, 299
5:8, 224
5:9, 224
5:20, 224

1 Peter, 127
5:8, 290

2 Peter
2:4, 290
3:10–12, 222–223

1 John
2:18, 291
4:3, 291

2 John
7, 291

Jude
4, 223–224
6, 290
9, 278, 290
14–15, 223

Revelation, 1, 53, 109, 124, 201, 218, 308, 481, 490
1–3, 170
1:1, 228, 246
1:1–8, 96
1:2, 227–228
1:3, 96, 227, 230
1:4, 225
1:6, 228
1:9, 228
1:11, 96, 225
1:12–17, 113
1:12–20, 224, 229
1:13, 247
1:16, 247
1:17, 228
1:19, 225
2–3, 170, 173, 227
2:1–3:22, 96
2:1–7, 232
2:6, 173
2:8–11, 232
2:9, 291
2:9–10, 232
2:12, 247
2:12–17, 232
2:14, 173
2:15, 173
2:19–29, 232
2:20, 173
2:20–24, 229
2:27, 247
3:1–6, 232
3:3, 222
3:5, 94, 225
3:7–13, 232
3:9, 291
3:9–10, 232
3:14–22, 232
4–11, 170
4:1–2, 111
4:3, 413
5:1–8, 230
5:4–5, 228
5:5, 230
5:6, 229–230
5:9, 247
6:9–11, 431
6:11, 303
6:15–6:16, 412
7, 410
7:3, 247
7:13–17, 228
9:7–10, 448–449
9:16, 431
9:20–21, 229
9:21, 131
10:1–2, 432
10:4, 227
10:7, 246
11–12, 411–412
11:2–3, 223
11:7, 412
11:14, 412
12, 177n3, 229, 409, 415, 434
12–22, 170
12:5, 416
12:6, 223, 305
12:9, 230, 290
12:11, 228, 424
12:12–17, 290
12:14, 223, 305
13, 409, 446
13:1–10, 424
13:5, 223
13:7, 424
13:8, 225
13:10b, 424
13:11–15, 424
13:16–18, 424
13:18, 230
14:1, 247
14:3, 247
14:4, 301
15:3, 171, 246
15:3–4, 229
16:5–7, 229
16:9, 229
16:11, 229
17, 409–410, 424
17–18, 235, 238–239, 243, 245
17:2, 244
17:4, 244
17:5, 244
17:6, 229, 244
17:7–8, 228
17:8, 225, 244, 423
17:9, 239
17:14, 171, 414
17:16, 414
18, 237
18:2, 244

Revelation (*Cont.*)
18:3, 244
18:4, 244
18:6, 414
18:6–7, 235
18:9, 244
18:10, 244
18:11–20, 244, 245
18:20, 235, 237
18:23, 131–132
19:5, 247
19:10, 228
19:11, 414
19:11–21, 424, 468
19:16, 171–172
20:1–4, 425
20:3, 412
20:4–6, 289, 424
20:7, 412
20:10, 290
20:11–15, 411
20:12, 225
20:12–13, 94
20:15, 225
21, 229, 291, 409
21–22, 417
21:1, 289
21:8, 131
21:10, 345, 480
21:27, 225
22:1–2, 306
22:6, 228
22:8, 228
22:10, 462
22:15, 131
22:16, 225
22:18–19, 227, 230

Q (New Testament Source)
3:16b–17, 63
6:20, 64
6:20b–23b, 63
6:23, 64
6:32–35, 64
6:37, 64
6:39–42, 64
6:44, 64
9:57–60, 63
10:9–11, 64
11:29–32, 63–64
11:49–51, 64
12:2–4, 64
12:2–7, 63
12:29, 64
12:31, 64
13:18–21, 64
14:26, 64

APOCRYPHA AND SEPTUAGINT
Prayer of Azariah
1:57, 190

1 Baruch, 1, 96, 320
4, 322

1 Maccabees, 150
1:11–15, 137–138
1:49, 378
1:54, 379
3:52, 137
3:58–59, 137
6:2, 379
6:7, 379
8:18, 137
12:13, 137
14:13, 137

2 Maccabees, 150
6:1, 378
6:2, 379
6:6, 378
6:7, 378
6:10–11, 378
9:10, 379
15, 107

Sirach (Ben Sira) 42, 48, 56, 320
1, 59
2:48, 60
5:7, 61
5:29, 60
15:11–20, 282
16:17–21, 61
23:20, 58
24, 322
24:8–12, 62
24:34, 54
33:10, 282
33:14, 282
34:1–8, 58
36:1–22, 61
38:24–34, 212
39:25, 58
42:44, 282
43:23–25, 190
43:25, 374
51:23–28, 54

Tobit, 159, 273
14:4–7, 259
14:5, 305

Wisdom of Solomon, 54, 56, 61–62
1:7, 59, 65
3:7, 59
7:20, 190
17:18, 190

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
Apocalypse of Abraham, 20, 53, 93, 109, 124, 132, 218, 350
3, 351
9:7, 303
10, 109, 209
10:1–2, 206
11, 188, 208
14, 81
18, 207
18–19, 382
19–32, 210–211
21, 345
21:4–5, 374
22, 208
22–23, 351
23:7, 187
25, 351
29:17–19, 382

Apocalypse of Adam
5.85, 362

Apocalypse of Elijah, 346
1:18–22, 303

Apocalypse of Mary, 109

Apocalypse of Paul, 109, 351, 365, 482
§ 3, 342
13, 345
31, 347

Apocalypse of Peter, 109, 218, 232, 342, 346, 482
1–14, 219
2, 227–228
2:16, 228
3, 228
3:1, 222
6:10, 229
7, 228
9, 228
11:4–5 E, 346
15–16:4, 345
15–17, 219
15:3–4, 229
16, 228
16:5–7, 229
17, 225
22G, 346
24G, 346
32G (10 E), 346

Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 20, 93, 109, 206, 347, 350–351
3:6, 210
6:8–9, 187
6:16, 210
7:1–7, 297
9:13, 211

Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, 48, 212

Apocryphon of John, 360

2 Baruch, 20, 40, 53, 109, 124, 132, 146, 176, 218, 259, 308, 320, 324, 463, 465, 467
1:2, 295
1:3, 295
2, 322
3:7, 295, 306
4:3–6, 382
5:1–2, 131
5:5, 305
9:1, 295
9:2, 303
12:5, 303
14, 323
14:1, 79
14:5, 295
15:6, 322
18:2, 321
19, 321
19:3, 321
20:5, 303
20:6, 79
24:1, 94, 295
25:1–29:2, 289
29, 374–375
29:4, 374
29:4b, 375
29:5–8, 289
30:2–3, 303
34:1, 114
36, 206
36–42, 210
36:1, 373

2 Baruch (*Cont.*)
38:2, 295, 323
38:2–4, 322
40:1, 295
40:1–3, 131
44:8–9, 298
44:9, 295
45:2, 323
48:24, 322
48:27, 322
48:30–37, 289
48:38, 289
48:47, 322
49:40, 295
51:3, 322
51:10, 208
53, 79, 206
53–74, 213–214
53–76, 210
53:1–12, 111
53:12, 112
54:5, 295
54:6, 295
54:16, 295
54:19, 321
54:21, 295
56–69, 79, 81
56:1–16, 111
56:2, 79
56:5, 79
56:10–15, 79
59:5–11, 59
59:6, 295
62:1–2, 295
63:1, 295
66:2, 295
66:5, 295
70, 79
70:2, 79–80
70:2–10, 289
71–74, 80
71:2, 373
73:1–74:1, 289
76:5, 323
77–87, 207
77:15, 295
84:8, 323
85:3, 323
85:9–85:11, 297
85:10–11, 295

3 Baruch, 20, 53, 109, 206, 209, 218, 350, 460, 463, 465
1:6, 373
1:8, 373
2:1–7, 187
3:1–6, 187
6:1–2, 382
11:1–2, 382
11:2, 381

1 Enoch, 19, 53, 58, 124, 136, 155, 224, 267, 321–323, 326, 353, 367, 465
1, 1
1–5, 314, 373
1–36 (Book of Watchers), 20, 60, 71–75, 95, 97, 109, 111, 146, 148, 219, 274–275, 288, 312–314, 316, 343, 381–384
1:1, 72, 75, 225, 314
1:1–5, 72
1:2, 75
1:2–3, 73, 207, 314
1:3, 74, 113
1:3–4, 314
1:3b–9, 74–75
1:4, 314, 381
1:5–6, 75
1:8–9, 277
1:9, 72, 223
1:9–10, 274
2–5, 59, 206
2:1, 61
5:4, 316
6–11, 71, 313–314, 382
6–16, 209, 213–214
6:1, 382
7, 194
7:1, 382
8:1–3, 382
8:4, 381
8:8, 382
9–10, 209, 274
9:4, 373
9:6, 373, 382
9:8, 382
10:7–8, 382
10:11, 382
12–15, 382
12–16, 314
12–36, 209
12:1–2, 72
12:4, 60, 95
13:7–36:3, 111
14, 91, 112, 207, 274, 344, 373, 381, 383–384
14:1–7, 111
14:2, 206
14:8, 351, 383–384
14:8–24, 351

14:8–16:4, 112
14:8–23, 383
14:9, 383
14:13, 383
14:13–14, 206
14:15, 383
14:18–23, 42
14:19b–22, 383
14:22, 384
14:24–16:4, 384
15:1, 60, 95, 351
15:1–5, 382
15:2, 373
15:11–16:1, 275
16, 274
17–18, 345
17–19, 206, 209, 313, 343
17–22, 346
17–36, 211
17:1–7, 111
17:1–36:3, 112
18–19, 384
18:4, 381
18:10, 381
20–36, 206, 209, 313
20:5, 287
22:1–5, 91
22:6–7, 314
32:6, 314
35, 212
37–71 (Similitudes of Enoch), 62, 93, 109, 350, 374
37:1–5, 225
40, 208
42, 62, 65
42:3, 62
47:4, 303
48–49, 208
60, 91, 374
60:2, 42
60:7–10, 374
60:8, 374–375
60:14–22, 59
60:24, 374, 375
70:1–4, 72
70:4, 111
71, 91, 207–208
71–82, 212
72–82 (Astronomical Book), 60, 94, 109, 137, 211, 260, 312, 314, 373
72:1, 380
81:1–2, 260
81:1–4, 94
82:2–3, 54, 316
83–90, 109, 146, 209, 211, 213, 259
83:1, 207
85–88, 209
85–90 (Book of Dreams/Animal Apocalypse), 75, 78, 127, 138–139, 146, 148, 150–151, 160, 191, 275, 382–383
85:1–89:8, 78
85:4, 78
87:1–4, 225
89:9–90:27, 78
89:12–14, 138
89:28–35, 316
89:39–50, 138
89:55, 138
89:59–90:19, 259
89:62–64, 211
89:72–74, 383
89:75, 138
90:2, 138
90:6–8, 138
90:11, 138
90:19, 307
90:20, 42
90:28–38, 305
90:28–42, 78
91–105 (Epistle of Enoch), 314–315
91:1–3, 225
91:1–10, 72
91:10, 380
91:11–12, 151, 307
91:11–17 (Apocalypse of Weeks), 71, 74, 81, 109, 127, 137, 146, 150–151, 160, 212, 258, 275, 284, 314, 382–383
91:13, 383
91:14, 304
91:16, 380
91:17, 258
91:18–19, 72
92–105 (Epistle of Enoch), 63, 109
92:1, 211, 225
92:1–5, 300
93:1–2, 210
93:1–3, 73
93:1–10 (Apocalypse of Weeks), 71, 74, 81, 93, 127, 137, 146, 160, 212, 258, 275, 284, 314, 382–383
93:2, 151, 260, 314
93:4, 314
93:6, 315
93:7, 383
93:9, 137
93:11–14, 300
93:12–14, 63
94:1, 63

1 Enoch (*Cont.*)
94:1–105:2, 300
94:4, 63
94:8–10, 300
95:3, 307
96:1, 307
96:4, 300
98:9, 63
98:12, 307
99:2, 315
99:3–5, 289
99:10, 63
99:13, 63
99:14, 307, 315
100: 1–6, 289
102–104, 373, 380, 384
104:12, 54, 373
106, 109
106–107, 315
106:9, 56, 109
108, 109
108:1, 211, 225, 295
108:3, 225
108:8–9, 303

2 Enoch, 20, 53, 93, 109, 209, 350, 381
1, 208
1:3, 113
1:3–10, 110
3–22, 206
9–12, 362
17, 208
19:5, 211
20, 382
21, 208
22, 207–208
22:1–5, 91
22:8–11, 112
22:10, 92
23, 95
25:4, 92
33:5–9, 95
35, 212
37:1, 113
40:1–13, 59
52, 63
64:5, 95
69:3, 114
70–71, 208

3 Enoch, 93
1–3, 96
43, 97

4 Ezra, 1, 20, 37, 40, 44, 53, 109, 124, 127, 132, 146, 176, 184, 218, 275, 321, 323–324, 463, 465, 480, 502
3, 320
3:1, 110, 206
3:1–3:3, 45
3:1–5:20, 317
3:13, 81
3:19–20, 319
3:20–3:21, 288
3:22, 317
3:27, 288
3:28–31, 460
3:28–36, 318
3:30, 288
4:2, 288
4:2–3, 460
4:12, 460
4:22–25, 460
4:27, 288
4:36, 303
4:51–5:13, 289
5:13, 303
5:14, 112
5:15, 112
5:20, 110, 303
5:21–6:34, 317
5:21–30, 318
5:27, 318
5:34, 110
5:34–35, 467
6, 374–375
6:9, 288
6:13–24, 289
6:20, 94
6:31, 303
6:35, 303
6:35–7:2, 110
6:35–9:26, 317
6:49–52, 374
6:51–52, 375
6:55, 288
7, 320
7:12, 288
7:13, 288
7:17–25, 318, 320
7:20, 306
7:21, 320
7:24, 320
7:26, 289
7:26–44, 289
7:31–32, 380
7:43–44, 289

7:47, 288
7:50, 288
7:67, 467
7:70–74, 318, 322
7:72, 320
7:75, 380
7:78–101, 111
7:100–15, 80
7:105, 80
7:111–115, 80
7:113, 288
7:118, 288
8:1, 288
8:14–18, 320
8:20–23, 376
8:63–9:6, 289
9–10, 47
9:14, 111
9:19, 288
9:23–27, 110
9:26–10:59, 288, 317
9:26–27, 114
9:26–37, 319
9:26–56, 111
9:38–10:59, 209
10, 382
10:8–33, 111
10:21–22, 128
10:27–28, 206
10:29–31, 112
11:1–12:51, 317
11:1–6, 187
11:1–12:39, 209
12, 45–46
12–14, 373
12:8, 46
12:10–12, 46
12:13–16, 46
12:17–20, 46
12:32, 288
12:38, 373
12:42, 45
13, 206, 210
13:1–58, 209, 317
13:2–13, 376
13:10, 319
13:38, 319
13:54, 111, 319
13:57, 111
14, 45–46, 461
14:1–48, 47, 317, 319
14:6, 225
14:11–12, 259–260
14:19–22, 319
14:19–26, 95–96
14:21–36, 45–46
14:26, 225
14:43–48, 95
14:43–48, 96
14:45–46, 225
14:46, 319
16:37–44, 298

5 Ezra, 109

Vision of Ezra, 346
60, 350

Joseph and Aseneth, 109, 159

Jubilees, 42–45, 47, 69, 73, 109, 114, 212, 259, 277, 284, 304, 316, 465
Prologue, 43, 72
1, 283
1:5, 211
1:26–29, 72, 95
1:29, 380
4:23–24, 95
5:13–14, 211, 264–265
5:13–18, 95
6:22, 43
6:35, 261
7:27–29, 315
10:8–9, 275
10:12–14, 211
12:19, 81
23, 20, 42–43
23:20, 307
23:30, 307
23:31, 380
30:20, 211
Ladder of Jacob
3:4, 113
3:4–5, 112

Life of Adam and Eve, 350

Martyrdom of Isaiah, 219
2:7–11, 303

Ascension of Isaiah, 93, 209, 218–219, 224, 230, 232, 350, 381
1:5, 225
3:27–28, 225
4:21, 345
5:12, 231

Ascension of Isaiah (*Cont.*)
6:10, 349
7:5, 349
9:14, 231
9:22–23, 225
10:7–10, 345
11:19, 231, 345

Psalms of Solomon
3:8, 303
8:13, 382
12, 305
17, 335
17:31, 304

Pseudo-Phocylides, 63

Sibylline Oracles
1, 230
2, 56–148, 63
3, 785–795, 193
4, 49–101, 375
4, 152–70, 337

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 72, 278, 316

Testament of Levi, 259, 350, 381
3, 109, 208–209
3:1–8, 111
3:25, 362
5, 91, 287
5:7, 112
8:1, 113
8:2–19, 112

Testament of Levi (Greek), 109
2–5, 111
8–10, 111

Testament of Judah
21:6–9, 376

Testament of Dan
6:2, 287

Testament of Naphtali, 109

Testament of Asher
7:2–3, 376

Testament of Isaachar, 109

Testament of Job, 109, 159

Testament of Moses, 72, 259, 278
9:1–10:2, 308
9:6–7, 468
9:6–10:1, 303
10:1–10, 376

Testament of Abraham, 6, 109, 350
4:4 B, 381
7:4 A, 381
7:5, 113
7:15 B, 381
10, 345
10–15, 20
10:7–11 B, 95
11:1–10 B, 95
12:4–13:14 A, 95
14:7 B, 381
15:11 A, 381
17, 259
17:13–19, 187–188
19:7, 259

DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND RELATED TEXTS
1QpHabakkuk
7:4–5, 56
7:5, 210
7:5–14, 260
1Q21, 277
1Q26 (Instruction), 55, 211, 282
1Q27 (Mysteries), 211, 282
1 i, 3–4, 283
1 i 1–12, 61
1 i 3, 211
1 i 6f, 283
1QS (Rule of the Community)
1:1–3:12, 279
1:1–3:13, 279
1:1–16, 286
1:16–3:12, 285
1:16–3:13, 277, 286
2:1–2:4, 286
2:2, 287
2:4–10, 286
2:4–25, 287
2:10, 286
2:18, 286
2:19, 288
2:25–3:11, 264
3–4, 211
3:9, 264
3:13–15a, 280
3:13–4:26 (Treatise of Two Spirits), 58, 61–62, 65, 213–214, 262–264, 266–268, 272, 276, 278–283, 285–286

3:15, 65, 283
3:15–16, 211, 213
3:15–17, 262
3:15b–18, 280
3:17, 281
3:18, 280
3:18–4:1, 280
3:20–21, 281
3:21–22, 280
3:23, 56
3:24, 281
3:25, 281
4:2–14, 280
4:6–8, 280
4:15–18, 280
4:17, 281
4:18–23, 280, 285, 306, 337
4:19, 281
4:20, 281
4:22, 287
4:23–26, 280
4:24, 281–282
4:25, 281
4:26, 281, 287
5:1, 264, 279
5:1ff, 279
6:23–7:25, 279
8:12–16, 305
9:11–26, 279
9:26–11:22, 279
10:17–19, 308
11:3, 211
11:3–4, 61
11:10, 262
11:10–11, 264
11:10–11, 262
11:17–18, 262
1QS[a] (Rule of the Congregation), 279, 299
1QS[b] (Rule of Blessings),279
1Q33 (1QM, War Scroll), 25, 53–54, 219, 272, 276, 278–279, 308
1, 214
1:1, 284
1:2, 285
1:13–15, 284–285
1:14, 284
7:3–5, 299
7:6, 208
10:8–13, 284
13:9–12, 285
13:10, 285
13:10–12, 284
15–19, 214
17:5, 287
17:6, 284–285
17:7–8, 208
1QH
13:38, 210–211
26, 208
1QH[a]
5:19, 211
6:11–12, 287
7:25–26, 262, 264
7:25–35, 262
7:34, 264
9:9–11, 262
9:21–22, 262
9:23, 211
9:24, 95
9:26, 261
11:17, 287
16:5–9, 374
17:10–11, 264
19:36, 264
34, 262

4Q174
2:14, 287
3:8–9, 287
4:4a, 287
8:1, 287
9:4, 287
9:7, 287
9:10–11, 287
10:5, 287
10:8, 287
II: 4, 41
4Q177, 287
4Q180 (4Q Ages of Creation A), 212
1, 95, 211, 261
1 2, 262
2–4 ii 10, 262
3–4, 95, 211, 261
4Q181
1 ii 5, 287
4Q184, 55
7–8, 62
4Q185, 55
1–2 i 8–9, 62
4Q186, 281, 299
4Q201
1 i 1–4, 72
4Q212
1 iii 18–22, 73
4Q213 (Aramaic Levi Document), 212, 277, 350
4Q214, 277
4Q215a (The Time of Righteousness)
1 ii 9, 262

4Q246, 154–155
4Q255–264 (4QS Community Rule), 279
4Q265, 299
4Q280 (Berakhot collection), 286
  2 2, 287
4Q286 (Berakhot collection)
  7 ii 1–13, 286–287
4Q298
  3–4 ii 3–6, 56
4Q299, 61, 282
4Q300, 61
4Q301, 61
4Q380
  fr. 3 line 1, 374
4Q381
  fr. 15 line 5, 374
4Q385 (4QPseudo-Ezekiel[a]), 38, 48, 90
  2 2:8–10; fr. 3 line 2, 90, 380
4Q400–407 (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, 4QShirShabb), 89, 208–209, 211, 262, 382
4Q400
1–7, 262
6–7, 262
4Q402
  4 12–15, 262
4Q Instruction (4Q415–18, 4Q423), 55–56, 59–62, 64, 211, 282, 338
4Q415, 55, 282
4Q416, 55, 282
  1, 56
4Q 416
  2 i 5, 211
4Q416
  2 iii 2, 8, 59
  2 iii 8, 64
4Q417, 55
  1 i 6–9, 56
  1 i 8, 283
  1 i 13–17, 282
  1 i 15–18, 283
  2 i.14–18, 95
  2 i 17–18, 59
4Q418, 55, 282
  69 ii, 56
  81, 56
  103 ii 2–9, 64
  221 2–3, 56
4Q423, 55, 282
  1, 62
4Q424, 55–56
4Q471b (4QM[g]), 284
4Q Mysteries (4Q491–496), 211, 282, 284
4Q491 (4QM[a]), 284
4Q492 (4qM[b]), 284
  1a ii–b, 1–3, 211
4Q493 (4QM[c]), 284
4Q494 (4QM[d]), 284
4Q495(4QM[e]), 284
4Q496 (4QM[f]), 284
4Q525 (4Q Beatitudes), 62
4Q 540, 277
4Q 541, 277
4Q542 (Testament of Qahat), 277
  1 ii 8, 278
4Q543, 277
4Q 543–549 (Visions of Amram), 214, 265–266, 268, 277
4Q544 (4QAmram[b])
  2:3, 278
4Q547 (4Q Amram[f])
  1 ii 8, 278
  1 ii 12–14, 278
4Q552–553 (4Q Four Kingdoms), 375

5Q11, 279

11Q Melchizedek (11Q13), 208, 259, 278
  2, 82
  2:2–6, 287
  2:7, 287
  2:8, 287
  2:12, 287
  2:12–16, 287
11Q Temple (11Q19–20), 69, 382
  57:17–19, 306
11QPsalms
  18:11–12, 62

The Damascus Document (CD), 279
  1:1–2:1, 286
  2:2, 286
  2:2–2:13, 286
  2:2–10, 262
  2:7, 287
  2:7–8, 262
  2:9–10, 263
  2:14–6:11, 286
  2.14–6.1, 306
  4:10–13, 287
  4:13, 286
  4:15, 286
  5:6–7, 382
  5:17–19, 286
  6:4–5, 299
  8:2–3, 286
  11.17–12.6, 361
  12:2, 286

17.19, 369n1
18.4, 369n1
19:14, 286
19.9–23, 369n1
19.21–22.23, 362
19.24–22.23, 362
23.15–19, 362
23.19–25.14, 362

HELLENISTIC JEWISH WRITINGS
Philo
De specialibus legibus, 349
3.2, 345
Prob.
78, 308

Josephus, 160
Antiquities, 157
10.11.4, 41
10.198, 158
10.205, 158
10:268, 308
11:326–27, 114
13.171–73, 257
18:21, 299
18.13, 257
18.18, 257
18.85–87, 308
20.169–72, 306
20.169–72, 308
Contra Apionem, 134
Jewish War
2:120, 299
2:122, 299
2:130, 302
2:133, 299, 302
2:152–53, 308
2:157, 296
2:259, 305
2:261–63, 306
2:262–63, 308
2:567, 308
2.162–65, 257
3:400–401, 157
3:404, 157
3:406, 157
6:312, 308
6:312–313, 156
Vita, 157

RABBINIC WRITINGS
Babylonian Talmud
Ketubot
111a, 401
Megillah
3a, 41
14a, 41

Sanhedrin
98a, 400

Šabb
153a, 296

Palestinian Talmud
Berachot
7:3, 41

Hekhalot Rabbati, 90
Synopse §107–21, 97
Synopse §198–268, 98
Synopse §238–240, 98

Hekhalot Zutarti, 90
Synopse §335, 99

m. Aboth
1:1–3, 321

Seder Olam Rabbah
20, 41

CLASSICAL AND ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITINGS
Acts of Philip
I.5–6, 347

Andrew of Caesarea
Commentary on the Apocalypse
chapter 53, 239
Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John
Section 53, 239

Aristophanes
Frogs, 342

Aristotle
Poetics
1149b, 44
Rhetoric
1.2.1, 220

Alexander of Lycopolis
ch. 23.10–18, 368
ch. 25.34–7, 368

Arnobius
Adversus Nationes

Arnobius (*Cont.*)
2.13, 349
2.62, 349

Chaldaean Oracles, 349, 366

Cicero
De Legibus, 256
Divination
1.126, 256
Somnium Scipionis
11, 349

Cleanthes
Hymn to Zeus, 65

Epigenes, 342

Epiphanius
Haer
48.14.1, 305
49.2.5, 307
Panarion
26.1.2–1.3, 359
39.5.1, 359
46.30.5–6, 367

Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctimonii, 346

Euripides
Alcestis
980, 342
Phoenissae
119–121, 343–344
125, 344

Eusebius
Ecclesiastical History
5.18.1, 409
5.18.2, 305
Praeparatio evangelica
8.11, 299

Hermippus
FGrH 1026 F24, 342

Herodotus
The Histories
1.140, 27
4.94–96, 342

Hesiod
Theogony
853–56, 379

Homer
The Iliad
3, 178, 343
3.166–67, 343
3.192–93, 343
3.200, 343
3.226–27, 343
3.229, 343
8.362–69, 341
The Odyssey
11. 621–26, 341
15.525–34, 107

Livy
History of Rome
1.16, 352

Lucian
Icaromenippus, 349

Mithras Liturgy, 349
Nonnos
Dionysiaca
1.163–223, 379
1.386–87, 379
2.244–90, 379

Odes of Solomon
42:11–22, 345

Origen
Contra Celsum
6.22, 348
Homilies on Genesis
1, 239

Philostratus
Life of Apollonius
8.30, 352

Pindar
Second Olympic Ode, 342

Plato
Gorgias
493a–c, 366
Phaedo
4.1 (Myth of Er), 111, 344, 349
108d, 366
114a, 347
114c–d, 366
Republic, 349

10.598b, 366
Timmaeus
29b–d, 366

Pliny
Natural History
5.17, 299

Plutarch
The Glory of Athens
348a–b, 366
On Isis and Osiris
§45–47, 273, 285
§47, 267
On the Delay of the Divine Vengeance, 349

Passio Perpetuae
11.2, 352

Poimandres, 350
25–26, 349

Porphyry
Num. frg. 1b, 366
De antro
24, 348
Vita Plotini
16, 359

Ptolemy
Epistle to Flora, 365–366

Pseudo-Apollodorus Biblioteca
1.39–41, 379

The Shepherd of Hermas, 109, 218, 232
1:5–9, 227
3:1, 227
3:3, 227
6:3–6, 226
7:1, 227
8:2–3, 226
12:3, 227
17:11, 225
22–23, 230
26:5–7, 225
46:2–3, 225
54:1–5, 227
57:1–2, 227
63:1–2, 228
77:1, 225
111:3, 225

Suetonius
Life of Augustus
100, 352
Life of Vespasian, 156

Tacitus
Histories
5:13, 156, 308

Tertullian
An Answer to the Jews
9, 239
De cultu fem
2.9, 302

Timarchus
The Sign of Socrates, 350

Tübingen Theosophy, 366

Virgil
Aeneid, 6
6.318–320, 344
6.678, 345

ISLAMIC TEXTS
Book of Muhammad's Ladder
79, 347

Qur'an
Sura 9:5, 427
Sura 22:39–40, 427
Sura 84:1–25, 425

GNOSTIC TEXTS
1 Apocalypse of James, 360, 365, 368
11:17–12:6, 361
17:19, 369n1
18:4, 369n1
19:9–23, 369n1
19:21–22.23, 362
19:24–22.23, 362
23:15–19, 362
23:19–25:14, 362

Nag Hammadi Codex, 361
II, 5, 365
V, 360
VII,1.35.17–36.1, 364–365
VIII, 1.7.1–22, 30.29–31.23, 363
VIII,1.6.3–21, 363
VIII,1.28.17–22, 365
VIII.1.130.16–131.23, 363
X, 1.10.13–18, 14–25, 40.2–23, 364

Nag Hammadi Codex (*Cont.*)
XI, 3, 363
The Tripartite Tractate, 365

Allogenes, 352, 359, 363

Codex Tchacos, 360–361

Gospel of Jesus's Wife, 484

Gospel of Judas, 360, 484

Gospel of Truth, 21, 352

Marsanes, 352
X, 1.10.13–18, 14–25, 40.2–23,364

Paraphrase of Shem
VII,1.35.17–36.1, 364–365
Three Steles of Seth, 352

Zostrianos 352, 359, 364, 368
VIII, 1.7.1–22, 30.29–31.23, 363
VIII,1.6.3–21, 363
VIII,1.28.17–22, 365
VIII.1.130.16–131.23, 363

MANICHEAN TEXTS
Cologne Mani Codex
64.8–65.22, 367

Mani, Book of the Giants, 367

OTHER ANCIENT TEXTS
Anzu story
I.75–77, 377

Arda Viraz, 347

Bahman Yašt, 267

Bilgames and the Netherworld, 340

Bundahišn, 267

Corpus Tablettes Alphabetiques (CTA)
1.3.23–24, 377
2.4 lines 8–9, 377

Demotic Chronicle, 380

Descent to Hades, 342

Enūma eliš
I.105–10, 376
I.107–109, 376
I.130–59, 377

Kephalaia, 367

Legend of Aqht, 105

Oracle of Hystaspes, 65, 267

Oracle of the Potter, 59, 380

Papyrus Insinger, 65

RS (Ugaritic text)
24.252 lines 2–3, 377

Sumerian Kinglist, 340

Vision of the Descent of Ishtar, 111

Yasna
30.3–4, 268

Subject Index

2012 (film), 485, 500

Aaronide priests, 32–33
Abelson, R. B., 128
Acts of Philip, otherworldly journey in, 347
Acts of the Apostles: conversion of Gentiles and, 304; eschatology and, 300, 304; Jerusalem and, 304–305
Adler, William, 154, 158
Afghanistan, 248, 436
After London (Jefferies), 476
Agudat Israel, 403
Akira (manga & anime work), 477–478
Alexander, Jeffrey, 462–463, 469–470
Alexander, Philip, 89, 267
Alexander of Lycopolis, criticism of Manichaeans by, 367–368
Alexander VI (pope), 411
Aliyat neshama (the rise of the soul to higher worlds), 399
Alkalai, Yehuda, 396
allegory: ancient Greek forms of, 238–239; in Book of Revelation, 236, 239–240, 243–247; Christian exegesis and, 239; desire and, 247; Gnosticism and, 366; hierarchized structure of, 236; literalist form of, 236, 238–241, 243; metalepsis and, 241–242; metonymy and, 242–243; transcendence and, 239, 241–243
Allison Jr., Dale, 335–336
Al Qaeda, 435–437
Altizer, Thomas, 417–418
The American Jeremiad (Bercovitch), 444
Anabaptists, 429–430
ancient Greek tragedy, 44
"Annotations to Watson's Apology" (Blake), 417
Antiochus III, 379
Antiochus IV (Antiochus Epiphanes), 9, 20, 76, 82, 128–129, 132, 135, 137, 150, 378–380, 423, 463
Anu (Babylonian God), 376
Anzu (Babylonian God), 191–192, 377
Apocalypse Code (Lindsey), 448–449
Apocalypse Now (film), 478
Apocalypse of Abraham: angels in, 208–209; dreams and visions in, 206–207, 210, 350–351; Ezekiel and, 351; heaven in, 382; monsters in, 188, 374; otherworldly journey in, 350–351, 353
Apocalypse of Elijah, otherworldly journey in, 346–347
Apocalypse of James (1): *ex eventu* prophecy in, 362; Jesus in, 361–362; revelation dialogue in, 360–362
Apocalypse of John. *See* Revelation, Book of
Apocalypse of Paul: enumeration of sinners in, 342, 347; otherworldly journey in, 347, 351–352, 482; Valentinian ideas and, 365
Apocalypse of Peter: appeals to authority in, 227–228; enumeration of sinners in, 342, 346; judgment and punishment in, 228, 345–346; Matthew and, 219, 225; otherworldly journeys and, 345–346, 482; pseudepigraphical nature of, 222; revelation and, 219; textuality and textual reference in, 225
Apocalypse of Zephaniah: dreams and visions in, 210, 350; eschatology and judgment in, 297; monsters and, 187; otherworldly journeys in, 206, 347
Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre (Collins), 123–124
The Apocalyptic Imagination (Collins), 125
apocalypticism: biblical forms of, 479–481; criticisms of, 11, 358; culture of conspiracy and, 502; decline of civilization theme and, 476; deep *versus* shallow forms of, 481; definition of, 53, 474; eschatology and, 473; historical *versus* otherworldly speculation in, 481–482; Internet and, 501, 503; nuclear holocaust themes and, 477; popular culture and, 473–504; prophecy and, 473–474; as revenge fantasy, 467; secular forms of, 479–481; as social ideology, 2, 204, 359, 457; "superflat" version of, 501, 503; thick *versus* thin forms of, 481; trauma and, 458–471; violence and, 485; as worldview, 474
apocalyptic literature. *See also specific works*: the Absolute and, 20, 23; allegory in, 235–249; allusive anthologizing of scripture in, 74–77, 79, 82; angels and, 7, 20, 32, 37, 40–41, 53, 93, 207–208, 214, 461; apocalyptic radicalism and, 407–419; archetypes and, 22–23; calculation of

apocalyptic literature (*Cont.*)
the end days and, 9–10; catalogues of scriptural examples in, 80–81; central characters in, 207–208; cosmology and, 9, 21, 25; decoding of texts and, 10–11; definitions of apocalypse and, 2–3, 5–7, 20, 53, 124; demons and, 7, 214, 275, 277; determinism and, 255, 258–268, 462; dreams and visions in, 37, 40–41, 45, 53, 94, 104–117, 160, 206–210, 221, 408, 461; dualism in, 11, 26, 213–214, 221, 274–291, 358; early Christian church and, 326–338; emphasis on learning in, 58–60; empire and, 163–177; end of history themes and, 6–7, 9–10, 19, 23, 25, 145–146; epistemology and, 21; eschatology and, 5, 7, 11, 13, 20–21, 26–27, 53, 58, 124, 126, 209, 223, 229, 258, 296; ethics and, 295–309; exodus to the desert and, 305–306; explicit exegesis in, 81–82; figuring of space in, 208–209; as a genre, 1–3, 5–8, 19–21, 25, 123–124, 145, 148, 160, 204–205, 359; Gnostics and, 358–366; God's worldly enemies and, 23–24, 53; heaven and heavens in, 381–384; heavenly ascents and, 90–93; Hekhalot literature and, 86–88, 90–94, 96, 98, 100; historical context approach to, 148; imagination of chaos in, 373–375; imminence of the end and, 12–13, 20, 23, 32, 296–297, 300; Jerusalem and, 10, 304–305; knowledge themes in, 210–215; literalism and, 13, 240; Manichaeism and, 367–368; Mediterranean anthropology and, 131–132; millenarian groups and, 25–26, 124; millenarian perspective and, 129–131; modern versions of, 9–13; monsters and, 183, 186–195; mysticism and, 85–100; mythical paradigms and, 8–9; mythopoeic nature of, 22–23; nostalgia and, 464–466; origins of Christian theology and, 334, 338; otherworldly journeys and, 2, 8, 26, 37, 40, 45, 48, 53, 65, 145–146, 206, 208–209, 221, 340–353; pathos in, 228–229; postcolonial readings of, 180–183; primary and secondary discourse in, 222–224; prophecy and, 7, 19–24, 27, 30–31, 36–48, 57–60, 145, 221; pseudepigraphy in, 70–74, 92, 222; reproduction of scriptural history in, 77–80, 82, 139, 154; as resistance literature, 145–160, 224; resurrection and judgment of individual dead in, 7, 26–27, 29, 37, 53; revelation and, 2, 5, 7, 37, 41, 46, 53, 70–71, 74, 124, 218, 222, 312–313, 336, 360, 367, 461; reversals of fortune and, 5, 12, 20, 23–24, 33, 53, 299–300; rhetoric and, 201, 205–215, 219–232; salvation and, 13, 25; scribes and, 59, 95, 211–212; scriptural imagery and, 70–71; scriptural interpretation issues within, 69–83; social distinctions and, 12–13; social-scientific approaches to, 25, 123–140; sociology of knowledge and, 125–129; subversive and revolutionary aspects of, 6–7, 11–12; supernatural force controlling history and, 9; symbolism and imagery in, 7, 11, 13, 25, 78–79, 221, 224, 230; textuality and textual practice in, 94–96, 99; themes of empire and resistance in, 132–139; as a theological concept, 6, 13; topoi of, 209–215; Torah and, 312–324; transcendence and, 5, 20–22, 25, 37, 42, 53, 124, 218; Uppsala conference resolution on, 3; violence and, 11–13, 422–438; wisdom and, 42; wisdom literature and, 7, 52, 56–67, 316; Zoroastrianism and, 26–27
"apocalyptic mirroring" (Rosenfeld), 436–437
apocalyptic myth complex (Schwartz), 8
apocalyptic radicalism, 407–419
Apollonius, 352
Appleby, Scott, 12
Applewhite, Marshall Herff, 480, 498–499
Armageddon (film), 481
Asad, Talal, 87
Ascent of Isaiah: angels in, 209; apocalypse and, 218–219, 231; ascent of the mind in, 349; assertions in, 230; audience in, 225; dreams and visions in, 350; heavens in, 381; martyrdom and, 231; otherworldly journey in, 219, 230–231, 345; textuality and textual practice in, 225
Asimov, Isaac, 476
al-Assad, Bashar, 437
Assyriology, 181
Atchalta degeula (the beginning of redemption), 391
Augustine, 239
Augustus, 352
Aum Shinrikyo, 469, 475, 498
Aune, David, 461
Azag, 191–192
Aztecs, 457

Baal (Canaanite god) 8–9, 377–379
The Babylonian Captivity of the Church (Luther), 239
Balfour Declaration (1917), 395
Barbalet, J.M., 147
Bar Kochba revolt, 215
Barr, David, 170, 175–176, 460
Barth, Fredrik, 133, 136
Baruch (2): Adam and, 321; angels in, 79; apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 20, 40, 53, 59, 79–80, 124, 218, 289, 295, 297–298, 320–323, 375; audience in, 207; covenant and,

321; determinism and, 259; dreams and visions in, 79, 206–207, 210, 373, 460; dualism and, 288–289; eschatology and, 289, 295, 297–298, 322–323, 375; ethics in, 295, 297; heaven in, 382; honor in, 131; Jerusalem and, 131, 322–323; judgment and, 322; monsters in, 374–375; Moses in, 321; pseudepigraphical nature of, 71, 222; reproduction of scriptural history in, 79–81, 213; resistance to empire themes in, 132; revelation and, 321; symbolism in, 79; the Torah and, 320–324; wisdom and, 322
Baruch (3) : apocalypse and, 20, 53, 218; dreams and visions in, 187, 206, 350, 460; heaven in, 382; heavens in, 381; monsters and, 187; otherworldly journeys in, 206; wisdom and, 62
Battlestar Galactica (television series), 478
Bauckham, Richard, 169, 246
Baur, F.C., 327
Behemoth, 374–375
Beker, J. Christiaan, 336
Belial, 54, 278–279, 284–288
Benjamin, Walter, 418
Ben Sira (Sirach): apocalypse and, 61; Daniel and, 60; determinism and, 65, 282; dualism in, 282; emphasis on learning in, 60–61; monsters and, 190; natural world in, 61; prophecy and, 42, 48; wisdom and, 7, 42, 54, 56, 58–60, 62, 282
Bercovitch, Sacvan, 444
Betz, H.D., 116
Bhabha, Homi, 153, 172
bin Laden, Osama, 235–238, 243, 248, 435–436
Bitzer, Lloyd, 202
Black, Edwin, 203
Blade Runner (film), 478
Blake, William, 408, 416–418
Bloch, Ernst, 418
Block, Daniel, 191
Boccaccini, Gabriele, 315–316
Bockelson, Jan (John of Leiden), 430
Bockmuehl, Markus, 264
Bogaert, Pierre, 323
Booke, Paula, 443
Borg, Marcus, 335
Botticelli, Sandro, 411–412
Boulle, Pierre, 477
Boyer, Paul, 10, 446, 453
Branch Davidians, 430–433, 437, 475, 480, 498
Bromley, David G., 438
Brothers, Richard, 416
Brown, Dan, 484
Brummett, Barry, 201, 452
Buell, Frederick, 478
Bultmann, Rudolf, 330–332
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), 431–432
Burk, Denny, 237
Burke, Kenneth, 203, 207, 213
Burkert, Walter, 341
Burridge, Kenelm, 125
Bush, George W., 133, 428, 436, 452

Camping, Harold, 10, 441–443, 445, 448–450, 452–454, 497, 503
A Canticle for Leibowitz (Walter M. Miller, Jr.), 478–479, 483, 495–496
Carey, Greg, 152, 205
Cary, Mary, 414
Cavell, Stanley, 206
Cercops the Pythagorean, 342
Chilam Balam (Mayan books), 501
Christian Film Distributors, 450
Christians United For Israel (CUFI), 451
Chronicles (2), Jeremiah and, 258
chronological thesis of prophecy and apocalypse, 37–39
Clavis Apocalyptica (Mede), 409
Cleopatra II, 378
Clifford, Richard J., 191–192
Coblentz-Bautch, Kelley, 381
Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, 185–186, 194–195
Cohn, Norman, 425
Collins, John J., 21, 27, 37, 40, 44, 56, 59, 66, 70, 78, 82, 123–125, 128, 146, 155–156, 189, 191, 220, 259, 267, 312, 318, 423, 463, 465
Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John (Nerses of Lambron), 239
Compendium of Revelations (Savonarola), 410–411
Conrad, Joseph, 478
contemporary Christianity, apocalypticism in, 441–454. *See also* premillennial dispensationalism
contemporary Judaism: apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 391–393, 399–401, 404–405; Diaspora and exile in, 395, 402, 404; Hassidic traditions and, 398–400; heavenly Temple tradition and, 399–400; messianism in, 391–405, 419; Orthodox Judaism and, 391–393, 395, 398–405; redemption and, 396–397, 400–401, 404; repentance and, 396, 401
Cook, David, 427, 437
Cook, Robin, 248
Cook, Stephen L., 7, 130–131
Copeland, Rita, 238–239
Cornell, Stephen, 139

Cortés, Hernando, 457
Crenshaw, James, 55–57
Crossan, John Dominic, 335
The Cry of a Stone (Trapnel), 414
"cult essentialism" (Hall), 430, 437

Dallas Theological Seminary, 452–453
Danforth, John C., 433
Daniel: allusive anthologizing of scripture in, 75–77, 82; angels in, 81, 208–209, 211, 214, 258, 260, 285; Antiochus IV and, 76–77, 82, 128–129, 378–380, 382, 463; apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 2, 7, 19–20, 40–42, 53, 58, 77, 124, 159, 192, 260, 275, 285, 289, 312, 460, 473, 482; apocalyptic radicals' interpretation of, 407, 412–413, 415, 446; audience in, 225; Babylonian and Assyrian influences on, 191–193, 376–377; calculation of the end days and, 9–11, 260; Canaanite influence and, 377–378; Christian *versus* Jewish treatments of, 41; Dead Sea Scrolls and, 41; decoding of texts and, 11; determinism and, 65, 258–260; dreams and visions in, 41–42, 56, 75–76, 106, 109, 112–113, 153, 157–158, 186, 188, 206–207, 210, 259, 373, 376, 412–413, 460–461; ethnic identity in, 139; exegesis in, 81–82; Ezekiel and, 75–76; Habakkuk and, 77; Hellenistic-Egyptian influence and, 378–379; Hosea and, 192–193; Isaiah and, 76–77, 82, 193; Jeremiah and, 40, 81–82, 223, 258–259; Josephus on, 41, 156–158, 160, 308; knowledge and learning themes in, 211–212; millennial perspective in, 128–130; on mixing and separation, 194; monsters and beasts in, 186, 188, 190–193, 195, 374–375, 378–379, 407, 415; myth and history in, 375–380, 384, 460; mythical paradigms in, 8–9; Nebuchadnezzar's Dream in, 56; otherworldly journeys in, 373, 384; political oppression themes and, 127; prophecy and, 40–41, 75–76, 81–82, 213, 258, 414; reproduction of scriptural history in, 213; resistance to empire themes in, 6, 132, 138–139, 146, 148, 151, 153, 157–159, 380, 475; resurrection in, 7, 28, 373, 380, 470; reuse of earlier texts in, 41–42; revelation in, 41, 56; social science research approach to, 127; Susana and Bel the Dragon tales and, 159; symbolism of imagery in, 139, 146, 210, 375–376, 378–380, 383, 407, 412–413, 415, 446; textuality and textual practice in, 225, 260–261; transcendent reality and, 42
Danieli, Yael, 462
Darby, John Nelson, 10, 240, 442–443
Darius (Persian Emperor), 31, 41
Daston, Lorraine, 184–185
Davies, Philip, 130
The Da Vinci Code (Brown), 484
The Dawn of Apocalyptic (Hanson), 32
*The Day of the Triffid*s (Wyndham), 476, 478
Dead Sea Scrolls: angels in, 208, 262, 278, 281, 284–285, 287–288; apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 52, 57, 61–62, 154–155, 219, 260, 262, 277, 280, 282–284, 287, 299, 306, 308; astrology and, 265; calendrical texts in, 212; challenge to canonical fixity from, 38–39; decoding and, 11; the desert and, 305; determinism and, 65, 257, 260–266, 268, 278, 280–281, 283–284, 286; dreams and visions in, 109, 207, 209, 265–266; dualism in, 8, 61–62, 214, 266, 272, 276–288; Essenes and, 299, 308; ideology of history and, 213; knowledge and knowledge vocabulary in, 210–211; monsters in, 374; mysticism and, 89; otherworldly journeys in, 209, 350; *raz nihyeh* and, 61; revelation and, 61; rhetoric of, 201; violence in, 308; wisdom literature and, 55–56, 60–62, 280, 282–283, 285–286
"Declaration of War against Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places" (bin Laden), 436
Dee, John, 482, 494
Deep Impact (film), 485
De Man, Paul, 241, 245
Demos, Raphael, 206
Derrida, Jacques, 2–3
determinism: ancient Judaism and, 257; ancient Persian culture and, 267–268; apocalyptic form of, 444–445; astrology and, 265; Babylonian culture and, 267; definition of, 65, 255; fatalism and, 444; free will and, 256–257, 263–266, 268; physical, 265; Stoicism and, 255–257, 263, 265; Zoroastrianism and, 266–268
Deuteronomy: Josiah's reforms in, 181; Levites in, 32; messenger of the covenant in, 32; Moses in, 43, 72; postcolonial readings of, 181
Dick, Philip K., 478
Dieleman, Adrian, 236–237
Dieterich, Albrecht, 343
The Diggers, 12
DiLella, Alexander, 192
dispensationalism. *See* premillennial dispensationalism
DiTommaso, Lorenzo, 11, 155
Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep? (Dick), 478
Doctor Strangelove (film), 473, 478
Dodd, C.H., 331
Domitian, 163, 165–167, 176
Dongfang Shandian, 500

Doomsday Preppers (television series), 503
Doughten, Russell, 450
Douglas, Mary, 131
Doyle, Clive, 432
dreams and visions: angels and, 112–113; divine contact and sanction through, 105–107, 110–111, 113; dream cults and, 108, 114; in early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, 107–116; functions of, 104; healing in, 110–111; incubation and, 108–109, 111, 114–115; messages and, 106–111, 113; in Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures, 105–108, 116; necromancy and, 107–108; oracular forms of, 107; physical impact of, 112; scientific research on, 115; suspension of spatial and psychological constraints in, 111–112, 117; suspension of temporal constraints in, 111, 117; symbolic forms of, 106–107, 109, 111; trends in scholarship on, 114–116; "waking" forms of, 107, 109–111, 113
dualism: apocalyptic forms of, 272–273, 358; cosmic forms of, 274, 276–285, 288; in Dead Sea Scrolls, 8, 61–62, 214, 266, 272, 276–288; definition of, 271; early Christian authors and, 290–291; eschatological forms of, 274–275, 277, 282, 284–285; ethical forms of, 276, 278, 280–283, 285, 358; Gnosticism and, 272, 358; Jewish tradition and, 273, 283; Manicheanism and, 272; psychological forms of, 280–281; taxonomies of, 272; temporal forms of, 288–289; wisdom literature and, 61–62, 214, 282–283, 285–286; Zoroastrianism and, 271, 273, 282–283, 285
Duff, Paul, 170–171
Duhaime, Jean, 257, 264

Ecclesiastes, wisdom literature worldview and, 55, 58, 60
Eda Hacharedit (Haredi community) of Jerusalem, 398
Eddy, Samuel, 132, 147
Ehrman, Bart, 335–336
El (Canaanite God), 377, 379
Elgvin, Torlief, 61
Eliade, Mircea, 22
Elijah, 352
Elliott, John, 127, 131–132
Ellwood, Robert, 425
Emdan, Jacob, 401
Enoch (1): angels in, 71, 94, 112, 194, 208–209, 313–314, 344, 384; apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 1, 19–20, 53, 60, 62–63, 71–72, 73–75, 124, 151–152, 209, 258, 274–275, 289, 300, 304–305, 312, 314–315, 375; on apostasy and ritual, 382–383; audience in, 207, 225; Balaam's oracles and, 73–74, 314; determinism and, 258–259; Deuteronomy and, 72; dreams and visions in, 73, 109, 111–112, 152, 206–207, 210, 350–351, 373–374, 383; dualism in, 274–275; Enoch in, 60, 63, 72, 314; ethics and, 296, 300; evil and, 213–214, 274–275; Ezekiel and, 351; fasting and, 303; the flood and, 314–315; heaven in, 381–385; Homeric and Hellenistic influences on, 343–344; Judean ethnic identity in, 136–138; judgment and, 74–75, 213, 274–275, 313–314, 373, 384; knowledge and learning themes in, 60–61, 211–212; law and covenant in, 315; on mixing and separation, 194, 209, 274, 382; monsters in, 374–375; Moses and, 72–74, 321; natural world in, 59–61; otherworldly journeys in, 111–112, 146, 206, 208–209, 274, 343–345, 350–351, 353, 373; prophecy and, 72, 213, 260; pseudepigraphic nature of, 71, 222; reproduction of scriptural history in, 78–79, 81, 213, 465; resistance to empire themes and, 146, 151–152, 160; revelation and, 72, 316, 322; social science research approach to, 127; symbolism in, 78, 138, 152; textualization of revelation in, 94, 225, 260; theophany in, 74–75; the Torah and, 313–317, 323–324; wisdom and, 54, 62–63, 316, 322
Enoch (2): angels in, 91–92, 208–209; apocalypse in, 2, 7, 20, 53, 63; ascents of the prophets and, 7; beatitudes in, 63; dreams and visions in, 91–92, 112, 206, 350; heavenly ascent in, 91–93; heavens in, 381–382; otherworldly journeys in, 206, 208–209, 350; pseudepigraphical nature of, 71; textuality and textual practice in, 95; wisdom and, 63
Enoch (3): apocalypse and, 96–97; Hekhalot literature and, 96–97; textuality and textual practice in, 97
enthymemes, 231–232
Ephesus, 232
Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctimonii, otherworldly journey in, 346–347
Erikson, Kai, 458, 462, 464, 466–467, 470
eschatology: definition of, 504n2; early Christian notions of, 289–290; egalitarianism and, 307; ethics and, 296–303, 306–309; evangelization and, 303–304; existential categories and, 331; exodus to the desert and, 305–306; fasting and, 302–303; fate of the dead and, 5, 24; gender and, 307; Jerusalem and, 305; judgment and, 297; sex and, 301–302; violence and, 307–308

Essenes, 298–299, 302, 306, 308
An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land (Stringfellow), 418
Exodus: Levites in, 32; monsters and, 189; wisdom in, 54
Ezekiel: angels in, 75–76, 113; apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 24, 31–33, 305; Book of Revelation and, 224, 408; on cleansing with water, 337; Daniel and, 75–76; displacement and, 465; dreams and visions in, 37, 75–76, 85, 90–92, 109, 113, 116, 186–187; Gog chronicles and, 31–32, 468; historical context of, 465; on mixing and separation, 194; monsters and, 187, 189–190; passivity in, 462; prophecy in, 19, 24, 37, 47, 305, 336; Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments and, 38; resurrection in, 28; Zadokite theology and, 31–33
Ezra (4): Adam and, 317; angels in, 46–47, 80, 111, 209, 317–320, 467; apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 1, 20, 37, 40, 44–48, 53, 80, 218, 289, 298, 317–318, 375, 480; audience in, 225; the Babylonians and, 318–320; catalogues of scriptural examples in, 80; covenant and, 318–320; Daniel and, 46; determinism and, 259–260; dialogues in, 37, 45, 80, 317–318; dreams and visions in, 44–47, 111–112, 187, 206, 210, 288–289, 317–319, 373, 460; dualism and, 288–289; ethics and, 298; Ezekiel and, 45; heaven in, 382; historical context and, 128, 317; intercessionary prayer and, 80; Jerusalem and, 319; judgment and, 80, 317–318; law and, 128; monsters and, 184, 187, 374–375; Moses and, 45, 47; otherworldly journey in, 45; political oppression themes in, 127–128; prophecy and, 45–47; pseudepigraphical nature of, 71; resistance to empire themes in, 132; revelation and, 46–47, 319, 461; social science research approach to, 128; strategies of inheritance in, 45; textuality and textual practice in, 96, 317, 319, 461; the Torah and, 317–320, 323–324

Falwell, Jerry, 428
Family Radio (Camping), 441, 450, 453–454
Fanon, Franz, 181–182
Farrell, Thomas, 205
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 432–433
Feldman, Louis, 158
Festinger, Leon, 128
Fifth Monarchists, 414
Fifth Syrian War, 150
Fineman, Joel, 247
Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler, 12, 165–170, 172, 175
Fire in the Bush (Winstanley), 415
Fishbane, Michael, 74, 77
Flannery, Frances, 115
Fletcher, Angus, 238
Florence, 411–412
Flusser, David, 148
"The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch" (Von Rad), 57
Foucault, Michel, 136
"Four Zoas" (Blake), 416
Fowler, Alastair, 4
Fraade, Steven, 299
frame analysis, 204
Frankfurter, David, 11
Frei, Hans, 240
Friesen, Stephen J., 169
Frilingos, Christopher, 168, 183, 246
From Apocalypse to Way of Life (Buell), 478
Frow, John, 4, 149, 159

Gabler, Johann Philipp, 326
Gager, John, 129, 164–165, 167, 172, 177
Gaines, Charles, 242–243
Gandolf, 23
Genesis: cultic syncretism and, 32; the flood and, 314; monsters in, 374–375
Genette, Gérard, 242
genre: definitions of, 2–6; family resemblance theory and, 3–4; functions of, 6, 148–150, 159; Gestalt structure and, 3; prototype theory and, 4–5
genre thesis regarding prophecy and apocalypse, 36–39, 42, 44, 47–48
Ghost Dance tradition, 29, 126, 129, 466
Gibson, William, 481–482, 488–493
Glancy, Jennifer, 244
The Glorious Appearing: The End of Days (*Left Behind* series), 429
Gnosticism: Alexandria and, 362; allegory and, 366; dreams and visions in, 109–110, 114, 352; dualism and, 272, 358; Hellenic oracle and, 366; Hellenistic philosophy and, 366; Nag Hammadi codex and, 360–361, 363–365; otherworldly journeys and, 352, 363; revelation and, 360–362, 368–369, 409; salvation and, 364, 368; Sethian *versus* Valentinian ideas in, 364–365
Gog, 24, 31–32
Goodman, Nelson, 202
Grabbe, Lester, 7, 25–26, 124, 129
Guide to Apocalyptic Cinema, 478
Gunkel, Hermann, 8, 373–374, 376
Gush Emunim ("Block of the Faithful") movement, 391, 394, 397

Habakkuk, 77, 95–96
Haeda Hacharedit, 400–401
Hagane no renkinjutsushi (Fullmetal Alchemist, manga), 483
Hagee, John, 451
Haggai: apocalypse in, 30–31; historical context behind, 30
Halberstam, Chaim (Sanz Rebbe), 398–399
Hall, John R., 430, 437
Halo (video game series), 478
Han, Jin Hee, 146
Handsome Lake (Seneca Indian), 26, 128–129
Hanson, Paul, 2, 32, 126–127, 204
Haraway, Donna, 180
Harlow, Barbara, 146–147
Hartman, Lars, 192
Hasan-Rokem, G., 107–108
Hassidism, 398–400
Heart of Darkness (Conrad), 478
Heaven is for Real, 226–227
Heaven's Gate group, 469, 480, 491, 498–500
hegemony, 147, 153
Hekhalot literature: angelic gatekeepers in, 93; heavenly ascents in, 93–94, 96; literary context and, 91; *merkavah* vision and, 90, 96; textuality and textual practice in, 97–99
Hellholm, David, 5, 129
Hengel, Martin, 65
Herman, Judith, 459
Hermas. *See* Shepherd of Hermas
Herodotus, 27
Herzl, Benjamin Zeev, 396
Hibbard, James Todd, 29–30
Hideaki, Anno, 483
Hiers, Richard, 328
Higden, Ranulph, 184
Himmelfarb, Martha, 93, 99, 343–346, 383
Hitler, Adolf, 434–435
Hogan, Karina, 320
Holiness School, 32–33
Holland, D. Larrimore, 328
Holloway, Steven, 181
The Holocaust, 395, 401–402, 404, 503
Homer, otherworldly journeys in, 341–343
Horsfall, Nicholas, 345
Horsley, Richard, 7, 124, 135–136, 148, 150
Hosea: apocalyptic elements in, 40; monsters and, 192–193
Hultgren, Stephen, 277–278
Hussein, Saddam, 241, 436
Hutchinson, Anne, 407
Hutchinson, John, 133–134, 136
hybridity, 153, 182, 195–196
Hyde, Michael, 202
Hyde, Thomas, 271

Idel, Moshe, 89
Ikvata demeshiha (the footsteps of the Messiah), 392
imperial apocalypticism, 6, 475
Iraq, 436–437
Iroquois Indians. *See* Seneca Indians
Isaiah: angels in, 76, 109, 113; animals in, 193–194; apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 12–13, 29, 32–33, 42, 76, 304–305, 373; Assyrian rule and, 76, 82; Book of Revelation and, 224, 408; cultic syncretism and, 32; Daniel and, 76–77, 82, 193; Daughter Zion in, 29; dreams and visions and, 45, 76, 109, 113; monsters and, 189, 374–375; priestly traditions of the Pentateuch and, 32; prophecy and, 7, 12–13, 19, 32, 58, 76, 82, 305; resurrection in, 28–29; reuse of earlier texts in, 30; salvation and, 29
Isenberg, Sheldon, 129
Islam: early followers of, 427; international jihadist movement and, 435–437; *sharia* and, 435
Israel. *See also* contemporary Judaism: apocalyptic imagination in, 30–31; democracy and, 403–404; Knesset (parliament) in, 403; modern state of, 10, 395–397, 399–405, 428, 469; Persia and, 30–31; premillennial dispensationalism and, 451
Ithamar, line of, 33

Jacob, François, 503
James, William, 87
Janhoff-Bulman, Ronnie, 458
Japan, 469
Jefferies, Richard, 476
Jehovah's Witnesses, 445
Jenkins, Jerry, 428, 497–498
Jeremiah: Daniel and, 40, 81–82, 223, 258–259; Deuteronomy and, 32; eschatology and, 305; on exile, 31; Levites and, 32; monsters in, 189; prophecy and, 7, 31, 37, 41, 47, 81, 258–259, 305; visions in, 37, 41
Jerusalem: allegory of, 419; as early center of Christianity, 304–305; Persia and, 31; predicted destruction of, 10, 23–24; Second Temple in, 31
Jesus: in 1 Apocalypse of James, 361–362; apocalyptic and eschatological issues regarding, 6, 21, 63, 228, 289–290, 296–298, 306, 308, 327–328, 330–331, 333–336, 338; ascent of, 352; beatitudes and, 333; descent into Hell and, 345; dispensationalists' notion of the return of, 442; ethics and, 296, 301, 308,

Jesus: in 1 Apocalypse of James (*Cont.*) 328–330; Israel's failure to acknowledge, 231; John the Baptist and, 334; Kingdom of God teachings of, 327–330; messianic consciousness and, 329, 331, 334; resurrection and, 231, 330, 334; in Revelation, 247; Satan and, 290, 328; sex and, 302
Jewett, Robert, 129
jihad, 427
"Jihad against Jews and Crusaders" (bin Laden), 436
jihadist movement, international, 435–437
Jindo, Job, 19
Joachim of Fiore, 409–411
Job: monsters in, 189, 374; wisdom literature worldview and, 55, 56, 62
Joel: apocalyptic imagination in, 25; prophecy in, 19, 25
John, Gospel of: dualism in, 290; on Jesus and the Father's commandment, 408; Kingdom of God teaching and, 328
John of Patmos, 423–424
John the Baptist: apocalyptic perspective of, 21, 219, 298, 333, 336–337; asceticism of, 298, 302; the desert and, 305; Elijah and, 337; Jesus and, 334; as prophet, 337; ritual methods of, 336–337
Jonah, monsters and, 189–190
Jones, James W., 422, 429
Jones, Jim, 468–469
Jong, Albert de, 268
Josephus, Flavius: apocalyptic literature and, 156; Daniel and, 41, 156–158, 160, 308; determinism and, 257; dreams and visions of, 157; eschatology and, 296; on Essenes, 299, 302; imperial patronage and, 157; on Jewish revolt against Rome, 156–157; on Judaic identity, 134; oracles and, 156–157; on sign prophets, 308
Jost, Walter, 202
Jubilees: apocalypse and, 20, 42–44; calendrical concerns in, 212, 465; demons in, 275, 277; determinism and, 264–265; eschatology in, 304; heavenly books in, 261; Mastema in, 275; Moses and, 43, 47, 69, 73, 316; prophecy in, 43; revelation in, 43; strategies of inheritance in, 42–43, 69
Judaism. *See* contemporary Judaism
Judas, 330, 336
Jude, apocalyptic discourse in, 223–224
"Judge Dredd" (comic book series), 477
Jung, Carl, 22

Kalischer, Zvi Hirsh, 396
Kaplan, Zvi Jonathan, 398
Käsemann, Ernst, 331–334, 338
Kastner, Israel (Rudolf), 398
Kelts, Roland, 478
Kennedy, George A., 202–203
Kenney, Jeffrey, 437
khilafa (single Islamic state), 435
Kim, Seyoon, 132–133
Kim, Uriah, 181
King, Steven, 494–495
Kingdom Come: The Final Victory (*Left Behind* series), 428
Kissinger, Henry, 394, 397
Klawans, Jonathan, 264
Kloppenborg, John, 52, 63–64
Knesset (Israeli parliament), 403
Koch, Klaus, 2, 41, 326
Koester, Craig, 244, 246
Kook, Abraham Isaac Hacohen, 394
Kook, Yitzhak Hacohen, 393
Kook, Zvi Yehuda, 391–392, 394–397, 401–402, 404–405
Koresh, David, 431–432
Kothar wa-Hasis (figure in Canaanite myth), 377
Kourlas, Gia, 478
Kratz, Reinhard, 193
kyriarchy, 170

Lacocque, André, 191, 460
Ladder of Jacob, dreams and visions in, 112
LaHaye, Beverly, 444
LaHaye, Timothy, 241, 428, 443, 453–454, 497–498
La Jetée (film), 477
Lakoff, George, 3
Lambert, David, 264
Lamm, Norman, 402
Landes, Richard, 434
Laodicea, 171, 232, 246
La Planète des singes (Boulle), 477
Late Great Planet Earth (Lindsey), 10, 428, 445, 477
League against Religious Coercion, 396
Left Behind novels (LaHaye and Jenkins), 10–11, 241, 428–429, 443, 445, 450, 477, 483, 497–498
Levenson, Jon, 28–29
Leviathan, 374–375
Lied, Liv, 323
Lifton, Robert Jay, 469
Lincoln, Bruce, 436
Lindsey, Hal, 10–11, 428, 443, 445–446, 448–449, 454, 477
Loew, Rabbi Judah (Maharal of Prague), 402
Long, C.E., 91
Longenecker, Bruce, 318
Lord of the Rings trilogy (Tolkien), 498

Lucian, 6
Lücke, Gottfried Christian Friedrich, 1
Luckmann, Thomas, 125
Lugbara Indians, 132
Luke, Gospel of: anti-imperial themes in, 132–133; eschatology and, 298, 300–301, 303; ethics and, 300–301
Luther, Martin, 239, 303

Maccabees (1): Judean ethnic identity in, 137–138; Syrian conquest of Judea and, 150
Maccabees (2): Judean ethnic identity in, 137; Syrian conquest of Judea and, 150
Mack, Burton, 63
Madigan, Kevin, 29
Maier, Harry, 169, 246
Maimonides, 391–392, 402
Malachi: angel in, 32; apocalypse and apocalyptic imagination and, 31–32; Deuteronomy and, 32; Exodus and, 32; messenger of the covenant in, 32
Malina, Bruce, 131
Malkireša, 278–279, 287
Mani, 360, 367
Manichaeism, 360, 367–368
Maoris, 128
Marduk, 8, 23, 376
Margaliot, Rabbi Yeshaya Asher Zelig, 400–401
Mark, Gospel of: compared to Matthew, 329; on divorce, 306; eschatology and, 296–298, 300–301, 303, 332; on Jesus's suffering, 408
Marriage of Heaven and Hell (Blake), 408
Marshall, John W., 176
Martyn, J. Louis, 21, 336
Marwick, Max, 131
Mary Magdalene, 411
Mason, Steve, 158
Matlock, Barry, 336
The Matrix (film), 479, 485–488, 490, 500
Matthew, Gospel of: compared to Mark, 329; conflicts in, 331–332; eschatology and, 296–298, 300, 303, 306, 332; ethics and, 300–301; eunuchs and, 302; judgment and, 297, 333, 419; Kingdom of God teaching and, 328; Mayan apocalypse, 10, 461, 483, 500–501
McCarthy, Cormac, 13
McGinn, Bernard, 6
McKerrow, Raymie, 203
mebin ("understanding one"), 56
"mecha" (science fiction genre), 484
Mede, Joseph, 409
Meeks, Wayne, 126, 129, 220, 307
Melchizedek, 208, 214, 278, 287
Memmi, Albert, 182, 195
merkavah (Ezekiel's chariot-throne vision), 85, 88, 90–92, 98–99
Merkaz Harav Yeshiva, 394, 397
Merkur, Dan, 115
metalepsis, 241–242
Metatron, 91, 97
metonymy, 242–243
Michael (angel), 208, 214, 278, 284–285
Midrash, 395
Milik, Józef, 60, 315
millennial movements. *See also* premillennial dispensationalism: apocalyptic thinking and, 25–26, 30–31, 431; avertive millennialism and, 426; catastrophic millennialism and, 425; categories of, 430–437; Christian dispensationalism and, 427–429; core values of, 425; definition of millennialism and, 504n2; deprivation and, 130, 164–165; early Islam and, 427; imperial millennialism and, 434; martyrdom and, 431, 433; messiahs and, 426, 431; nativist forms of, 425–426; nostalgia and, 464; peaceful waiting and, 426; "pragmatics of failure" and, 438; progressive millennialism and, 425; rhetoric of, 201; separatism and, 426, 430; social science research on, 124, 126–127, 129–131, 164; trauma and, 463; typology of, 130; violence and, 422, 425–437
Miller, William, 10, 445, 497
Miller Jr., Walter M., 495–496
"Milton, a Poem" (Blake), 416–417
Moltmann, Jürgen, 30
monster theory: definitional elements of, 184–186; difference and boundaries in, 184–186, 195; lexicography and, 188–193; natural wonders and, 184–185; Near Eastern literature and, 191–192; signifiers and, 194
Montanism, 305, 409
Moody Bible Institute, 452
Moore, Alan, 477, 493–494
Moore, Stephen, 152, 244–245, 247
Moral Majority, 428
Morray-Jones, Christopher, 88
Moses: in 1 Enoch, 72–74, 321; in 2 Baruch, 321; in 4 Ezra, 45, 47; Jubilees and, 43, 47, 69, 73, 316
Mot (Canaanite god) 23
Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God, 498
Muhammad, 424–425, 427
Müller, Hans-Peter, 58
Münster (Germany), Anabaptists in, 429–430
Müntzer, Thomas, 412–413
Murdock, George, 131
mutually assured destruction doctrine, 477

Mystic Crucifixion, 411
mysticism: apocalyptic literature and, 85–100; continuity in, 85, 89–93, 97, 100; critiques of the concept of, 87–88; defining elements of, 87–88; heavenly ascent and, 90–93; hermeneutics of imagination and, 89; "mystical union" and, 88–89; religious studies discipline and, 86–90; textuality and textual practice in, 94, 99–100
Mystic Nativity (Botticelli), 411
mythologems, 21

Nachmanides, 402
National Socialism (Nazism), 434–435
Native Americans, 26, 126, 132, 149
Navaho Indians, 132
Neal, Arthur, 459–460
Nelavala, Surekha, 245
Neon Genesis Evangelion (Hideaki), 477, 483–485, 494
Neoplatonism, 363, 366
Nero, 163, 176, 468, 474
Nerses of Lambron, 239
Netherlands, 134
Nettles, Bonnie Lu, 498–499
Neuromancer (Gibson), 481–482, 488–493, 500, 502
Newsom, Carol, 2–3, 5
Nickelsburg, George, 66, 129, 315–316, 381–382
"Nightfall" (Asimov), 476
Noack, Ludwig, 52
Norden, Eduard, 344–345
Northern Ireland, 134
Numbers: cultic syncretism and, 32; on dreams and visions, 408

Obama, Barack, 237–238, 436, 447
Odysseus, 341
Old Testament Theology (Von Rad), 52, 57–58
O'Leary, Stephen D., 201, 209, 220–221, 226, 240
Olivi, Peter, 410
Oppenheim, Leo, 106–107
Orientalism (Said), 182
Orlov, Andrei, 91
Orpheus, 341–342, 353
Orthodox Judaism. *See under* contemporary Judaism
otherworldly journeys: apocalyptic literature and, 2, 8, 26, 37, 40, 45, 48, 53, 65, 145–146, 206, 208–209, 221, 340–353; in the classical literary tradition, 341–342; in dreams and visions, 350–352; early Christian literature and, 345–347; guides and questions in, 343–344, 347, 352–353; into immortal heavenly life, 352; Near Eastern literary tradition of, 340; soul's journey to heaven and, 348–350; Virgil and, 344–345

Papua, 126
Paraclete, 409
parenesis, 333
Park, Katharine, 184–185
Patrick of Ireland, 303
Paul: anti-imperial themes in, 132–133; apocalypse and apocalyptic discourse in, 6, 13, 219, 223, 227, 231–232, 301, 336–338; egalitarianism and, 307; eschatology and, 296, 301–302, 306, 327; Jerusalem and, 304–305; Jesus and, 335, 337; the *parousia* and, 327; prophecy and, 13; resurrection and, 338; revelation and, 227, 231; on rulers, 413; sex and, 301–302; women and, 307
Peoples Temple (cult of Jim Jones), 468–469, 498
Pergamum, 171, 232
Peter (2), apocalyptic discourse in, 222–223
Philadelphia, 171, 232
Pippin, Tina, 11, 168, 183
Planet of the Apes (film), 477
Plate, Brent, 249n3
Plato: apocalypses of, 366; otherworldly journeys and, 344, 347, 349; soul and, 349
Plotinus, 363
pluriformity thesis regarding ancient Jewish texts, 38–40
Plymouth Brethren, 10
Pontius Pilate, 337
Popović, Mladen, 38
popular culture, apocalypticism and, 473–504
Portier-Young, Anathea, 135–138, 148, 183, 192, 224
postcolonial analysis: biblical literature and, 181; hybridity and, 182, 195; monster theory and, 183–184, 195; as resistance discourse, 172, 180–181
premillennial dispensationalism, 10–11, 240, 427–429, 442–445; Bible as code in, 448; environmental issues and, 453; extra-institutional framework of, 449–450; flexibility in, 445–447; identifying the Antichrist and, 447; Israel and, 451; media and, 441, 450, 453–454; missionary work and, 452; prophetic framework of, 447–448; separatism and, 451–452; United Nations and, 446–447
Preparedness 101: Zombie Apocalypse, 495
Promethea (Moore), 481–483, 493–494, 505n9
prophecy: apocalyptic literature and, 7, 19–24, 27, 30–31, 36–48, 57–60, 145, 221; Daniel and, 40–41, 75–76, 81–82, 213, 258, 414; defining elements of, 36–37; divine judgment and, 37; eschatology and, 60; Ezekiel and, 19, 24,

37, 47, 305, 336; Isaiah and, 7, 12–13, 19, 32, 58, 76, 82, 305; Jeremiah and, 7, 31, 37, 41, 47, 81, 258–259, 305; questions of authorial identity regarding, 39–40; revisions of texts regarding, 39; salvation history and, 58; strategies of inheritance regarding, 40; visions and, 37, 60; Zechariah and, 19–20, 23–25, 27, 41, 305
The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, 434
prototype theory, 4–5
Proudfoot, Wayne, 87
Proverbs: Dame Folly in, 62; natural world in, 61; wisdom literature worldview and, 55–56, 58, 62, 64, 282; Woman Wisdom in, 54, 62–63
Psalms, monsters and, 189, 374
pshat and *drash* (literal meaning as distinct from exegetical meaning), 393
Ptolemy VI, 378
Ptolemy VIII, 378
Puritanism, 444
Pythagoras, 341–342

Q (New Testament Source): apocalypse in, 63–64; beatitudes and instruction in, 64; compared to Dead Sea Scrolls, 64; compared to Proverbs, 64; eschatology in, 63–64; wisdom literature worldview in, 52, 63–64
Qoheleth, 13. *See also* Ecclesiastes
Qumran. *See* Dead Sea Scrolls
Qur'an: millennial and eschatological concerns in, 424–425; violence and, 435

Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel, 98
Rabbi Ishmael, 98
Rabbi Nathan of Gaza, 25
Rabbi Nehunya ha-Qanah, 98
Rader, Dean, 149, 158–159
Radermacher, Ludwig, 344
radical Christianity (Rowland), 12
radical dualism, 422–423, 436, 438
Rahner, Karl, 22
Raphael, Rebecca, 184
Rashba, 392
raz nihyeh (mystery that is to be), 56, 61, 211, 283
Reader, Ian, 438
Reagan, Ronald, 428, 453
Redles, David, 434
Reeves, John, 154
Reid, Stephen, 127
Reimarus, Hermann Samuel, 328
rephaim, 28–29
resistance: in 1 Enoch, 146, 151–152, 160; ancient Near Eastern traditions of, 148; conceptualization of, 146–147, 160; contextual *versus* compositional, 149–150; in Daniel, 6, 132, 138–139, 146, 148, 151, 153, 157–159, 380, 475
resurrection in apocalyptic literature, 7, 26–27, 29, 37, 53
Revelation, Book of: allegory and, 236, 239–240, 243–247; angels in, 113, 462; Antichrist in, 239, 241, 290; anti-mercantile emphasis in, 246; apocalypse and, 1, 6, 20, 53, 96, 129, 152, 218, 223–224, 227, 409, 473; apocalyptic radicals' interpretation of, 409, 411–412, 414–417, 431–432, 434–435, 446, 480; appeals to authority in, 228; audience in, 225; Augustine's reading of, 239; Babylon and, 229; Beast figure in, 229–230, 424; blessings and curses in, 230; concept of divine power in, 166; courtroom drama in, 238; Daniel and, 223–224, 409; date of writing of, 163; desire and sexualiziation in, 244, 247–248; dreams and visions in, 113, 228, 408; dualism in, 290–291; early Christian church and, 164–167, 170–171, 173, 218, 225, 228–229, 232, 423–424; Ezekiel and, 224, 408; Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse and, 474; fundamentalist interpretations of, 428, 437; gender ideology and, 168, 172–173, 235–236, 244–247; historical context behind, 163–167; imperial and anti-imperial themes in, 6, 132, 152, 163–177, 232, 235–236, 245–246, 409, 424, 468; imperial cults and, 169; Isaiah and, 224, 408; Jesus in, 247; Jewish tradition and, 176, 219, 224; Jezebel and, 173, 229; judgment and vengeance in, 229; justice and hope themes in, 12; kyriarchy and, 170; Lamb in, 229–230; martyrdom and, 424, 431; millenarian perspective and themes in, 129, 164–165, 170, 218, 425; modern contexts of interpretation and, 174–175; monster theory and, 183; mythical paradigms and, 8–9; narrativity and, 176–177; Nicolaitans and, 173; otherworldly journey in, 218; parody and, 169; political oppression themes in, 127; radicalism and, 408–409; as response to persecution, 164; scribal identity and, 224–225; sex and sexualization in, 244, 301; social science approaches to, 164–166, 172; sorcery and witchcraft themes in, 132; symbolism and imagery in, 164, 166, 170, 229–230, 409, 412, 414–416, 423–424, 431, 434–435, 446, 448–449, 468, 474, 481; textuality and textual practice in, 96, 99; transcendence and, 169; violence in, 11, 237, 244, 423, 468; Whore of Babylon and, 235–239, 243–248, 423–424, 474
revelation and revelation themes in apocalyptic literature, 2, 5, 7, 37, 41, 46, 53, 70–71, 74, 124, 218, 222, 312–313, 336, 360, 367, 461

rhetoric: appeals to authority in, 221; content analysis method and, 204; defining elements of, 202–203, 220; early Christian forms of, 219–232; elite *versus* popular forms of, 224–226; enthymemes and, 231–232; epideictic forms of, 206; epiphanic forms of, 206; eschatological distress and, 223; exhortation and, 223; frame analysis and, 204; identification and, 229; logos (appeal to reason) and, 221, 230–232; millennial forms of, 220–221; pathos (ability to move an audience) and, 221, 228–229; persuasion and, 202–203, 220; primary *versus* secondary forms of, 222–224, 227; references to persecution and, 228–229; symbolic convergence theory and, 203–204
Ribeiro, Rene, 129
Ringatu church (New Zealand), 128
The Road (McCarthy), 13
Robbins, Vernon, 203
Roma (Roman goddess), 245, 247
Roman Empire: apocalyptic literature and, 6, 11, 131–132, 135–136, 164–169, 171–172, 176, 244–247; early Christian church and, 167; Josephus on, 156–157
Romulus, 352
Roquetaillade, Jean de, 482, 494
Rosenfeld, Jean, 436
Rowland, Christopher, 5, 12, 88, 92, 336, 460
Royalty, Robert, 168

Sabbatai Zvi, 25, 396, 401, 419
Sabbatean Movement, 396, 401, 404
Said, Edward, 172, 181–183
Samuel (1), dreams and visions in, 107–108
Sanders, E.P., 5, 318, 334–335
sapiental literature. *See* wisdom literature
Sardis, 232
Sauron, 23
Savonarola, Girolamo, 410–411
Schäfer, Peter, 89–91
Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, 466
Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 87
Scholem, Gershom, 85–86, 88–90
Schoolgirl Apocalypse (film), 478
Schramm, Brooks, 32
Schuller, Eileen, 257, 264
Schwartz, Dov, 392
Schwartz, Seth, 7–8
Schweitzer, Albert, 327–331, 333, 335–336
Scofield, Cyrus, 240
The Scofield Reference Bible, 443
Scott, James C., 132, 135–136, 147
Second Temple Period: apocalyptic literature and, 70; scriptural issues during, 38–40, 48, 52, 69–71, 80
Seleucid Empire, 6, 127, 135–136, 138, 150, 160. *See also Antiochus IV*
Semeia 14 (1979), discussion of apocalypse genre in, 2–3, 5, 8, 39, 47–48, 53, 204
Semeia 36 (1986) discussion of apocalypse genre, 5–6
Seneca Indians, 26, 128
September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, 469, 474, 477, 503
Serial Experiments Lain (anime), 482
Seth-Typhon, 379
Seventh Day Adventist movement, 10, 430, 437, 445
The Shape of Things to Come (Wells), 476
Shapira, Zvi Elimelch (Monkacz Rebbe), 398–400
sharia law, 435
Sharon, Ariel, 428
Sheol, 20, 24
Shepherd of Hermas: apocalypse and, 218; audience in, 225–226; dialogues in, 218; dreams and visions in, 218, 230; monster in, 230; moral instruction in, 218; narrative conventions in, 227, 230
Shlezinger, Akiva Yosef, 398
Sibylline Oracles: animals in, 193; assertions in, 230; on cleansing with water, 337; wisdom and, 63
Sirach. *See* Ben Sira
Six Day War (1967), 10, 392, 393–394, 397
Sixth Syrian War (170-168 BCE), 378
Smith, Anthony, 133–134, 136
Smith, Jonathan Z., 59
Smith, Margaret, 87
Smith, Mark, 377
Smyrna, 171, 232
social science approach to apocalyptic literature: anthropology and, 128, 131–132; ethnography of indigenous populations and, 125–126; identity and ethnicity research and, 133–137, 139; imperialism and colonialism studies and, 132–133, 135–139; magic and witchcraft research and, 131; millennial groups and, 124, 126–127, 129–131, 164; social identity theory and, 137; sociology of knowledge research and, 125–127, 133
Solar Temple (apocalyptic group), 498
Sopher, Hatam (Moshe), 398
Sorotzkin, David, 398–399
souls: Greek notion of, 348–349; Iranian notion of, 349; journey to heaven by, 348–350; purification of, 349

Southcott, Joanna, 415–416
Soviet Union, 174–175, 477
Spivak, Gayatri, 241–242
The Stand (King), 483, 494–495, 502
Stauber, Chad, 264
Stoicism, 65, 255–257, 263, 265, 307, 366
Stone, Michael, 7, 59, 80, 344
Storey, John, 475
Stringfellow, William, 418
Strozier, Charles, 459, 463
Struck, Peter, 238–239
Sturm, Richard, 6
Sugirtharjah, R.S., 180–181
Suter, David W., 383
Swain, Joseph Ward, 148
Swales, John, 4–6
symbolic convergence theory, 203–204
Syria, 437

Tajfel, Henri, 137
Takashi, Murakami, 505n10
Taubes, Jacob, 417–418
Taxo, 308
Teeter, Andrew, 76
Teitelbaum, Rabbi Yoel (Satmar Rebbe), 391–392, 398–405
Temple Scroll, rewriting of sacred texts in, 69
Teskey, Gordon, 242
Testament of Abraham: determinism and, 259; heavenly tribunal in, 95; heavens in, 350, 381; monsters and, 187–188
Testament of Levi: dreams and visions in, 111–112, 350; heavens in, 350, 381
Testament of Moses: martyrdom and, 468; resistance to empire themes in, 148
Theopompus, 26
Theses on the Philosophy of History (Benjamin), 418
Thessalonika, Pauline church in, 129
A Thief in the Night (film), 445, 450
Thomas, Trudy, 29
Thompson, Don, 450
Thompson, Leonard, 166–168, 170, 177n2
Thrupp, Sylvia, 125
Thyatira, 171, 232
Tiamat, 23,191, 376–377
The Time Machine (Wells), 476, 478
Titus Andronichus, 128, 131
Tolkien, J.R.R., 498
Tompkins, Jane, 148–149
Torah: 1 Enoch and, 313–317, 323–324; 2 Baruch and, 320–324; 4 Ezra and, 317–320, 323–324; canonical status of, 312–313; lamp metaphor and, 321; Moses and, 321; revelation and, 313; wisdom and, 322; Zadokite traditions and, 24, 27, 31–33
Trophonius, Oracle of, 116
tragedy, generic conventions of, 44
Trapnel, Anna, 414
trauma: apocalypse and, 458–471; apocalyptic violence and, 467–469; Christian fundamentalists' sense of, 463–464; collective forms of, 458–459, 463–464, 466, 470; disruption and, 458–461, 463–464; group suicides and, 468–469; individual forms of, 458–459, 464, 466; national disaster and, 466; rebirth of identity and, 466–467; revelation and, 460–461; search for meaning and, 462–463; transformative moment in, 459–460
Trible, Phyllis, 203
Trinity United Reformed Church (Visalia, California), 236–237
Triumph of the Cross (Savonarola), 411
True Levellers Standard (Winstanley), 415
Tupi-Gurani tribes (Brazil), 129–130
Turner, John, 137, 364
Twelve Monkeys (film), 477–478
Tyconius, 418
Typhon myth, 378–379

Ugaritic mythology, 8–9, 24, 191–192, 378
Uncle Tom's Cabin (Stowe), 149
United Nations, 446–447
Urban II (pope), 438n1
Uriel, 47, 318, 320

Vailala madness movement, 126, 129
Valentinus, 365
Valley of Hinnom, 24
Van Impe, Jack, 443, 446, 454
vaticinia ex eventu (prophecy after the event), 78, 213, 260–261
Vespasian, 156–157
V for Vendetta (Moore), 477
Vielhauer, Philipp, 3
Vines, Michael, 3
violence: in apocalyptic literature, 11–12, 422–438; in the Book of Revelation, 11, 237, 244, 423, 468; millennial movements and, 422, 425–437; radical dualism and, 422–423, 436, 438; trauma and, 467–469
Virgil, otherworldly journeys and, 344–345
Vision of Ezra: dreams and visions in, 350; otherworldly journey in, 346
Vision of Thurkill, 482
Vision of Tnugdalus, 482
Von Rad, Gerhard, 42, 52–53, 57–60, 65

Wachowski, Larry and Andy, 485
Waco (Texas), 431–433
Walliss, John, 423
Walton, John, 192
War of the Worlds (film), 476, 478
Watchmen (Moore), 493
Weber, Timothy, 450–452
Weiss, Johannes, 327–331, 335
Wells, H.G., 476, 478
When Time Shall Be No More (Boyer), 453
Wilder, Amos, 11, 13, 480–481, 501
Wills, Lawrence, 159
Wilson, Bryan, 126–128
Winstanley, Gerrard, 12, 407, 414–415
Winthrop, John, 407
Wisdom in Israel (Von Rad), 57–58
wisdom literature: apocalyptic literature and, 7, 52, 56–67, 316; categories of, 54; contemplation and, 57; contemporary scholarly trends regarding, 66–67; Dead Sea Scrolls and, 55–56, 60–62, 280, 282–283, 285–286; defining elements of, 53–55; determinism and, 282–283, 286; dualism and, 61–62, 214, 282–283, 285–286; emphasis on learning in, 60; genre classification and, 66; Hellenistic influences on, 53, 65; historical theology and, 57; instructions and, 54–58, 64; mantic wisdom and, 54, 58; Q New Testament source and, 63–64; scribes and, 59; Torah and, 62; Von Rad's scholarship on, 52–53, 57–60, 65
Wisdom of Solomon: apocalypse and, 61; monsters and, 190; wisdom literature worldview and, 56, 59, 61–62, 65
Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 3–4
Wojcik, Daniel, 452
Wolff, Christian, 271
Wolfson, Elliot, 89, 92
Worsley, Peter, 125
Wright, Ben, 42
Wyndham, John, 476

X (manga work), 477

Yamm (Canaanite god), 377
Yarbro Collins, Adela, 158, 165, 167, 172, 424, 448
Yom Kippur War (1973), 394, 397

Zadokite traditions of the Torah, 24, 27, 31–33
Zalmoxis, 342
Zechariah: angels in, 20, 41, 109, 113; apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 23–25, 30–31, 304–305; dreams and visions in, 45, 109, 113, 116; Persian influences and, 27, 30–31; prophecy in, 19–20, 23–25, 27, 41, 305; purification through smelting imagery in, 27
Zeus-Typhon Myth, 379
Zimmerli, Walter, 189–191
Zionism, 391–405
Zoroastrianism: apocalypticism and, 8, 26–27; determinism and, 266–268; dualism and, 271, 273, 282–283, 285
Zostrianos, apocalyptic and eschatological concerns in, 363
Zurvanism, 267