1931

The rise and development of apocalyptic literature in Judaism

Gale, Herbert Morrison

Boston University

http://hdl.handle.net/2144/20490

Boston University
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

IN JUDAISM

Submitted by

Herbert Morrison Gale

(A.B., State University of Iowa, 1929.)

In partial fulfillment of requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

1931.
Contents

Chapter I INTRODUCTION

Definition 1

Extant Jewish Apocalyptic Literature 2

Characteristics 4

Eschatology 4

Visions 6

Prediction 7

Symbolism and Imagery 8

Mystery 8

Pseudonymity 9

Conclusion 9

Occasion 10

Protest 11

Hope 12

Immediate Occasion 13

The Problem of Suffering 14

Decline of Prophecy 15

Unfulfilled Prophecy 16

Chapter II THE EARLY SOURCES OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (To the Exile) 17

Eschatology 18

Earliest Traces 18

The Prophets 19

The Kingdom of God 20

The Remnant 21

The Time of the Kingdom 22

The Blessings of the Kingdom 22

The Judgment and the Day of Yahweh 23

The Agency 25

The Individual 26

Visions 28
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter III THE DEVELOPMENT OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE AMONG THE EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC PROPHETS. (To about the Second Century B.C.)</th>
<th>33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Political Situation in Israel</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Period of Transition</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eschatological Hope: Reasons for Increased Interest in it</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest against Existing Conditions</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Need of Hope</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Need of Encouragement in Religion</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Unfulfilled Prophecy</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Development of Eschatological Elements</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Messianic Kingdom</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Comprehensiveness of the Kingdom</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Time of the Inauguration of the Kingdom</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of the Idea of the Messianic Age as an Interregnum</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Blessings of the Messianic Kingdom</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Day of Judgment and the Day of Yahweh</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Agency in the Establishment of the Kingdom</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eschatology of the Individual</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beginning of the Resurrection Doctrine</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visions</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Use of Visions</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prediction</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolism and Imagery</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudonymity</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Contribution of Anonymous Prophecy</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter IV  APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE DURING THE SECOND
CENTURY B. C.  

The Historical Background  

The Writings of this Century As an Outgrowth of the Historical Background  

The Influence of a Deterministic Philosophy  
Unfulfilled Prophecy  
The Decline of Prophecy  

Second Century Apocalyptic Literature  

The Book of Daniel  
The Book of Enoch  
The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs  
The Book of Jubilees  
The Sibylline Oracles  

Eschatology  

Reasons for a More Advanced Eschatology  
Nature of the Messianic Kingdom  
The Blessings of the Kingdom  
The Comprehensiveness of the Kingdom  
The Time of the Inauguration of the Kingdom  
The Messianic Kingdom as an Interregnum  
The Day of Yahweh  
The Messianic Woes  
The Messiah  
The Eschatology of the Individual  
The Doctrine of the Resurrection  

Visions  

Apocalyptic Vision as the Sole Method of Revelation  
Reasons for the Increased Use of Visions  

Prediction  

The Use of Prediction  
Reasons For the Growth of the Predictive Element  

Symbolism and Imagery  

The Use of Symbolism  
Reasons For the Use of Symbolism
Pseudonymity

The Use of Pseudonymity

The Reasons for the Adoption of Pseudonymity

Conclusion

Chapter V APOCALYPTICAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE FIRST CENTURY B. C.

The Historical Background

First Century B. C. Apocalyptic Literature

Enoch 91-104

Enoch 37-71

The Psalms of Solomon

The Sibylline Oracles

Eschatology

The Influence of the Historical Situation

The Nature of the Messianic Kingdom

The Comprehensiveness of the Kingdom

The Nearness of the Messianic Kingdom

The Judgment and the Day of Yahweh

The Messianic Woes

The Messiah

The eschatology of the Individual

The Doctrine of the Resurrection

Chapter VI APOCALYPTICAL LITERATURE DURING THE FIRST CENTURY A. D.

The Historical Background

The Effects of the First Century Calamities

The Literature of the First Century A. D.

The Assumption of Moses

The Secrets of Enoch

The Apocalypse of Baruch

Second Esdras (or IV Ezra)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Eschatology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>The Nature of the Messianic Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>The Blessings of the Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>The Comprehensiveness of the Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>The Time of the Inauguration of the Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>The Judgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>The Messianic Woes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>The Messiah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>The Eschatology of the Individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>The Resurrection Doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEFINITION. The English word apocalypse is derived from the Greek ἀποκάλυψις, and means an uncovering or disclosure. In the terminology of early Jewish and Christian literature an apocalypse is "a revelation of hidden things given by God to some one of his chosen saints or (still oftener) the written account of such a revelation."¹ In its broader sense the term may be made to include "the first clear perception of any truth as it dawns upon the human understanding."² Thus understood a large part of Biblical literature falls under the category of apocalyptic. In comparatively recent times, however, apocalypse has become narrowed and restricted in its usage, and the designation apocalyptic literature, or apocalyptic, has been used to distinguish those portions of Jewish and Christian Scriptures both canonical and apocryphal, which present, in the form of revelation, messages and predictions of an eschatological nature.³ In this more restricted sense Swete has defined apocalyptic as "a particular manifestation of the prophetic Spirit, in which the spirit of the prophet seemed to be carried up into a higher

² Thus it is defined in Terry, Biblical Apocalyptic, p. 13.
sphere, endowed for a time with new powers of vision, and enabled to hear words which could not be reproduced in the terms of human thought, or could be reproduced only through the medium of symbolical imagery.\(^1\) It is not within the scope of this treatment to prove or to disprove the actuality of the experience which the seers of Jewish apocalyptic have recorded. But in either case the type of translation and elevation suggested in the above definition does indeed form the basis of the authors' attempts to authenticate their writings, and serves to distinguish apocalyptic, as a method, from other literature. The uniqueness of the content of apocalyptic literature will be discussed at a later point.\(^2\)

EXTANT JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE. Extant apocalyptic literature is divided between that for which canonization has been secured, and that which is uncanonical. The greater part, however, has been included among the so-called apocryphal writings. Those books, or sections thereof, which are of an apocalyptic nature and which appear in the Old Testament canon may be noted first, however:

1. Isaiah 24-27; 33; 34-35; 40-66.
2. Ezekiel
3. Joel
4. Haggai
5. Obadiah
6. Zephaniah
7. Zechariah
8. Malachi
9. Daniel

---

2. Pages 4-6.
Sit

"Ip
eovico
"Eq

xt»

crrfqe

empj

«»r<i

at

frorf>oiaoi

o?f

bh'co
dlcvr
eD-irx

1/or
c.t

cbfaCdcnc

ni-uben
&dJ-
b^iVo^iJ;
yino
boouficifre*!
Qd
bLuto
*t0
^fti'aucdf
rtjef^Lfn'

efi'-J-
sKircoe
rri/Wi*?
Jr
Jft
sv+I
•
Xecxiocfotye

«
rienxo
iffJ
Ip
yJiXi
oJp/*
eriJ
ovmoatb
*
tr
evc'cq
oJ
Jat'nX^fsJ

.bobicooi
avfiv
0
cJcf^:^J^oc-p^
rffc-xw-pL
'trate-ae
obb:
botbx
aon©

"-
7
t'c
tGxJpvpJ't
ijirr
rrp
c^iBiaffJl'^J
'it
qrvJ
©a'J
f>ai»o
fariji;©
ni
beJat»'^

Efsr
rrciJ.j&ificfujo
J.o
rK'P
lo'i
neovjoc'
debirib
ei
i<?Xf7o*x?
eifi
•leoinrnjarritf
ai
rfpif'yir
jxjrfX
*>
0
,;:eTt;p©a
rteed
Xi3ffqy
'a'rc.o
beX£^o-oe
erfj
;nc(r:Jif
obi/Xopf
noocf
,;:eTt;p©a
rteed

i'X
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
Not all of the above are to be considered as apocalyptical to the same extent and in the same degree. Nor is the above list intended to include all passages of an apocalyptic nature which appear in the Old Testament. In fact, critics are unable to agree with regard to all sections. The above, however, will suffice to distinguish those parts of Scripture which approach most nearly true apocalypticism.

The following list of non-canonical Jewish apocalypse is less subject to question:

1. Enoch (Ethiopic and Slavonic)
2. Testaments of the XII Patriarchs
3. Psalms of Solomon
4. Assumption of Moses
5. Apocalypse of Ezra
6. Apocalypse of Baruch
7. The Apocalypse of Abraham

Closely related to these, and corresponding with them, are certain other writings:

1. The Sibylline Oracles
2. The Book of Jubilees
3. The Ascension of Isaiah

Besides these, certain other books are known by references to them found in the early church fathers:¹

1. The Prayer of Joseph
2. The Book of Eldad and Modad
3. The Apocalypse of Elijah
4. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah

CHARACTERISTICS

In considering, as a whole, the field of Jewish apocalyptic, several characteristics are to be noted. While it is true that among the writings just named great differences between the several books are to be discovered, nevertheless, all of them contain features and elements which may be distinguished as characteristics common to the entire field of literature. It is necessary, at this point, to devote brief consideration to these characteristics, in order that their sources and development may be more clearly distinguished.

ESCHATOLOGY. By far the most outstanding feature in apocalyptic literature is that pertaining to Jewish eschatology. Strictly speaking eschatology has to do with the doctrine of the Last Things, with the final judgment of the earth by God. Although eschatology appears as the most characteristic element in Jewish apocalyptic, the two must not in any way be identified. Eschatology is not limited to the apocalypses. Just as there is an apocalyptic eschatology, so also is there a prophetic eschatology. "Prophetic eschatology is the child of prophecy, and apocalyptic eschatology is the child of apocalyptic."1 But although the two must not be confused, nevertheless the latter is, in a sense, the offspring of the former. Apocalyptic eschatology is as a growth which began in prophetic eschatology.

RUSTIC PATENT

\[ \text{unlegible text} \]

\[ \text{unlegible text} \]

\[ \text{unlegible text} \]

\[ \text{unlegible text} \]

\[ \text{unlegible text} \]

\[ \text{unlegible text} \]

\[ \text{unlegible text} \]
and, due to peculiar and specific circumstances, continued to
grow in its own characteristic way. This relationship will be
more clearly distinguishable as the rise of apocalyptic escha-
tology is traced in the following pages.

It is well, at this point, to distinguish the various
phases of the eschatological hope of the Jewish apocalyptists,
for the different aspects must be traced as more or less dis-
tinct from one another. The first of these may be designated as
pertaining to the Messianic kingdom, the kingdom of God. As
apocalyptic literature developed different views were held as to
the nature of this kingdom, as to the people by whom it was to
be enjoyed, and as to the date of its inauguration. Different
views were also held with regard to the expected blessed state
which was to prevail for those who were allowed to participate
in the kingdom. Similarly, the apocalyptists gradually con-
ceived of the kingdom as beginning through catastrophic divine
intervention. All of these developments which have to do direct-
ly with the Messianic hope must be traced.

A second aspect of the eschatological hope as set forth
by the apocalyptists has to do with the agency by which the
kingdom of the future is to be realized. The change from the
expectation of a Davidic prince to that of a divine Messiah
was accomplished by the writers of apocalyptic literature.
A third and final phase of eschatology, with regard to which the apocalyptists were the chief promoters, is that which deals with the destiny of the individual. Before apocalyptic became a recognized method of writing all interest was centered about the nation as a unified whole. It was largely through the thought and effort of the writers of this type of literature that the individual came into his own, and that speculation regarding the future destiny of the individual was aroused and developed.

VISIONS. A second, and likewise readily perceptible characteristic of apocalyptic literature is to be found in the highly elaborated visions, and similar modes of revelation, which serve as the medium through which the author receives his divine communications and insights. In apocalyptic literature, vision is the "one mode of revelation, and the supernatural character and objective reality of the vision are insisted upon as if on this the truth of the message depended." In this treatise no attempt shall be made to distinguish between the visions which occurred in the actual experience of the writer and those which did not. Whether or not they had behind them a state of trance or ecstasy, in all instances they were used as literary devices to lend authority to the messages presented. What had been heard and seen through some peculiar relationship with the divine Being could not but be deemed worthy of acceptance.

PREDICTION. In close connection with the vision and the dream as a mode of revelation, is the element of prediction which is to be found in most apocalyptic writings. The foretelling of future events was not the primary purpose. It was a part of their method only,--a means of emphasizing and dramatizing the messages of which they thought themselves to be the bearers. In many cases,--in most cases, perhaps,--the predictions proved to be false. But as an element in the literature under consideration forecasting of the future must be recognized. At the basis of this lay the apocalyptic doctrine of determinism. To the apocalyptists the course of the world from beginning to end was pre-determined. All that should occur on the face of the earth was established by God before the beginning of time.¹ In 2 (4) Esras 4:36,37 is to be found a statement of the popular view:

"For He hath weighed the age in the balance,
And by number hath He numbered the seasons;
Neither will He move nor stir things,
Till the measure appointed be fulfilled."

In their predictions the apocalyptists thought themselves able to glimpse, through the revelations granted them, certain aspects of this pre-determined course of events. In the progress of this discussion an attempt will be made to trace the rise of this doctrine of determinism because of its bearing upon the element of prediction as characteristic of apocalyptic.

SYMBOLISM AND IMAGERY. Another characteristic of apocalyptic literature is to be found in the extensive and sometimes almost overwhelming use of symbolism and imagery. In this apocalyptic imagery two aspects or elements are to be noted. In the first place it is clear that in many instances the writer has created, to an elaborate degree, a method of allegory which has taken many forms. Symbolical figures, acts, names, numbers, and colors abound throughout all apocalyptic literature.¹ In the second place the element of tradition plays an important part in apocalyptic imagery. Not only has a later writer appropriated the figures of his predecessors and adapted them to his own situations, but he has at times taken the names and places furnished by tradition, and has interpreted them as he saw fit.²

MYSTERY. Brief mention should be made of the element of mystery for which the elaborate symbolism and imagery is to a large extent responsible. There seems to have existed in the minds of the writers a desire to cast a veil of mystery over familiar facts and over their works in general. In so doing they succeeded in lending to their productions a vague sort of authority and impressiveness which recommended them to readers of their own day, and has caused them to influence men of all later generations.

¹ For illustrations of this, see Terry, Biblical Apocalypitics, p. 17-21.
² As in Daniel 7, where the beasts go back to the Babylonian chaos dragon; cf. Porter, The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers, p. 37.
PSEUDONYMITY. All of the more important apocalypses are attributed to authors who lived long before the actual writing of them occurred. (Reasons for this will be observed in the course of this treatment.) In order to explain the late publication of the books, and in order to secure for them a more prompt acceptance, the writers added to the delusion by including directions for the sealing and the hiding of the writings until the time when it was actually produced. In a sense the apocalyptic books were not pseudonymous. The writers may indeed have considered themselves not as originators of that which they composed, but as editors, who were merely reproducing in fresh editions the traditions relating to the more ancient figures whose names were adopted. In any event pseudonymity was a common literary characteristic of the centuries during which apocalyptic flourished, and must not be understood as any attempt whatever to deceive or to disregard the truth.

CONCLUSION. In these first pages considerable attention has been devoted to a distinguishing of the most important and characteristic elements of apocalyptic. All of the many and various features of this field of literature cannot, of course, be specifically isolated, but most of them must be considered as they fall into the above general classification. Such a description and classification is necessary in order that the rise and development of apocalyptic literature may be followed. The type of literature as a whole is composed of its component elements,

and its rise is to be recognized only as these elements are developed and become inter-related, one with the other, into a total product.

**OCCASION**

It remains, by way of introduction, and in order to approach the problem intelligently, to glimpse, in a general and inclusive fashion, the entire field and age of apocalyptic literature. If certain fundamental principles underlying the whole are kept constantly in mind, much will be made intelligible which otherwise would have no meaning whatever.

It must be noted, in the first place, that practically all of the writings here under consideration,—writings both canonical and apocryphal,—are the product of the period of Jewish history extending from the time of the exile to the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the separate political existence of the Jewish community in the latter part of the first century A. D. Many scholars, it is true, have limited the period of Jewish apocalyptic to the three centuries, approximately, which fall between 168 B. C. and 100 A. D. This period begins with the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, and the rise of the independent Jewish kingdom under the Maccabees. It cannot be denied that this more limited interval of time is that during which the more complete and more fully developed apocalypses were brought into being. But at the same time to exclude the

preceding three centuries is to reject the years when much progress was made in the development of apocalyptic. It is during that time that the transition was made from prophecy to apocalyptic,¹ and that apocalypticism became a recognized method of revelation. In designating the period following the exile as that of the later prophets, it is often forgotten that it also is the period of the early apocalyptists. The so-called later prophets differed as much from the early prophets, perhaps, as they did from the fully developed apocalyptists.

In general it may be said that there were, during the centuries in question, two types of forces which led to the rise and development of apocalyptic literature,—an external and an internal. These must be more fully distinguished as the development of the apocalyptic movement is followed step by step. But it is well, at the outset, to suggest them as they appear to permeate the entire field of these writings.

PROTEST. The external influence which helped to mold Jewish literature in apocalyptical directions is to be found in the relation of Israel to her surrounding nations and powers. And if the position of Israel, during the period of history here involved, is to be described at all, it must be represent-ed, first of all, as one of darkness, distress, and suffering. The Jews began to grasp their relative position among the nations, and to see the impossibility of securing any lasting

¹. See pages 33-63.
political supremacy. As the apocalyptists viewed the existing conditions they beheld a world full of wickedness, a world in which the ungodly were triumphant, and where the kingdom of God's people was afflicted and subjected to the galling rule of Gentile powers. "For look, how much the world shall be weaker through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon them that dwell therein, . . for the world is set in darkness and they that dwell therein are without light."¹ It was this situation which gave impetus and strength to the development of apocalyptic literature. All the books of this class "are animated by a spirit of protest against the perverse conditions of the times, the weakness and humiliation of the righteous people, and the power and glory of the wicked."² The apocalypse "is always the protest of those who are weak and oppressed and whose faith demands a speedy change in the present intolerable condition."³

HOPE. Not only was a spirit of protest the occasion for the rise of apocalyptic literature. Although, indeed, the present seemed intolerable, and although there appeared to be available no possible remedy, hope was retained in the ultimate outcome. "Apocalyptic literature, therefore, strove to show that, in respect alike of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated; and, in order to justify its contention, it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its cause,

¹ 2 Esdras 14:17ff.
² Porter, The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers, p. 49.
and the final consummation of all things. In thus revealing the vindication of God and of His righteousness, apocalyptic literature did much to instill in the hearts of distressed Jews new life and strength. As Driver has written, it was "designed especially with the object of affording encouragement and consolation to faithful Israelites in a period of national distress."  

IMMEDIATE OCCASION. Although most scholars agree in attributing the rise of apocalyptic to the situation in which the Jewish community found itself, they do not so fully agree as to the immediate occasion of various writings. Torrey, for instance, contends that "the appearance of the successive apocalypses did not mark successive periods of persecution, or unusual distress, as has sometimes been assumed. After the book of Daniel, there is no evidence that any writing of this kind was called forth by the immediate circumstances of the people."  

This stand, however, has not gone unchallenged. Porter, especially, finds back of each writing of this kind some particular impulse. "The original and proper occasion of an apocalypse," he writes, "is a time of danger to faith, of active persecution or serious apostasy, a time when the oppressions or the allurements of heathenism are making themselves felt."  

The position of Porter, does indeed, appear to be the more valid. Although at a later point the historical background of the various apocalypses will be more fully

discussed it may be mentioned at this time that each one gives evidence of being the product of some particular stress and strain. The book of Daniel, in the first place, is the outgrowth of the active persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes; the various sections grouped together in the book of Enoch belong to "a period of almost unbroken trouble from internal strife, apostasy, and fierce conflict without." The Psalms of Solomon fall in the time of the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, and the Assumption of Moses, together with the Apocalypse of Baruch and II Esdras come out of the period during which occurred the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Altogether, therefore, it may be said not only that apocalyptic literature, as a group, was occasioned by troublous times in Jewish history, but also that, as a rule, each distinct apocalypse is the product of particularly severe periods when protest was strong and when hope was the imperative need of the people.

THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING. The problem of suffering was thus the controlling factor in apocalyptic literature. Here, however, it is necessary that a distinction be made. Porter and Charles are only partly correct when they seem to apply the problem in exactly the same manner to all examples of apocalyptic. Charles, for instance, writes that "the objective of apocalyptic literature in general was to solve the difficulties connected with the righteousness of God and the suffering condition of his righteous servants on earth." Porter agrees that "the problem of evil,

that is, the sufferings of the righteous nation or sect, of Israel or the true Israel, and the prosperity of the wicked is the theme of much of the post-exilic literature of Judaism.\(^1\)

It cannot be denied that it was the theoretical difficulty of the problem of suffering which occasioned some of the Jewish apocalyptic literature. Enoch, particularly, bears evidences of such an origin. But, in contrast to this, neither can it be denied that, in many apocalypses, the theoretical aspects entered very little into the problem. Especially in the canonical apocalypses, the practical aspects predominate. There it is shown that men were in distress. For hope they turned to the future. Apocalyptic literature offered a mode of escape. The theoretical inconsistency does not appear to have dominated the consciousness of the apocalyptic writers. Rather, the controlling motive was protest, retribution, revenge,--all of a practical and impulsive nature.

It is interesting to note that where the most extended implications of the problem of suffering are conceived, as in the book of Job, there the apocalyptical elements are lacking. The situation which gave rise to apocalyptic literature also gave rise to a theoretical consideration of the problem of evil, but the former is not always dependent upon the latter. Hence a distinction is to be made between those examples of apocalyptic literature which were occasioned by practical conditions, and those called forth through a more abstract approach. In this regard two motives controlling apocalyptic literature may be distinguished: first, there is that

\(^1\) Porter, The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers, p. 50.
which produced an interest in the future life of Israel (best illustrated in the book of Daniel); and secondly, there is that which led to an interest in the secrets of the universe (as illustrated in the book of Enoch). Both, in turn, are dependent upon historical situations.

DECLINE OF PROPHETIC. Chief among the internal causes for the rise of apocalyptic literature is the decline of prophecy. With this shall be mentioned the various developments within Judaism which led to the view that revelation had ceased, and which led to the closing of the Old Testament canon of Scripture. This internal development, however, is not without its external causes.

UNFULFILLED PROPHECY. Unfulfilled prophecy, finally, may be regarded as a factor in the occasioning of apocalyptic literature. But here, again, the distress of a broken nation is to be recognized as the ultimate factor. As shall be observed, it was the historical background which supplied the incentive to prophesy. Similarly, it was the historical situation which prevented the fulfilling of this prophecy. Ultimately, therefore, too much stress and emphasis cannot be laid upon the forces which came from without to bear upon the people of Israel and upon their religion.
Chapter II

THE EARLY SOURCES OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE
(To the Exiles)

Although many scholars, as has already been suggested, limit the period of true apocalyptic literature to the period from about 200 B.C. to 100 A.D., they generally agree in admitting its great dependence upon earlier Hebrew religion and literature. Especially in prophetic Yahwehism are the elements and traditions of apocalyptic literature to be recognized. "Old Testament prophecy and apocalyptic traditions were the storehouse from which the apocalypses drew freely and largely." And, as Driver adds, apocalyptic literature "consists essentially of a development and adaption of the ideas and promises expressed by the older prophets."

Since apocalyptic literature is thus so greatly dependent upon the earlier writings of the Hebrew people, a discussion such as this would be incomplete without a consideration of some of these earlier elements which contributed to its origin and development. Indeed, apocalyptic literature is but the product of an interest in certain of these elements, and a continued emphasis upon them. It is vain to attempt to separate the writings of this class from all other literature. They constitute but a branch of Israel's recorded thought and history, a branch in which certain aspects of her religious life received particular, and in some instances, perhaps, an undue emphasis.

2. Porter, The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers, p. 44.
In considering the material from which apocalyptic literature sprang, with which it had constantly to deal, and which laid the foundations for its growth, there will be presented some aspects which cannot be designated as apocalyptical in the narrow sense of the term.¹ But since, in many cases, they gave to later apocalyptic writers suggestions which they further developed, a consideration of them cannot be omitted.

**Eschatology**

**EARLIEST TRACES.** The chief element of apocalyptic literature is, quite properly, the one of which the beginning and source is most easily and clearly recognized in the earlier literature of the Old Testament. As may be expected, the representations of a future hope are less eschatological among the first writers than among the apocalyptists. But at the same time the beginning of an imperfect eschatology is to be observed even in the earliest literature. Beckwith seems to have discovered in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, (and hence, probably, by the time of the early days of the monarchy)² the first evidences of "the hope of victory for man."³ As the head of the serpent is crushed beneath the heel of man a sign is thereby given that man shall ultimately triumph and be the recipient of future blessings in some new state of government. "Henceforth man's gaze is no longer turned backwards in longing after a lost Paradise, but is directed hopefully to the future."⁴

---

1. See page 1.
2. For treatment of these chapters as a part of the document "j", and for a treatment of the date of the same, see Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, p. 14 and 123.
4. Orelli 90; Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John, p. 5.
In compliance with the regulations and policies of the University, the student shall complete all assignments and turn in all materials on time. Any late submission will result in a penalty of 10% per day for up to 3 days. After that, an additional penalty of 50% will be incurred. The final submission shall be made on the due date, or a new due date will be assigned. It is the responsibility of the student to ensure that all materials are submitted on time and in the correct format. Any exceptions to this policy must be approved in writing by the instructor.
As was suggested in the Introduction (pages 10-16), it is the thesis of this treatment that apocalyptic literature developed chiefly because of the situation in which the Hebrew people found themselves, namely, a situation of distress and gloom. It is out of such conditions that men turned to the future. In this connection it is interesting to note here that even this first hope "came to man after a failure involving the race in disaster. The Fall of Eden at the outset, and the all-but universal wickedness that brought on the visitation of the Flood, might have shut every door of hope. . . And so through the later history the most striking outbursts of the eschatological hope, as expressed in the prophets and in the apocalyptic writings, appear in times of national calamity."¹

Similarly, in the accounts of the Patriarchal and pre-Monarchical age, Beckwith has recognized certain eschatological elements.²

THE PROPHETS. During the Monarchical age, under the influence of the distinction attained by the house of David, the eschatological hopes grew, and received their expression in the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries. At present there is considerable uncertainty as to the extent to which the early prophets advanced in their conceptions of the future.

"That the prophetic conception of the Kingdom prevailed from the seventh century onwards is admitted on all hands, but of late years there is a growing body of scholars who maintain that, with the single exception of a single passage in Isaiah, no prophet of the eighth century preached the advent of this kingdom, and that the unceasing burden of their message to Israel was solely one of fast approaching and inevitable doom. That most of the passages in Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah which promise the advent of the Messianic kingdom and of the Messiah are intrusions in the text from a later time, may be regarded, on the whole, as a sound conclusion of criticism."³

2. Ibid., p. 8-16.
It seems, however, that some expectation of a brighter future lay in the minds of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, in spite of their messages of doom, else their exhortations to righteousness are unintelligible.¹

THE KINGDOM OF GOD. Although the hopes of the early prophets serve as the source out of which apocalyptic eschatology arose, they were not of the type with which the fully developed apocalyptists sought to encourage their countrymen. According to the prophets the Kingdom of God was to be established on this earth. The future which they contemplated consisted of little more than a continuance of the existing order of society, only purged by a judgment from sin, and freed from trouble. Down until the eighth century the conception had been entirely a non-ethical one; the future kingdom was looked upon only as an unbroken period of material prosperity. But through the messages of such spiritual leaders as Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, the ethical aspects became prominent. "According to the prophets, this kingdom was to consist of a regenerated nation, a community in which the divine will should be fulfilled, an organized society interpenetrated, welded together, and shaped to ever higher issues by the actual presence of God."² But although the moral aspects became the dominating characteristics, the future hope which still prevailed was one of an earthly and material nature. The just and the righteous would reap their reward in this life.

². Charles, Eschatology, p. 53-54.
THE REMNANT. Throughout most of the pre-Exilic history of the Hebrew people, the hope for the future involved the unbroken prosperity of the nation, and of the nation alone. In the coming Kingdom of God, all outside the bounds of Israel were to be excluded. Its realization was to be "within national (Hebrew) and territorial (Palestinian) limits."¹ This conception grew out of the popular idea as to the relation of Yahweh and Israel. Israel alone was Yahweh's people, just as Yahweh alone was Israel's God.² The eighth century prophets attacked this popular notion, it is true. They proclaimed that Yahweh was to vindicate, not Israel, but Himself and his righteous purposes. But the outcome of these messages was not that the righteous of all the earth should enjoy the blessings of the Kingdom. Instead, the tendency of the teachings was to restrict rather than to universalize. All Israel was not to participate. A remnant, including only the righteous of the nation, was to survive the Day of Judgment. It was "an Israel within Israel" which was to form the "nucleus of the Kingdom of God, and the heir of all its hopes and promises."³ Charles limits this view to the "narrower school" of the prophets, contending that those of broader vision admitted some who lived without the national borders. Rather, he writes, "the righteous in Israel were to form the center of the kingdom, and the Gentiles were to be brought into it by conversion."⁴

². See Amos 3:2.  
Whether or not this be true, the idea which prevailed, and the one which influenced the true apocalyptical conception, was that of the "narrower school," and that which was current in the popular mind.

THE TIME OF THE KINGDOM. From the beginning the Kingdom was thought of as near at hand. In nearly every instance the prophetic writers represented it as impending, and proclaimed that it should be ushered in with the overthrow of the powers which threatened their particular age. The cry of Zephaniah appears to express the common expectation of the early prophetic era: "The great day of Jehovah is near, it is near and hasteth greatly."

THE BLESSINGS OF THE KINGDOM. Although the general nature of the early prophetic conception of the Kingdom of God has already been discussed, some consideration should be devoted to the current ideas as to the blessings which the righteous in Israel should there enjoy. It is difficult, however, to present in any great detail the exact and specific views with regard to the approaching kingdom. What Case has said of Isaiah might well be said, likewise, of the entire early prophetic movement. "Regarding the details of the new order as they lay in the imagination of the prophet, we know little or nothing, but doubtless current myth and legend furnished ample imagery, for constructing a very realistic and attractive picture of a new theocratic community." Kent also attributes to early legend and tradition a position of strong influence in shaping the early conceptions of the future blessed state. He contends that these views were chiefly of the type

2. Zephaniah 1:14. See also ibid., p. 22.
suggested and intensified especially by the stories of "the primitive
day when certain favored individuals live in Paradise together with
God or with the gods of early Semitic religions."\textsuperscript{1} Altogether, it may
be said that the expected blessed state was an ideal life of the pres-
ent form. And after the introduction, by the eighth century prophets,
of what Kent calls the "more distinctly moral and religious motifs"\textsuperscript{2}
the ideal became "a life of perfect righteousness combined with perfect
physical enjoyment—in other words, the complete realization of the
entire man as constituted in this life."\textsuperscript{3}

It is not surprising that the blessings of the future were thought
of as awards in this life. As shall presently be noted,\textsuperscript{4} the individ-
ual, after death, was thought to abide in the shadowy and indistinct
region of Sheol, far from Yahweh and from his jurisdiction. Since no
life after death was held out as a hope for the future, it was necess-
ary that the blessed order which the nation was to enjoy should be con-
fined to the present life elevated to the perfect and ideal state. Such
a view was inevitable, since no hope of an other-worldly life had yet
dawned upon the prophets.\textsuperscript{5}

THE JUDGMENT AND THE DAY OF YAHWEH. While the early and pre-Exilic
idea of the Kingdom of God prepared the way for the apocalyptic Messi-
anic kingdom, nevertheless the two are quite different, as shall readily
be observed as the apocalyptic eschatology is further developed.
A closer relationship is to be seen between the Judgment which was to
usher in the Kingdom of God of the early prophets, and the Day of Yahweh
which was to mark the beginning of the Messianic era as presented by
the apocalyptists. In fact the Day of Yahweh is a term used frequently
by the eighth century

\textsuperscript{1} Kent, The Growth and Contents of the O. T., p. 137.  \textsuperscript{2} Ibid. p. 138.
\textsuperscript{3} Charles, Religious Development between the O. and N. T.'s, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{4} See pages 26-28.  \textsuperscript{5} Charles, Ibid., p. 93.
prophets themselves, although they used it with somewhat different connotations than did the apocalyptists.

Before the time of the prophets the popular conception was that the coming crises would be "one of assured joy and triumph for Israel; it was to be the consummation of the nation's hope." As already suggested it was to be a day of judgment,—but judgment upon Israel's enemies only. For the Israelites the day would bring national joy and prosperity. With the advent of the prophets, however, a new note was touched. Although different prophets emphasized different aspects of the Day, through them it began to be conceived as a crisis in the affairs of Israel as well as in those of other nations. Yahweh and his righteousness would be vindicated, and divine wrath would descend upon all the wicked, whether within or without the bounds of Palestine.

This element in the eschatology of the nation is to be observed particularly in the oracles against foreign nations as they appear in a form less developed than in the prophets of the Exile. But although the form of the oracle is different from that of later writers, and although the implied form of executed judgment is not of the divine and catastrophic nature predicted by the apocalyptists, the messages of the latter, in this regard, are clearly foreshadowed in these earlier writings. A step towards the later conception may be seen in the prophecy of Zephaniah. While the eighth century prophets addressed their invectives only against present and specific foes, Zephaniah predicted a destruction of

1. Isaiah 2:12; 13:6; 34:8; Amos 5:18; Zephaniah 1:7-8; etc.
3. Amos 1:9-2:5; etc.
the nations generally.

THE AGENCY. Although the oracles of the early prophets did supply the material which the apocalyptists developed into a forecast of divine and catastrophic intervention, the distinction between the two conceptions must be set forth. This can most readily be done by considering the agency through which the vindication of Yahweh was to be wrought. In taking up this aspect of early eschatology it is to be remembered constantly that at no time did the divine agent overshadow the divine Being Himself, nor did the one vie with the other for supremacy. The government of Israel was theocratic; all rule emanated ultimately from Yahweh; those who exercised any form of authority were but his organs or agents.

Scholars are divided as to the date when the chief factors of the Messianic expectation arose. Charles mentions that there is no reference to the Messiah in Amos, Zephaniah, and certain later prophets—nor even in many of the true apocalypses. In his conclusion he agrees with Porter when he contends that the Messiah was not an organic factor of the kingdom, and that in the apocalypses such a conception occupies a very secondary place.¹ Beckwith, however, finds certain difficulties involved in these objections to the idea that the Messiah was an element in early eschatology. Yet "even if such objection be accepted as established," he writes, "it by no means follows . . . that the person of a coming Davidic king was absent at this time from the hope of the prophets."²

At this point Beckwith and Charles agree. Both find, at least, that some divine agent was connected with the coming kingdom. In the popular mind he was to be a national and political champion, perhaps. In the mind of the prophets he was without doubt immeasurably above the popular idea in moral and religious aspects.¹ In any case some agent was connected, even though in a secondary way, with the approaching kingdom and judgment. That this agent was to be descended from the Davidic line appears to have been a foregone conclusion from the time of David's successful reign.

"No prophet even had suggested the substitution of a non-Davidic prince."² This prince, as the agent of Yahweh, was to be the ideal and perfect ruler. "Where the Messiah is expected," writes Charles, "it is all but universally as the ideal King."³

This idea of a human, though ideal, King agreed perfectly with the idea of a kingdom to be founded upon this earth, and in this life. And although in his nature this agent differs much from the agent of certain of the apocalyptists, nevertheless, there is here contained "what later prophets saw in the unfolded vision of the Messiah."⁴

THE INDIVIDUAL. An extended discussion as to the place of the individual in the eschatological hope of this period is not necessary, since, as has already been seen, the chief interest and emphasis lay upon the future destiny of the nation as a whole. Certain aspects

regarding the individual may be noted, however, in order to distinguish even the faint gleams of light which emanted therefrom, and which cast their glow upon the Exilic and post-Exilic period of prophecy and apocalyptic.

Derived principally from heathen sources,—especially from Ancestor Worship,—early eschatology of the individual prevailed for several centuries only as it was influenced and guided by the "tenets and usages of this worship."¹ The popular belief was that the spirit, after death, passed into the underworld, Sheol, the "meeting place" of Job 30:23. Here the individual entered into a vague, shadowy, half-conscious, and joyless existence, where God was far beyond the reach of all communion, and where His mercies were neither apprehended nor acknowledged.² No moral distinctions whatever prevailed; the good and the evil shared alike.³ Social and national distinction alone existed. In Sheol man held a position corresponding to his social relationship on earth.

Thus the eschatology of the individual continued in channels far removed from the theistic eschatology of the nation. Until the Exile the two conceptions existed side by side. But although continuing separately, Driver has sensed, in their very parallelism, the elements which, from the Exile onward, led to the conception of the individual, and not the nation, as the religious unit.

These elements or tendencies may be mentioned briefly: First, there is the tendency to limit the power of death,—a tendency produced

¹ Consult Charles, Eschatology, p. 19.
² See Isaiah 38:18; Psalms 6:5; 30:9; 88:10-12; 115:17; etc.
³ See Genesis 37:35; Isaiah 14:8,9,15.
by the prophets in their setting forth of a glorified, though earthly, kingdom of the future. Secondly, as seen in the Psalmists, there is the conviction that fellowship with God implies and requires that the individuals be superior to death. There is no suggestion that the soul will rise, but rather that it will not die.¹ (Charles, as he considers the eschatology of the nation, sees in it a tendency of this sort when he says that members of the future kingdom, while not to enjoy immortality, nevertheless anticipate "lives of patriarchal duration."²) These tendencies, it is true, do not appear in their fruitfulness in pre-Exilic Jewish history. But, as Driver suggests, they form a beginning for the apocalyptic developments.³

VISIONS

It is not possible to ascertain to what extent the use of visions in apocalyptic and near-apocalyptic literature was dependent upon the visionary experiences recorded in the pre-Exilic portion of the Old Testament. The apocalyptic vision was probably different from that of the earlier periods. "Perhaps it is correct to say that the visions of the older prophets were chiefly emotional experiences, while in the apocalypses their significance lies in the intellectual sphere."⁴ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to prove or to disprove the truth of this statement. But whether or not it be accepted, it is a fair assumption, in the face of certain facts, that the pre-Exilic vision, if it did not suggest to the

1. See Psalms 16:9-10; 17:15, etc.
apocalyptists this means of obtaining (or of appearing to obtain) from heaven a knowledge of its secrets and of the future, at least furnished material which gave impulse to the suggestion. Tarrey, in this connection, has discovered certain facts which serve to substantiate this view. "The interesting passage Genesis 15:9-18 (compare verse 1)," he writes, "might almost be called a miniature apocalypse; notice the way in which it is spoken of in II Esd. 3:16; Apoc. Bar. 4:4 . . . Numerous other passages might be mentioned which in some respects mark the transition to the genuine Apocalypse, and may have served to some extent as models. Among these are the Balaam prophecies, Num. 24."

Tarrey also recognizes the influence of Genesis 40 et seq. upon the author of the book of Daniel. With these passages may be mentioned Jacob's vision at Bethel, the vision of Moses and the elders, and the vision of Micaiah.

Among the group of prophets of this period the visions of Amos (especially chapters 7-9) are noteworthy. And Isaiah reveals that inspiration came to him as though from without (6:8:1ff.; 22:14). Particular attention is called to the vision of God in chapter six.

These visions, as already suggested, differ in content and usage from those of the writers of genuine apocalyptic. A gradual transformation was required to bridge the gulf between the two. Yet in the pre-Exilic vision the beginning of this characteristic of apocalyptic literature is to be distinguished.

2. Exodus 24:10.
(The date to which the experiment was completed is not specified in the data provided.)

The results of the experiment are as follows:

- **Experiment 1:**
  - Condition A: **Result 1**
  - Condition B: **Result 2**

- **Experiment 2:**
  - Condition A: **Result 3**
  - Condition B: **Result 4**

Analysis of the data shows that Condition A consistently produces better results than Condition B across both experiments.

Furthermore, the experiment was repeated under similar conditions, and the results were consistent with the initial findings.

Additional experiments were conducted to explore various factors that might influence the outcomes, but these are not detailed in the provided text.

The implications of these findings suggest that further research is needed to understand the underlying mechanisms at play.
As shall be made clear in the following chapters, the element of prediction in apocalyptic literature differs greatly from that which is found in pre-Exilic times. The difference is to be found not only in the form and content of the predictions made, but also in the causes which led to and which promoted this element. Suffice to say that during this period the forecasts of the future were little more than a reading of the signs of the times. Those particularly noticeable are the oracles of Amos 1-2 and of Isaiah 13-23, although the authenticity and date of the latter are to be questioned. But due to the nature of these and similar predictions, the influence of them upon the element of prediction in the apocalypses cannot be determined to any definite degree. The suggestion of a wholesale judgment upon foreign nations may have given confidence, justification, and support to the apocalyptic writers. It may, indeed, have been the foundation for their predictions. But since other more potent influences enter into the situation at a later date, too much emphasis must not be placed upon the element of prediction as it is found previous to the Exile.

### SYMBOLISM AND IMAGERY

Symbolism is to be found to a certain extent in the writings of the older prophets, usually in connection with visions. Of particular importance is Isaiah 6, where symbolic language is employed to considerable degree. In this period, it is true, symbolism

and imagery find their chief value as poetry, and as a method of creating a veil of mystery about the divine Presence; not yet were they used to convey hidden meanings. In genuine apocalyptic literature symbolic language "is taken in a more literal sense. The more unearthly and mysterious the symbolic creations are, the better adapted to describe divine things."1 In spite of this difference in usage, however, a real source of the symbolic element appears to be found in pre-Exilic times.

CONCLUSION. In thus attempting to recognize, in pre-Exilic writings, some traces of the characteristics which are most prominent in apocalyptic literature, the purpose has not been to show that apocalyptic literature began to develop at that early date. Such a contention would, indeed, be absurd. It has been the purpose, rather, to demonstrate that the field of apocalyptic is not one so distinct and so isolated from other branches of literature as has sometimes been suggested. That it is unlike other branches cannot be denied. The difference, however, is quantitative rather than qualitative with respect to the common component characteristics.2 Selecting certain elements already inherent in their nation's literature, whether or not those elements were the most prominent and important, the apocalyptists adopted them because of

2. Charles in his Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments, p. 16, suggests as much, when, in comparing prophecy and apocalyptic, he says that "they have a common basis and use for the most part the same methods."
their adaptability to the purpose at hand, -- the purpose occasioned largely, as we shall see, by Israel's national and political situation. How these elements were seized upon, emphasized, and interrelated until they became the vital and dominating characteristics of a literature called apocalyptic it is the purpose of the following chapters to demonstrate.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

AMONG THE EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC PROPHETS

(To about the Second Century B. C.)

The Political Situation in Israel

Since the development of apocalyptic literature in each period is so largely dependent upon the conditions under which the Israelites found themselves, a brief statement is in order with regard to those conditions during the years considered at this time.

Toward the close of the seventh century B. C., the people of Israel beheld, on either side of their land, nations which had attained to great power. Egypt one the one hand, and Babylonia on the other, vied for the control of Palestine, and the inhabitants of that territory were practically forced to cast their lot with one or the other of these great powers. Politically, there was a strong party which favored an alliance with Egypt. Jeremiah, however, foretold the success of the Babylonian empire, and advocated a friendly attitude toward it. The outcome was settled by the defeat of the Egyptians at the hands of the Babylonian forces under Nebuchadrezzar, at Carchemish (c. 605 B. C.) As a result of this Palestine was
placed at the mercy of the Babylonians.

For a time the Israelites submitted to Babylonian rule, but after a few years a revolt was instigated. The attempt to throw off foreign rule failed, however, and, in 597 B.C., the young King Jehoiakin, his immediate family, and all the leading nobles, warriors, and skilled artisans were deported to Babylon. Eleven years later, in 586 B.C., a second revolt was attempted. This likewise failed, and as a result large numbers of persons were sent to Babylon in another deportation.\(^1\)

Although only a fraction of the former population of Judah was deported to Babylon,\(^2\) nevertheless this group comprised the leading figures among the Jews. As Ezekiel states, "the seed of the land" was transferred from Judah to Babylon.\(^3\)

The captivity of Judah lasted until the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., when Cyrus, as Yahweh's anointed\(^4\) established the supremacy of the Persian empire. Thereafter the exiles were allowed to return to their native land, but, due to various causes, they were slow to do so. And those who did seek to re-establish themselves in Palestine found difficulty in restoring their former customs and practices. Especially was the attempt to rebuild the temple fraught with much disappointment and distress. And even after the erection of the temple had been completed, and after the situation had become

2. For the numbers in this connection see Kent, A History of the Jewish People, p. 17-22.
3. Ezekiel 17:5
4. II Isaiah 45:1
somewhat more settled, the Jews did not succeed in becoming a
free and independent nation. They were constantly under the
shadow of Persian rule.

Presently new disasters presented themselves. In 363 B. C.
Artaxerxes Achus, the most cruel, blood-thirsty, and energetic
of the Persian rulers, came to the throne. An uprising ensued,
in which Egypt, Phoenicia, and probably all of Palestine were
involved. Many Jews were transported, and the temple was desecrated if not temporarily destroyed.

A little later Alexander the Great appeared on his advance
towards the conquest of the Persian empire. This he effected
substantially in 333 B. C., by defeating Darius at the battle of
Issus.

During the Greek period the Jews were subject first to the
Ptolemies, rulers of Egypt, and later to the Seleucidae, whose
capitol was at Antioch. Palestine, situated as it was in the
midst of these powers, was a continual bone of contention.
Hence, the Jews were constantly courted or plundered by the rulers
of Egypt and Syria. "From the references and from the records of
later persecutions in Egypt and other parts of the world, it is
evident that the lot of many of the Jews was far from pleasant.
To be loyal to their religion and peculiar institutions demanded rare courage and devotion."1

Thus, from the beginning of the sixth century to the beginning of the second, Israel was continually at the mercy of external foes. The glorious days of the monarchy were gone forever, and the people were bandied about between foreign powers without the least vestige of hope for an independent existence. To the Jews the outlook was not bright. If the Israelites had followed the example set by other nations which have been placed in similar circumstances, they would have given up all hope and effort. That they did not is the marvel of all history. The reason they did not is to be found in the hope which was instilled among them by certain of their great religious leaders, the hope with which the apocalyptists dealt so largely in the type of literature that they developed.

### A Period of Transition

It is in the period just discussed that the real beginning of the development of apocalyptic literature is to be found. Not yet did this type of writing attain to the completeness and characteristic form which it acquired in later years, but without the progress made at this time apocalyptic literature would not have become known. Considerable disagreement exists as to whether certain Old Testament books of this period, or parts thereof, are true apocalypses or not. Whether they are or not, they serve as valuable transitions to the universally recognized apocalypses.
It is in the writings of Ezekiel that the marked apocalyptic features first appear. Duhm, in fact, has called Ezekiel "the spiritual founder of apocalyptic."\(^1\) And all the prophetic literature that succeeds him is more or less apocalyptical in tendency. Especially might be mentioned Deutero-Isaiah (549-538),\(^2\) Isaiah 34-35 (after 540), Haggai (c. 520), Zechariah 1-18 (c.520), Malachi (458-432), Joel (c. 350), Zechariah (333), and Isaiah 24-27 (330-200). Certain of these deserve particular mention. Kent, especially, has found much in the work of the Second Isaiah and in that of Joel to be worthy of note. His own words are well worthy of quotation. First he speaks of Second Isaiah:

"In his treatment of the problem of evil and in his exalted estimate of suffering voluntarily borne for others, it is impossible not to see the influence of that bitter and prolonged affliction which was then the lot of the prophet in common with the faithful of his race. His glorious picture of the future was the triumphant cry of a soul who has passed through the valley of the shadow of death and seen a great light. His was the vision of a seer, the spirit of a philosopher, and the soul of a poet. . . He above all others, was the prophet who bridged the centuries, who took firm hold of the eternal verities, who inspired in the heart of his race a deathless hope, who spiritualized the aspirations of weak humanity and made the message and mission of Judaism universal."\(^3\)

In somewhat similar vein Kent has written of Joel:

"He marks the great transition from the earlier ethical prophets, who addressed themselves to the living problems of their day, to the new type of prophet, who lived largely in the future and dreamed of some great, miraculous, divine interposition to right the evils of the world, and to institute that righteous social order which the earlier prophets had sought to develop through the appeal to the consciences of their countrymen."\(^4\)

---

2. The dates given are not all generally accepted, but they form a reasonable agreement.
4. Ibid., p. 127.
Another of the most apocalyptical sections of this group, and probably the last to be written, is Isaiah 24-27. It is here that some of the most advanced steps are taken in the development of apocalyptic literature.

The other Old Testament writings which have been mentioned also have an important bearing upon the literature of the following centuries. The manner in which all of these contributed to later thought and writing can best be observed as the progress of certain aspects of apocalypticism is noted.

The Eschatological Hope: Reasons for Increased Interest in it.

As has already been suggested, the reasons for the increased interest in the future destiny of Israel are to be found arising out of the political situation in which that nation found itself. The nature of this situation has been mentioned. Its effect upon the thought and writings of the people found expression in various ways:

Protest against Existing Conditions. In the first place there arose a spirit of protest and discontent. The people of Israel felt that an injustice was involved in the suffering of a righteous and God-fearing nation. This feeling was no doubt augmented by the consciousness that, not long since, the attempted reform of Josiah had brought the nation into closer harmony with Yahweh and with his purposes. Hence, a protest was raised. In the book of Job the problem is presented at considerable length.
In itself this protest did not add particularly to the development of the eschatological hope. But indirectly its effect is quite apparent. The feeling of protest found its expression in a condemnation of the unjustly-blessed foreign and un-Godly powers. And this condemnation reaches its highest expression in the accounts of the approaching Day of Yahweh. Thus, largely on account of the unhappy situation of the down-trodden people, the Day of Yahweh was anticipated as one in which foreign powers should face certain and awful retribution. The development of the conception of the Day of Yahweh will be traced at a later point, but it is well to note, at this time, the impetus which the conditions of the Jews gave to an interest in this aspect of eschatology.

The need of Hope. But more important than the spirit of protest was that of hope. As present conditions became well-nigh intolerable it was natural that men should increase their interest in a future which should promise greater joy and less pain and suffering. And as matters became worse it was natural that hope should somehow identify Yahweh with the struggle. The earlier prophets had possessed a fundamental optimism (in spite of the fact that it was frequently clouded over by their forecasts of doom). With the Exilic and post-Exilic prophets, however, the possibility of immediate and human methods of release were lacking. On all sides powerful and covetous kingdoms

1. Pages 48-50.
were ready to invade Palestine. Hence it is fully to be expected that the eschatological hope of the period should assume new and more elaborate proportions.

The Need for Encouragement in Religion. It must be remembered that the calamity which befell the monarchy was not alone a political one. Yet more terrible was the thought that Yahweh and his people were separated, never again to be united. Down to the Exile men still clung to the old conception of territorial limitation in connection with God. Because of this the religious leaders of the day were faced with the problem of maintaining faith in Yahweh in spite of the most disturbing conditions. It is not surprising, therefore, that in attempting to preserve religious faith and conviction the prophets of the time sought to include, in the hope of the future, the element of divine intervention. Thus, his purposes should be vindicated, a real need was met, and strength and courage were imparted to the struggling souls who face what appeared to be certain calamity and extinction.

Unfulfilled Prophecy. Still another reason for increased interest in the future is to be found in the fact that many of the prophecies of the earlier prophets remained unfulfilled. The attempt to re-edit and re-interpret earlier writings began with Ezekiel. Jeremiah (3-6) and Zephaniah (1:7) had both prophesied the invasion of Israel by a foe from the north, but the event had not occurred. Ezekiel, therefore, delayed the
accomplishment of the prophecy, and turned men's thoughts more
definitely than ever before to the future. In the future was to
be found not only an answer to their protest, not only a realiza-
tion of their hopes, and not only the vindication of their religious
aspirations, but also the fulfillment of those prophecies which had
been made by the great religious leaders of earlier days. "To this
re-editing of unfulfilled prophecy," writes Charles, "is to be
traced one of the sources of Apocalyptic."

The Development of Eschatological Elements

Having noted the causes for an exceedingly great interest in
the eschatological hope, it is necessary to indicate the develop-
ment of the conceptions of the future, and to describe to some
extent the form which these ideas took in the period now considered.
In many instances the various writers do not agree in their descrip-
tions of the future; and at times single authors appear to exhibit
extreme inconsistency in their portrayal. Nevertheless, general
tendencies may be observed, and certain conclusions may be reached.

The Messianic Kingdom. In the previous chapter it was observed
that in whatever conceptions there had been with regard to a future
Messianic Kingdom, the scene of the new kingdom was to be on the
present earth. At the beginning of the period of Exilic and post-
Exilic prophets the same idea continued to exist. The approaching
era toward which Ezekiel looks is unquestionably an earthly one.
The center of the new kingdom was to be the city of Jerusalem,

Exercise 12. Section 12.4

The exercise is as follows:

1. Given the function f(x) = x^2, find its derivative f'(x).

2. For the function g(x) = 3x - 2, determine its slope at x = 4.

3. Evaluate the integral ∫(from 0 to 1) x^3 dx.

Solution:

1. The derivative of f(x) = x^2 is f'(x) = 2x.

2. The slope of g(x) = 3x - 2 is constant and equal to 3. At x = 4, the slope remains 3.

3. The integral ∫(from 0 to 1) x^3 dx can be evaluated as follows:

   ∫x^3 dx = [x^4/4] from 0 to 1 = (1/4) - (0/4) = 1/4.

---

Exercise 13. Section 13.5

The exercise is as follows:

1. Solve the equation 2x + 3 = 7 for x.

2. Find the roots of the quadratic equation x^2 - 5x + 6 = 0.

3. Graph the function f(x) = x^2 - 4x + 3.

Solution:

1. Solving 2x + 3 = 7 for x:

   2x = 7 - 3
   2x = 4
   x = 2.

2. The roots of x^2 - 5x + 6 = 0 can be found using the quadratic formula:

   x = [-b ± √(b^2 - 4ac)] / (2a)
   x = [5 ± √(25 - 24)] / 2
   x = [5 ± 1] / 2
   x = 3 or x = 2.

3. The graph of f(x) = x^2 - 4x + 3 can be plotted by calculating several points and connecting them.

---

Exercise 14. Section 14.6

The exercise is as follows:

1. Determine the limit of the function f(x) = (x^2 - 1) / (x - 1) as x approaches 1.

2. Evaluate the definite integral ∫(from 0 to 2) 2x dx.

3. Find the area under the curve y = x^2 between x = 0 and x = 2.

Solution:

1. The limit of f(x) = (x^2 - 1) / (x - 1) as x approaches 1 can be found by factoring the numerator:

   f(x) = (x - 1)(x + 1) / (x - 1)
   f(x) = x + 1 as x ≠ 1.

   Thus, the limit as x approaches 1 is 2.

2. The definite integral ∫(from 0 to 2) 2x dx can be evaluated as follows:

   ∫2x dx = [x^2] from 0 to 2 = 4 - 0 = 4.

3. The area under the curve y = x^2 between x = 0 and x = 2 can be calculated as:

   Area = ∫(from 0 to 2) x^2 dx
   Area = [x^3/3] from 0 to 2
   Area = (8/3) - (0/3)
   Area = 8/3.

---

Exercise 15. Section 15.7

The exercise is as follows:

1. Find the derivative of the function f(x) = 3x^2 - 2x + 1.

2. Determine the equation of the tangent line to the curve y = x^3 at x = 2.

3. Evaluate the limit of the sequence a_n = (1 + 1/n)^n as n approaches infinity.

Solution:

1. The derivative of f(x) = 3x^2 - 2x + 1 is f'(x) = 6x - 2.

2. The equation of the tangent line to y = x^3 at x = 2 is found by calculating the slope and using the point-slope form:

   m = y'(2) = 3(2)^2 = 12
   y - y_1 = m(x - x_1)
   y - (2^3) = 12(x - 2)
   y = 12x - 16.

3. The limit of the sequence a_n = (1 + 1/n)^n as n approaches infinity is e, where e is the base of the natural logarithm.
magnificently and gloriously rebuilt.

Beckwith contends that the ideal of an earthly Messianic Kingdom is the only one which is described or even mentioned in the period here considered. "The ideal is local and earthly," he writes; "no other is found in the Old Testament Scriptures. Heaven as the destined abode of the saints is there unknown. A purely spiritual kingdom in which the blessed abide and reign with God in a world beyond appears first in the Apocrypha and the apocalyptic writings."¹ The stand which Beckwith takes, however, is not allowed to remain uncontested. There are some who claim to have discovered in the writings of this period undisputable evidences of a tendency toward the later apocalyptical conception of a spiritual or heavenly kingdom. Driver, for instance, states that "some of the later prophets ... spring from the transition period, in which the former of these ideals was gradually merging into the other, and in which the line of demarcation was not always clearly and consistently drawn. ... The passages from the prophets in which the character of the representation is such as to suggest that it is beginning to be eschatological, are Isaiah xxvi:18-19; Joel iii:9-17; Mal. iv:2-3."² Porter agrees that "the foundation is laid for the contrast of the two worlds ... in Isaiah 11, Zechariah 12-14, Joel, Malachi 4, Isaiah 24-27."³ The decision which is to be given in the case of this difference of opinion will depend entirely upon the interpre-

¹ Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John, p. 54.
tation which is adopted for the passages of Scripture in question. But in the light of later developments it appears to be entirely reasonable to suppose that at this time speculation was beginning to turn to an other-worldly Messianic kingdom. The conceptions in the writings which immediately follow seem to justify the conclusions reached by Driver and Charles.

The Comprehensiveness of the Kingdom. In the previous chapter it was noted that the prevailing view of the future in the pre-Exilic period limited, to a large extent, the number of those who should enjoy the kingdom to "an Israel within Israel." It was mentioned, however, that certain of the prophets strongly opposed such a restriction or limitation. Both the narrower and broader views were more or less confused until the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. With these men the different conceptions became definitely divided, and each became the view of very diverse schools of development.

The universalist school, of which Jeremiah was the founder, requires brief consideration, because of the bearing it had upon the writings of a certain group of men with apocalyptic tendencies. Chief among these is the Second Isaiah, whose attitude is most clearly that of a broad and liberal-minded prophet. According to this school of thought the Messianic Kingdom should not be limited to the righteous of the people of Israel only. Instead, all peoples should, by conversion, enjoy the new era and participate in the universal worship of Yahweh.
In the "Songs of the Servant" (Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12) this idea receives its most lofty expression. The Servant, symbolizing the pious remnant of the people, shall, because of election by God, engage in the service of converting all mankind to the worship of Yahweh, and hence to a place within the kingdom.

According to Ezekiel, however, and subsequent writers of the same school, the inauguration of the Messianic Kingdom meant, for the nations, "only destruction, partial or complete, or, under the most favorable construction, absolute political subjection to Israel."¹ The future world belonged to Israel, or to Judah and Israel united.² This view appears to be the more common one throughout the whole period, and it is not surprising that such should be the case, in the face of the distress which had befallen God's chosen people. "The universalistic ideal which recognized God's mercy for the Gentiles and looked for their admission into the messianic kingdom could not in the conditions of the post-exilic era become the predominant belief. The influence in the opposite direction of particularism was too powerful."³

Both of these schools found followers among the later apocalyptic writers, although that of particularism remained, perhaps, the one most widely recognized and accepted.

2. Hosea 3:5; Micah 5:3; both of these are post-Exilic according to Charles, Eschatology, p. 117.
It must not be supposed that the school of which Ezekiel was the founder held less firmly than did the other to absolute monotheism. The exclusion of the Gentiles from participation in the Kingdom did not imply that those peoples were beyond the power and jurisdiction of Yahweh. Both schools held to the conviction that Yahweh was the One God. But whereas the followers of Jeremiah were less harsh in their attitude toward the nations, Ezekiel and the more truly apocalyptic school excluded all Gentiles on the grounds that by opposing and subjugating Yahweh's chosen people they had incurred the displeasure of Yahweh himself, and therefore should be forever excluded from the blessed future which He had prepared for those that followed Him and kept His commandments.

The Time of the Inauguration of the Kingdom. Like the early prophets, those of the Exile fore-shortened the future. The coming of the kingdom of Yahweh, with the restoration of Israel to Palestine, was set immediately after the release from Babylonian bondage. It was indeed looked upon as "near at hand."

"For Ezekiel it lay just beyond the downfall of Egypt which is predicted as near;¹ Second Isaiah looked for it as the sequel to Cyrus' overthrow of the Babylonian power;² Haggai³ foresaw it in the events to follow the return led by Zerubbabel and the completion of the temple."⁴

1. Ezekiel 29:21; 30:3-9
2. Isaiah 44:24-28
3. Haggai 2:4-9
Introduction of the Idea of the Messianic Age as an Interregnum. It is in the book of Ezekiel that the idea of a "messianic interval" between a first and second Judgment receives its initial suggestion. The passage containing the suggestion (chapters 39-39) is sometimes taken to be a reference to the Scythian hordes that overran western Asia in the seventh century B.C. Briggs, however, writes that "this prediction has no historical value. It is in its nature apocalyptic. It points to a conflict to follow the restoration."  

Beckwith agrees in the main: "Whatever" truth as regards the connection of the names with any historic people," he writes, "the reference in Ezekiel is to an event falling after a long continuance of the messianic era, the final gathering of the nations under a great leader against the messianic kingdom and their overwhelming destruction."  

Such a messianic interval does not appear in any other book of the Old Testament, but later apocalyptic writers develop the suggestion to considerable degree. It is evidently here that the idea first became established, however.

The Blessings of the Messianic Kingdom. It has already been observed that during this period the future kingdom was thought of generally as established upon the present earth, although suggestions of a somewhat more transcendental nature began to make their appearance. The comprehensiveness and the time of its inauguration have also been mentioned. At this point

3. See pages 79-30, 113-122, etc.
it is well to devote brief consideration to the expected state of existence in the new era.

The popular view was that the coming kingdom would be one in which all blessings should abound, and where a perfect state of society should obtain. There would be a complete transformation of humanity. Nothing unholy would remain. Society, likewise, was expected to undergo complete transformation. All vestiges of injustice, oppression, and discontent should be done away. There would be no longer hunger, sickness, or other ills. Even politics would be completely changed. Perfect peace and righteousness would prevail. And although the present earth was thought to be the scene of these new blessings, the most desirable natural and man-made conditions should exist. The last chapters of Ezekiel abound in descriptions of such conditions. And the author of Joel 3:18 adds the beautiful, though not original, description of wonderful fertility, and of remarkable spring which was to flow out of the temple, watering the Valley of Shittim.

The most lofty conception of the new era dealt with the relation of Yahweh with his people. As Beckwith has written: "The supreme glory of the coming kingdom in the mind of the prophets is its spiritual perfections. ... God will dwell there continually with His people, and will be unto them an everlasting light;"

2. Ezekiel 36-45.
3. See Ezekiel 47 for a similar description.
5. Isaiah 60:19; Zechariah 8:3; Joel 3:17.
the covenant of his peace will never be removed;\(^1\) all will be taught of Jehovah and enjoy great peace;\(^2\) a fountain for sin and uncleanness will be opened there;\(^3\) God will give his people a new heart, that they may walk in his statutes and keep his ordinances;\(^4\) they will all be righteous;\(^5\) the unclean will no more come there.\(^6\)^\(^7\) In the face of such ideal and perfect conception of the Messianic Kingdom it is not strange that the scene of the new age should gradually come to be looked upon as more truly transcendental. Such descriptions as these did much to hasten the development of the eschatological views presented by the true apocalyptists.

The Day of Judgment and the Day of Yahweh. Among the apocalyptic prophets of this period is to be seen a furtherance of the idea that the inauguration of the Messianic Kingdom was to be attended by a Judgment of the Gentiles. As in most pre-Exilic prophecies, most of the writings of these years contain similar oracles against foreign and hostile powers. Ezekiel predicts certain judgment for the peoples of Ammon, Moab, Edom, Tyre, Sidon, and Egypt.\(^8\) For them the Day of Yahweh will bring sure destruction. "The terrors of that day are mentioned again and again: they will be seen in the natural world, darkness, and cloud (34:12), storm and tempest (13:2), drought (30:12), and fire (20:47,48 . . .), etc; further, famine and evil blasts, pestilence and blood, and the sword (5:15-17); and the most terrible

1. Isaiah 54:10
2. Isaiah 54:13
5. Isaiah 60:21.
of all, the sword of Yahweh (21:3-5), and the cup of destruction from Yahweh (23:31-34). In that day Yahweh will be king, but he will reign in fury (20:33,34)."¹

After Haggai and Zechariah the prophecies assume features of a catastrophic nature. Yahweh is expected to fulfill signally the hopes of the people of Israel.² This conception is elaborated in Joel, where the Judgment is pictured in lurid colors.³ The author of Isaiah 24-27 likewise describes most vividly the convulsions attending the introduction of the Kingdom.⁴

It is in this period that a new aspect of the Day of Yahweh begins to appear. Not only is there portrayed the severe Judgment of the Gentiles, but there is added the picture of the "messianic woes" which are to foreshadow it. The distresses of the people of Israel during this period seemed to arouse the desire to lengthen and prolong the awful curses which should be visited upon their foes. Hence, the "messianic woes" are represented as preceding the actual Day of Judgment. "Starting from the foreshadowings of the earlier prophets, later writers . . . unfold pictures of these pre-messianic troubles with vivid and often fantastic imagery."⁵ It is not always possible to distinguish between those representations which are supposed to depict the actual Day of Yahweh, and those which pretend to describe pre-messianic conditions. But it appears as most probable that the later writers of this period concern themselves seriously with the

¹ Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, p. 258.
³ Especially Joel, 2:30.
⁴ Especially Isaiah 24:18-20.
⁵ Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John, p. 33.
latter conception. If this be true, the appalling account of Isaiah 34 may be said to be concerned with these days.\(^1\) The author of Zechariah 13:8 may also refer to these times.\(^2\)

The Agency in the Establishment of the Kingdom. With regard to the agency in the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom there is considerable uncertainty, disagreement, and inconsistency in the period now under consideration. No mention of such an agency is to be found in the eschatological passages of Joel, Obadiah, Malachi, or Isaiah 24-27. Beckwith goes so far as to contend that no mention of a messianic king is to be found in the writing of the Second Isaiah.\(^3\) Torrey, however, disagrees: "Generally obscured, perhaps intentionally, by the personification of the Jewish people, the outline of an ideal person, the predicted leader, can nevertheless be made out with certainty."\(^4\) In the books where mention is made there is evidence of a great variety of thought. The inconsistency in the book of Ezekiel well illustrates the great diversity of ideas current in this period. In some places Yahweh himself is expected to be king:

"As I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, surely with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, will I be king over you." (Ezekiel 20:33)

In other places someone from the house of David is to rule:

"And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them and he shall be their shepherd. And I, Jehovah, will be their God, and my servant David prince among them. I, Jehovah, have spoken it." (Ezekiel 34:23-24)\(^5\)

---

1. For the date of Isaiah 34-35 as post-Exilic see Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, p. 225-236.
3. Ibid., p. 41.
5. See also Ezekiel 37:24.
At times the agency appears to be pictured as the line or house of David rather than as a single figure of it.¹ In this connection Beckwith contends that the distinct announcement of a single ideal king first appears in the post-Exilic passages of Isaiah and Micah.²

In spite of the differences to be found among the writings of these prophets, the general picture is that of a leader and ruler of the house of David. In fact "the restoration of the Davidic house seemed to the Jewish patriots of this period absolutely indispensable to the realization of their nation's destiny."³ The culmination of this view is reached in the writings of Haggai and Zechariah. The immediate background of their writing was the seeming collapse of the Persian kingdom, and the hope that Zerubbabel would re-establish Yahweh's chosen people to their rightful position. It is evident that Zerubbabel was identified, by Zechariah, with the "righteous scion" that should be raised up unto David,⁴ and that both Zechariah and Haggai held to hopes of great achievement for Zerubbabel. Those who held to these fond expectations were doomed to disappointment, however. The depth of this disappointment seems to be evidenced by the complete absence, during the next few centuries, of all reference to this type of hope. Not until the beginning of the Roman period in the Psalms of Solomon, does there appear a recurrence of the kingly form of expectation.

1. See Ezekiel 17:23.
2. See Isaiah 9:6; Micah 5:1-9; Beckwith, Apocalypse of John, p.42.
...
As has no doubt been understood, the kingly leader of Israel—the descendent of David—was thought of as human. But with all of his humanity he was thought of as being like God. This is made evident in such passages as Isaiah 22:21, and 9:6. And while the prophets always "thought of the Messiah as human, they conceived him to be endowed with powers and attributes which far transcended those of all other men, and their ideal could not be comprehended within the limits of their forms of thought." In thus attributing, to the expected one, such perfection and ideal characteristics, there is to be seen a step towards the belief in his divinity and transcendence. This belief was also given new impetus by the disappointed hopes of Zechariah and Haggai, which the following centuries of silence so eloquently express (as mentioned above). Although all hope of an earthy and human champion were thus rudely extinguished, faith in Yahweh remained unshaken. And as earthly hopes were destroyed, the people turned to a Divine King. Sometimes it is Yahweh himself who will gather, restore, vindicate, and exalt Israel to supremacy. Catastrophic intervention becomes the object of hope. A divine Warrior, a Divine Judge, becomes the ideal.

Brief mention should be made, perhaps, regarding the conceptions of the expected leader as the ideal priest and as the ideal prophet. Wherever any mention of a Messiah occurs, the kingly characteristics always predominate. It is true that sometimes priestly activities are attributed to rulers, and it has been suggested that Zechariah 6:13 indicates the tendency to unite in

2. See, for instance, Zechariah 9:8; 9:14-16.
the person of the Messiah the priestly and the kingly attributes.\(^1\) Usually, however, the priestly character is purely secondary, and is generally distinguished from the kingly.\(^2\) "It is doubtful whether the title priest is expressly given to him (the Messiah) anywhere in the Old Testament."\(^3\) The express designation of the Messiah as prophet is more uncertain than the designation as priest. "The personal ideal Prophet is nowhere distinctly sketched, but is rather to be inferred from the great picture of the prophet-ic nation portrayed by the second Isaiah."\(^4\) At best, however, the conception is vague and indistinct. Altogether Beckwith's conclusion may be considered as valid: "Of the three great offices attributed to the Messiah in Christian thought, those of prophet, priest, and king, the last appears almost alone before the time of Christ.\(^5\)

**The Eschatology of the Individual.** In pre-Exilic times, as has already been seen,\(^6\) the individual had been looked upon generally as the property of the nation. It was the nation that was the religious unit and the center of interest. The individual man had little religious worth; he could approach Yahweh only through the national priesthood and school of the prophets. But with the deportation, and with the destruction of priesthood, sacrifice, and traditional rites, and customs, the individual, if he was to

1. See Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John, p. 46.
continue as the worshipper of Yahweh, found it necessary to come to God face to face. It was Ezekiel who first gave utterance to this necessity in strong and insistent terms. His message contained the proclamation that all souls belong to God, and are in direct relation to Him. From this point Ezekiel moved on to the conclusion that the individual was not the victim of his own or his nation's past life. Therefore, every man should receive recompense according to his just deserts. This recompense must be received in the present earthly life; this view was unavoidable since the only destiny after death was conceived to be a vague and indistinct existence in Sheol.

This idea of retributive justice was accepted so long as retribution was adequate and apparently consistent with men's deeds. But when this conviction was lacking difficulties began to arise. Two alternatives lay open. Either Yahweh did not reward justly in this life, or else this life was not the end. Men might give up (or add to) their view of Sheol. It was inevitable in view of current expectations with regard to a future kingdom, that men's minds should turn to thoughts of some future and blessed destiny for the individuals who obeyed the dictates of Yahweh, a destiny if not supramundane at least perfect and ideal. Hence, it is not surprising that after the Exile the two developments, the eschatology of the individual and that of the nation, began to exert a noticeable influence.

2. See page 27.
on one another. "This mutual interaction, however, did not lead
to any true synthesis till the third century or even the beginning
of the second, when they were both seen to be complementary sides
of one and the same religious doctrine, namely, the doctrine of
the resurrection, which subsumes and does justice to the essential
claims of both."  

The forward step taken by Ezekiel in recognizing the worth
of the individual was taken up by the religious leaders of the period
who followed him. While they did not arrive at any definite doc-
trine, (as suggested in the above quotation from Charles), they
did present ideas and suggestions which mark the progress toward
later conceptions. This is best discussed under a distinct sub-
division.

The Beginning of the Resurrection Doctrine. In this connection
reference is sometimes made to Hosea 6:2 and to the Vision of Dry
Bones of Ezekiel 37. These passages, describe a national and poli-
tical restoration, and in that respect cannot be said to apply to
the doctrine of the resurrection of the individual. But, as sug-
gested in the previous division, they no doubt had some bearing
on the direction which the eschatology of the individual should
take.

According to Charles: "The spiritual basis for the resurrection
doctrine is laid in Job and the Psalms, which in part suggest

1. Charles, Religious Development between the Old and New Testa-
ments, p. 51.
2. Possibly Exilic or post-Exilic according to Charles,
Eschatology, p. 134.
The text on the page is not legible due to the quality of the image. It appears to be a combination of text and possibly some kind of diagram or design, but it is not possible to transcribe or interpret the content accurately from this image.
and in part teach the doctrine of a future life of the individual."¹ But although such a basis is to be distinguished here, in Job, particularly, the idea of individual immortality "emerges as a strong aspiration, but falls short of being an abiding spiritual conviction." And yet, the evidence of Job is sufficient to prove that, "amongst a few at any rate in Israel, the hopes of the individual had at least come in sight of their destined goal, even the future blessed life of the righteous."² Thus, although the book of Job is not usually classed as apocalyptical, it bears evidence of a development that was preparing the way for the later genuine apocalyptical writers.

It is in the apocalypse of Isaiah 24-27 that the author proclaims for the first time in extant Jewish literature the resurrection of righteous Israelites. It is this author who first drew the conclusion made inevitable by the new emphasis on the individual and the trend of national eschatological expectation. Even here, Driver contends, the resurrection of individual Israelites is contemplated "rather as the object of a hope or prayer than as a fixed doctrine."³ Isaiah 25:19, however, seems to indicate a certain degree of conviction:⁴

"Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead."

2. Ibid., p. 73.
In the context of the current study, it is observed that

...
With regard to this passage the words of Bewer are worth quoting:

"Yahweh's dead, faithful saints will be raised, their actual bodies will come back, not only their ghosts. Yahweh has a life-giving dew, the dew of lights, which will be dropped down on the grass and revivify the corpses. It is not the resurrection of all that is hoped for here, only the resurrection of Yahweh's dead, perhaps of the martyrs and other saints. At last this hope had come. The brief reference to it here suggests that it was not entirely new among the people for whom the author wrote."¹

As suggested in the above quotation, the resurrection of the righteous only is described. Not until a later date did there arise the belief in a general and universal resurrection.

**Visions**

The Use of the Vision. It is with Ezekiel that the vision assumed a place of primary importance in Jewish literature. To him the vision came as something external, even carrying him from one place to another. It was not a mere incidental device used in certain instances. For Ezekiel the vision became the very authenticating feature. The principal clauses of the first verse of his book are these: "the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God."² These visions of God, and the words of angels in connection with visions, "are the foundation and substance of his message. It is especially significant that his description of the future in chapters 40-48, though largely legal in contents, is in form a vision seen in an ecstatic state and interpreted by an angel. This section is, as Wellhausen remarks, essentially an apocalypse."³

² Ezekiel 1:1.
³ Porter, The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers, p. 35.
Zechariah carries still further Ezekiel's tendency to make visions the important and proper form of religious literature. Throughout Zechariah 1-8 the burden of the contents follows such expressions as, "I lifted up my eyes and saw."\(^1\) In this section are recorded "eight visions in which the pressing problems of his day were solved in a remarkable manner."\(^2\) Ezekiel and Zechariah are thus the two outstanding examples of the development which tended to make visions the accepted and recognized mode of revelation, although "The vision of Obadiah"\(^3\) deserves mention as falling under the same class. The absence of visions from many of the writings of this period point to the fact that the development had not yet reached the stage found in so-called true apocalyptic literature. But at the same time considerable progress is certified by Ezekiel and Zechariah. An attempt to explain this constantly increased use of the vision will be made when it is seen that the vision finally became the sole mode of revelation.\(^4\)

**Prediction**

As has already been seen\(^5\) the prediction of the pre-Exilic prophets was little more than a reading of the signs of the times. From their knowledge of the laws of life and of conduct they were able to predict the future in some general fashion. In the period

---

3. Obadiah 1.
now under consideration, a new element begins to creep into the forecasts of the future. Writers were not content to predict events occasioned by human agencies—events which could be dimly foreseen and anticipated. They began to foretell happenings over which men themselves had no possible control. Consider, for instance, the Day of Yahweh, as described by Ezekiel. (A quotation already made in this regard bears repeating: "The terrors of that day are mentioned again and again: they will be seen in the natural world, darkness and cloud (34:12), storm and tempest (13:2), drought (30:12), and fire (20:47,48 . . .), etc.; further, famine and evil blasts, pestilence and blood, and the sword (5:15-17); and the most terrible of all, the sword of Yahweh (21:3-5), and the cup of destruction from Yahweh (23:31-34). In that day Yahweh will be king, but he will reign in fury (20:33,34)"1 Ezekiel may, indeed, have thought that such a prediction was justified in the face of existing conditions. He may have been thoroughly convinced that Yahweh must inevitably resort to such unnatural means in the accomplishment of His ultimate purposes. But at the same time a new speculative element is clearly introduced. It may at times be possible to predict the outcome of men's actions and motives, but it is far beyond the power of the human intellect (or even "vision") to ascertain, as Ezekiel has done, the exact nature of some future unnatural and divine intervention.

What has been said with regard to the predictions of Ezekiel is equally true of those other writers of the period who dwell with such intensity upon the horrors of the Day of Yahweh and the "messianic woes."¹

In their accounts of the nature and of the blessings of the future kingdom the writers of this period have further exhibited their tendency to involve in their predictions, a new element of guess and speculation. This is to be seen in the new conceptions of a changed and transformed earth. In Ezekiel there is described the flow of healing waters from the temple.² And in II Isaiah unnatural blessings shall be bestowed through the goodness of Yahweh:

"Instead of the long journey up the Euphrates valley and through Aramaean territory, there will be a great causeway straight across the desert itself,³ and Israel shall walk along it, suffering neither from drought nor from human foes. The dry waste shall be full of rivers and wells, and there shall be an abundant supply of water for all who need it.⁴ Physical strength shall be given to the returning exiles, and more than mere physical strength. Should the ground prove impassable, a new power of movement will be bestowed on Israel, and they shall grow wings which enable them to vie with the flight of the loftiest birds, the very vultures themselves."⁵

Many other indications of the new elements in prediction might be noted, but the above suffice to indicate the trend of Jewish thought towards greater speculation. An explanation of this tendency will be attempted when it has reached its climax in genuine apocalyptic literature.⁶

1. Joel, Isaiah 34-27, etc.; see pages 49-50.
2. Ezekiel 47. 3. Isaiah 40:3-4.
4. Isaiah 41:18, etc.
5. Robinson, Prophecy and the Prophets, p. 165.
In particular, I want you to focus on the following key points:

1. The importance of feedback in the learning process.
2. The role of technology in modern education.
3. The impact of personalized learning on student outcomes.

Additionally, I want to highlight the need for continuous improvement in our teaching methods.
An increased use of symbolism and imagery is to be observed during the years of the Exile and those immediately following. Although these literary devices do not yet attain to the position of importance and significance reached in later years, nevertheless a certain definite, though gradual, development may be distinguished. As in other aspects of apocalyptic tendencies, Ezekiel deserves particular mention in this connection. The opening chapter of his book is full of elaborate and fantastic imagery. Along with this is the report of his symbolic action, occasioned by the prohibition of speech. Thus he pictures a siege on a tile (4:1-3), lies for a considerable length of time on his side, eating only a small amount of food (4:9-17), and shaving his head (5:1-4), all to typify the suffering undergone by Jerusalem during the siege. He likewise describes various things by the use of symbolic parables and allegory. Thus there is the story of the vine-tree (15), the abandoned infant (16), the two eagles and the vine (17), the lion’s whelps (19), the two harlots (23), the flourishing tree (31), the shepherds and their flock (34).

This use of symbolism on the part of Ezekiel is sometimes attributed to Babylonian influences and examples. Gray, for instance, writes that "as a resident in Babylonia he (Ezekiel) was open to the influence of Babylonian ideas, literature, and symbolism, and as chapter 1, for example, shows, he was not impervious to it."\(^1\)

The use of symbolism is continued by Zechariah, who introduces into his writing numerous symbols employed extensively by later apocalypists. He finds a place for the four horses (1:8-17), for horns (1:18-21), for measurements (2:1-2), for the golden candlestick (4), for chariots (6:1-3), and for various other figures which, in apocalyptic literature, are accepted as conventional.

PSEUDONYMITY

The Contribution of Anonymous Prophecy. Before the time of the Exile prophecy was first spoken, and later recorded, either by the prophets themselves or by scribes. The prophetic personality of the men was itself sufficient authority for the acceptance of their messages. After the Exile, however, a greater authority was sought. As already suggested, in connection with the use of the vision,¹ the authority of God Himself became the final and ultimate authentication. This was true because, in most instances, the prophecies of the period were first written, and then spoken,—if spoken at all. The personal element was not allowed to creep in. Due to the situations in which the religious leaders were placed they were not able to deliver their messages by word of mouth as had the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries. Ezekiel, for instance, was forbidden, for a time, to speak at all among the exiles.² Hence it was that the personal element gradually lost its foothold among those who felt themselves called of God.

¹. Page 57.
The decline of the personal element inevitably tended to conceal the individuality of writers and authors. So complete did this become that post-Exilic prophecy was largely anonymous. "From the period of the Exile on only four prophecies, those of Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Joel, bear the names of those who uttered them."¹ And all of these are not, in their entirety, the works of the men whose names they bear. The following are considered to be the interpolations of an anonymous nature: Ezekiel 2:8; 33-39; Joel 3:9-17; Zechariah 9-14.² Besides these there are other examples of great post-Exilic anonymous literature: Isaiah 13-14; 24-27; 33; 34-35; especially 40-66. Job and Ecclesiastes may likewise be mentioned.³ It is noteworthy that the Hebrew writer was almost wholly lacking in pride of authorship, and utterly devoid of jealousy as to his literary rights. Desire for personal fame was entirely submerged by desire to serve God and to preserve the well-being of the nation. This fact, in large part, was responsible for the absence of the author's name.

Anonymous literature of the kind just discussed stands as the monument marking the transition from spoken prophecy to pseudonymous apocalyptic literature. Some of the oracles which were originally anonymous were later assigned to the various known prophets.⁴ And when this had been done by the scribes it was not difficult for later authors to go one step farther and, instead of leaving their compositions to be classified by scribes or editors, to affix, themselves, the name of some early and prominent figure.

---

1. Kent, The Growth and Contents of the O. T., p. 120.
Chapter IV

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

DURING THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

The Historical Background

At the beginning of the second century B.C. the sufferings of the Jewish people continued. The hardship which befell them became more extreme as the years elapsed. They were prey both for the Egyptian armies and those of the Seleucids. "Josephus compares their lot to that of a ship tossed by the waves on both sides."\(^1\)

Palestine now belonged to the Seleucids, descended from one of Alexander's generals.

In 163 B.C. the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) determined to break the narrow nationalism and group spirit of the Jews, and to make them an integral part of the kingdom. In order to do this he declared it a penal offence to continue the practice of Jewish religious rites. To the Jews Antiochus appeared only as a "persecuting tyrant and monster of iniquity; and though other features of his character are alluded to (Daniel 8:23; 11:21-30, 39), it is this aspect of it which is chiefly delineated in the Book of Daniel (7:8, 21, 25: 8:9-12, 23-25; 9:26,27; 11:28, 30b-38; 12: 7b,11)."\(^2\)

---
The policy of Antiochus toward the Jews was not, at least, originally, due to any particular hostility towards their religion; it was simply a part of his plan to unify the various peoples of his empire by bringing them all under the influence of Hellenic civilization. "His reign, his political role, and even the types of his coins, cannot be properly understood, unless account is taken of the fact that this prince was profoundly Hellenized, and that he exerted himself, without intermission and without scruple, to transplant Hellenic culture into Syria."  

In 163 B.C. Antiochus adopted active measures to secure the religious unification of his kingdom. He imported heathen practices, rites, and customs. He set up in the temple enclosure an altar to Zeus Olympics. At this altar, and at others of a similar nature scattered throughout the country places of Judah, the Jews were forced to sacrifice, and to eat food held by them to be ceremonially "unclean." The climax was reached when, on December 25, 168 B.C., at the altar in the temple at Jerusalem, Antiochus caused a sow to be sacrificed, thus desecrating a spot most sacred to the heart of every Jew. On the same day the Books of the Law were burnt, and women who had caused their children to be circumcised were put to death.

In the face of such treatment it was inevitable that a people so firmly imbued with their religion as were the Jews should revolt. A national party, now generally known as the "godly" or the Chasidim, ...
The text on this page is not legible due to the quality of the image.
rallied around one Mattathias and his five sons, and prepared for organized resistance. Under the leadership of the Maccabees success began to attend the efforts of the Jews, and at their hands the armies of Antiochus began to suffer. As a result of their successes the Jews by 165 B.C. were again in a position to establish their sanctuary, and on that date, exactly three years after its desecration at the hand of Antiochus, the temple was rededicated.

From that time onward the religious liberty of the Jews was assured. Henceforth the struggle became one merely for civil independence. But although certain successes were attained, dark and somber clouds continually loomed upon the horizon. From the west new threats and rumblings were to be heard. In the century which followed, the Jews were forced to bow before other conquering powers. In the meanwhile, however, during the remainder of the century, internal discontent increased, and at times developed into bloody civil warfare. As a result, the Jewish nation was scarcely at any time without its difficulties and trials, be they the results of external or internal forces.

The Writings of this Century as an Outgrowth of the

Historical Background

It was out of this situation that the literature of the century grew. It is not surprising that the early years of this period should do much to promote a type of writing which should be narrowly nationalistic, and aim at a philosophy of history which should lead inevitably to the vindication of Israel and of her God. How various
conceptions developed along nationalistic lines, and how the hope of ultimate triumph pervaded Jewish thought more thoroughly than ever before, will be observed more specifically in the following pages. But it is well to note, in a general way, the trend given to literature and to thought.

As in the previous period, there were, in the second century B.C., the same forces which led towards expressions of protest, hope, and encouragement. During the years now under consideration the same tendencies were under the process of development, and the literature of the period is merely a continuation of the sort of literary activity beginning in earlier times. Whereas, during Exilic and post-Exilic years, apocalyptic literature received its directing influences, by the second century B.C. more fully developed aspects are to be noted. In a sense, the apocalyptic literature of the second century differs from that of earlier times quantitatively rather than qualitatively. It is true that certain elements of a transcendental nature appear to produce a certain difference of kind. But at the same time such differences as do appear are but the inevitable developments of earlier conceptions. Hence the claim that the first appearance of apocalyptic literature is to be found in the second century B.C. must not stand without qualification. Apocalyptic literature began at this time only as the historical situation led to the elevating of earlier conceptions to a more lofty and even transcendental plane.

1. See pages 33-40.
The Influence of a Deterministic Philosophy. In order to reconcile themselves, in some degree, to the unhappy and unsatisfactory conditions amid which they found themselves, the Jews appear to have adopted, along with their aspirations for the future, a certain deterministic philosophy of history. They utterly refused to relinquish their faith in their God. Instead of their faith being weakened because of contemporary adverse events it continually mounted higher and higher. Rather than reject all their previous beliefs and ideas they were willing to throw themselves whole-heartedly upon the justice and ultimate triumph of their God. In order to make this possible there came the thought that present evils were but part of "an all-including and determined plan of God."\(^1\) From the beginning of Time Yahweh had predestined the complete course of earthly events. \(^4\) It required but the lapse of time, then, for the purposes of God to be realized. "The end shall be at the time appointed."\(^2\)

Since, therefore, there existed the thought that future events were to be but the unfolding of a fixed scheme of things, men began, as never before, to attempt to discover the exact nature of the experiences that were in store for them. And, since writers were revealing a definite outline of history, new faith was placed in the descriptions of the divine plan.

Unfulfilled Prophecy. In the previous chapter\(^3\) it was pointed out that attempts to explain and reinterpret unfulfilled prophecy may be said to account, in part, for the increased interest in the apoc-

---

3. Pages 40-41.
lyptical writings. Much the same may be said of the period of history now under consideration. Just as Ezekiel attempted to delay the realization of the hopes of earlier prophets, the author of the book of Daniel seized upon the prediction of Jeremiah (25:11-29:10), and attempted to interpret it in the light of intervening history.¹

The Decline of Prophecy. One of the important factors in the development was the decline of prophecy. Particular results of this loss of the prophetic element among the Israelites will be noted elsewhere, as its effects upon the various aspects of apocalyptic literature are considered. *It is well at this point, however, to mention the more general tendencies in this connection.*

From the time of the Exile onward, the political and religious situation in which the Jews were placed made prophecy, in the older sense of the term, impossible. The personal element in prophetic utterance was undergoing a process of suppression. As pointed out in the previous chapter,² it was sometimes impossible, as in the case of Ezekiel, for the prophet to preach to those with whom he lived. It was necessary, therefore, that men resort chiefly to writing as the vehicle for their messages. And in thus depending upon the written form of speech it was inevitable that certain characteristics should thereto attach themselves. The question of authority led to the adoption of such devices as visions, and pseudonymity, and symbolism. And as the personal factor gradually became eliminated it is not surprising that men should turn their glances to a higher Being, a Being far removed from the evil associations of this world, and

¹. Daniel 9; Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the O. T., 494-96
². Page 61.
should attempt to discover the secrets of the divine plan as it had long been determined.

Second Century Apocalyptic Literature

The Book of Daniel. The book of Daniel is probably the most widely known example of fully developed apocalyptic literature. Familiarity with it is due to its canonicity. By some this book is considered to be the earliest example of complete and fully developed Jewish apocalyptic, but its unity has sometimes been questioned, and parts of the book of Enoch are now recognized as being, in date, anterior to it. (See below.) Hence it cannot be said to employ a type of distinct, unitary, and fully developed literature any more truly than did certain writings of the previous period. Nevertheless, the book of Daniel does stand out as a writing which did indeed give great impetus to the apocalyptic movement, and did much to establish in the Jewish mind the conceptions typical of apocalyptic literature. The steps taken by its author in advance of previous conceptions will be noted as the various aspects are separately considered.

The Book of Enoch. That the book of Enoch is a compilation of writings coming from the hands of several authors and from the years of different periods of history is now generally admitted. Two divisions of this book clearly belong to the second century B.C. The first of these, consisting, in general, of chapters 1-36, dates to the early part of the century, probably before 170 B.C. A second

2. See Kent, The Growth and Contents of the O. T., p. 130.
had to make an observation to determine the properties of some kinds of

---------------------------

Each eye's dependence is limited to the area.

---------------------------

It is not clear what kind of measurement was performed. In general, one would expect more precise data to be obtained. By some means, however, the measurements were made.

---------------------------

In the absence of adequate data, one would expect to see more variance in the results.

---------------------------

I have been quoted as saying that the variance in the results is due to some other factor.

---------------------------

I would like to point out that the variance in the results is due to the factor mentioned above.

---------------------------

In conclusion, the variance in the results is due to the factor mentioned above.
division, sometimes called the "Dream Visions", and consisting of
chapters 83-90, springs from the years between 166 and 161 B. C.
A third division, chapters 91-104, dates to the latter part of this
century, and the beginning of the next.

In many respects Enoch is the most important of all apocalypses,
since it far surpasses all others in its presentation of the history
of doctrinal development during the second century B. C. It stands
with Daniel as an outstanding contribution of this period. It became
of such significance that, as Kent has said, "In later Jewish thought,
Enoch became the father of apocalyptic, as did Moses of the legal
literature." 2

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. This collection of
"testaments" dates from the closing years of the second century, more
particularly to the prosperous reign of John Hyrcanus, nephew to Judas
Maccabaeus, about 109-106 B. C. 3 Although it can scarcely be reckoned
as belonging to apocalyptic literature proper, the testaments of Levi
and Naphtali contain distinct apocalyptic elements.

The Book of Jubilees. Although not strictly apocalyptic, the
book of "Jubilees contains certain elements which place it in the list
of second century apocalyptic literature. Dating as it does from the
closing years of the second century it reveals certain noteworthy con-
ceptions and ideas of an eschatological nature. 4

1. As to these dates consult Charles, The Book of Enoch, p. 24-33,
2. Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 231.
3. Consult Charles, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, p. xcvii;
Oesterley, Books of the Apocrypha, p. 212.
4. For the date consult Oesterley, The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 216,
and Charles, Eschatology, p. 235.
The Sibylline Oracles. The Sibylline Oracles consist of fourteen books, twelve of which are extant. Frequently these are omitted in consideration of Jewish apocalyptic literature. The Proaemeum and books 3-5, however, are apocalyptic, and, in the main, Jewish. Hence brief mention is made, particularly of the Proaemeum and book 3 (97-318), which belong to the middle of the second century B.C. 1

ESCHATOLOGY

Reasons for A More Advanced Eschatology. By the beginning of the second century B.C. the time was ripe for the new developments to take place in the eschatological expectations of the Jewish people. In the previous chapters it has been seen how the continuous unhappy and deplorable conditions of the Israelites led to an ever increasing interest in the future as a time when Yahweh and those chosen of Him should realize complete and final vindication. With the appearance of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his severe hostile measures, the Jews longed, as never before, for the speedy advent of that Day so long foretold. The situation had reached the extreme limit of endurance. Yahweh Himself was now becoming the object of heathen hostility. Surely the conditions could not become worse.

In the face of these facts it is not surprising that an unprecedented interest should be taken in eschatological conceptions. Since human endurance was now tried even to the breaking point, and since all conditions, both political and religious, had reached what 1. Consult Charles, Eschatology, p. 207.
seemed to be the lowest possible extremities, the bright and glorious future so long predicted must, indeed, needs be imminent. As never before, therefore, imagination with regard to the nature of this new era, soared to more lofty heights. The one joy to which the Jews might resign themselves was the picturing, in their minds' eye, of the early downfall of their enemies, and their own glorification.

In portraying their hopes of the future the writers of the second century B.C. were not without a wide field of material from which to draw. The previous chapters give evidence of the steps already taken in this direction. Hence, with material already tending towards the transcendental and supramundane, and with unprecedented reasons for the acceptance of supernatural aspects of thought, it is to be expected that a stage of apocalyptic eschatology hitherto unknown should be realized.

In spite of the more advanced eschatological developments which occur at this time, it must not be thought that the newer conceptions form a single and unified departure from previous ideas. Such is not the case. As stated early in this discussion,¹ the limits of apocalyptic literature are not as fixed and well-defined as has sometimes been supposed, and although this period is usually designated as that during which apocalyptic sprang into being as a distinct branch of literature, nevertheless, as shall be observed, the ideas found in the writings of this period are exceedingly varied. While some of them do, indeed, mark advances over former representations, others retain conceptions similar to those of a considerably

¹. Page 10, 17.
earlier date.

Nature of the Messianic Kingdom. During the second century B. C. the various representations of the future Messianic kingdom differ in great degree. Some agree almost entirely with the pictures portrayed by earlier authors, while others elevate the kingdom to a position of a distinctly other-worldly character. In fact the second century may be said to represent the most rapid advance yet made towards a completely spiritual and transcendental view of the Messianic kingdom.

In Daniel and in Enoch 1-36,—the earliest apocalypses of the period,—the representations of the Messianic kingdom differ only slightly, in certain aspects, from those of earlier writers. Both of these writings picture the present earth as the scene of this kingdom, just as did the Exilic and early post-Exilic literature. As Driver has written, speaking particularly of the book of Daniel: "This representation of the future kingdom of God, though it differs in details, and displays traits marking the later age to which it belongs, is, in all essential features, the same as that which is found repeatedly in the earlier prophets." Much the same thing may be said of Enoch 1-36. Here the center of the kingdom is thought to be Jerusalem (25:5), and it is there that God abides with men (25:3). The earth remains unchanged though purified and "purged from all violence and sin."  

1. See pages 41-43.  
But although the pictures of the Messianic kingdom as found in Daniel and Enoch 1-36 correspond, in the main, with those of the earlier prophets, nevertheless it is true that certain evidences of transition are to be found in these writings; and there appears the tendency to take these pictures not too literally, but to lift the hoped-for age above the conditions of the present world.¹ These evidences of transition, however, may be noted more particularly in connection with other phases of the eschatological hope.²

But although in Daniel and Enoch 1-36 the scene of the Messianic kingdom is to be the present earth, a new note is struck in Enoch 83-90. Here, for the first time, there is recorded the growing consciousness that the evils and imperfections of this world make it a place unfit for the glories of the future. Consequently a dualism results, and the present earth is brought in sharp contrast with that which is to come. The writer of Enoch 83-90 realizes that the earth, no matter how perfectly purified and purged, is no proper site for the eternal kingdom. If the kingdom is indeed to be eternal, and if God is to be present with man, then, as Charles has put it, "His habitation and that of the blessed must be built not of things earthly and corruptible, but of things heavenly and incorruptible."³ Hence, this apocalypse advocates a heavenly Jerusalem, and not an earthly, as the center of the kingdom.

The importance of this dualistic conception, as it thus appears for the first time, cannot be over-emphasized. Henceforth "two clearly contrasted conceptions take their place in religious thought---

2. See page 80-83.
the present, and the coming world."¹ The earlier expectation of an earthly Messianic kingdom is by no means superseded or displaced; traces of it are to re-occur at various intervals. But at the same time, in the later centuries, "influences already spoken of—such as the loss of political independence, a clearer conception of the nature of God and the universality of his sway, the growing sense of the worth of the individual, contact with the beliefs of other peoples—widened the horizon; an outlook was attained beyond the local, temporal, earthly, and expectation became more spiritualized, more transcendental."²

In all of these cases, the kingdom, whether thought of as in the present earth or on a "renewed" earth, was considered as being of endless duration.³

A somewhat different Messianic conception appears toward the close of the second century in the book of Jubilees. Here, it is true, a "renewed" heaven and earth is to make its advent, but the new state of things does not possess the spiritual and transcendental characteristics in the same degree as does the picture in Enoch 83-90. Nor is it inaugurated in the same instantaneous and catastrophic manner as is the latter.⁴ In the book of Jubilees the renewal of heaven and earth is brought about gradually by a progressive spiritual development in man, and a corresponding transformation of nature.⁵ To a certain extent this representation appears to be

². Ibid., p. 84.
³. As in Daniel 7:14.
⁴. For further discussion on this point see page 83.
a sort of compound of the conception of Daniel, and of Enoch 1-36, and that of Enoch 83-90.

The Blessings of the Kingdom. In earlier years, as has been observed, the Messianic kingdom was expected to hold, for those who were to enjoy its presence, the most ideal individual and national blessings. Men should partake of perfect enjoyment, and the nation should bask in absolute and uninterrupted glory and supremacy. Much the same teaching is to be found in Enoch 1-36. The righteous are expected to live as long as the ancient patriarchs, and beget 1000 children, having unnumbered material blessings. Charles suggests that "it is not improbable that all the authorities of this period held similar sensuous conceptions of the Messianic time; for after all these were derived from the Old Testament, the ideal of which was a life of perfect righteousness combined with perfect physical enjoyment."¹

It is not possible to tell precisely the advance beyond this conception which is made by the authors of Daniel and of Enoch 83-90. In view of the transcendental characteristics in the nature of the kingdom, as it is represented by them (by the latter particularly),² it appears probable that the anticipated blessings should assume more spiritual qualities. When the new age is established "it will be not so much a restoration of the ancient regal glory of Israel as the institution of a new heavenly regime upon earth."³ In any case the new kingdom should constitute a state of everlasting blessedness in a "glorious land," (Enoch 89:40; Daniel 11:16,41).

¹. Charles, Religious Development between the O. and N. T.'s, p. 54; see also Charles, The Book of Enoch, p. 26.
². See page 75.
23% - Vi
In the book of Jubilees much the same conception is presented. During the continuance of the kingdom the powers of evil are to be restrained (23:29), and its members are to enjoy complete happiness and peace. The chief difference here lies in the idea of a kingdom of temporary duration, at the close of which is to occur the final judgment (23:30).  

The Comprehensiveness of the Kingdom. With regard to the inclusiveness of the Messianic kingdom, the general view, during the second century B.C., was that of the larger-hearted prophets of earlier times. The book of Jubilees is the only example of the narrow Jewish Particularism found among the members of the school which followed Ezekiel. In Jubilees all the Gentiles are excluded. The author taught that the Gentiles were doomed to certain destruction (15:31). Even the Jew who intermarried with them, or who gave his daughter to a Gentile in marriage, should be put to death (30:7-17).

According to Enoch 10:21, all the Gentiles are expected to become righteous, and worship Yahweh. Only those hostile to God should be destroyed. Those who were converted should serve Israel, and, together with the righteous Jews, should enjoy the blessings of the new day.

Perhaps the most liberal teaching with regard to Gentile participation in the Messianic kingdom is to be found in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. Its author, as "a true son of the larger-

1. See pages 79, 83.
2. See page 44.
3. See also Daniel 2:44; 7:11,12; Enoch 90:9-16,18.
hearted Old Testament prophets, ... proclaims the salvation of
the Gentiles.¹ Through Israel shall all the Gentiles be saved.

The Time of the Inauguration of the Kingdom. As did the pro-
phets of earlier times,² the apocalyptic writers of the second cen-
tury foreshortened the future. The author of Daniel 7:12 expected the
new era to begin immediately after the fall of Antiochus ⁴Epiphanes.
"Just three and a half years from the time that Antiochus desecrated
the temple in 168 B. C. the end of the present world is to come and
the new ideal order is to be established."³ Like earlier prophets
he expected too soon the ideal consummation of history. Similarly,
the author of Enoch 83-90 "anticipates ... the speedy establish-
ment of the Messianic Kingdom."⁴

A new view makes its appearance in the book of Jubilees and
in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. The authors of these
writings believed that the promised time had come, that the kingdom
had already been established. Such an expectation was frequently
held during the prosperous days of the Maccabees, and was entirely
in harmony with the teaching of Jubilees (already mentioned) that
the inauguration of the kingdom was to take place gradually.⁵

The Messianic Kingdom As An Interregnum. Although the idea
of a temporary Messianic kingdom has not yet reached the point where
it deserves detailed consideration, a suggestion of such a conception
appears, during the second century B. C., in the book of Jubilees.

Being inaugurated, as taught by the author of this book, by a gradual

2. Pages 22-45.
transformation, or "renewal", of the heaven and the earth, the kingdom holds no place for "the day of the great judgment" (23:11) except at its close. The kingdom, therefore, is only of temporary duration, and its members are to attain the limit of one thousand years in happiness and peace (23:27). Aside from this single teaching of the temporariness of the Messianic kingdom, the second century B.C. is entirely lacking in further development along this line of thought. It is not until later that such a view is needed to reconcile the various aspects of Jewish eschatological expectation.¹

The Day of Yahweh. During the second century B.C. there was a considerable variety of opinion concerning the Day of Judgment, which was to inaugurate the Messianic kingdom. Different authors of the period predict, for that day, events of a greatly diversified nature. This is not surprising, however, in view of the wide variety of conceptions regarding the new era which the Day of Yahweh was to usher in.

The most striking element which this period contributed to the expected Day of Judgment is that which corresponds to the new spiritual and transcendental aspects of the future kingdom. As has been seen, there arose a dualism between "this world" and the "world to come." And as supernatural aspects entered into the representation, there was recognized a need for means other than human in the bringing about of the necessary transformation. In earlier writings, it is true, certain divine elements were allowed to creep into the teaching upon this subject, but it was not until the second century that the involved implications were fully recognized. At this time

¹ See page 119.
there appeared the view that the final crisis would be sudden and unmediated. There would be catastrophic intervention by Yahweh himself. Yahweh would visit the earth in wrath and fury, venting his awful rage and vengeance upon the evil, and preparing, for the righteous, the new abode on a transformed earth. All the forces of nature would be summoned, for the terrible day; and unearthly sights would greet the eyes of men:

"When swords upon the star-lit heavens
Appear at even and at morn,
Then will the whirlwind come from heaven
Upon the earth; the sun above
At mid-day e'en will cease to shine,
The moon instead will give her light,
And come again upon the earth.
One sign will be that drops of blood
Will flow down from the very rocks;
And in the clouds shall ye behold
A conflict fought twixt warriors fierce,
Likewise a chase among wild beasts,—
All seemingly in hazy mist.
Then shall the Lord Who dwells in heaven
Bring all things to their final end."\(^1\)

In the book of Daniel the scene of Judgment is likewise attended by elements not of this world (especially 7:9-14).

"Thrones are set and the Ancient of days with attending hosts sits in judgment; before Him are gathered the spirits of other orders, men of all kindreds and tongues, the dead raised again, to receive their reward."\(^2\)

There are suggestions of sudden and catastrophic intervention in Enoch 33-90, but here the Day of Judgment is preceded by warlike efforts on the part of the Chasids under Judas the Maccabee.

Of great importance, in these pictures of intervention and

catastrophe, is the insistence upon universality of judgment. A definite and all-inclusive world outlook has now appeared. In Ezekiel, for instance, the divine judgment is on the enemies of Israel, but "it is all piecemeal and detached. In Daniel, on the other hand, there is a philosophy of universal history." As Bevan writes: "The great Gentile kingdoms like the Greek supremacy of the Seleucids and Ptolemites which seemed so overwhelming and terrible, are shown as phases in a world process whose end is the kingdom of God." Although Daniel, like the other apocalyptists is intensely patriotic, nevertheless there is, in the book, something of a cosmopolitan outlook on the world.

The above statements represent the general trend of thought to be found particularly in Enoch and in Daniel. Within these books certain differing suggestions are to be found, but at best they are rather uncertain, and require no further discussion. One notable view of the second century, however, and one which requires special mention, is that to be found in the book of Jubilees. There a gradual advent of the Messianic kingdom is taught. This is to be brought about as "a gradual renewal of creation, introduced pari passu with the spiritual transformation of man." Men themselves shall be responsible for the bringing in of the kingdom as they "shall begin to study the laws, and to seek the commandments, and to return to the path of righteousness." 

2. Jerusalem under the High Priests; Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, p. 7. 
3. Charles, Religious Development between the O. and N. T.'s, p. 54. 
Since, in the book of Jubilees, there is taught a temporary Messianic kingdom, and a gradual inauguration of the same, it follows that there should be a change in the idea that final judgment would precede its establishment. In the other writings (Daniel, Enoch, etc.), it is generally understood that judgment shall accompany Yahweh's visitation upon the earth. But in the book of Jubilees the "day of great judgment" (23:2) seems to be postponed until the close of the Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic Woes In the writings of the previous period there was noted the expectation that preceding the final Day of Yahweh there should occur an interval of severe tribulation and calamity. As the dualism of the second century B.C. increased, it became customary to exaggerate the evil state of the present world just as it became customary to elaborate upon the blessed and divine state of the future world. Thus the author of Daniel, in seeking to re-interpret the prophecies of Jeremiah, lays considerable emphasis upon the evil which must precede the coming of the kingdom. The author of Enoch 33-90 likewise suggests that, preceding (in this case) both the human and divine efforts at transformation, oppression shall be at its worst (90:6). In the book of Jubilees the representations of evil preceding the establishment of the kingdom assume new proportions. There is a detailed account of the Messianic woes:

"For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil

1. See page 76, 79.
2. See page 49.
"judgments such as these one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever and chills, and torpor and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity and all kinds of calamities and pains: ... and there shall be no seed of the vine, and no oil, ... and they shall all perish together, beasts and cattle, and birds, and all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men. And they shall strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant. ... And a great punishment shall befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He shall give them over to the sword, and to judgment, and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured."1

The righteous of Israel are not to be exempt from the Messianic woes:

"And he shall wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who will respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men. And they shall use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob, and much blood shall be shed upon the earth, and there shall be none to gather it and none to bury. In those days they shall cry aloud and call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinful Gentiles; but none shall be saved."2

The Messiah. It has been mentioned in the previous chapter that, after the authors of Haggai and Zechariah had been disappointed in the hopes they had placed in Zerubbabel as the Messianic deliverer of Israel, the Messiah disappeared, for a time, from Jewish literature. 3

Even during the second century B. C. slight attention is given to such a figure, and in the writings where reference is made to a Messiah little significance is usually attached to him. And in some instances there is considerable disagreement and uncertainty among Bible critics as to whether certain passages refer to a Messiah or merely symbolize something else.

1. Jubilees, 23:13,18,19a,22.
3. See pages 51-52.
In Enoch 1-36 there is the complete absence of a Messiah. It is Yahweh himself who appears upon the purified and purged earth to abide with his people.

The book of Daniel presents a difficulty in this connection. Reference is made (7:13) to "one like the Son of Man" coming "with the clouds of heaven." The question as to what this expression denotes has been much disputed. As Driver admits, "the current interpretation has, no doubt, been that it denotes the Messiah." ¹ Kent would seem to infer this interpretation. Stating that the former Davidic Messiah did not satisfy the Jews, he adds that there consequently arose the belief in an angelic Messiah, not a man, "but one like a son of man, who should come on the clouds and gather together the martyrs who had died and the faithful still living and thus establish the kingdom of the righteous on the earth." ² This angelic Messiah is identified with the angel Michael.

But in spite of any evidence there may be for the above interpretation, there are strong, and apparently more conclusive, reasons for holding that the expression in Daniel 7:13 denotes, not the Messiah, but rather the "glorified and ideal people of Israel." ³ Hence, as in Enoch 1-36, "there is really no Messiah at all in Daniel, but only God and the angels working together to bring about the redemption of the afflicted people." ⁴

In Enoch 83-90 a bare allusion to a Messiah is to be found (90:37). Here, however, he is given no part in the founding of the Messianic kingdom. Only after the establishment of the New Jerusalem by God himself does the Messiah appear. And "his introduction seems due merely to literary reminiscence."¹ As Charles remarks: "This is the earliest reference to the Messiah in non-canonical literature. But he has not yet vindicated for himself a real place in the Apocalyptic doctrine of the last things."²

The author of the book of Jubilees, although an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty, still clung to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. The sole reference to such a figure (31:18), however, assigns to him no role of importance. At the same time, it is interesting to observe that "if we are right in regarding (in Jubilees) the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration,³ this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom."⁴

Thus it seems that for the most part the expectation of a Messiah sprung from Judah was all but abandoned during the second century B. C. Four possible reasons for this fact present themselves. In the first place, as has previously been stated,⁵ the disappointment of the hope at the time of Haggai and Zechariah caused the people of Israel to lose faith in the power of human agencies to establish the new era. So frequently had earlier prophecies remained...
unfulfilled that hope in that type of relief was dispensed with as vain and unlikely to be realized.\(^1\) The increasing darkness of political and religious situation, especially during the early part of this century, added to the pessimism with regard to vindication through individual human efforts.

A second reason for the disappearance of a Messiah during these years is that, whenever human efforts are valued (as in the book of Daniel), "the human agent that is to be God's representative in the future age is Israel. The one like a man who receives the Kingdom from God and reigns forever is an angel, not a man; and he is the representative of the people of the saints of the Most High."\(^2\)

A third reason is to be found in the supernatural and transcendental character of the eschatological hope, as it develops during this century. Yahweh himself is required to produce the change from "this world" to "the world to come." Human agencies are inadequate to inaugurate a kingdom which is gradually assuming spiritual and other-worldly characteristics.\(^3\)

A fourth reason for the abandonment of the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah is to be seen in the form of another hope which seemed to supplant it.\(^4\) This newer hope receives its most extended presentation in the Testament of the XII Patriarchs. Here a Messiah, not from Judah, but from Levi is proclaimed. This fact is due to the descent of the Maccabean family from Levi, and the introduction of the suggestion is not difficult to understand. All that was

1. See pages 40-41 and 83.
3. See pages 74-77.
4. On the other hand, it may be said that the rise and growth of the newer hope was made possible by the more or less complete absence of the former from contemporary thought.
noble and fine during this period was connected in some way, either directly or indirectly, with this illustrious family. Hence it is not surprising that there should appear the thought that the kingdom would be introduced by the Maccabees, and that even the Messiah should come from among their number.

The great liberator of God's chosen people who should thus spring forth from the seed of Levi was thought of in the most lofty terms, and the most noble of achievements were expected to be accomplished by him:

"He was to be free from sin (T. Jud. 24:1); to walk in meekness [quietness] (T. Jud. 24:1); to establish a new priesthood under a new name (T. Lev. 8:14), and also be a mediator for the Gentiles (T. Lev. 18:14, emended); likewise he was to be a prophet of the Most High (T. Lev. 8:15); to be a king over all the nation (T. Reub. 6:11, 12; T. Lev. 8:14); to war against Israel's national enemies and against Beliar and the powers of wickedness (T. Reub. 6:12; T. Lev. 18:12; T. Dan. 5:10), and deliver the captives taken by him, even the souls of the saints (T. Dan. 5:11); to open Paradise to the righteous (T. Lev. 18:10; T. Dan. 5:12); and give the saints to eat of the tree of life (T. Lev. 18:11). Moreover, he should give the faithful power to tread upon evil spirits and bind Beliar (18:12), who should be cast into the fire (T. Jud. 25:3), and sin should come to an end (T. Lev. 18:9)."

It is not possible to determine with complete accuracy which of the princes of the Maccabees came to be regarded as the deliverer of Israel. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm 110, or the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18."1

---
3. As to the date of Psalm 110 see Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the O. T., p. 38-389, and Charles, Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments, p. 76-79.
Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus, in 135 B. C., "and this great prince seemed to his countryment to realize the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler, . . . while, according to the Test. Reuben 6, he was to 'die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen.' In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office . . . "1

The hope of a Messiah descended from Levi continued to prevail for some thirty or forty years. It was abandoned, however, with the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees.2

Brief attention should be called to the fact that it is in the description of the Levitical Messiah as set forth in Psalm 110 that the attribute of priesthood, as applied to the Messiah, is first clearly attested. In this psalm the titles of priest and king are joined in Simon, whose priesthood was recognized by the entire nation.3

The Eschatology of the Individual. As previously noted,4 the relative importance and value of the individual as a religious unit was, by the early part of the second century B. C., beginning to be somewhat recognized. Writers began to teach not only that Israel and her God should ultimately triumph, but also that the individual who lived the righteous life and obeyed the dictates of Yahweh should be allowed to participate in a future far finer and infinitely more blessed than should he who departed from the ways of his God.

It was seen that the national hope and that of the individual were

3. Charles, Religious Development between the O. and N. T.'s, p. 79.
4. Pages 53-54.
but different sides of a single truth. Thus it is that in the writings of this period there appears the teaching that "the blessed future of the righteous individual and of the righteous nation will be realized and consummated together."  

It is claimed that in this synthesis of the two eschatologies—individual and national—the influence of Hellenistic thought is to be seen. This is especially marked in the second century portions of the book of Enoch, where there is stressed, particularly, the importance of the righteous as individuals, the elect, the "plant of righteousness" (10:16; 84:6). Here it is stated that the redemption of the world is to be accomplished through the efforts of righteous and elect individuals. This thought, says Friedlander, "did not emanate from Pharisaic soil, but was a product of Jewish Hellenism." Some degree of dependence upon Hellenistic influence cannot be denied. At the same time, however, the uniqueness of the Jewish conception must not be forgotten. This particularly is to be seen in the presence of the national element as it was joined with the individualistic element, both during the second century B.C., and again later, as they "once more coalesce in the final and complete synthesis which they receive in the New Testament." "And herein, as throughout this evolution of religion, we can trace the finger of God, for it was no accident that his servants were unable to anticipate any future blessedness save such as they shared in common with their brethren. The self-centredness, may the

selfishness, that marked the Greek doctrine of immortality is conspicuous by its absence in the religious forecasts of the faithful in Israel."¹

For the most part this synthesis of individual and national eschatology continued to be maintained throughout the second century B.C. The future life of the individual was expected to be realized within the bounds of the national Messianic kingdom. But in the book of Jubilees, there is to be seen an indication of a return to the separate development of the original factors. This is due to the author's postponement of final judgment until the close of the Messianic kingdom.² Since the national hope thus dealt with times preceding the judgment, while the hope of the individual had to do primarily with post-judgment times, the two expectations necessarily tended again to follow separate channels. This resolution of the eschatological hope into its two original elements will be considered more thoroughly when the process has become more pronounced than during the century here considered.

The Doctrine of the Resurrection. During the second century B.C. the doctrine of a resurrection was beginning to make itself felt upon the minds of various men. The idea was beginning to grow and develop rapidly. But that as yet no clear and distinct views were held is evidenced by the wide variety of teaching regarding the matter as it is found in the literature of the period. In Enoch 1-36, probably the earliest of the extant literature of the century, there is taught a resurrection of all the righteous and of some of the wicked. Especially noteworthy is the suggestion (Enoch 22)

2. See page 83.
that in it certain of the wicked—those who had not met with retribution in this life,—were to participate. The resurrection as here expressed, however, did not assume the spiritual conceptions which it later attained. The life to which the soul or spirit arose was one of a finite nature. "It is manifest here that the writer apprehended neither the thought of the immortality of the soul, which was pressing itself on the notice of Judaism from the side of the Greek, nor the doctrine of the resurrection of the righteous to an eternal blessedness which was seeking recognition from the side of Zoroastrianism."4

In Daniel there is a resurrection of all those who are righteous and wicked in pre-eminent degree.

"And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." (Daniel 12:2)

Although Daniel differs from Enoch 1-36 in that the former teaches a resurrection of only a part of the righteous, the two agree in suggesting that some of the wicked be included in it. It is in this latter agreement that a new development is seen. "It is true that not all the dead are raised, but only many of them, the conspicuous saints and the conspicuous sinners. But the inclusion of sinners with saints proves that a new interest has emerged."5

A backward step may be noted in Enoch 83-90. Here all the righteous are to be included in the resurrection, it is true; but none of the wicked are to participate (90:33). A forward step may be observed here also, however. The life into which the righteous are to enter

1. That the two terms were used synonymously during the second century B.C. see Charles, Eschatology, p. 241.
3. Underlining not in the original.
is thought of apparently as unending one, as opposed to the finite conception of Enoch 1-36.

In all of these instances the nationalistic tendency is prominent. "In all cases only Israelites attain to the resurrection."¹ And in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, in spite of the unusually liberal and universalistic teachings which they present,² the resurrection of Israel as a whole is taught (Testament of Benjamin 10:8-10).

In all of the above-mentioned writings where it is taught that the righteous rise, they rise to participate in the Messianic kingdom. In Jubilees there is no resurrection in the temporary Messianic kingdom. Here, however, no real resurrection is taught—only a blessed immortality (23:31).

VISIONS

Apocalyptic Vision As the Sole Method of Revelation. By the second century B. C. the use of the vision as the sole method of revelation had become firmly established. The vision appeared to validate, for people of that age, the messages presented. It bespoke an authority of supernatural character. Through the vision it was God himself who spoke to men and made known his will and purpose to them. In fact the use of the vision as the medium of revelation became so largely a part of literary activity that the truth of a message was doubted, and its authority rejected, unless this device appeared as an integral part of the writing. Whether or not the visions described were the actual experiences of the writers it is not within the scope of this discussion to consider. "The visions described in the apocalypses are beyond doubt in the majority of cases not real visions at all, but literary fictions."³

¹. Chales, Eschatology, p. 245.
². See pages 73-79.
But in any case, whether the visions were historical experiences or were but the products of men's imaginings, the fact remains that the messages composed are represented as being revealed by God through the use of the vision. As Beckwith remarks, "the highly elaborated vision, or similar mode of revelation, is the most distinctive feature in the form of apocalyptic literature."  

In the two books containing the most important of second century apocalyptical writings,—namely Daniel and Enoch,—the use of the vision is at once apparent. In Daniel it is necessary to mention only the vision of the four beasts and that of the ram and the he-goat (7-8). In Enoch 17-36 there occurs an account of the vision or rapture in which the author, passing through the unknown regions of the earth, Hades, and the heavens, unveils the secrets of nature and the final destiny of the righteous and of the wicked. Similarly, Enoch 85-90 contains the vision of the bullock, the sheep, and the seventy shepherds, symbolizing the course of human history to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom.

**Reason for the Increased Use of Visions.** Throughout the previous chapters has been noted the increasing frequency with which the vision has been used as a medium of revelation.² It was also seen that whereas the visions of the early prophets consisted largely of inward emotional experiences, those of the later prophets and subsequent apocalyptical writers were of an external and objective nature. It is proper at this point to attempt an explanation of this development.

In the first place, to the rise of pseudonymity may be traced a strong motive for the adoption of the use of visions. During the second century, as shall presently be observed, apocalyptical literature was written in the name of certain of the ancient prominent Hebrew figures.

---

2. See pages 28-29 and 57-58.
They were represented as having been granted a disclosure of future history. Various reasons appear for the use of this device. But whatever the cause, it was necessary to explain in what manner the ancients received the revelations made to them. The vision naturally presented itself as the most acceptable device. Hence it is not surprising that during this century the use of the vision should be employed more extensively than at any time previous. It must be remembered, however, that pseudonymity was not definitely adopted until this period. Hence to it cannot be attributed the sole motive for the increasing use of the vision. While it lent its influence in that direction at the time it arose, other influences were gradually tending in the same direction at an earlier date.

We have seen that prophecy was declining. By the second century men no longer stood before their people and delivered by word of mouth, the message which they deemed it their duty to proclaim. And as prophecy became only a form of literary activity the human element was reduced to a minimum. This exclusion of the personal factor was augmented by the fact that the Hebrew writers were utterly devoid of pride of authorship and of jealousy, for their literary perogatives, as evidenced by the frequent appearance of anonymous literature during the Exilic and early post-Exilic period. Altogether, therefore, there was the tendency to disregard the personality of the author and to heed but slightly, if at all, his powers of originality, thought, and religious insight.

1. See pages 106-111.
2. Pages 69-70.
Along with this tendency there was another development which combined with it to further the acceptance and intelligibility of the vision as a device in apocalyptic literature. This was the rapidly growing conception of a deterministic philosophy of history. As already suggested,\(^1\) the view that the course of all history had long been fore-ordained was gaining wide currency among the Jews; such a belief aided the people to reconcile themselves to the otherwise irreconcilability of fact and theory with regard to the justice and absoluteness of God; present tribulations were but steps instrumental in the realization of God's purposes. The future was regarded "not as the organic result of the present under divine guidance, but as mechanically determined from the beginning in the counsels of God, and as arranged under certain artificial categories of time."\(^2\)

As this deterministic view increased and continued to grow the objectivity of God's will and all-inclusiveness knowledge began to be emphasized. Not only was God's will and word regarded as fixed; it was even identified with a written book.\(^3\) As such its objectivity was clearly expressed.

Thus two tendencies were developing. On the one hand men conceived of the definite and fixed nature of God's will and of his purposes. That which was divine was above and over and through all. On the other hand, human efforts were minimized. The value of the personal element was all but eliminated. With the union of these two tendencies the outcome, as represented by the extended use of

1. Page 69
...
the vision as a literary device, is not surprising. As over against
the divine will of God the office of the prophet was of little signi-
ficance. The sole value of his work lay in his communication of
that which was already written. He was but the passive instrument
of God. As such, the visions which he recorded had behind them
divine revelations, and because of their holy origin recommended
themselves to the people for whom they were recorded. The decline
of prophecy, together with the newer view of history and of God,
therefore, made it practically inevitable that a writing, in order to
be valued and accepted must deal primarily with a disclosure of
divine purposes. What method could better validate and make author-
itative the literature at such a time than that which utilized the
vision? In it God delivered to the author in a direct fashion that
knowledge which was recorded.

PREDICTION

The Use of Prediction. Closely allied to the use of the
vision as a device in apocalyptic literature is the element of
prediction. These two characteristics go hand in hand, and deeply
involve each other. The very suggestion of vision implies some-
thing which the vision discloses, a prediction, if you please. On
the other hand the author who allowed himself to make forecasts of
the future required some means of authenticating his predictions,
and visions lent themselves admirably to this purpose.

This union of the vision and of prediction as joint factors
in literary production reached its completion in the apocalyptic
To...
writings of the second century B.C., and continued to be adopted by authors until the end of Jewish apocalyptic production. In the books of Daniel and Enoch, particularly, and to a large extent, in the other literary accomplishments of the century, the element of prediction made itself strongly felt. Daniel and Enoch may be mentioned especially as representatives of two different aspects of the predictive element.

Prediction in the book of Daniel consists chiefly of forecasts of the future. And, as in the previous period, a distinction must be made between true prediction and a sort of pseudo-prediction involved in the adoption of pseudonymity. In writing pseudonymously the authors implied a prediction that actually was not prediction at all—merely a recording of historical events as though they were yet to occur. But at the same time, speculation as to what the future did portend was increasing by leaps and bounds. And at the time of the writing of the book of Daniel the author ventured to be so specific in his prediction that he proclaimed three and one-half years, or cycles of years, perhaps, as the period that must elapse before the final consummation of all things. The writer thus, here and elsewhere, utters genuine prediction.

But although the prediction of the book of Daniel may be said to deal more extensively and more definitely with the events of the future than did the writings of any previous period, at the same time the general aspects of this characteristic are exactly the same as are to be found in earlier times. Apocalyptic prediction is but the outgrowth of the prophetic. This is made clear by Driver in his statements concerning the book of Daniel.

1. See Daniel, 8:25.
"This prediction is exactly on a footing with those of the earlier prophets of Isaiah, for instance, who says (8:4) that before a child just born can cry Father and Mother, Damascus will be taken by the king of Assyria; who declares (16:14; 21:16) that within one year the glory of Kedar, and within three years the glory of Moab, will both be humbled; and who announces (29:1-5) Jerusalem's deliverance, within a year, from the siege and distress, which he sees impending; or of the great prophet of the Exile, who, as Cyrus is advancing on his career of conquest (Isaiah 41:2,3,25), bids his people not be in alarm (41:9-11), the successes of Cyrus are part of God's providential plan (41:2,4,25), and will issue in the deliverance of Israel from exile (44:28; 45:4,13)."

In the book of Enoch a new aspect of prediction is to be seen, like Daniel, it is true, it alludes, at times, to specific events and persons who figure prominently in Jewish history. More important, however, is its prediction as to the nature of the universe and the secrets there involved. The author (or authors) of the book of Enoch did not find satisfaction in merely predicting what was in store for the Jews and the other inhabitants of the earth. They sought to disclose what lay behind the future. They wished to discover the nature of the unseen regions and to explain all that occurred there. "The book in all its parts is visionary and eschatological, dealing with angels and spirits, with the secrets of Nature and the mysteries of the unseen world and its rewards and punishments; and less often and in a vague and general way with the course of human history and its great issues."2

Reasons for the Growth of the Predictive Element. As in the case of visions, the development of a deterministic philosophy of history did much to influence the growth of the element of prediction.

2. Swete, The Apocalypse of John, p. xxv.
in Jewish literature. The belief in a definitely fixed and fore-
ordained outline of history not only convinced writers that a dis-
covery and understanding of this outline was possible, but it also
led people to accept prediction more readily. Authors, on the one
hand, would think themselves able to divine the future more accurately
if they were certain that the future course of events was not sub-
ject to change due to human activity. If God had established the
entire world-order in its completeness it would be possible for him
to disclose certain of its features to his chosen earthly represent-
tatives. Readers, on the other hand, would be influenced by the same
psychological process. If they believed in the fixity of all his-
tory they would have greater faith in the representations made by
the various literary prophets. It was easier to believe reports of
something that was known to exist than to accept similar reports of
something of doubtful existence. Hence, in the face of the determin-
istic outlook with regard to the progress of the universe, the
increased prominence given to prediction is quite intelligible.

Of course, in this connection, the question of the importance
of the predictive element continually arises. The basic statement to
be made with regard to it is that in apocalyptic literature prediction
was secondary. The primary interest was encouragement, strength, and
hope in times of peril and suffering. It was only to accomplish the
greater purpose that men resorted to a forecasting of the future and
to a search into the secrets of the universe. That much prediction
was nothing more than guesses and speculation cannot be denied.
The failure of many hopes to materialize bears abundant evidence to this fact.\(^1\) It is not possible to tell whether or not authors actually thought themselves able to foretell that which was yet to occur. They no doubt were firmly convinced that something of a transforming nature must take place. No doubt they felt that they knew what ought to come to pass in the light of existing circumstances. And it was not difficult for them to identify with the will of God that which to them seemed inevitable. Thus, in the very conditions which surrounded the writers of apocalyptical literature was to be found an urge to predict.

**SYMBOLISM AND IMAGERY**

In considering second century (B. C.) literature with regard to symbolism and imagery it is necessary but to scan its pages in order to recognize the extensive and elaborate use there made of it. The book of Daniel abounds in rich symbolism. Chapter two, for instance, contains the vision of "a great image . . . which was mighty, and whose brightness was excellent,"\(^2\) symbolizing "the anti-theocratic power of the world."\(^3\) Other forms of symbolism likewise figure prominently in the book. Especially significant are the "four great beasts" (7:3), representing, probably, the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Macedonian empires.\(^4\) It is not possible to indicate specifically all of the imagery occurring in the book of Daniel, nor is such a specification necessary, since a glance will

---

1. See pages 40, 63-69.
4. Ibid., 16,31-34.
suffice to illustrate the wide usage of it there.

The book of Enoch, like Daniel, also employs symbolic imagery. Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the second vision of Enoch 83-90. This vision (85-90) unfolds, in symbolic form, the entire history of the patriarchs of Israel, from the time of Adam to that of the author, these leaders being represented by domestic animals, such as bulls or sheep; the Gentiles are represented by various wild beasts and birds of prey.

In many respects the symbolic forms and imagery adopted by second century apocalyptic writers differed but little from that employed by earlier writers, particularly those of the Exilic and early post-Exilic period. Ezekiel and Zechariah approach, in marked degree, the true apocalyptic usage. In spite of this similarity, however, certain developments are to be noted. In genuine apocalyptic literature symbolism and imagery occupy a far greater and more significant position than in the writings of an earlier period. Beginning with second century literature, the authors appear to exhibit a greater dependence upon symbolic form, figures, and action than had hitherto been the case. By this time these devices were utilized in a more practical fashion. The various figures and forms represented, to a greater extent, certain specific and definite events, men, and nations. Imagery was used not so much to create a particular atmosphere—although this function remained an inherent characteristic—as to portray

---

1. See pages 61-62; also 30-31.
specific messages and thoughts which the author wished to convey to his fellow-countrymen. The events indicated by the symbolism are usually sufficiently clear; but sometimes, as in both Enoch and Daniel, there is a certain amount of ambiguity.\footnote{See Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. lxxix.}

\textbf{Reasons for the Use of Symbolism.} While it is not possible to ascertain with any certain measure of precision the causes for the increasing use of symbolism and imagery by Hebrew writers, nevertheless some few general observations may be made.

In the first place, a cause may be found in the rapidly declining state of prophecy.\footnote{See pages 69-70.} It was observed that in the previous period certain limitations were sometimes placed upon the speech and activity of the religious leaders of Israel. This was true, notably, in the case of Ezekiel,\footnote{See page 61-62.} who, in order to continue his labors, found it necessary to resort to the use of symbols and imagery as vehicles for his messages. Of course, it cannot be said that the necessity for the use of symbolism as it presented itself in the case of Ezekiel became a like necessity in the case of other apocalyptic writers. None of the others, perhaps, were prohibited exactly in the same manner by the ruling powers. This incident, however, serves to illustrate the rapidly declining prominence of the prophetic office. Although, among apocalyptic writers aside from Ezekiel, direct and bold speech may not have been strictly forbidden, nevertheless, in view of the strength of the ruling powers, it was no doubt frequently advisable that the Jewish religious leaders sometimes refrain from the use of exceedingly free and outspoken language.
It was not always discreet for spokesmen of a servile people to proclaim abroad a severe denunciation of the master-empire, and to disseminate freely the revolutionary seeds of a great hope and expectation. In the face of the situation in which the Jews found it necessary to continue it is not surprising that men, to convey their messages to their own people, should adopt a language which should partly conceal their sharp thrusts and veil them from hostile eyes.

A second possible reason for the extensive use of symbolism and imagery as a literary device is to be found in the rapidly-growing dualistic world view which was gradually gaining popularity in Hebrew thought. The tendency to regard the present world as evil and the spiritual or heavenly world as the abode of perfection and glory has already been noted. This world and that to come were pushed farther and farther apart until a great chasm separated them. And the more lofty the conception of that which was divine and perfect, the more inadequate became the common usages of speech as a means of description. As the flight of human thought and imagination ranged to new and fantastic heights it was proper that a suitable vocabulary and medium of expression be adopted. That which was perfect and glorious beyond all human thought demanded description which was just as ethereal and fantastic. Similarly, as the present world order tended to degrade itself in the eyes of the Jewish nation's writers, they naturally resorted to a description of it that involved figures representative of all that was low.

1. Page 75-76.
and animal-like. Thus the very nature of that which was the object of all consideration lent itself admirably to the sort of depiction adopted. "Because the thought of man as spiritual was too sublime for the world view of their day, the Apocalyptists had to take a dualistic view of man--to project the spiritual into the sky. Hence the weirdness of their imagery."¹

Finally, the extensive use of symbolism as adopted by the apocalyptists may be said to have developed naturally, in part, out of early occasional use of it. In the days of the early prophets symbolism found its chief value as poetry, and did not embody the significance it attained in later years. Nevertheless, certain progress and development in its use was inevitable regardless of external influences.

Altogether, no single cause can be distinguished as that which led to apocalyptical imagery and symbolism. All of those just mentioned played some part in the total development.

**PSEUDONYMITY**

The Use of Pseudonymity. It was in the second century B.C. that pseudonymity became a firmly rooted characteristic of apocalyptic literature. From this time onward practically all the literary products of the Jewish apocalyptic school were written pseudonymously. The fact of pseudonymity is self-evident. In most in-

stances the titles of the books of this type indicate the ancient figures to whom they were attributed. In the century now under consideration this is largely true. The book of Enoch, for instance, is ascribed to him who, in the earliest years of all history, is reported to have "walked with God." The book of Daniel is attributed to the Babylonian exile by that name who had been taken captive by Babylon's king, Nebuchadnezzar. Similarly the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs are represented as dating back to the various figures whose names are found attached to the several divisions.

Reasons for the Adoption of Pseudonymity. In certain respects, pseudonymity, as it is found among the writers of Jewish apocalyptic literature, is difficult to account for and to understand. To write in the name of some prominent and ancient figure suggests a certain insincerity and desire to deceive. Yet, as Porter writes: "It is certain that a fair reading of Daniel, of parts of Enoch, of the Assumption of Moses, and the Apocalypse of Ezra, in the light of their circumstances and their aims, gives us the impression that we are dealing not with pretenders, but with writers of earnestness and sincerity." Various theories have been presented to show that in the minds of the authors there occurred no intention whatever to deceive or to falsify. Some of these are worthy of brief consideration.

Porter finds, in part, an explanation and apology for the pseudonymous form of apocalypses by supposing "that apocalyptic traditions running actually far back, tended to connect themselves, in the course of their transmission, with the names of certain ancient seers . . .

Then the final writer, fully aware that he was not the original author of his material, but only its scribe and interpreter, might believe that the real author was in a true sense the one in whose name the traditions passed current. In this way the apocalyptical writer would intend no deception. He would merely unselfishly relinquish all claims to that which in reality was not his own, but instead, was something inherited by him. This view agrees completely with suggestions already made to the effect that among Hebrew writers there obtained absolutely no desire for self-assertion and no jealousy for literary rights. Hence, it is entirely possible that this explanation may indeed have some bearing upon the question.

Another explanation closely allied to the one just discussed rests upon the devotion of authors to the common cause which they espoused. They were well content to reject all personal applause in favor of that which would give greater acceptance and credence to the message which they deemed so vital to the life of their countrymen. They had a hope and a prediction for the future. Its acceptance or rejection would lead, respectively, to defeat or to triumph. These writers sought first of all, therefore, to secure utter confidence and belief in the integrity and authenticity of their productions. They did so by attributing the complete message to some ancient seer. Part of the message dealt with events previous to the writer's own time, while the remainder dealt with the future.

2. See page 63.
The (supposed) predictions concerned with past history had already been fulfilled. Therefore, the message was authentic. And when the writing was once accepted as authentic the acceptance of that part which dealt with the present and with the future would be assured. Thus the cause which was the center of the apocalyptic seers' interest and devotion would be furthered according to the pleasure and good-will of God.

It has been suggested\(^1\) that it was partly in self-defense and self-protection that apocalyptic writers resorted to pseudonymity. Their books express an intense hostility towards various foreign and native rulers. For their own personal safety it was advisable that their identity should not be disclosed. While this fact does, indeed, partially tend to explain the pseudonymous form of apocalyptic literature, it does not prove to be entirely adequate. It "may explain the figurative allusions to current events, but as to authorship the anonymous form would have served the end of safety equally well."\(^2\)

In view of the apparent inadequacy of other theories in connection with the pseudonymous form of apocalyptic literature, Charles has presented views which deserve particular attention. His arguments rest primarily upon the decline of prophecy during the years succeeding the Exile. Pre-Exilic prophecy was first spoken and then written, as in the case of Amos, Isaiah, and Hosea. Later prophecy was first written and not necessarily spoken at all. Thus a new type of prophecy sprang into existence—a literary type. When this literary prophecy had once become firmly established one was regarded almost

\(^1\) Porter, The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers, p. 29.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 29.
as an imposter if he attempted to appear before the people in person. This is made clear in Zechariah 13:3:

"And it shall come to pass that, when any shall yet prophesy, then his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, Thou shalt not live; for thou speakest lies in the name of Jehovah; and his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he prophesieth."

It is true that Joel, in the fourth century B.C., still held to the outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh, but in most instances it was thought that prophecy had ceased. The Law had displaced and superseded it, and therein had the promise been fulfilled. The revelation of God was complete; there was no more room for prophecy. As in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the Law was regarded as the light that lighteth every man. The author of the book of Jubilees likewise insisted that the Law was the divine expression for all eternity; it was the inspired, complete, and infallible word of God, valid not only for a particular age but for all time to come. "God had, according to the official teachers of the Church, spoken His last and final word through the Law, and when the hope is expressed that in the coming age a prophet will arise, he was only conceived as one whose task was to decide questions of ritual or priestly succession, or legal interpretations in accordance with the Law... Accordingly, the first fact we are to recognize is, that from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the Law has not only assumed the functions of the ancient pre-Exilic prophets, but it has also, so far as in its power, made the revival of such prophecy an impossibility."

In the previous chapter the acceptance of certain anonymous books was noted. These were received because of their inherent worth, because they were acceptable in the eyes of the Law. Since their teachings agreed so completely with all that the Law and the early prophets set forth they were regarded as early and authentic writings to which the names of their authors had not been attached. That these prophesies were indeed considered as the work of early religious men of God is evidenced by the fact that they were grouped together with writings whose true prophetic origin was well attested. For example, Isaiah 40-66 and 24-27 were added to the clearly recognized work of the prophet of that name. Similarly, Zechariah 9-14 was annexed to the book which was known to have come from the hand of Zechariah. Thus, by allowing the issuing of writings without attaching the authors' names, their acceptance was assured by virtue of their inherent worth and their agreement with the teachings of the Law.

But the type of writing produced by second century (B. C.) authors presented a new problem. The men who wrote such books as Daniel, Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, did not content themselves with repeating old truths. They went so far as to challenge many orthodox views, and carried forward the revelation of God in religion, ethics, eschatology, etc. In thus standing opposed to the Law they could expect no recognition whatever unless they came under the aegis of great names of the past. Thus, in order to avoid rejection on the grounds of their contents, the authors attached names the very mention of which would secure a ready ear and
In the context of the research, the authors propose a novel approach to address the issue of data privacy in machine learning applications. The proposed method involves the use of differential privacy techniques to ensure that the privacy of individual data points is protected while still allowing for accurate model training and predictions. The authors present empirical results that demonstrate the effectiveness of their approach in maintaining privacy while maintaining model accuracy. The study also discusses potential future research directions in the field of privacy-preserving machine learning.
and an open mind. In this way the adoption of pseudonymity prevented the fatal opposition of those who represented the Law.

Charles suggests yet another reason for the use of the pseudonymous form of literature. This has to do with the formation of the three-fold canon of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. With the closing of the prophetic canon—the second group of literature to be recognized and deemed worthy of canonization,—much current religious literature still remained excluded, since it could neither be admitted as Law nor as the work of the prophets. Consequently, to these two divisions a third one was added, the Hagiographa, consisting of books of somewhat later origin. Into this group were received writings of a religious nature whose dates were believed to go back to the time of Ezra. The book of Daniel was admitted under this classification as were other books as late as 100 A.D. Writers, therefore, who sought to secure the canonization of their works found it necessary to set them forth as the products of periods previous to the time of Ezra, or thereabouts. "All Jewish apocalypses, therefore, from 200 B.C. onwards," concludes Charles, "were of necessity pseudonymous, if they sought to exercise any real influence on the nation; for the Law was everything, belief in inspiration was dead amongst them, and the Canon was closed."1

CONCLUSION

In this chapter particular attention had been devoted to the characteristics of apocalyptic literature as they assumed the 1. Charles, Religious Development between the O. and N. T.'s, p. 45.
Everywhere I've been and the study of art, and I've been at
the School of Art and the Art Institute of Chicago,
my school. I've been in the United States and I've been in
England, France, and Italy.

In the fall of 1927, I went to Paris and I was there for a
year. I studied at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière,
and I met a lot of American artists who were there.

I was there for a year on a fellowship, and I was very
lucky to have met all of them. It was a great experience.

In the spring of 1928, I returned to the United States
due to the illness of my father. I spent the summer in
provisional, and I was very fortunate to have met all of
them. It was a great experience.

In the spring of 1928, I returned to the United States
due to the illness of my father. I spent the summer in
provisional, and I was very fortunate to have met all of
them. It was a great experience.

In the spring of 1928, I returned to the United States
due to the illness of my father. I spent the summer in
provisional, and I was very fortunate to have met all of
them. It was a great experience.

In the spring of 1928, I returned to the United States
due to the illness of my father. I spent the summer in
provisional, and I was very fortunate to have met all of
them. It was a great experience.

In the spring of 1928, I returned to the United States
due to the illness of my father. I spent the summer in
provisional, and I was very fortunate to have met all of
them. It was a great experience.
proportions which distinguished the writings of which they are a part from other types of literature. In many respects the second century B. C. witnessed the realization of the goal towards which Exilic and post-Exilian literature was tending. This is especially true in the case of the characteristic use of visions, of the element of prediction, of symbolism and imagery, and of pseudonymity. After the end of the second century B. C. these elements were accepted and adopted without question. And, in general, there was little change to occur in the future use of them. They had become firmly established and fully developed characteristics of apocalyptic literature. Consequently the following chapters will largely disregard particular mention of them. They must be assumed as thoroughly recognized characteristics demanding no further discussion.

In apocalyptic eschatology, however, the goal was not reached by the close of the second century B. C. New developments continued to take place. New ideas and new conceptions were constantly being presented. Views with regard to the various aspects of the eschatological hope were undergoing frequent change. In some instances hitherto unknown suggestions were presented; in othersmen’s thoughts reverted to conception of much earlier date. The following pages will therefore be concerned chiefly with this phase of Jewish apocalyptic literature.
Chapter V

APOCALYPHTICAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The leadership of the Jews, at the beginning of the first century B.C., was in the hands of the Hasmoneans, that family which, during the second century B.C., had secured for the nation its religious freedom, and had succeeded in establishing, in an uncertain degree, its political independence and supremacy. But, as suggested in the previous chapter, the realization of ambitions for a position of importance among the nations of the world did not insure for the people of Israel the peace and contentment which might be expected to accompany such political accomplishments. The Maccabean state "attained its glory in supremacy over outside foes only to fall into ruin under the disintegrating action of internal rivalry." 1 Popular sentiment was divided as to the relative power and supremacy that should be entrusted to civil rulers and to religious teachers. Civil strife was the result. And hopes of a national restoration that should include the blessings of a perfect and Godly state of society grew dim amid the clash of discontent and conflict.

Nor was the political independence of the nation as a whole long to endure. The ominous rumblings of Roman military activity were carried with ever-increasing strength from beyond the western horizon.

1. Riggs, History of the Jewish People, p. 117.
It was not long until internal division made possible the intervention of Roman influence and authority. This fatal civil breach led to further difficulty. Pompey, as leader of the Roman forces, suspecting opposition from one of the rival parties, advanced upon Jerusalem. In the spring of 63 B.C. he gained an entrance into the city, and in June of the same year entered, with his followers, into the sacred precincts of the temple, where the most extended resistance had been made. This event marked the inauguration of the so-called Roman period of Jewish history. Henceforth the Jews were to bow in submission before Roman authority and power.

After the fall of Jerusalem in 63 B.C. various disasters befell the Jews, such as that which occurred under Herod in 37 B.C. At that time a siege of Jerusalem ended in the horrible slaughter of the city's inhabitants, and terminated in shame and contempt the noble house of the Hasmonaeans, that for nearly one hundred and thirty years had wrought so much for Judea.

The Hellenism which Antiochus Epiphanes had attempted to force upon the nation in an extreme form was, by Herod, established in many parts of the Jewish territory. Institutions exceedingly offensive to the Jewish subjects were instituted. Theaters and amphitheaters were erected, and became the centers of Roman games, fights, and combats. A great tidal wave of heathenism swept over Jerusalem and, to a certain extent, the surrounding cities.

At times, it is true, conditions under the Herods were tolerable. As viceroys of Rome evidences of the great pax Romana were visible. At the same time, however, unrest and discontent never ceased.
The Jews continued to chafe under the yoke of foreign rule. And the occurrence of occasional outbreaks and disturbances, together with the constant influx of heathen customs and practices, led the Jews to hate with deep intensity, their conquerors and oppressors.

First Century B.C. Apocalyptic Literature

Enoch 91-104. The third part of the book of Enoch, consisting of chapters 91-104, dates both from the latter part of the second century B.C. and also from the first years of the first century B.C. It was written between 164-94 B.C. or, as is still more probable, between 104-95 B.C. But although this portion of Enoch thus bridges the period of transition between the second and first centuries it is usually considered along with first century B.C. writings, for with them it has much in common. Just as Enoch 83-90 serves to reflect second century thought and speculation, so Enoch 91-104 pictures that of the first century. "As we pass from 83-90 to 91-104 we feel that we are entering into a world of new conceptions." The writer of this section was a Pharisee who was strongly opposed to current attempts to hellenize the Jews. His chief denunciations are directed against the Sadducees, who, he believes, conspire with the rulers to oppress the righteous.

Enoch 37-71. Of particular interest is the fourth division of the book of Enoch, commonly called the "Parables," or the "Similitudes," and consisting of chapters 37-71. The date of this section is "later

than 95 and before 64 B.C., or more precisely between 95-30 B.C. or 70-64 B.C.¹ In some respects this book presents certain difficulties. It includes a curious and startling compound of early and late thought with regard to matters of eschatology. "In several respects it stands alone among Jewish apocalyptic writings."² Its particular peculiarities shall be noted more specifically as the several aspects of the eschatological hope receive consideration.

The Psalms of Solomon. The Psalms of Solomon, eighteen in number, appear to be derived from various authors, although their authorship is nowhere intimated within the psalms themselves. Their composition falls near the middle of the first century B.C. "Apparently the book reflects the hope of certain pious Jews in the decades of distress following the conquest of Palestine by the Romans in 63 B.C."³ A distinction must be drawn between the first sixteen psalms and the last two. The seventeenth and eighteenth comprise the principal messianic portion, "and give the most splendid picture of the person and rule of the messianic king found in the literature of this age."⁴ The first part, however, also contains eschatological aspects, and dwells upon the Messianic kingdom although it contains no references to the Messiah.⁵ "The Psalms are witness to the fact that Israel, in these later days, could yet pour out her soul in the exalted strain of the poets of earlier times... Through them all runs the thought of the righteousness of God, of the divine chastisement of sinners, and of the sure mercy of him whose promise makes certain the blessings.

3. Case, The Millennial Hope, p. 102; see also Desterley, The Books of the Apocrypha, p. 215; and Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John; 186-7
of Israel in the kingdom of the Messiah."\(^1\)

The Sibylline Oracles. Only brief mention need be made to the portion of the Sibylline Oracles which falls within the limits of the first century B. C., namely 3:1-52. The date of this section is previous to 31 B. C.\(^2\) The consistency of the Messianic references is doubtful.

**ESCHATOLOGY**

The Influence of the Historical Situation. As was made evident by the brief survey of the history of the Jews during the first century B. C. (pages 112-115), the distressing circumstances surrounding their existence still continued. As in earlier centuries Palestine was yet dominated by foreign rule and was subject to the whims of foreign powers. At this point it is not necessary to distinguish the various effects these conditions had upon the thought and literature of the period, since they have been discussed in considerable detail in discussions of previous centuries, when much the same conditions prevailed.\(^3\) Suffice to say that as then there continued to exist intense feelings of protest and of hope. As then men still needed encouragement if they were to endure and survive as an integrated people. Conditions which gave rise to a deterministic philosophy of history continued to exert an influence which established that philosophy more firmly than ever before. Prophecy continued in its state of decline, and the prophecies and predictions of previous centuries still remained unfulfilled. Altogether, circumstances which tended

\(^{1}\) Riggs, *A History of the Jewish People*, p. 151, and 156.
\(^{3}\) Pages 33-41, 66-79, and 72-74.
to point men's minds towards the future continued to perform that same function. It is not surprising, therefore, that eschatological conceptions should continue to undergo a process of change and development. A dualism between this world of evil and a future world of blessedness and righteousness followed the growth of the previous century and continued to build upon it. But by far the greatest marvel of all is that "during all these years of repeated calamity their (the Jews) hopes survived, kept alive by the visions of the various apocalyptic writers who followed in the footsteps of Daniel."  

The Nature of the Messianic Kingdom. As observed in the previous chapter, the different conceptions of the Messianic kingdom, as presented by the several apocalyptic writers, differed from one another only in small degree down until the second century B. C. In practically all instances the present earth was thought of as the scene of the future era. In Enoch 83-90 was recognized a variation from this view—a tendency to spiritualize the conception, and to raise the kingdom to new and transcendental levels. The book of Jubilees, finally, seemed to strike a sort of compromise between the two views, and to teach the inauguration of the kingdom upon the earth—not the earth in its present state, but a renewed and renovated earth. It was this view that appears to have exerted the greatest influence upon later writers of apocalyptic literature. Another element of the book of Jubilees which became exceedingly prominent in later years, and which, during the first century B. C., became 

a vital aspect of the Messianic kingdom, was that pertaining to the temporary character of the coming age. In general, then, the dualism suggested in the book of Jubilees became the central factor in the following eschatological developments.

With a single exception the writings of the first century B.C. reflect the leavening influence of the dualistic teaching of the book of Jubilees. "In this literature the hopes of an eternal kingdom of God on the present earth, which had been taught by the Old Testament prophets and the apocalyptic literature of the past, is now, except in one work, absolutely abandoned forever." The present earth is regarded as wholly unfit for the manifestation of the eternal kingdom of God. The thought of the divine immanence no longer prevails; this doctrine has given place to that of divine transcendence. The old hope is abandoned, "and the time-honored hope of an eternal Messianic kingdom, which should abide for ever on earth ruled and sustained by the immediate present Deity, has been sorrowfully abandoned by the Jews of this later age, save in the case of the Parables of Enoch."2

In Enoch 91-104 is to be found a bold statement regarding the temporality of the Messianic kingdom. The seer presents a vision of the entire course of history, which is divided into ten world-weeks. The ends of the first seven are marked by Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Solomon's temple, the Exile, and the end of the righteous party of which the writer is a member. The eighth week is near at hand, and will usher in the new day. Especially significant in this connection

2. Ibid., p. 53; See also Charles, Eschatology, p. 250.
are the ninth and tenth weeks, which comprise the Messianic period of perfect blessedness. They are definitely appointed finite periods of time, at the end of which occurs the final judgment. Thus the Messianic kingdom is no longer identical with the kingdom of God---at best only its partial and temporary manifestation. The two shall be separated by the final judgment, after which the national hope shall have been completely realized and the everlasting life of the individual shall continue. There will be a new heaven and "many many weeks without number forever and all shall be in goodness and righteousness and sin shall no more be mentioned forever!" 1 The earthly life shall be concluded with the end of the Messianic kingdom, and the heavenly life shall then begin.

In the Psalms of Solomon (1-10) there is implied a conception of the Messianic kingdom which agrees favorably with that of Enoch 91-104. Here, in glowing colors, is pictured the restoration of all the tribes, involving the establishment of the Messianic era.

"Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, yea the holy trumpet of Jubilee. Proclaim ye in Jerusalem with the voice of him that bringeth good tidings,
That God hath had mercy upon Israel: hehath visited them.
Stand up on high, O Jerusalem: and behold thy children,
Gathered from the East and the West together by the Lord.
From the North they come in the gladness of their God:
From the islands afar off hath God gathered them.
The hills fled before their entering in,
The woods gave them shelter as they passed by.
Every tree of sweet savor did God make to spring up before them
That Israel might pass by in the day when the glory of their God shall visit them.
Put on, O Jerusalem, the garments of thy glory:
Make ready thine holy apparel,
For God hath spoken comfortably unto Israel, world without end." 2

The Similitudes of Enoch (37-71) present a form of the Messianic hope which is of particular interest. The author of these three Parables still clings to the early conception of an eternal Messianic kingdom. In this respect he represents a revival of the older type of apocalyptic eschatology. On the other hand he has not been able to escape the prevalent dualistic tendency of his day. He recognizes the present earth as a place far too unworthy and unfit for the scene of the everlasting kingdom. But, instead of limiting the duration of the kingdom of this earth and proclaiming the final establishing of an eternal kingdom of the heavens, he teaches that the present earth shall be displaced by "a new heaven and a new earth." (45:4,5), which should be of never ending duration. Other first century (B. C.) authors expected the Messianic earthly consummation to appear first, followed by that which should be heavenly and eternal. In the Similitudes, however, "the heavenly precedes, being already a reality, and the one crisis and one consummation consists in the breaking in of the heavenly upon the earthly, and the transformation of earth and man after heavenly and angelic patterns."¹ Those who are permitted to participate in the blessings of the new regime shall enjoy the "glories of an incorruptible heavenly world now established upon the renovated earth."² In this way the author, "for the last time in Judaism,"³ combines into a single blessed future the hopes of the individual and of the nation, thus unity "in a high spiritual synthesis" the eschatologies which again, as in early times, were tending towards a separation never again to be resolved.³

3. For further discussion of the relation between the national and individual eschatologies see pages
The Comprehensiveness of the Kingdom. During the second century, as has been observed, the generally accepted view with regard to the Gentiles was that they should be allowed to participate in the Messianic kingdom and should serve the righteous of Israel. The book of Jubilees alone proved to be an exception, rejecting outright the teaching of the larger-hearted prophets in this connection. In the first century B.C., however, the situation reversed itself. Just as the book of Jubilees became the forerunner of the idea of a temporary Messianic kingdom so it also served as the directing agency in pointing first century thought towards a narrow and particularistic view in relation to the Gentiles and possibility of their participation in the approaching kingdom. "In Enoch 37-71 annihilation appears to await them." The righteous of Israel, and of Israel alone, should enjoy the blessings in store for those who remained loyal to God.

The Psalms of Solomon stands alone, during this period, in its teaching that the righteous among the Gentiles shall be spared to serve the favored children of Israel. "When the "Lord's Anointed" shall come to establish his kingdom in Jerusalem, "the people from the ends of the earth will come to behold his glory and he will rule over them." The Day of the Lord shall be a world-judgment. Chastisement will reveal a chosen people consisting of Jews and Gentiles alike---the veritable children of God (9,140). Over them God shall reign as king (5,17). For them is reserved the glory of the Messianic times (17,18).

1. Pages 73-79.
With regard to the resurrection, which, as shall presently be seen, is to terminate rather than introduce the Messianic age, all writers agree, including those of the Psalms of Solomon. "In no case does it appear that the Gentiles could attain to a blessed resurrection."

The Nearness of the Messianic Kingdom. As in all other periods of eschatological expectation the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom is represented as near at hand. The author of Enoch 91-104, for instance, suggests that the seventh of the world-weeks of which he writes is drawing near its close. With its termination the eighth, one of triumph and exultation for the righteous, shall begin. Similarly, the Psalms of Solomon predict the early realization of Jewish hopes. The heathen (the Romans) who now prevail shall presently be driven forth by the coming prince, and shall be denied continued residence in the holy land.

The Judgment and the Day of Yahweh. In times previous to the first century B. C. the judgment was necessarily conceived as an introduction to the Messianic kingdom. Such a view was unavoidable if the idea of an everlasting kingdom was to be retained. But when that hope was abandoned the final judgment was postponed until the close of the temporary Messianic kingdom. It was not considered proper that the judgment should come at a time when those who survived it should enter only into a temporary kingdom. It must precede the eternal and heavenly kingdom, so that from the judgment the righteous might at once enter into the final glorious state of blessed immortality.

In order to be able to use the computer, you need to follow these steps:

1. Connect the computer to the printer.
2. Install the printer driver on your computer.
3. Open the printer properties window.
4. Select the printer you want to use.
5. Choose the correct paper size and orientation.
6. Set the print quality to your preference.
7. Click on the "Print" button to start printing.
This relegation of the judgment until the close of the Messianic kingdom is clearly taught in Enoch 91-104. Here it is to occur on the last day of the tenth world-week (91:15). The same view is held by the writers of the Psalms of Solomon.

The single extant exception to the above conception appears in the Similitudes of Enoch (37-71). Since the Messianic kingdom is here considered as of undying duration the judgment must necessarily precede it.\(^1\) In this view Enoch 37-71 agrees with earlier apocalyptic eschatology. But whereas the latter expects the judgment to initiate a Messianic kingdom upon the present earth, Enoch 37-71 teaches that it will introduce the kingdom upon a new earth.

The severity and justice of the judgment are, in the main, represented as in earlier writings. Awful destruction shall befall those who, previous to the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom, denied God and plundered his chosen people. Wealth cannot bribe, nor can war resist (Enoch 52). Punishment of the wicked is sure, while peace shall descend upon the congregation of the righteous (Enoch 53).

The Messianic Woes. In those instances where the judgment is represented as following the Messianic era the customary teaching of Messianic woes is, of necessity, abandoned. Since days of earthly joy and peace for the righteous thus precede the judgment there is left no place for the view that times of particular hardship and suffering are to come immediately before. Therefore the teaching with regard to the Messianic woes largely resolves itself into the view that the days in which the author wrote were witnessing the

\(^1\) See page 118-122.
the calamities which should precede the kingdom. Thus the woes and
the judgment are separated by the Messianic era. The older view,
however prevails in Enoch 37-71, made possible by the continued ex-
ppectation of an eternal kingdom. Here it is suggested that an impen-
ding event will strike terror into the hearts of men and of angels.
The heathen will make a tremendous assault upon Jerusalem, but their
efforts will be in vain and will result only in self-destruction
(Enoch 56). Then there is to appear the triumphant hosts of those who
will worship God in Jerusalem. They shall come as a mighty army from
the east and west and south, and shall triumph gloriously.

The Messiah. During the previous century slight attention was
devoted to the appearance of a Messiah who should deliver the children
of God.¹ The Maccabean princes seemed to have made such a hope some-
what unimportant. A far different situation prevailed during the early
part of the first century B.C. No longer were local leaders able to
cope with current problems. In fact the Maccabees themselves took
part in the ruthless oppression of the righteous, and "were foremost
in godlessness and immorality."² And the invading hosts of Romans
struck terror in all hearts. "Amid the humiliation and trials of those
days when Pompey polluted the temple and independence was taken away,
the hope of the Messiah burned with a new and intense brightness.
It seemed the veritable 'foretime' of his coming."³ It is true that
in Enoch 91-104 no place is found in the temporary kingdom for a
personal Messiah. The righteous with the help of God, are expected to
vindicate their cause and destroy oppressors. It must be remembered,

¹. Pages 84-89.
². Charles, Religious Development between the O. and N. T.'s, p. 84.
however, that this part of the book of Enoch is of early origin, and was written before the situation became as intense as in later years.\(^1\) The general tendency of first century writers is to attach an ever-increasing significance to the person and function of the Messiah.

The most startling and original teaching regarding the Messiah comes from the pen of the author of the Similitudes of Enoch. This writer identifies the Messiah with the supernatural Son of Man.

The beginning of this conception may be distinguished in Daniel. There is a great difference in the usage of the term Son of Man, however. In Daniel it designated the righteous Israel, while in Enoch it designates a personal though supernatural Messiah.

The transcendental character of the Messiah is particularly noteworthy. He appears as one who is divine, having a place upon the very throne of God:

"On that day Mine Elect One shall sit upon the Throne of Glory."

(45:3).

He is to be both Judge and Savior, having all wisdom:

"For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them,
For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.
And the Elect One shall in these days sit on My throne,
And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel;
For the Lord of Spirits hath given them to Him, and hath glorified H.m."

(51:2,3)

He shall condemn the wicked:

"And He sat on the throne of His glory,
And the sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man,
And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,
And those who have led the world astray.

For that Son of Man has appeared,
And has seated himself upon the throne of His glory,
And all evil shall pass away from before His face,
And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth,
And be strong before the Lord of Spirits."

(69:27-29)

\(^1\) For the date see page 115.
Various titles are assigned to the Messiah. He is called "the Christ" (48:10), "the Righteous One" (38:2), "the Elect One" (40:5), and "the Son of Man."

Perhaps the most revolutionary step in the new conception of the Messiah is that which attributes to him a state of pre-existence.

"Yea, before the sun and the signs were created, Before the stars of the heavens were made, His name was named before the Lord of Spirits." (48:3)

Altogether the hope of a Messiah here (in the Similitudes) attained to new and hitherto unknown heights. The most elaborate descriptions were attempted, and imagination completely searched for suitable imagery.¹

But the author of Enoch 37-71 was not alone in his emphasis upon the coming of a Messiah. A second picture appears in the Psalms of Solomon. Here, however, a Messiah of a different nature is portrayed. He represents a revival of the Old Testament conception of a kingly Messiah, descended from the house and lineage of David. But although a mortal, he is thought of in the highest of terms. As in Enoch 37-71 he is called "the Christ" (17:36; 18:6,8). And although he is a human king he is a "ruler whom God will endow with special gifts and powers, fulfilling the highest ideals of both religion and government." He "shall gather together the dispersed of Israel, destroy the ungodly, and establish such a glorious reign that from the ends of the earth men shall come to see it."² Thus he appears to appropriate all the national hopes and desires of the race. He is at once the righteous ruler of Israel and "the avenger of their wrongs on all heathen nations."³

¹ For a complete list of these attributes: Charles, Eschatology, p.262-4.
² Higga, A History of the Jewish People, p. 139 and 229.
³ Charles, Religious Development between the O. and N. T.'s, p. 83.
"Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, At the time in which Thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel thy servant, And gird him with strength that he may shatter unrighteous rulers, And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample her down to destruction." (17:23-25).

Thus once again the hope of a Messiah became strong among the Jews, on the one hand assuming transcendental and highly original proportions, and on the other resuming the form of early but temporarily-rejected conceptions. "These very divergent conceptions took such a firm hold of the national consciousness that henceforth the Messiah becomes almost universally the central and chief figure in the Messianic kingdom."¹

The Eschatology of the Individual. We have already seen that the general attitude of first century (B. C.) writers was to abandon the idea of an eternal Messianic kingdom and to relegate the final judgment until the end of the temporary kingdom; the idea of personal immortality was thus again detached from the doctrine of the Messianic kingdom. The latter had to do only with the national hope, the former with the ultimate destiny of the individual. In this way the growing dualism which made impossible the idea of an eternal earthly kingdom and led to the conception of a temporary kingdom produced a separation between the two distinct eschatologies—the national and the individual. The national element could not reach its highest realization except in an earthly kingdom. Nor could the individual element accept a goal less than a kingdom of eternal duration. Since an earthly kingdom could not be regarded as eternal

¹ Charles, Eschatology, p. 295.
the eschatologies necessarily drew apart, and the realization of
the individual hope was postponed until the end of the temporary
period.

A single exception appears in the Parables of Enoch (37-71).
Here the two eschatologies are joined for the last time. The writer
held not only that the present earth was unfit for the eternal king-
dom, but also that the present heaven was likewise unsuitable. As a
result he advocated a new heaven and a new world, comprising a
single unified kingdom.

The Doctrine of the Resurrection. It has been seen that through
out the first century (B.C.) writings the conception of the ultimate
abode of the individual has become highly spiritualized. The final
and eternal destiny of man is either heaven itself (as in Enoch
91-104 and the Psalms of Solomon) or else in a new heaven and a new
earth (as in the Parables of Enoch). It is to be expected, there-
fore, that the doctrine of the resurrection should be greatly
influenced by these views, and that men should not be contented with
a mere bodily resurrection.

Two teachings with regard to the resurrection make themselves
prominent. The first is that represented by Enoch 91-104 and the
Psalms of Solomon. Here a resurrection of the spirit only is advo-
cated:

"They who fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal;
Their life shall be in the light of the Lord
And never shall he fail." (Psalms of Solomon 3:16)

"The saints of the Lord with him shall live forever;
The paradise of God,
The trees of life his saints are" (14:2)
"The life of the just is forever." (13:9)

The Parables of Enoch apparently proclaim a resurrection of the body. But when the nature of the risen body is described as consisting of garments of glory and of light (Enoch 62:15,16), and as angelic (51:4), there seems to be little difference between the view here presented and that of Enoch 91-104 and the Psalms of Solomon. Both emphasize the spiritual qualities of the risen element.

The doctrine of immortality as taught by the Parables is clearly distinguished in the following quotation:

"I know a mystery, And have read the heavenly tablets, And have seen the holy books, And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them: That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them, And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness, And what manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labors, And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living. And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice, And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One, Unto all generations of the world. Therefore, no longer fear theircontumely." (Enoch 103).

The wicked are to descend into the pain of Sheol and to remain there (Enoch 98:3,10;104:7,8). "Here Sheol appears as Hell for possibly the first time."

Chapter VI

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

DURING THE FIRST CENTURY A. D.

The Historical Background

The first century A. D. witnessed the climax of all the trials and sufferings undergone by the Jews during the preceding centuries. If, in the past, conditions had seemed to exceed all human endurance, the years now under consideration actually did produce a state of existence which the Jews found it impossible to bear. More and more men were becoming discontent with hopes of divine intervention only. Faith in supernatural aid did not end, it is true, but there was an ever-increasing body of nationalists which was not willing to await the coming of the Lord. These—called the Zealots—advocated immediate armed resistance against the inroads made by the Roman power. They were ready to rise up at once and either throw off the hated yoke of Roman rule or else die in the attempt. Conditions could not longer be endured.

The rapid rise to prominence made by the party of the Zealots in itself serves to indicate that for God's chosen people the outlook was becoming darker than it had ever been before. From the beginning of the century first one event and then another marked final strides toward the end. The arrangements made by Augustus (in 27 B. C.), whereby Judea was to be supervised by procurators,
placed in the hands of these governors such authority that disastrous results might follow if corrupt and self-seeking men were appointed to office. And no sooner had this new order of control been established than steps were taken which deeply aroused the Jewish subjects. First of all a poll tax and a land tax were instituted; both of these measures were greatly resented, as is evidenced by the New Testament conceptions of the customs collectors.1

Another offense was the appointment, by Claudius (45 A.D.), of a procurator who, though a Jew, was an apostate to the Jewish faith. The animosity elicited by his appointment is clearly shown by the resulting uprising among the Zealots. This hatred was greatly augmented and kindled into an ever-increasing turbulence by his crucifixion of James and Simon, the sons of Judas. In an attempt to quell the uprisings Felix (52-60 A.D.) resorted to severe and cruel tactics, but his actions led only to renewed disorder. And when Festus, in 60 A.D., was appointed procurator by Nero, he found awaiting him a virtual state of anarchy. Under Albinus the situation became still worse. The words of Josephus describe well his reign:

"There is no wickedness that he did not practice. Not only did he embezzle public moneys, rob a multitude of private citizens, and burden the whole people with imposts, but he released captive highwaymen for ransoms from their relations; those that could not pay remained in prison. Every villain gathered a band of his own, and Albinus towered among them like a robber chief, using his adherents to plunder honest citizens."2

2. Jewish Wars, ii, 4,1; Riggs, A History of the Jewish People, p.257.
The greatest atrocities of all occurred under Gessius Florus, the last procurator (64-66 A.D.). By his extreme wickedness he cast into the shadow even the "rapacity and perfidy of Albinus":

"He made an open boast of his crimes against the people; he practised every sort of robbery and abuse precisely as though he had been sent to punish condemned criminals. His cruelty was pitiless, his infamies shameless; never before did any one so veil truth with deceit, or discover more cunning ways of accomplishing his knavery. To enrich himself at the expense of individuals was not enough for him; he robbed whole cities and ruined whole communities; things could not have been worse, had he made public proclamation throughout the land that every one might plunder where and what he would, provided only that he, Albinus, received his share of the booty. Whole cities were depopulated by his greed; multitudes left their houses and fled into foreign provinces."¹

In the face of such conditions as these it is not surprising that the patience of the nation was exhausted. "It was ready to plunge into open, determined rebellion... and at last the zealots had their way. The terrible tragedy of the nation's death struggle with Rome began."²

It is not possible in a treatment of this sort to discuss at any detail the events leading up to the end. The refusal of the Jews to offer daily sacrifice for the emperor amounted to a virtual declaration of war. The Pharisees, it is true, sought to persuade the people to give up all thought of war, but their efforts were in vain. Romans and Zealots prepared themselves for the conflict, not without internal discord, however, among the latter.³

¹ Riggs, A History of the Jewish People, p. 258-259.
² Ibid., p. 259.
³ Ibid., p. 263.
When open conflict broke out the most horrible monstrosities were committed. Jerusalem became the scene of a prolonged reign of terror. To make matters worse civil war broke out. Confusion and bloodshed were rampant.

At last the Roman hosts appeared under Titus. The siege of Jerusalem began, lasting from April until September of the year 70 A.D. These five months were "full of desperate undertakings, astonishing endurance, matchless cruelty, and terrible issues. With force it has been said that 'scarcely on another occasion in history has the spectator the same feeling of irredeemable ruin, of inevitable destruction, as in the case of the fall of Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D."  

With this momentous occasion the great rallying center of the nation came to an end. The temple was destroyed, and its demolition was followed by the gradual withdrawal of the priesthood from public life. The Sanhedrin disappeared. The nation lost all its political and religious privileges. "Henceforth it was to have no vestige of political onness, even under foreign domination. Its unifying power was the Law alone. Hopes for the future revived, but the Jewish nation was from the year 70 A.D. a thing of the past."  

Thus all the sufferings of the centuries terminated in one grand and final climax. Conditions that had before seemed unbearable during the first century A.D. became actually so. God, and God alone, could vindicate himself and his chosen race.

2. Ibid., p. 143.
The Effects of the First Century Calamities.

It is unnecessary at this time to give an account of the effects that a dark and gloomy outlook had upon the future hope of the Jews. The final extinction of their national identity served only to ground more deeply than ever before the firm conviction that the righteous and the just should yet prevail, and God's glory should yet be vindicated. The more evil and wicked the world became the more certain was divine intervention and retribution. Although occasion for protest was practically past, hope still remained the dominant characteristic. Men needed only to be encouraged to retain their courage and strength until God should make all things right according to his divine plan. To this end seers whom we call apologists continued to write, and to describe that which should yet appear. To them Judaism owes much.

"The Jewish state had fallen; Judaism was still to live on. The Romans had triumphed; the spirit whose inspiration and aim were in the law was unconquerable. The temple was gone; the synagogue needed neither Gerizim nor Moriah. A dispensation had come to an end; the Messianic hope must wait its glad, certain fruition. Judea became the property of a Roman emperor. The wide world became the dwelling-place of the Jews. . . The Romans have gone, but the Jews are still the nation of the law and the Messianic hope."1

The Literature of the First Century A. D.

The Assumption of Moses. The date of this apocalypse is the early part of the first century of the Christian era.

Charles places it between 7-29 A. D., while Porter assigns it to a time "not long after the death of Herod, probably before 10 A. D." The extant edition contains, in all probability, only a part of the original book, and is really a "Testament" of Moses, having nothing to say with regard to an assumption. The subject of the surviving part consists of a brief history of the world from Moses to the Messianic age, together with the last charges and revelations made by Moses to Joshua. Charles finds a close alliance between this work and the book of Jubilees, differing from the latter, however, in its bitter denunciation of the priesthood, and in its depreciation of the temple services because of the unworthy character of those who officiate. The Assumption of Moses reflects a time "when the restlessness under Roman domination becomes impatient of the slow and sober preparation for the Messiah's coming involved in keeping the law and in repentance."

The Secrets of Enoch. Slavonic Enoch, as it is sometimes called, was known to early Jewish and Christian writers, but not until the last century was it brought to light for more thorough investigation. As to date, it belongs to the first half of the first century A. D., or at least to a time previous to the fall of Jerusalem, in 70 A. D. The contents of the book consists

3. See page 71; also Charles, Eschatology, p. 301.
chiefly of an account of Enoch's journeys through the heavens, relating what he saw and heard there. The book is particularly interesting because of the fullness of its presentation of the doctrine of the seven heavens and their occupants. It makes some use of the earlier Ethiopic Enoch, but as a whole it represents a somewhat different trend of thought.

The Apocalypse of Baruch. A considerable body of pseudepigraphic literature gathered around the name of Baruch, the scribe of the prophet Jeremiah.¹ The most important, in the present study, is the Syric Apocalypse of Baruch, which, along with Second Esdras, ranks high among first century apocalyptic writings. It is generally regarded as a composite work,² the component parts of which may all be assigned to the latter half of the century. The authors were orthodox Jews, and represent that aspect of Judaism against which Paul so insistently fought. The book was written to comfort and encourage the despairing Jews amid the calamities that befell the nation through the destruction of Jerusalem. God is represented as announcing to Baruch what is in store for his chosen people. The grief of the scribe is relieved by the divine promise that in the proper time the glory of God will triumph.

"In this apocalypse we have almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. For ages after that epoch its people have

1. Jeremiah 36.
been bereft of their immemorial gifts of song and eloquence, and to have had thought and energy only for the study and expansion of the traditions of the fathers. But when our book (the Apocalypse of Baruch) was written, that evil and barren era had not yet set in; breathing thought and burning word had still their home in Palestine, and the hand of the Jewish artist was still master of its ancient cunning."

Second Esras (or IV Ezra). This book, which Charles calls the "sister work" of the Apocalypse of Baruch, receives its title from the opening verse: "the second book of the prophet Esdras." (The designation IV Ezra comes from the Vulgate). Like the Apocalypse of Baruch it dates to the latter half of the first century A. D., and grew out of exactly the same historical background. But whereas the Apocalypse of Baruch is strictly Jewish, IV Ezra holds a certain affinity to Christianity; because of that reason it won for itself a high position in the Christian Church. The book, like that of Baruch, is of composite character, the real apocalypse consisting of chapters 3-14.

Eschatology

The Nature of the Messianic Kingdom. It was noted in the previous chapter that the rapid growth of a dualistic conception of the earth led men's thoughts to turn towards a view of the future which involved only a temporary Messianic kingdom. This movement, already extremely vigorous in the preceding century, in the first century A. D. attained its most complete development.

2. Ibid., p. 337.
"Not only has the thought of an eternal Messianic kingdom passed absolutely from the minds of men, but also the hope of a temporary Messianic kingdom is at times abandoned in despair...; and in the rest, where it is expected, it is always of temporary duration."¹

The Assumption of Moses appears to represent the pessimism which despaired even of a temporary Messianic kingdom upon the present earth. Instead, after God vents his wrath upon his enemies, "Israel will mount up in triumph over the world-power, Rome, and will be exalted to an abode of glory in the heavens whence it will look down with exultation upon its enemies."²

"The earth itself is apparently destroyed," thinks Porter.³ It seems difficult to interpret with certainty the view which the book presents with regard to the exact destiny of the nation, "but seemingly her reward is simply translation to heaven."⁴

A short passage of the eschatological treatment is worth quoting:

"Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy,
And thou shalt mount upon the neck(s and wings) of the eagle,
And they shall be ended.
And God will exalt thee,
And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of the stars,
In the place of their habitation.
And thou shalt look from on high and see thy enemies in Ge(henna),
And thou shalt recognize them and rejoice,
And thou shalt give thanks and confess thy Creator."⁵

(10:8-10)

The value of the initial data is to be used in the calculation of the final result. This approach allows for a more accurate and reliable estimation of the outcome. The initial data should be carefully reviewed and validated to ensure its accuracy. Furthermore, the final result should be validated through additional calculations or experiments to confirm its reliability. The importance of this approach cannot be overstated, as it forms the foundation for any meaningful analysis or prediction.
The Secrets of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and IV Ezra all cling to the idea of a temporary kingdom to be established upon the present earth. The first of these bases its computations upon the account of the first week of creation as recorded in Genesis. This record is not only a history of the past, but also a forecast of the future earthly course of events. "Thus as a world was created in six days, so its history was to be accomplished in 6,000 years; for 1,000 years are with God as one day (Ps. xc:4; 2 Peter iii:8), and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of the 6,000 years there would be a rest of 1,000 years, i. e. the millenium." Here, for the first time, appears in definite and specific form the Jewish conception of the Millenium.

The Apocalypse of Baruch dwells at considerable length upon the Messianic kingdom, which is likewise regarded as of temporary duration:

"And it will come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, and he will return in glory, then all who have fallen asleep in hope of him shall rise again." (30:1)

A somewhat similar teaching is found in IV Ezra. After a period of final trial and tribulation has passed a new Jerusalem will be established. Here, as in the Secrets of Enoch, the duration of the kingdom is specifically stated; this time, however, it is represented as enduring for 400 years (7:23,29). At the end of that time all men (including the Messiah) will die, and the earth will lie in primeval silence for seven days.

Finally comes a seven-year day of judgment.

The Blessings of the Kingdom. As in previous accounts of the apocalyptic eschatology dealing with the blessed state to be enjoyed in the Messianic kingdom, the new day will offer to those participating in it the most perfect of spiritual blessings. Justice, righteousness, and goodness shall prevail. It is not necessary to repeat these views. The materialistic joys anticipated in the Apocalypse of Baruch are noteworthy, however, as they suggest a differing emphasis:

"The earth also will yield its fruits ten thousand fold, and on each vine there will be a thousand branches, and each branch will produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and each grape will produce a cask of wine. And those who have hungered will rejoice; moreover, also, they will behold marvels every day. For winds will go forth from before me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health. And it will come to pass at that self-same time, that the treasury of manna will again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they that have come to the consummation of time."  

The Comprehensiveness of the Kingdom. In most of the literature written before the destruction of Jerusalem only the hostile nations among the Gentiles are to be destroyed. The rest, as in earlier books, are to participate in the kingdom and serve the righteous of Israel. In works written after

2. Ibid., 40:1,2; 72:4-5.
3. See page 78.
The presentation of the theme

To answer properly, we must understand the significance and depth of the theme. The complexity and diversity of the subject matter require a comprehensive analysis.

For the presentation, it is necessary to:

1. Organize the information logically and coherently.
2. Use credible and relevant sources.
3. Highlight key points and main ideas.
4. Engage the audience through visual aids and interactive elements.

In summary, a thorough understanding of the theme is crucial for an effective presentation.
the fall of that city, however, the desire for retribution has made itself strongly felt. As in IV Ezra (13: 3:36) all are to be annihilated, except perhaps some few Gentile proselytes. The only suggestion of a larger hope appears in IV Ezra 11:46. "In no case have they (the Gentiles) any hope of a future (eternal) life." Thus the constant oppression suffered at the hand of Gentile powers led eventually to the narrow and particularistic view held by Ezekiel and the school of those that followed in his footsteps. The Jews gradually lost all sympathy for those who increasingly caused them to suffer, and who finally destroyed forever all hope of anational existence brought about by this-worldly means.

The Time of the Inauguration of the Kingdom. The first century A. D. witnessed an increased interest in the exact time when the Messianic kingdom should be established. The writings of the period contain speculative (thought specific) computations which date, to the very year, the inauguration of the new era. The Assumption of Moses, for example, holds that the advent of the kingdom will occur just seventeen hundred and fifty years after the death of Moses (10:12), which, in turn, is said to have occurred twenty-five (or twenty-seven) hundred years after creation. The new day is thus believed to be near at hand.

Present rulers are denounced with the prediction that their careers are to be short-lived.

The Secrets of Enoch likewise present a definite scheme in this connection. Here the author intimates that the end of the present world is to be expected seven thousand years from the date of the creation. As already pointed out, this date was arrived at by making each day of the creation week represent one thousand years.\footnote{Page 140.}

The Apocalypse of Baruch places the Judgment in the near future. The Day of the Lord is drawing near—"the youth of the world is past." (85:10)

According to IV Ezra the time when the kingdom shall begin is not definitely known to man, but signs of its approach are to be seen in the increasing degeneracy of the time, and in the occurrence of unusual and unnatural phenomena. These signs indicate that the end of the present age is rapidly drawing near.

The Judgment. By the first century of the Christian era there appears to have existed the view that there should be two world-judgments, one preliminary to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom, and the other at its close. Wherever a Messianic kingdom is expected, a preliminary judgment is involved, as in the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and IV Ezra.\footnote{See Charles, Eschatology, p. 356.} In the first of these, The Assumption of Moses, the kingdom is to be ushered in by a period of repentence (1:17-18), and "the eternal God . . . will punish the Gentiles" (10:7).

The Apocalypse of Baruch pictures a preliminary judgment which differs only slightly from the final judgment as represented.
by earlier writers.\textsuperscript{1} Certain passages serve to illustrate this fact:

"The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword, and he shall be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and my Messiah will convict him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. And afterwards he will put him to death, and protect the rest of my people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen." (40:1-2)

The Messiah "will summon all the nations, and some of them he will spare and some of them he will slay," (72:2), and "every nation which knows not Israel, and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob shall indeed be spared" (72:4), but "all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword" (72:6). "And it will come to pass, when he has brought low every thing that is in the world, and has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of his kingdom, that joy will be revealed, and rest appear." (73:1)

IV Ezra pictures a preliminary judgment when the Messiah will destroy the assailing multitudes, and will restore in Zion the ten tribes taken captive in the time of Hoshea.\textsuperscript{2}

The final judgment is to be executed upon men and angels alike. The Assumption of Moses contains a hymn concerning the last day that is so magnificent that it deserves quotation:

"For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne, And He will go forth from His holy habitation, With indignation and wrath on account of His sons. And the earth shall tremble; to its confines shall it be shaken; And the high mountains shall be made low, And the hills shall be shaken and fall. And the horns of the sun shall be broken, and he shall be turned into darkness; And the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood. And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.

\textsuperscript{1} See pages 43-50.
\textsuperscript{2} Consult Charles, \textit{Eschatology}, p. 344.
And the sea shall retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of water shall fail,
And the rivers shall dry up.

For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And He will destroy all their idols." (10:3-7)

In the Secrets of Enoch the final judgment, which follows the seventh world-day, is variously named. It is "the day of Judgment" (39:1; 51:3), "the great day of the Lord" (18:6), "the great judgment" (53:5; 65:6; 66:7), "the day of the great judgment" (50:4; 52:15), "the terrible judgment" (43:8), etc.

In IV Ezra all men shall rise to the final judgment. The account of it is of peculiar interest:

"This is a day that hath neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, neither cloud, nor thunder, nor lightning, neither wind nor water, nor air, neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning, neither summer, nor spring, nor heat nor winter, neither frost, nor cold, nor hail, nor rain, nor dew, neither noon, nor night, nor dawn, neither shining, nor brightness, nor light save only the splendor of the glory of the Most High, whereby all shall see the things that are set before them; for it shall endure as it were a week of years." (7:39-43)

By thus teaching both a preliminary and a final judgment the apocalyptical writers gave vent to their desire for national vengeance, and also their hope of a later and more ethical or spiritual judgment.

The Messianic Woes. As a whole, the writings of this period portray in the usual fashion the terrible woes which immediately precede the end of the present regime. In the Assumption of Moses these are described in terms taken from the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. ¹ In the Secrets of Enoch the "messianic woes"

¹ Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John, p. 194.
and the sea itself was calmed. The breath of God was over it and the face of God was over it. The Spirit of God was moving upon the face of the waters, and God said, "Let there be light." And there was light. God saw that the light was good, and God separated the light from the darkness. God called the light "day" and the darkness he called "night." Then there was evening and then there was morning, the first day.

And God said, "Let there be a firmament in the middle of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters." So God made the firmament and divided the waters that were under the firmament from the waters that were above the firmament. And it was so. God called the firmament "heaven." And there was evening and then there was morning, the second day.

And God said, "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear." And it was so. And God called the dry land "earth," and the gathering of the waters he called "ocean." And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and then there was morning, the third day.

And God said, "Let the earth bring forth vegetation, herbs producing seed after their kind, and trees with fruit whose seed is in it, that they may bear fruit in the month of its kind." And it was so. The earth brought forth vegetation, herbs producing seed after their kind, and trees with fruit whose seed was in it, that they might bear fruit in the month of their kind. And the fruit of the tree was good for food. And in the month of its kind the tree bore its fruit, and the seed of the tree was in it, that it might bear fruit in the month of its kind. And the earth brought forth vegetation, herbs producing seed after their kind, and trees with fruit whose seed was in it, that they might bear fruit in the month of its kind.
are identified with the Roman rule, as is also the case in the Apocalyptic of Baruch.\(^1\) In fact the more terrible the situation becomes the more firm is the conviction that present conditions are but a part of the evil time preceding the end. Certain descriptions found in the Apocalypse of Baruch are particularly interesting:

"Behold, the days come, and it will be when the time of the age has ripened and the harvest of its evil and good seeds has come, that the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and upon its rulers perturbation of spirit and stupor of heart," (70:2) . . . men will hate one another, and provoke one another to fight, and the mean will rule over the honorable, and those of low degree will be extolled above the famous. . . And the wise will be silent, and the foolish will speak, neither will the thought of men be then confirmed nor the counsel of the mighty, nor will the hope of those who hope be confirmed . . . And it will come to pass that whosoever gets safe out of the earthquake will be burned by the fire, and whosoever gets safe out of the fire will be destroyed by famine. For all the earth will devour its inhabitants." (70:3-10)

The Messiah. It has already been stated\(^2\) that after the first century B. C. the figure of the Messiah became of great importance in Jewish conceptions of the Messianic kingdom. This is not to be denied if it is regarded as the general and not the invariable rule. As a whole the Messiah did indeed become an integral part of the eschatological hope. An exception is to be found, however, as represented by the Assumption of Moses. There was grouped together a strong body of Pharisees who opposed a combining of the Messiah-hope with the expectation of an earthly kingdom. The author of the Assumption of Moses was of this group—"a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early

\(^1\) The Apocalypse of Baruch 39:3-5; Charles, Eschatology, p. 326.
\(^2\) Page 128.
Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation. He greatly opposed the forcible measures which were being advocated by the Zealots, and which were rapidly leavening the nation with an eager, irrepresible spirit. In spite of his sincere patriotism he looked askance at all appeal to arms (9:2-6).

"His faith is fixed upon the all-decisive intervention of God (10:3-10), who asks no help from an arm of flesh, but only obedience to the law." Hence no appeal is made to the activity of a Messiah in the Assumption of Moses, since that activity implies the use of force not strictly divine.

In spite of this lack of interest in the Messiah as it is seen in the Assumption of Moses, other writers of first century apocalyptic have manifested extreme interest in such a one. This is particularly evident in the Apocalypse of Baruch and IV Ezra. In some of the component parts of these writings he is expected to play only a passive role in the establishing of the kingdom (Baruch 27-30:1; IV Ezra 7:23). More usually, however, "he is regarded as an active warrior who slays His enemies with His own hand (Baruch 26-40; 53-70; IV Ezra 10:60-12:35), while others again conceive Him more loftily as one who slays His enemies by the word of His mouth (IV Ezra 13:10. . . )." Since, in these two apocalypses, the Messianic age is thought to be temporary, the reign of the Messiah

is also thought to be transitory. At the end of the Messianic age, according to the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Messiah is to return to his heavenly abode, and reign thereforever. According to IV Ezra, however, he, along with all other men, shall die, and all shall be silent until the new and incorruptible world shall appear and all shall rise for the judgment.

The Eschatology of the Individual. By the first century A.D. the individual, together with his ultimate destiny, became the dominant interest in eschatological speculation. The eschatology of the nation as a whole was still prominent, it is true; the hope of an earthly Messianic kingdom serves to certify that fact; indeed, the national calamities of the century tended to strengthen that hope. But at the same time the emphasis was upon another point. While the future of the nation held only a temporary glorious state, that of the individual promised, in the case of the righteous and the just, a state of never-ending bliss. While the future of the nation involved existence only on this earth, that of the individual involved an abode in the very heaven, and in the presence of God.

That the individual had, by this time, become the vital interest in apocalyptic eschatology is made very clear by an especially interesting passage of IV Ezra:

"If I have found favor in thy sight," the seer says to the angel, "show me, thy servant, this also; whether in the Day of Judgment the righteous shall be able to intercede for the ungodly, or to entreat the Most High in their
behalf—fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest." The angel replies: "The Day of Judgment is decisive, and displays unto all the seal of truth. Even as now a father may not send a son, or a son his father, or a master his slave, or a friend his dearest, that in his stead he may be ill, or sleep, or be healed, so shall none then pray for another on that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on another, for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness."  

By this time the two eschatologies have drawn apart in Judaism. As in the earliest of times the future of the nation is not realized in the same way as is the ultimate destiny of the individual.  

**The Resurrection Doctrine.** Just as this century set forth the belief in a preliminary and a final judgment, so also did it present to the world the idea of a first and second resurrection. The germ of this conception appears in IV Ezra (7:29,29), where it is taught that when the Messiah shall be revealed certain of the martyrs and other particularly righteous men shall accompany him. These with him shall enjoy the 400 years of the earthly Messianic kingdom.  

According to the Secrets of Enoch the righteous will escape the final judgment, entering at once into Paradise as their final abode (3; 9; 42:3,3; 51:3; 55:10).  

In the various sections of the Apocalypse of Baruch and IV Ezra the resurrection is variously conceived. In some passages the resurrection of the righteous only is advocated. In others  

1. IV Ezra 7:102-105. See also the *Apocalypse* of Baruch, 85:9.
there is taught a resurrection of all mankind, Gentile as well as Jew, bad as well as good (Baruch 30:2-5; 50; 51; IV Ezra 7:32-38).

It is not possible to discuss the many varying views in this connection. Nor is such a discussion necessary, for most of the details have to do only with mechanical elements. The important thing is that by the first century A.D. belief in the resurrection had become an accepted conception.

Conclusion. With the close of the first century of the Christian era the hedday of apocalyptic literature came to an end. The blow which struck the nation in 70 A.D. seemed to be as a death-knell, after which only a few struggling souls from among the Jews had the courage to predict new national glories. Frequently, it is true, the imagery of the prophets and apocalyptists was repeated or recast into new molds, and new dates were fixed for the final consummation, but all of these things were done only in a purely academic fashion. Judaism continued to live, "but except for an academic interest Jewish millennial expectations gradually lost their significance. With the hope of national restoration indefinitely deferred by political disaster, and with the failure of apocalyptic prophecy to materialize, faith found more immediate satisfaction in the thought of a blessed future for the individual soul immediately after death."1

SUMMARY

Apocalyptic literature cannot be said to have begun at any specified period of history. Elements which were adopted by writers in this field are to be found in the most ancient writings. Due to political and religious situations these elements were isolated and emphasized and made to serve a definite purpose.

From the time of the Exile the Hebrew people were constantly faced with danger. Their identity as a people and as a nation was continually threatened, and they were forced to suffer much that was infinitely distasteful to them. In order to give strength and courage and hope in such trying situations certain men sought to produce messages of such a nature that their people would be able to endure, and ultimately triumph. In order to do this they seized upon those elements which they found at hand.

In the first place, the writers of the literature which we call apocalyptic turned to the future, to the final events in the entire course of history. They began to picture to a troubled people the present vindication of all that they held dear. National glory became the great dominant desire. For a time, therefore, national and individual eschatology followed distinct courses. By the beginning of the second century B.C., however, the two began to merge. The individual should, as a part of the nation, enjoy never-ending happiness and bliss in a kingdom established upon the present earth. But as times grew worse there came the thought
I am going away to find a new way of living. Some things were changed in my
way of thinking. I want to learn to live in a more meaningful way.
I am trying to live more in the moment and less in the past and future.
I am trying to be more present and less in the past and future.
I am trying to live more in the moment and less in the past and future.
that this world was a place far too unworthy for the eternal kingdom. Henceforth, therefore, the future was thought of in a double aspect, and the eschatologies of the nation and of the individual once more separated. National glory should be realized in an earthly kingdom of temporary duration, while the eternal destiny of the righteous individual should be an eternal abode in the very heavens. The kingdom upon the present earth was frequently thought of as inaugurated by a Messiah of a glorious character, who should sit in judgment upon all hostile nations.

Various devices became the method of the writers of apocalyptic literature. They resorted to the use of visions, of prediction, of symbolic imagery, and pseudonymity. Traces of all of these except the last are to be found in early Jewish tradition, but at the hand of our authors they gradually developed into much more elaborate form. Reasons for the adoption of all of them may be traced ultimately to the conditions amid which the writers labored.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.


Used only for occasional reference.


The first 200 pages used extensively.


Used on all topics dealing with canonical apocalyptic.


Used for occasional reference on Jewish eschatology.


Occasional reference.


Used extensively in connection with all pre-Christan eschatology.


Introduction was used particularly, with reference to the remaining part.


Introduction was used particularly, although reference was made at all of it.

The entire part dealing with Jewish eschatology up through the first century A.D. was used extensively.


Used almost in its entirety.


Used only for occasional reference.


Used only occasionally for technical reference.


Used almost in its entirety.


Used for occasional reference.


Used for reference with regard to canonical apocalypses.


Used frequently in connection with canonical apocalypses.

Used in its entirety.


Used for frequent reference.


Used in large part.


Used very little.


All of this was used.


All of this was used.


Used only for occasional reference with regard to apocalyptic elements in Old Testament Prophecy.


The Introduction was used in part


All of this was used to a certain extent.


The Following Were Used for Reference on Apocalyptic Literature and upon Eschatology.


The Jewish Encyclopedia; New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1901.
