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The relationship of New Testament eschatology to the eschatology of Judaism

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THE RELATION OF NEW TESTAMENT
ESCHATOLOGY TO THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JUDAISM.

Senior Thesis

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Outline.

Introduction.

I- Exposition of the Eschatology of the Apocryphal, Apoclyptic, and Other Literature of Judaism, 200 B.C. -100 A.D.

A-General development of Eschatology during the above period.

1. Second Century B.C.

2. First Century B.C.

3. First Century A.D.

B-Special Eschatological Conceptions of Judaism.

1. The Messiah and Messianic Kingdom.

2. Soul and Spirit.

3. The Resurrection.

4. The Messianic Judgment.

5. The Final Judgment.

6. States of the Dead.

7. Solution of Moral Problems.

II-Exposition of the Eschatology of the New Testament.

A-General nature of NT Eschatology.

B-Special Eschatological Conceptions of the NT.

1. The Kingdom of God.

2. The Second Coming of Christ.

3. Man of Sin and Antichrist.

4. The Resurrection.

5. The Final Judgment.

6. States of the Dead.

Conclusion.

The Relation of New Testament Eschatology
to the Eschatology of Judaism.

The field of our study is a comparatively large one and our attention must be devoted to the salient features only, omitting minor issues that may arise. We may note at the beginning that both Judaic and NT eschatology root primarily in the OT. But since the OT is outside the scope of our present treatise, little attention will be given it. If we could also keep in mind the fact that the eschatological conceptions of Judaism and especially of Christianity were not mechanical issues separated from the life of the people, but were intimately bound up with their every day life and their religious beliefs, our treatment would be saved from a seeming mechanical abstractness. The period covered in this paper is from 200B.C. to 100 A.D. Within these dates is found the main bulk of eschatological teaching, and the doctrines promulgated later than 100 A.D. would probably have little influence on the NT writings. To one familiar with the Judaic teaching on the doctrines of the Last Things, it would be apparent that many of the mechanical features could find little or no place in the writings of the NT. It would probably also be self-evident that these NT authors would when ever possible relate their teachings to the OT. The author of the article in the Encyclopedia Britannica says that in the eschatological teaching of Judaism the eschatology of the OT was universalized, individualized, transcendentalized, and dogmatized. These last

two characteristics are not wholly in accord with the spirit of the NT. Both Jesus and His disciples lived in intimate contact with the people. It would seem probable that in their teaching they would build upon the current eschatological ideas of their time, whenever these were in accord with the fundamental principles of the Kingdom, which they were endeavoring to establish. How far they did accept these current teachings of Judaism, and build upon them, and how far these same teachings are discoverable in the NT, is the question which we have set out to answer in this thesis.

I

Exposition of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic and Other Literature of Judaism - 200 B.C. - 100 A.D.

A general view of the eschatological developments of this period will be helpful in clearing up the field in which we are to work. In the literature of Judaism of the Second Century B.C. we find the eschatological views of the OT consolidated and developed into more or less consistent systems. Definite ideas are found concerning the destiny of the individual and of the nation. Losing all hopes for the present, the writers extended their hopes to the future. The ultimate destiny of the righteous and wicked is sketched in clear fashion. As the uncertainty of retribution in this life grew more apparent, the certainty of it in the next life became assured. The writers unanimously proclaimed the certainty of the Judgment on the advent of the Messianic Kingdom,

some holding that at death men enter a state of bliss or woe which is but a prelude to their final destiny. Future blessedness both for the individual righteous and for the nation will be realized and consummated in the Messianic Kingdom, an OT synthesis of the two hopes which prevailed throughout the Second Century. The writer of Enoch 83-90 feels the impropriety of the present earth as the theater for the Messianic Kingdom, a sign of the approaching detachment of the hopes of the individual from those of the nation. The writer sees the need of an incorruptible habitation where the righteous may be with God, and accordingly sets up the New Jerusalem as the center of the Kingdom. This device was a sort of compromise due to the growing dualism of Judaism. The Second Century also witnessed an extension of the resurrection from the righteous to the wicked—a declension from the former spiritual view. This conception was far from general, however, and the older and higher conception is retained in Ethiopic Enoch 83-90.¹

The eschatology of the First Century B.C., witnesses the establishment of a gulf between itself and that of the past. Its dualism has now made the earth an unfit place for the Messianic Kingdom, and the hope of such a Kingdom on this earth is absolutely abandoned. There could be but a temporary Kingdom here and the goal must be heaven itself. The resurrection and final judgment recede to the close of the temporary Messianic Kingdom. With one exception, Eth. En. 37-70, the writers dissociate personal immortality from the national hope, thus resolving the synthesis of the preceding centuries into its elements, never again to be spiritually fused within the sphere of

1—Charles—Critical History of the Doctrine of the Future Life.

Judaism. Their true and final synthesis became the task of Christianity. The Similitudes in Eth. En. 37-70 teach the doctrine of a new heavens and a new earth as the scene of the Kingdom and the goal of the risen righteous. A resurrection of the spirit, not of the body, is looked for at the close of the temporary Messianic Kingdom, and the writer of the Similitudes looks forward to a resurrection of all Israel at the beginning of the eternal Messianic Kingdom. The doctrine of the Messiah is unique, the Messiah being regarded as the supernatural Son of Man in the Similitudes, and as a militant character in the Psalms of Solomon. Israel's present suffering is regarded as being disciplinary in character.¹

During the First Century A.D., dualism attained its final development and the hope of an eternal Messianic Kingdom on earth was absolutely given up, and at times that of a temporary Messianic Kingdom on the present earth;² and in the rest when it is expected it is always of temporary duration. In Slavonic En. it is 1000 years and in 4 Ez.^{28, 29} 400 years. According to the latter some of the saints will arise to share in it, thus giving rise to the doctrine of the First Resurrection. The loss of the Messianic Hope was followed by a period of extreme individualism. The transcendent view of the risen righteous is similar to that of the last century. The resurrection is of the spirit only, or of the spirit clothed in the Glory of God, or with their former earthly body, which is forthwith to be transformed and made like that of angels. According to the Hellenistic writers (Bk. of Wis. Philo, 4 Macc.,) the righteous enter their final abode of happiness at death; but Palestinian Judaism held

1. Charles.

2. Apoc. of Bar; 4 Ez; 4 Macc.

universally to the doctrine of an intermediate abode of the righteous. The scope of the resurrection was now extended in some books to all mankind (Apoc. of Bar. 49-51; 4 Ez. 7⁸²⁻⁸⁷). The Gentiles were to be raised however, only to be condemned forever, and this post-resurrection condemnation was much severer than that endured before its advent.¹

We must now enter somewhat more minutely into the nature of the special conceptions developed in Judaism. Our aim has been to choose only those which are primarily concerned with the task in hand, omitting those of minor importance. The items which would perhaps naturally ^{come first} in such a discussion are those of the Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom.

The Messiah has a very small place in the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature of the Second Century B.C., the term, "Messiah", being used only twice - Eth. En. 90⁸⁷, and Sibyll. Or. - and these merely in a reminiscent sense. Earth is the scene of the Messianic Kingdom in Dan. and Eth. En. 1-36, but in En. 83-90 New Jerusalem is the scene, this being the first trace in the century of a sense of the unfitness of the present world. The Kingdom is always regarded as eternal. According to Eth. En. 10²¹ all Gentiles are to become righteous and worship God, and only hostile Gentiles are to be destroyed.

The First Century B.C. gives a larger place to the Messiah and His Kingdom. In the Similitudes the Messiah is conceived as the supernatural Son of Man, and is to enjoy universal dominion and execute judgment on men and angels. Other writers revived the OT conception of a prophetic Messiah to be descended from David. As these two views are of deep influence,

¹. Charles.

the Messiah henceforth becomes the chief figure of the Messianic Kingdom. The former favorable view for the Gentiles has all but gone, either annihilation, En.37-70, or servitude of Israel in the temporary Kingdom awaiting them. There is nowhere any hope of their attaining a blessed resurrection.

This century opened with a revolutionary doctrine of the future in which God was looked upon as so unapproachably pure, and man so sinful and defiled, that God's abiding on earth with men had become inconceivable. The doctrine of divine immanence had given way to that of transcendence. Accordingly the resurrection and final judgment can no longer initiate the Messianic Kingdom, but must be transferred to its close. For the first time the Messianic Kingdom on earth is conceived as temporary. This temporary Kingdom cannot be the goal of the risen righteous, so satisfaction is found in a blessed immortality in heaven itself. The author of the Similitudes (94-64 B.C.)¹ uses various titles for his supernatural Son of Man - as "the Christ", "the Righteous One", "the Elect One", and "the Son of Man". This is the first appearance of these titles, and the last of the above is the historic source of the NT designation. Thus the Messiah is conceived as Judge of the world and champion and eternal ruler of the righteous. The author clings fast to the eternal Messianic Kingdom with its scene on a new heaven and a new earth. For the last time in Judaism, the writer combines the separate hopes of the individual and the nation in one blessed future. The Pss. of Sol. 17-18 connect the Messianic hope with the popular hopes of the nation, thus secularizing the conception and with it the

¹. Charles.

teaching of Pharisaism, and preparing the way for the ultimate destruction of the nation. The Messiah is here called the Christ and is regarded as the right- and sinless king, taught of God and able to bring back the dispersion and to make Jerusalem holy and Israel a holy people. His weapons are spiritual, the ungodly nations were to be destroyed by the word of His mouth, after which all other nations would be subject to Him. The Messiah is looked upon as mortal but He will not faint all His days.¹ The Messianic^K was regarded as of temporary duration and is painted in glowing colors.²

We will now proceed to the First Century A.D. The Book of Jubilees, written before A.D. 10, expects a Messiah of the tribe of Judah whose advent is to be preceded by the Messianic woes, the latter to be followed by the repentance of Israel, and the gradual coming of the Kingdom. In the Ass. of Moses there is no Messiah, only God alone, and the Messianic Kingdom is connected with the return of the ten tribes. At the close of the temporary Messianic Kingdom, Israel is to be exalted to heaven. Philo (B.C. 25-50 A.D.) looked for the return of the tribes from captivity, and to a kingdom of temporal prosperity, and even to a Messiah, though the Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom are foreign to Philo's eschatology, which gives a strong proof as to the prevalence of these expectations even in Hellenistic Judaism. In Slavonic En. (A.D. 1-50) there is no Messiah, and the millenium or Messianic Kingdom is of 1000 years duration, with the judgment at its close. We have here the first mention of the millenium, which became prominent in the Apocalypse of John in the NT. The Book of Wisdom, an Alexandrian work, contains

1. Pss. of Sol. 17. 42.
2. Charles.

no Messiah but depicts a Messianic or theocratic Kingdom in which the righteous are to judge the nations and to have dominion. The Apoc. of Bar. represents the Messiah either as a passive being or as a fighting warrior and regards His Kingdom as temporary. The Ezra Apoc. (before A.D. 70)² emphasizes the signs of the last times, and represents the Messiah as the Son of God, who will be accompanied by certain saints, and all the surviving faithful will reign with the Messiah for 400 years, after which the Messiah and all men will die. In the Son of Man vision of 4 Ez., the Messiah is regarded as coming in the clouds of heaven, destroying His enemies by means of the law which is like fire. Josephus (A.D. 37-101) looked for a Messianic era (Ant. IV, 6.5). His interpretation of the Messianic prophecy as pointing to Vespasian is probably due to his position with regard to the Romans.²

The above teachings on the Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom during these three centuries may now be gathered together in a brief summary:³ Four outstanding conceptions of the Messiah are found:

1. The Messiah is conceived merely as a passive though supreme member of the Messianic Kingdom - Eth. En. 83 - 90. He rules over a transfigured Israel, with the Holy Jerusalem as centered of the Kingdom, and His reign is apparently eternal. In the First Century A.D. this conception appears twice, in Apoc. Bar. 27-30 where His rule is of temporary duration, and in 4 Ez. 7²⁸ where He dies after a reign of 400 years. In the second and third of the above cases the Messiah appears after the Messianic woes and judgment.

2. As an active warrior who slays His enemies with His own hand - Sibyl. Or. 3⁸⁵²⁻⁸⁶⁰, 2nd Century B.C; Pss. of Sol. 17^{23, 26}, where the Messiah is to be of

1. Kabisch.
2. Charles.
3. Charles; Encyc. Brit.

Davidic descent, also in Apoc. of Bar. 36-40 and 53-74; 4Ez. 10⁶⁰ - 12³⁵. In all these books^{save} the first(?) the Messianic Kingdom is of temporary duration.

3. As one who slays His enemies by the word of His mouth, and rules by virtue of His justice, faith and holiness - Pss. Sol. 17^{27, 31, 37, 39, 41}. A similar conception is found in 4Ez. 13. In both cases His reign is probably temporary.

4. As a supernatural person, the eternal Ruler and Judge of Mankind - Eth. En. 83-90. This conception of the Messiah is logically a development of that in the third division, but it is chronologically antecedent to it. It is the most sublime conception of the Messiah found in all Jewish literature, outside the Canon.

There are three principal conceptions of the Messianic Kingdom:

1. The Messianic Kingdom of eternal duration.
 - a. On earth as it is (Eth. En. 1-36; Sibyl. Or. 3⁷⁸⁶⁻⁷⁸⁸).
 - b. On transformed earth and in heaven (Eth. En. 37 - 70). The Kingdom is here eternal and therefore preceded by the resurrection and final judgment.
2. Of temporary duration on earth. (Eth. En. 91-104; Pss. of Sol. 17, 18; 2 Macc.; Jub.; Slave En.; Ass. of Moses; Bk. of Wis.; Apoc. of Bar.; 4Ez - all parts but Salathiel Apocalypse). The resurrection of the righteous comes at the close of the Kingdom. At the same time the wicked enter their final abode, Hades, here the equivalent of Hell.
3. No Messianic Kingdom expected (4 Macc., Apoc. of Bar., Salath. Apoc.). In these man enters his final award only after the final judgment.

The Judaic conception of the soul and spirit, ought to be considered because it throws light on the teaching concerning the states of the dead. The later view of the spirit as the breath of life underlies Eccle. 38²³; Bar. 2¹⁷; Tob. 3⁶. In these the soul and spirit are regarded as essentially different - the spirit goes back to God and the soul continues to subsist in Sheol. Elsewhere in the second Century the older Semitic view of soul and spirit is found but in a further stage of development. The old view, making the soul and spirit identical in essence but not in function, passed away and now they are regarded as identical in both. The terms are now synonymous, and the departed in Sheol are called souls or spirits indifferently, and are looked upon as having consciousness. Departed angels and spirits are always spoken of as "spirits", the term "soul" never being used of angels, fallen or otherwise, in the OT, or elsewhere in Jewish or Christian literature. Dichotomy is therefore the general view which obtained in these centuries.¹

The Resurrection forms an important theme in the eschatology of Judaism. Sometimes it is only of the righteous, at other times it is of all mankind and is preparatory to the last Judgment. Sometimes immortality is taught without reference to the resurrection. In Daniel the blessedness of resurrection to life is extended to the martyrs, the great saints, and the teachers - 12^{2,3}. There is a resurrection to shame and everlasting contempt - probably Gehenna - for the Jewish apostates. The lot of the great majority who are neither overmuch righteous nor overmuch wicked, is of no concern to the Kingdom and Sheol is their eternal abode. In Eth. En 1-36 all are raised, and

¹ 1. Charles.

the righteous with their bodies eat of the tree of life and thereby enjoy patriarchal lives in the Messianic Kingdom with its center at Jerusalem. There is no Messiah but all are in the immediate presence of God. The life is sensuous, long life and material prosperity being much emphasized. According to this account one class of the wicked are transferred from Sheol to Gehenna. In Eth.En 83-90 (166-161 B.C.), only the righteous dead are raised. This is the original and spiritual view of the resurrection, the risen life being the organic development of the righteous life on earth. After the resurrection all members of the Kingdom are transformed to a higher form of life. From this transformation Charles concludes that the righteous are to enjoy eternal risen life in the likeness of the Messiah. This is the first appearance of this idea in Jewish literature. The eschatology of 2Mac. belongs to the Second Century, the eternal Messianic Kingdom being on earth as in Eth.En.83-90. Thus in the Second Century B.C. we find the resurrection extended only to some of righteous and some of wicked - Dan.12^{2,3}; to all of righteous and some wicked in Eth.En. 1-36; to all of righteous but none of wicked in Eth.En. 83-90. It is always only of the Israelites, and the righteous always rise to participate in the Messianic Kingdom. In the First Century B.C. the resurrection is usually transferred to the close of the temporary Messianic Kingdom, and is of the spirit not of the body. As previously noted, the teachings of 2 Macc. belong to the Second Century as the book purports to be an epitome of Jason's five books which dealt with the history of events from 175-161 B.C. The writers of Eth.En.91-104, and Pss.of Sol.1-16, taught a resurrection of the spirit only and

that only the righteous rise. The writer of the Similitudes taught a resurrection of the spirit, which was to be clothed in a body of glory and light (Eth. En. 62^{15, 16}). Both these views emphasize the spiritual nature of the resurrection. In 61⁵ the Similitudes state that only the righteous rise; but in 51^{1, 2} there is a resurrection both of the just and of the unjust.

During the First Century A.D., the views on the resurrection varied. In Jubilees 23³¹ we find a resurrection of the spirit only, but in other parts of the book there is no resurrection but a blessed immortality, the bones resting in the earth. Philo regarded matter as evil, thereby excluding all possibilities of a resurrection of the body, and held only to a resurrection of spirit. Slavonic En. denies the resurrection of the body and held that at the final judgment the souls of the righteous would be clothed with God's glory and would go from the intermediate place to paradise. In the Bk. of Wis. there is no resurrection of the body since the soul is regarded as the real self, immortal and pre-existent. The writer of B² of the Apoc. of Ba² looks for a renewal of the present earth which is to become everlasting and incorruptible. In accordance with this he holds to a resurrection of the body from the treasures of Sheol to ensure recognition, to be followed by a transformation resulting in a spiritual existence surpassing that of the angels in excellence. From the account of the resurrection in Chapters 49-51, Charles thinks it is clear that Paul's teaching in I Cor. 15³⁵⁻⁵⁰ is in some respects a developed and more spiritual expression of ideas already current in Judaism. The Ez. Apoc. holds that all mankind are to be raised from the dead and to appear at the last judgment. Josephus believed that the

righteous would live again.

The views of the three centuries may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Resurrection of all Israel (Eth. En. 1-36; Dan. 12¹⁻⁸; Eth. En. 37-70; 2 Macc. 7^{7, 11, 14}, 12^{43, 44}; Apoc. of Bar. 30²⁻⁵, 50-51).

2. Resurrection of righteous only (Eth. En. 83-90), the resurrection to occur after the final judgment.

3. A blessed immortality for the souls of the righteous after the final judgment (Eth. En. 91-104; Ass. of Moses 10⁹).

4. A blessed immortality for the souls of the righteous immediately after death (Jub. 23; Philo; Bk. of Wis. 3^{1-4, 2, 7, 10}; 4 Macc. 5^{8, 7, 8}, 9, 13¹⁷; and the Essene doctrine according to Josephus.

5. Resurrection of all mankind (Ap. c. Bar. 30²⁻⁵, 50, 54; 4 Ez. 7³²⁻³⁸; Test. of XII Pat; Benj. 10).¹

We will now consider the teaching of Judaism on the subject of the judgment, taking up first the Messianic Judgment, and later the Final Judgment. The Messianic Judgment is in the first place realistically conceived: The Judgment is executed by the Messiah, as in Pss. of Sol. 17; Apoc. Bar. 39, 40, 72, 73; 4 Ez. 12⁸²⁻⁸⁴; or by the saints as in Dan. 2⁴⁴; Eth. En. 90¹⁹, 91¹², 96¹, 98¹²; Sibyll. Or. 3⁷⁸¹; Jub.; and Ass. of Moses 10⁹. The Messianic Judgment is in the second place forensically conceived, being executed by the Messiah, as in Pss. of Sol. 17, 18; 4 Ez. 13^{28, 32-50}; or by the saints as in Bk. of Wis. 3⁸. Paul's question in 1 Cor. 6², "Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?" seems to have been derived from the passage in the Bk. of Wis. which says of the righteous, "They shall judge the nations and have dominion over the people".²

The Final Judgment was regarded as closing the Messianic age if the latter was thought of as temporal, or as ushering it in if it was thought of as eternal, or as closing the world's history if no Messianic era was expected. It is always administered by God save in Eth.En.37-70, where it is committed to the Messiah, the Son of Man. Besides the preliminary Messianic Judgment, there was final judgment on certain classes on the advent of the Messianic Kingdom: according to Dan. on certain living and dead Israelites; according to Eth.En.1-36, final judgment occurred immediately on death in Sheol. There was preliminary judgment on the angels who married the daughters of men and on all mankind at the Deluge, 10⁴⁻¹²; final judgment on the impure angels, 10¹²⁻¹⁸, demons hitherto unpunished 16¹, and on all Israel except certain classes of sinners, before the advent of the Messianic Kingdom. In Eth.En.83-90 there is the first world wide judgment of the Deluge 89¹⁻⁸, then the judgment of Judas' sword 90¹⁶⁻¹⁹, and then final judgment of the impure angels and faithless angelic patrons 90²⁰⁻²⁵, and of the apostate Jews 90^{26,27}. This judgment introduces the Messianic Kingdom on the present earth.

In the First Century B.C., the Final Judgment is on all rational beings, human and angelic, and takes place at the close of the Messianic Kingdom except in Eth. En.37-70 where it initiates this Kingdom. The scene of the Final Judgment is not on earth as in the Second Century, but in a new heaven and a new earth. Views of the Final Judgment in the First Century A.D. differed. In Jub., Slav.En., and Apoc.Bar. the Final Judgment was viewed as coming at the end of the Messianic Kingdom. Philo apparently did not look

for a general and final judgment, but held that all entered at death into their final abode. The Ez. Apoc. places the Judgment at the end of the four hundred year Messianic Kingdom. The Apoc. Salathiel regards the Judgment and all things relative to it as fixed before the creation of the world and of man, and that it will come when the number of the righteous is completed, 4³⁶₁.

In the Second Century B.C. we find four specific places set forth as places of abode for the departed. The first of these is Sheol, which in Daniel 12² is called the land of dust and retains the OT sense as a non-moral region. It is represented as the intermediate abode of the very good, and very bad and as the eternal abode of the remaining Israelites and all Gentiles. The special class of righteous Israel, after "an aeonian life" - probably five hundred years or a very long time - in the Kingdom will descend finally and forever to Sheol. Thus Sheol becomes seemingly the eternal abode of all mankind, save the Jewish apostates who are condemned to Gehenna. Eth. En. 1-36 gives a view of Sheol probably developed from certain OT views. In Chap. 22 we find a four-fold division of Sheol: (1) The division for the righteous, as Abel, who had met with undeserving death; (2) for the other righteous; (3) for sinners who died without suffering true retribution; (4) for sinners who met with retribution in life. These last will remain in Sheol forever, thus making Sheol synonymous with Hell. Enoch's conception represents a vast advance over Daniel since here we find a vigorous conscious existence, the ethical considerations paramount, and the lot of the soul determined on moral grounds alone. However this conception, which

represents a great revolution in Jewish thought, has its shortcomings as it is only imperfectly ethical. Destiny is accomplished at death, and the place in Sheol is absolutely determined by the character on earth. It is "a place of petrified moralities and suspended graces" and the soul can make no progress either up or down in Sheol. It aims at being moral but ends in being mechanical.

The second abode for the dead is Paradise. In the Second Century only two men were conceived of as entering Paradise immediately on leaving the earth, Enoch and Elijah - Eth.En.87^{3,4}, 89^{5,2} - and this view is due to the OT account of their translation.

The third place is Gehenna. The conception is similar to that of the OT. In Isaiah 50¹¹, and 66²⁴ it is represented as the immediate place of punishment for the apostate Jews, while in Dan.12², Eth.En. 27^{1,2}, 90^{26,27} it is represented as the final and not intermediate abode of apostates in the next world. According to Eth.En.22, the unpunished class of the wicked are, after great pain in Sheol, transferred to everlasting punishment in Gehenna, where "their spirits are slain" - the spirits probably being disembodied.

The fourth abode is the Abyss of Fire, the place for the punishment of the faithless angelic rulers and the impure angels.

In the First Century B.C. there are according to Charles, five places of abode for the departed. (1) Paradise, which in the Second Century contained only two men, is now the intermediate abode of all the righteous and the elect, Eth.En.61¹². (2) Heaven, which in the Similitudes becomes for the first time

in Apocalyptic Literature the abode of the righteous after the Final Judgment. (3) Sheol, looked upon first as the intermediate abode of the departed, and for the first time as a place where moral transformation is possible; and in the second place as Hell or Gehenna, the final abode of the wicked, a place of fire, Eth.En.103⁵⁻⁸. Hades is the Greek word for Sheol and is used in 2 Macc.6,7. (4) Gehenna, which in the Similitudes is especially designed for the kings and the mighty and both it and its victims are to vanish from the sight of the righteous. In Eth.En.91-104, Gehenna is pictured as a place for spiritual punishment only-elsewhere it is for both corporal and spiritual punishment. In Judith 16¹⁷, written about 50 B.C., woe is pronounced upon Israel's national enemies in these terms: "The Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of Judgment. By putting fire and worms in their flesh, and they shall weep and feel their pain forever". This passage probably refers to Gehenna, and shows a new development. (5) A Burning Furnace, which is the final abode of the fallen angels, Eth.En.54⁶.

In the First Century B.C., Heaven is regarded as the final abode of the righteous, and is, according to the Hellenistic writers, entered upon at death. Palestinian Judaism, however, held universally to the doctrine of Paradise as the intermediate abode of the righteous, regarding Heaven as the final abode, though in Slav.En, Ez.Apoc., and Salath.Apoc., Paradise seems to be regarded as the final abode of the righteous. Josephus, setting forth the Pharisaic doctrine, represents the righteous as entering Sheol under the earth as the intermediate abode. The author of the Ass.of Moses, a Pharisaic quietist, looked upon Gehenna as

as the final abode of the wicked generally. 4 Macc. teaches the eternal existence of all souls, the good in heaven, the bad tormented in fire forever. The Apoc. of Salathiel (4Ez.) represents the souls of the wicked as roaming in torment, which becomes more grievous after the final judgment.¹

Moral problems and issues next engage our attention. Some of the writers of Judaism dealt with these. As already noted, Daniel, not interested in the problem of the individual, retained the old non-moral conception of Sheol. The problem of the author of Eth. En. 1-36 is to justify the ways of God to men. Individual retribution, rather than the future of the nation, is his chief concern. He believes that the righteous will not always suffer, and the wicked will not always prosper¹, holding that death and the great world-judgments set a limit to such experiences. The author finds the cause of evil, not in the primal fall of Adam, but in the lust of the fallen angels for the daughters of men (Gen. 6¹⁻⁴). Original sin therefore consists not in the following of Adam, but in the evil engendered by these fallen angels, 9^{8,9,10}, 10⁸. The Deluge is looked upon as the first World-Judgment, bringing retribution to these angels, their children, and to antediluvian man. The fallen angels were confined in an intermediate abode under the mountains. Sin among the righteous after the Deluge is regarded as being due to demons—the spirits of the slain children of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. The demons pursued their work from the Deluge to the final world-judgment 16¹, a belief still current in NT times. This author makes the soul's lot in Sheol determinate on moral grounds alone. Eth. En. 83-90

1. Charles.

shows a still farther advance, his conceptions being more spiritual and more individualistic. His problem is also to justify God's ways to man and his solution takes the form of a Semitic philosophy of religion. He traces the Deluge to the sin of the angels but his interest centers mainly in the disastrous history of Israel after the Exile. He concedes Israel's sin and need of punishment, but not such punishment as was received. These severities are therefore not from God's hands, but are due to the seventy shepherds or angels into whose care God committed Israel for chastisement. These shepherds have proven faithless, destroying many against God's will. Their freedom is, however, short for judgment is approaching them from the righteous Chasids led by Judas, the deliverer. Judas will overcome them and they will be condemned along with the lustful angels to the abyss of fire.¹

Moral issues take a still larger place in the teaching of the First Century B.C. Ezekiel in the OT looked upon prosperity as a token of God's approval, and held that the wealthy could appeal to their riches as proof of their righteousness. The author of Eth. En. 91-104 regards prosperity as a source of delusion to those who experience it, rather than as a token of God's favor. He holds that the very personality will be lost at last through these possessions. While he admits the present evil lot of the righteous, he holds that the day of recompense is near and that punishment awaits the prosperous sinners. The author nobly maintains the cause of goodness in the face of triumphant evil and advises the righteous not to regret their high calling, but to be steadfast and hopeful as their day of glorification is at hand. The book

1. Charles.

is a noble work but falls far short of the noblest in the past. The author of the Similitudes (Eth.En.37-70) holds that only by tracing evil to its source, and the course of history to its final goal, can the present inequalities be justified. He traces the origin of sin, not to the Seventy Watchers, but to the Satans, the original adversaries of man,⁵⁴⁷. The Watchers received immediate punishment by being confined in a deep abyss to await final judgment. But it was through subjection to the Satans that the Watchers fell and then led mankind astray. Meanwhile sin flourishes, but the prayers of the righteous, joined with those of angels, ascend to God, who, together with the Son of Man, will appear and the latter will execute final judgment on all, meteing out punishment for the wicked, and a rich reward of life with God for the righteous. The writers of the First Century A.D. seem to have devoted little attention to moral problems.¹

II

Exposition of the Eschatology of the New Testament.

The eschatology of the NT will be treated in a way similar to that in which the eschatology of Judaism has been investigated. Accordingly a preliminary view into its general nature will be in order. As might be expected, the NT eschatology attaches itself primarily to that of the OT. While the latter has no definite or complete eschatology, it does however give an important and ever growing contribution to faith in the future life. Israel's faith contains two

1. Charles.

fundamental articles, the doctrine of one God, and the doctrine of man made in God's image and for communion with God. These truths, furthered by the poets, prophets and teachers, led gradually to a more moral conception of the life beyond the grave. But the OT eschatology remained incomplete at its highest and pointed to something beyond itself. The eschatology of the NT fell heir to its teachings, carrying its principles to their issues.¹

But the NT eschatology also attaches itself to the popular faith of Judaism. We have seen that considerable development took place in the field of eschatology in the period between the OT writings and those of the NT. This Judaic literature furnishes the key to much of the NT eschatology. Salmond says, "It shows in what way the OT faith was retained and enlarged in harmony with its essential principles; in what way also it was materialized and subjected to changes inconsistent with its true spirit; in what directions belief became more positive; in what respects it became fanciful, speculative, grotesque; how certain OT terms and ideas were modified in sense and application, and in what measure new terms and ideas were introduced!" The NT eschatology bears the impress of these things and cannot be rightly understood apart from them. Many of the elements of this eschatology are of course omitted from the NT, and many other elements which are inconsistent with the OT revelation are reflected in the NT, purified however from the gross and unspiritual elements with which they were mixed in Judaism.

There is no systematic eschatology expressed in the language of metaphysics or theology in the NT. The teaching on the Last Things appears in the form of ideas common to the NT writers, but presented in

¹Salmond in H.B.D.

different aspects and connections by different writers. It may be presented in Christ's words, the discourses of Acts, the records of Evangelists, the Epistles of Apostles, all on promptings of circumstances calling for the same. It is never given in terms of the schools nor with a speculative interest, but always in the language of the people for the purposes of life and practice. It makes free use of figures, parables, and imaginative phrases, in the expression of the Eastern mind. The NT attempts no exhaustive treatment nor constructive account of the Last Things. Its message is distinctly a message of hope, and is concerned primarily with the issues of the Kingdom of God and the destiny of the righteous, and has less to say of the grave issues of the future of the unrighteous.

It will be in order now to deal with the principal conceptions of NT eschatology. As already noted the Messianic expectation was an article of faith with the Jews and Pharisees. The Jews (John 7²⁷) assumed that the coming of the Messiah would be unexpected and mysterious. The same idea is found in the Talmud and the Targum, and in Justin (Dial ch.8,110). The Jews also expected the Messiah to work miracles, "a common anticipation which is implied in Jesus' answer to John (Matt. 11²⁷)" and in the questioning of the Jews (John 7³¹). Similar evidence is also found in Rabbinic literature.¹ No trace of the idea that the Messiah must undergo suffering is found in the extra-canonical pre-Christian literature. "In the minds of the first members of the Christian church, the experiences of the Cross, Resurrection, and Pentecost, together with the impression which the character and work, the life and teaching of Jesus had made upon them, led to a rapid transformation, pregnant with

1. Stanton. -Messiah- H.B.D.

important consequences, of the idea of the Messiah which they had held as Jews. They turned again as Jesus had taught them to do to their ancient Scriptures and read them with new eyes." ¹

As the Messianic Kingdom was of great importance in Judaism, so in the NT eschatology the Kingdom of God is the chief concern. Christ's teaching on this theme is found mainly in the Synoptics, and here the great idea is the Kingdom of God and its consummation. His teaching connects itself with the great ideas of the OT developing and fulfilling them. Theoretic questions and speculative discussions have no place in Christ's teachings, as these deal with practical relations and broad moral issues. Jesus' teaching presupposes future existence but offers no proof of its reality. It regards life as man's destiny. It presents the Kingdom of God as a thing of the actual present, brought to men in and by the Teacher Himself, and also as a thing of the future. While the Kingdom has a gradual growth its final establishment seems destined to be accomplished by a great conclusive event. Sanday holds that Jesus regards the Kingdom as supernatural, coming down from heaven above, a gift bestowed by God. Also that it is both present and future, and inward in the individual and outward as spiritual law and influence in society. Christ's whole teaching on the Last Things, as regards the Church, world, and individual, is connected with the lofty OT ideas of the new order in which God is the recognized Sovereign, and stresses only the primary deliverances. Several of the NT writings are void of distinct teaching as to the nature of the Kingdom of God. In the Epistles of John the great conception is life, a thing of the present and also of the future.

1. Stanton-H.B.D.

2. Salmond- The Esch. of NT-H.B.D.

In the Gospel of John the future like the present is lost in an eternal Now. While John's teaching is more ideal and spiritual in its nature than that of the Synoptics, it does not differ greatly from them in its underlying principles concerning the Kingdom.

In Paul's Epistles we find a larger and more developed eschatology, not in an orderly form nor amounting to a fundamental doctrine, but given from time to time as occasion arose. Paul agrees with the other NT writers in closely relating eschatology to the Kingdom of God. This Kingdom, though sometimes described as present, is usually future, and the idea of its consummation is the center of Pauline eschatology. Paul was doubtless well schooled in the teachings of current Judaism, and his emphasis on the future of the Kingdom, an emphasis seemingly lacking in the Synoptics, is probably due in part to the transcendentalism of contemporary Judaism. Findlay, in H.B.D., holds that Jesus adopted and spiritualized the Jewish idea of the Kingdom of God, and that this same idea lies at the basis of Paul's teaching. Paul's "Kingdom of God and Christ" transcends all national and earthly bonds, and stretches indefinitely beyond death and the limits of sense. He had as a Pharisee sought to advance the Messiah's promised Kingdom and he pursued the same goal as an apostle, seeing the Kingdom in a larger proportion and with a greater certainty. While the Church is the center and mistress of the Kingdom, furnishing it with citizens and dignitaries (ICor.6²), the Kingdom embraces all orders of beings. Christ's Kingdom is inward and spiritual, concerned especially with righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. Paul regards its ways as being opposite to the external methods of the old Mosaic regime. Paul's doctrine

1. Salmon - H.B.D.

of the Kingdom rests as does Christ's on the presupposition of the sovereignty of God. He regards God's purpose of the ages as centering in the mission of Christ, hidden until Christ's coming. Creation and redemption are parts of one scheme and Christ is the point of unity to the mighty movement (Col. 1¹⁵⁻²⁸, Eph. 1^{10, 3^{10, 11}})

In Paul's view of the Kingdom its enemies are conspicuous. Chief among them is Satan (the Adversary), named in Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles, "the devil". In 2 Cor. 6 "Belial" is regarded as patron of heathen impurities and antagonist of Christ; also as the "god of this age" (2 Cor. 4⁴), "ruler of dominion of the air" (Eph. 2²), "the tempter" (1 Thess. 3⁵), "the evil one" (2 Thess. 3³, Eph. 6¹⁶). In Eph. 6¹², Satanic powers are described as plural, "the principalities, the dominions, world-rulers of darkness, spiritual forces of wickedness". Paul regarded these malignant forces as having full sway in heathenism, demons in the form of idols being worshipped. He looked upon Satan's empire as a kingdom of darkness as opposed to Christ's kingdom of light and love, with a hierarchy of powers under its chief, bearing titles parallel to those assigned to the ranks of God's angels (Eph. 1²¹, Col. 1¹⁶). It appears probable that Paul borrowed these distinctions in angelic rank from popular speech, and employed them for argumentative purposes. It is evident that both Paul and Jesus believed in evil spirits. According to Paul, Satan first beguiled our race and is habitually the tempter. Physical maladies and death were in some sense under his jurisdiction. He is used to execute Divine Judgments, which may however bring about the salvation of the sufferer. Only with the abolition of death, the

1. Findlay, - Paul the Apostle - H. B. D.

last enemy, shall God's Kingdom be finally established (1 Cor. 15^{20-28, 54}). Paul anticipates a last deadly struggle between the opposing realms. The mystery of lawlessness is to be allowed a day of full manifestation, and "the lawless one", Satan's perfect embodiment shall be revealed, whom the Lord shall destroy by His coming (2 Thess. 2.³⁻¹²). Findlay concludes, and it seems to me correctly, that, " Nowhere more decidedly than in this field of thought does Paul more decidedly show himself the child of Judaism". Paul feels that in "this present evil world" God's Kingdom is hidden and thwarted, realized but in part, and its bestowments are but the first fruit, in comparison with the glory which shall be revealed in the future (Rom. 8¹⁸⁻²⁵, 1 Cor. 13⁸⁻¹², 2 Cor. 4¹⁶⁻⁵). Therefore hope is needed along with faith and love. The crowning point and determining factor of Paul's theology is his certainty of the consummation of the Kingdom of God.¹

Considerable emphasis in the NT is placed on doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ. Among the deliverances previously spoken of, a large place in Christ's teaching is given to His own return. As the OT viewed the consummation of the Divine Kingdom as connected with the descent of God to earth, or with the coming of the Messiah, so Christ connects the completion of the Kingdom with a decisive occurrence, the great event of His own Parousia (Matt. 24^{3, 37, 39}). The time of the advent is not even known to the Son but is to come in the fulness of time. The Parousia is the burden of the great eschatological discourse in Mt. 24, 25. In these chapters the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Coming are both spoken of as coincident and near. This accords with OT prophecy which brings

1. Findlay - Paul the Apostle - H. B. D.

together in prophetic prospective or "timeless sequence" events widely separated in actual occurrence, as in Isaiah 8⁹. The Return appears to be an objective event in Synoptics while in John it seems to be an internal event in the heart of the believer (Jn. 14¹⁶⁻²¹) which has suggested that a dynamical coming is in view. However the fourth Gospel preserves the distinction between the coming of the Spirit and Christ's coming, and the idea in John 14³ and 21²² seems the same as in the Synoptics. Accordingly the first point of Christ's teaching of the future is the objective event of His own Return. His teaching on the Parousia, however is free from the fantasies and inventions found in Enoch and other books of Judaism, with their elaborate machinery of signs and wonders and other eccentricities. There are likewise no calculations on the duration of the Messianic Kingdom nor likewise of those puerile ideas of the creation of the New Jerusalem, which entered Christian thought and gave rise to the doctrine of a millennial reign of Christ on earth, which was to end in a great apostasy and to herald the consummation.¹

The Epistle of James and likewise of Hebrews speaks of the Parousia as then near at hand and having Judgment connected with it. Jude looks upon Christ's return as a great event of the future, and the author of 2 Peter takes the same view, expecting the world to be dissolved by fire and to give place to a new heaven and a new earth, the abode of the righteous. 1 Peter and the Epistles of John (1 John 2²⁸) expect Christ's advent. The Apocalypse of John, with its large eschatology dressing Christian truth in the garb of Jewish terms and ideas, is essentially the book of

1. Salmond - Esch. GY NT - H. B. D.

of the future, which it looks upon as near and filled with the figure of the returning Christ. The Parousia is the center of its whole doctrine of the end, which is conveyed in a form stamped with the symbolism of the OT prophets, especially Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel, and of the Jewish Apocalyptic books. Occasionally the Parousia appears as a spiritual event, but it is usually an objective event with Judgment for its object (1⁷). Like the Apocalyptic books of Judaism Revelation makes much of the signs of the Last Things, but avoids the imaginative trivialities of these books. At times it seems to combine different ideas of things of the end prevailing in Judaism, as in 20¹⁻¹⁰, of various interpretation where it seems to follow a view of final events differing from the general NT doctrine, but given in certain Jewish books - the idea of a millennial reign of Christ on earth, to be followed by a final outburst of Satanic power and then by Christ's judicial advent.¹

Pauline eschatology likewise gives an important place to Christ's Parousia, which is regarded as an objective event. The passages concerning it are not confined to any one group of Paul's Epistles and there are no indications that Paul's views passed from a fleshly to a more spiritual conception in his writings. One peculiar element in Paul's eschatology is his teaching concerning the Rapture of the Saints (1Thess. 4¹⁷) which has an affinity with the apocalyptic vision (Rev. 1^{11,12}), with Christ's word of gathering the elect (Matt. 24³¹), and with the narratives of the ascension, especially those by Luke. Paul does not seem to teach a millenium between two distinct resurrections, as the only reference (1 Cor. 15²²⁻²⁴), is

1. Salmond - Esch. of NT - H.B.D.

not concerned with chronological succession and merely speaks of the resurrection of those who are Christ's.¹ The advent closes the horizon of Paul's Christian thought, and ushers in the end of all things. He regards the Parousia as the great day of the Lord, the goal of prophecy, the day of Christ, that He will descend from heaven in a visible "body of glory", surrounded by angels, and "in fire of flame" terrible and fatal to His enemies. At His word the archangel blows his trumpet, the dead rise, living saints are transformed and lifted from earth, and all assemble before Him for judgment and with body and spirit reunited, each shall be rewarded according to his life.²

The NT doctrine of the Man of sin and the Antichrist is taken up here because of its close relation to the teachings of Judaism. According to James³ there are four sources of this teaching in the NT (1) The Pauline account in 2 Thess. 2, which represents the Parousia^{2f} being preceded by the great Apostasy, after which the Man of Sin, who is represented as opposing God, and exalting himself above God, sitting as God in the temple, and performing lying miracles, is to be revealed, and will be destroyed by the breath of Christ's mouth. (2) John, in his Epistles speaks of the Antichrist who is to come but adds that there are Antichrists now. He probably alludes to a popular belief applying it to tendencies already at work. (3) The Apocalypse of John - (a) Rev. 11⁷ speaks of "the Beast that cometh up out of the abyss". He is represented^{as slaying} the two Witnesses and seems to have his seat at Jerusalem. Connected with him is a period of 1260 days (three and one half years). (b) In Chap. 12 the great Red Dragon, expressly identified with

1. Salmon-Esch. of NT- H.B.D.

2. Findlay-Paul the Apostle-H.B.D.

3. James-Man of Sin and Antichrist-H.B.D.

Satan , appears in heaven and persecutes a woman clothed with the sun and is then cast out of heaven. (c) In Chap.13 a crowned Beast with seven heads and ten horns comes up out of the sea. One of his heads is wounded to death and revives. The Dragon gives him his power. (d) In 13¹¹ a Beast with two horns like a lamb- evidently a rival and counterpart of the Lamb- comes up out of the earth and speaks like a dragon. In 19²⁰ this beast is called the False Prophet. His function is to support the former beast by lying miracles and to induce mankind to worship him as God, a mark being set on his adherents. The mystic number 666 indicates his name. The principal Beast and the False Prophet appear again in 19 and 20, make a final assault on the saints and then are vanquished by Christ. (e) In chapter 17 another Beast, scarlet in color, with seven heads and ten horns, appears with the woman (Babylon). This beast explained to the seer that it was, and is not, and shall come out of the abyss and go into perdition.

Bousset holds that the Beast of Chap.11 is the Antichrist of current belief, which with the traditional image of the Witnesses is taken over by the author of the Apocalypse. The Beast of Chap.12, is perhaps an ancient myth, the personification of some natural force identified by the Apocalypse with Satan. The Beast of Chap.13 is probably Rome and its slain head which is revived is Nero returned to life. Some of its characteristics are derived from the popular conception of Antichrist. The False Prophet of Chap.13 is in many respects the Antichrist of popular belief, posing as a counterpart of the Lamb and able to work wonders. The Beast of Chap.17 is a complex image. (4) The fourth source is the Gospels. In

Matt. 24²⁴, Mark 13^{6, 22}, and Luke 21⁸, Jesus predicts the coming of false Christs and false prophets. In Matthew and Mark mention of the "abomination of desolation" in the Holy Place is coupled with the notice for Judeans to flee to the mountains. This seems to be the sequel of the "great tribulation" which is shortened for the sake of the elect. Then follow portents in heaven and Christ's coming. The "abomination of desolation" is supposed by some critics to mean the session of Antichrist at Jerusalem. Many regard this part of Christ's discourse as influenced by current belief.

Concerning all the above teaching the question is- did it arise with Christianity or is it of pre-Christian Jewish origin? Daniel throws much light on this question. (a) In Chap. 7, four beasts, the last having a little horn which makes war against the saints, is spoken of. It is explained to Daniel that this horn is a king who will make war against God for times, a time and a half (probably three and a half years). The Judgment follows upon its fall. (b) In Chap. 8 out of one of the four horns of the great he-goat (Greece) comes a growing little horn which casts down some stars out of heaven. In connection with him the "abomination which maketh desolate" is mentioned as lasting 1150 days. This horn is said to represent a king who opposes the Prince of princes. (c) In Chap. 9, the daily sacrifice is taken away, and the "abomination" takes its place for half a week (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ years). (d) In 11¹², there is a long prophecy of the king of the north, who will oppress Judea, take away the daily sacrifice, and set up the "abomination which maketh desolate". He comes to a sudden end, which is followed by the great tribulation and the latter by the

the resurrection of the dead.¹

James holds that it is at least clear that parts of Daniel were used by the author of the NT Apocalypse, notably the casting out of stars from heaven (Rev.12) and the reign of the wicked king, especially as to the length of the reign (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ years), (Rev.11^{2,3}). In the third book of Sibyl. Og. (B.C.170) there is a prediction that Beliar will come in the last days. The term "Beliar" apparently signifies Satan in the form of a man. Obscure traces of such belief are found also in fourth Ezra. In the Apoc. of Bar. there is a prediction of the destruction of the last leader of the enemies of Israel by the Messiah on Mt. Sion. In Asc. Isaiah (Chap.4) there are clear predictions of the coming of the Antichrist, who is identified with Nero returned to life, and of his reign for the traditional three and one half years. But this is probably not pre-Christian. Accordingly Bousset, and with him James, concludes that there was a fully developed legend of Antichrist among the Jews - perhaps oral but more probably written - which was accepted and amplified by the Christians; and that this legend diverges from and contradicts in important points the conceptions we find in the Apoc. of John. As formulated by First Century Christians its main features were: That the Antichrist would not appear before the fall of Rome; then among the Jews he would proclaim himself as God, and claim to be worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem; Elias would come and denounce him; that he would be of the tribe of Dan - a tradition known to the Apocalypticist who omits Dan from his list of the tribes; that he would reign three and one half years; that believing Jews or all the Church would flee into the wilderness,

1. James - H. B. D.

whither Antichrist would pursue them; but he would then be destroyed by the Lord by the breath of His mouth (a conception from Isaiah 11⁴). The Apocalypse differs from this tradition in making the principal beast Rome, and in mentioning two witnesses instead of one. The first point is very important since it denotes clearly that the Apocalypse is anti-Roman. The current belief as expressed by Paul regards the Roman power as a bulwark against Antichrist.

Günkel holds that the conceptions of the Apoc. beasts are survivals of ancient mythological beliefs to which the Apocalyptic writer gave new life and meaning. The primeval dragon of the deep (Tiamat, in Bab. Myth.), which opposed the creator in the beginning and was overcome and bound by him, would, it was thought, in the last days rear up its head again, and break out in final rebellion, to be vanquished this time forever. James¹ regards this as a plausible source of such conceptions. These common Semitic beliefs were probably refreshed during the exile and given a new and loftier spiritual meaning. This Jewish Antichrist probably passed through the following stages: (1) Perhaps originally a natural force personified, representing chaos as opposed to order, and darkness as opposed to light, (2) Then it was probably identified with Satan, the adversary of God in the moral world. (3) Became the Antichrist of the Sibyl. Or. - Beliar. (4) And lastly a man in whom Satan's powers concentrated, as the power of God is concentrated in the Messiah.¹

The clearest of Christ's and John's utterances point to a plurality of Antichrists who are to appear at different times during the growth of the church - that is, to movements and tendencies hostile to

1. James.

Christianity, rather than to a well defined personality. In the NT Paul adopts and John in his Epistles alludes to a conception of Antichrist which was colored largely by Daniel's identification of Antichrist with Antiochus Epiphanes. In the Apocalypse the traditional Antichrist appears for a moment (Chap. 11) and then gives over to the Beast and the False Prophet.

The doctrine of the resurrection has an essential place in Christ's teaching. We have already noted the changes through which this belief passed in Judaism. It is probable that it did not become a universal faith in Judaism, since the belief is known to have been rejected by the Sadducees. It was accepted by the Pharisees and by a majority of the Jews, and in the later part of the period usually ^{extended} to the just and unjust, though sometimes only to the righteous. It forms an integral part of Christ's eschatological teaching given in the discourses in Matt. 22, Mark 12, Luke 20. It is implied in some utterances reflecting current Jewish opinion, Matt. 8, ¹¹, Luke 12 ^{28, 29}.

The doctrine is given in this teaching in its essential relation to the OT and is relieved of the crudities, and extravagances, and the literalism with which it was associated in Jewish thought. "It is the doctrine of a real bodily resurrection, far removed from Hellenic or Essene ideas of a bare immortality of the soul, affirming in harmony with the OT view of man's relation to God, a continuance of life for man in his entire self."¹ In this John and the Synoptics agree, though in John the spiritual aspects and immediate relations are magnified, yet these do not limit to a purely spiritual resurrection (John 5 ^{28, 29}). Certain passages in the Synoptics (Matt. 22 ³⁰, Mark 13 ²⁷,

1. Salmond - H. B. D.

Luke 20^{36, 37}, Mark 24³¹, Lk. 14¹⁴), have been taken by some to imply that Christ taught only the resurrection of the righteous. But there are others (Mt. 5^{29, 30}, 10²⁸) with a different implication. The resurrection of the just in Lk. 14¹⁴ suggests its own antithesis. The Fourth Gospel declares a "resurrection unto condemnation" as well as a "resurrection unto life", and in speaking of the resurrection of the dead uses terms too large for the limited view. In Christ's own words there is no separation of the righteous from the unrighteous as if belonging to different times. The Apocalypse of John teaches a resurrection of the saints only, especially the martyred saints, to be followed by the millenium, and then a second resurrection of all the remaining dead. This view Salmond regards as being largely derived from the Jewish Apocalyptic books, and as being out of harmony with the rest of the NT. Paul's doctrine of the resurrection is essentially the same as that of the rest of the NT. He regards the resurrection as a bodily one, a return of the complete man to life (Rom. 4¹⁷, 8¹¹; 1 Cor. 15; 2 Cor. 1¹⁰, 4¹⁴, 5¹⁻⁵; Phil. 3^{11, 21}). In Paul's view the resurrection of the body is necessary for the realization of the life of the spirit. Hellenic and Oriental dualism have no place in his teaching. He regards Christ's² resurrection as furnishing the assurance of the resurrection of the Christian dead, who shall return with Him (1 Th. 4^{13, 14}). The saints found alive at the Parousia will be transformed, the natural body giving way to the spiritual and mortality being swallowed up in immortality (1 Cor. 15⁴⁹⁻⁵³, 2 Cor. 5¹⁻⁴)¹

The Doctrine of the Final Judgment occupies a prominent place in Christ's teaching. It is connected

1. Salmond - H. B. D.

with the Advent, being presented as the object of His coming. It is expressed in various sayings, but at the greatest length in the eschatological discourse in Matthew. The Synoptics agree that it is a Judgment at the end of the world of individuals, of universal scope; and a Judgment in which Christ, the Son of Man, is to be the Judge. John emphasizes a present and subjective judgment, a judgment in life and conscience, which is however not inconsistent with an objective future judgment. The latter is found in John's phrase "the Last Day", and also in such words as those in 5^{27, 28}, and in 1 John 2²⁸, 4¹⁷, where judgment is connected as in the Synoptics with Christ's coming. Christ's doctrine is in close connection with certain leading ideas of the OT, completing them and giving them certainty. It is related also to the literature of Judaism, in which we have already traced the development of this doctrine. Usually in these books God is the Judge and the Messiah is His agent, but in En. 37-70, the Messiah is the Judge and the Judgment initiates the Messianic Kingdom. "Christ's doctrine of a universal, individual judgment at the end of things, in which judgment He Himself is Arbiter of human destinies, carried the OT conception to its proper issue, while it gave a new certainty, consistency, and spirituality to the developed ideas which had arisen in Judaism in the period after the last Jewish prophets."¹

James, Jude, and 2 Peter agree in general with Christ's teaching, declaring that the judgment is to be according to character and responsibility, and emphasizing the reward of eternal life for the righteous, and the doom of evil for the wicked. In 1 Pet. 1¹⁷

1-Salmond-Esch. of the NT-H.B.D.

God is represented as Judge, but in 4⁵ Christ appears as Judge. Judgment is of the quick and the dead, and begins with the house of God, and ending with the ungodly and the sinner (4^{17,18}) The Apocalypse of John has along with a double resurrection, a double judgment, the first effecting the overthrow of Satan after his final outburst following Christ's millennial reign on earth; and the second, forensic in form and for all classes of the dead.¹

The Pauline Epistles represent the Judgment as a judgment of God (Rom. 2⁸, 14¹¹, cf. 3¹⁹); of Christ (2 Cor. 5¹⁰, 2 Tim. 4¹); of God through Christ (Rom. 2¹⁶). It is represented as a future final judgment, righteous, universal in extent, with eternal issues, wrath for the wicked, and salvation for the righteous. Paul regards the judgment seat of Christ as the goal of revelation, where the final settlement of human affairs is made. When death has been abolished and all Christ's enemies, human and superhuman have received sentence from His mouth, "then cometh the end"; He "yields up the Kingdom to God, even the Father"; and "the Son himself shall be subjected to him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. 15²⁴⁻²⁸). "The Son's mission is fulfilled; the lordship of Jesus is acknowledged throughout the whole creation (Phil. 2^{10,11}), and Christ lays at the Father's feet the homage of a reconciled universe rendered to Himself, the love of a multitude of obedient sons made perfect in Himself, the praise and service of the Church of the Redeemed, united with Himself forever."²

The Jewish conceptions of the states of the dead have been carefully noted. Jewish thought dwelt largely on the conditions and possibilities of an

1. Salmond - Esch. of NT - H.B.D.

2. Findlay - Paul the Apostle - H.B.D.

intermediate state. Of this little or no recognition is found in Christ's work. He uses the term Hades, the Greek equivalent of Sheol, three times ; but in two of these cases the application is plainly metaphorical (Matt. 11²³, 16¹⁸), and in the third (Lk. 16²³) the term is part of the imagery of a parable intended to teach the broad lesson of the penalty of a selfish life, and its retribution in the other world. In the same paragraph He uses the term "Abraham's bosom" evidently without any doctrinal intention. The term "Paradise", variously associated in Jewish thought, He uses but once, Lk. 23⁴³, and here in a large sense as a word of comfort and hope, similar to His use of the word "sleep" - not to inculcate the doctrine of an intermediate state as a place of unconsciousness nor as a place for the detention, recompense, or purification of souls. Some of His statements appear to point to the immediate entrance of the just dead into the Father's house in glory (John 14^{2,3}, 17²⁴). However, on this question of the condition between death and judgment, Christ's attitude is one of reserve and His words do not approach to a doctrine of the intermediate state.¹

In this connection, the "larger hope" in 1 Peter is a point of considerable interest. It hinges upon the expression given in two famous passages touching the preaching to "the spirits in prison" (3¹⁸⁻²²), and the preaching of the Gospel to "the dead" (4⁶). In connection with these, Peter's application of Ps. 16 in his Pentecostal discourse (Acts 2³¹) must be considered. The words "neither was He left in Hades nor did His flesh see corruption", have been taken to indicate a visit to the underworld and consequent

1. Salmon - Esch. of NT - H. B. D.

activity there. But Peter seems to be concerned in this discourse only about Christ's resurrection and the passage does not go beyond a broad statement that Christ passed into the realm of the dead as others, but only to rise again. The above references in 1 Peter are different, and the passages have been made to support many theories. They give rise to the so-called "larger hope", that of the possibility of repentance after death. But the exegesis of these passages is generally regarded as uncertain and still awaits the key. They stand entirely alone in the NT. Some think Peter in Acts. 3^{19,21}, where he speaks of the "restoration of all things" means the final restoration of all men. But Peter's words here seem based on Mal. 4^{5,6} and on Christ's application of that passage, Matt. 17⁹⁻¹⁸. Thus Peter's restoration becomes either moral restoration or the renovation of the world. Peter's eschatology is therefore in general concord with the rest of the NT, and the points in which he is supposed to differ are as yet doubtful.²

Paul has no distinct revelation on the intermediate state. He expects to depart and be with Christ in some communion nearer than the earthly. Paul in his early ministry expected Christ's advent before his own death, but later he seems to have placed the advent in the more distant future. Sabatier regards this fact as working a great change in Pauline eschatology. He regards Paul's earlier view as dependent on the half-Judaistic idea of a visible advent, a universal resurrection of the sleeping dead, and a great judgment scene, and as giving place to the more spiritual theory of the entrance of the soul through death into its perfected heavenly state, and into

1. Salmon - H. B. D

full communion with Christ. Beyschlag and Kabisch hold a similar view. Pfeiderer thinks Paul held in mind both conceptions, Judaic and Hellenistic, unassimilated, ~~the~~ interpretation incorrectly deduced from 2 Cor. 5¹⁻⁹ (Meyer, Klöpper, Weiss). In 5¹ Paul speaks of the tabernacle eternal in the heavens for which he longs and he was unable to endure the thought of being found bodyless at Christ's coming - a feeling, doubtless due to his Jewish imagination. He finds comfort however in the fact that he will be "at home with the Lord" (5⁵⁻⁹). He holds that the dead in Christ are his guests in Paradise (1 Th. 14¹⁶). Thus Paul's sense of union with Christ delivered him from the pangs of Sheol.¹

The Synoptic Gospels apply the term Gehenna, Hell, to the future condition of the lost (Matt. 5^{22, 29, 30}, 10^{28, 18}, 23^{15, 33}; Mk. 9^{43, 45, 47}, Lk. 12⁵). This term, though in later Judaism it sometimes had the sense of an intermediate condition, whether as temporary purgatory, or as a place of punishment, was in earlier Judaism and in Christ's time, a term for the retributive state after judgment. Various attitudes concerning Christ's teaching as to the permanence of the penal state after judgment are found. Certain sayings are taken as pointing to a terminable penalty, but these are few and are either irrelevant (Lk. 12^{47, 48}) or suggest the opposite conclusion (Mt. 5^{25, 28}, Lk. 12^{58, 59}) where the idea seems to be that "of a liability that cannot be discharged, and a justice that is inexorable"; in Mt. 12^{31, 32}, Mk. 3^{28, 29}, and Lk. 12¹⁰, the terms used seem to be exclusive terms expressing irremediableness. It is sometimes urged that the Greek terms for "eternal" and "punishment" may have other than their

1. Findley - Paul the Apostle - H.B.D.

usual meanings in this connection. However, the finality of destiny seems to be expressed unmistakably and in many different forms- in the words of the great eschatological discourse in Matt. 25, in such terms as "Kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world" and "eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels" in statements of the issues of God's Kingdom and man's life given in Christ's parables; in the figures of "the unquenchable fire" (Mark 9⁴⁸), the "worm that dieth not" (Mark 9⁴⁸), the salting with fire (Mark 9⁴⁹) and the like; in the many other terms of solemn moment by which the final lot of the unrighteous is described- banishment from Christ, (Matt. 7^{21, 23}), rejection, the loss of the soul or of the life, dying in one's sins, perishing, being judged already, its being good never to have been born, and others of a similar nature.

"These sayings are to be understood in the light of the beliefs which prevailed among the Jews on the nature and the duration of the retribution of the wicked. As these varied in different periods and in different schools, they are hard to determine yet the general condition of opinion in our Lord's time and in the immediately preceding period can be stated with approximate certainty." ¹ The Jewish books relevant on the subject contain little to indicate any final restoration of all. They use the terms death, perdition, destruction, and others in a way which might point to the annihilation of the wicked if interpreted apart from the old popular ideas of Sheol. In many cases the language definitely expresses the finality of the retribution (Jth. 16¹⁷, 4 Macc. 9^{8, 9}, En. 5^{5, 6}, 10¹¹⁻¹⁴, 12³⁻⁸, etc.). The schools of Hillel and Shammai seem to have taught in different ways the immediate selling

1. Salmond-Esch of NT -H. B. D.

heirship of all things. The penalty of the unrighteous is described as "great tribulation", killing with death, burning with fire; but particularly by two terms "the second death" (2¹¹, 20^{6,14}, 21⁸), and "the lake of fire" (19²⁰, 20¹⁰, 21⁸), which are peculiar to this book among NT writings, but which occur in one form or another in Rabbinical and Apocalyptic literature (eg. En. 18¹¹, 21⁷⁻¹⁰, 90⁴²). In Rev. these seem to denote a lasting retribution. ¹

Unlike the Apocalyptic and Apocryphal writings of Judaism, the NT has no books or parts of books which deal specifically with the solution of moral problems. The general teaching of the NT does, however, furnish the solution to many of the problems dealt with in the OT and in Judaism, but this teaching is in connection with life rather than with the solving of speculative problems.

Conclusion

It will perhaps be of value to present the conclusions as to the relation between NT eschatology and that of Judaism that have been arrived at by various students of this subject. The author of the article in Encyclopedia Britannica concludes that the eschatology of the NT attaches itself to both that of the OT, and of contemporary Judaism but avoids the extravagances of the latter. The conclusion presented in Nelson's Encyclopedia is that Christian teaching on this theme has its roots in the OT and the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature of Judaism. Similarly the New International Encyclopedia concludes that Jesus' disciples utilized and expanded such apocalyp-

1. Salmond - H. B. D.

tie books as 4th Ezra and Enoch, and the Jewish originals were utilized and expanded in Matt. 24.

Salmond holds that NT eschatology is in its broad outlines consistent though not systematic, and that it is ⁱⁿ essential harmony with the faith and teaching of the OT, and requires no theories of derivation from ethnic thought; that the essential points of Pauline eschatology are in harmony with the Hebrew faith, not as some argue, with Greek thought, and that this is more obviously true of the rest of the NT, Essene or Alexandrian ideas not being sources of Christ's teaching on things of the end. He grants the possibility of the NT eschatology having been influenced to a certain extent in its form by external modes of thought, but holds that in its essential substance it is in relation to Hebrew faith, and has its point of issue in the principles and ideas of the OT.

Stevens, in his "Theology of the NT", says, concerning the Synoptic teaching on the Parousia and the consummation, that Jesus "probably employed symbolic language similar to that which we find in the Apocalyptic parts of the OT". Concerning Paul he concludes, "The Apostle's eschatology was the projection of the Christian hope into the life beyond. The form of this hope was not a little affected by the views of the future life in which he had been trained."

Sheldon, in his "New Testament Theology", regards it as probable that "post-canonical Judaism was somewhat of a factor in shaping the theological conceptions which have come to expression in the New Testament, and that it wrought in the way of attraction as well as in the way of repulsion." He holds

that it must also be granted that the later Jewish orthodoxy seems to have given much coloring, to say nothing of content, to the NT. That it is probable that the general framework of Eschatology in the post-Maccabean period was well entrenched in the minds of the NT authors and that the subjects of angelology and demonology in the NT are very largely reflections of post-exilic developments, though the treatment of these subjects in the NT is greatly changed and modified by the NT doctrine of the immanence of God.

J.A.M'Clymont has written a splendid article in Hastings's Bible Dictionary, entitled, "The Relation of the New Testament to Apocryphal Literature of the Jews". The substance of his contentions follows. The influence of several of the apocryphal books of the LXX can be discerned in the NT epistles, though there is no express quotation from any of these books in the NT. Rabbinical style of argument has been detected in a few places in Paul's writings, in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and in John's writings, expressions as "logos" and others, seem to show an affinity with the views of Philo. However, the most striking signs of a transition to a new age are to be found, not in any of the above writings, but in the apocalyptic literature, framed on the model of Daniel, which prepared the way for its Christian counterpart, the Apocalypse of John. In Jude there is a direct quotation from Enoch, and elsewhere there are a few stray quotations and allusions for which the writers are probably indebted to a similar source (Lk. 4²⁵ cf Ja. 5¹⁷; Lk. 11⁴⁹; Jn. 7⁸⁸; Acts 7²² cf Gal. 3¹⁹; Heb. 2²; Acts 7⁵³; 1 Cor. 2⁹, 10⁴; Eph. 5¹⁴; 2 Tit. 3⁸; Heb. 11³⁷; Jude⁹; and 2 Pet. 2¹¹). In the case of several of these passages the sources are

mentioned by the Church Fathers. Of greater importance than such Haggadic details, however, are certain ideas and expressions in this literature, which appear to be reflected in the thought and language not only of the NT writers, but also of our Lord Himself. In these books of Judaism there are more distinct foreshadowings than in any OT books of certain more or less prominent truths in the NT. Among these are: the unique personality of the Messiah (different from any conception in OT); the doctrines of immortality, resurrection, and future judgment with rewards and penalties; hierarchy of angels with manifold operations; agency of demons; and predestination; all these together with enlarged conceptions of Divine providence as embracing universal history; and of Messianic province as securing the interests of the individual as well as of the nation. All these elements of thought are due, partly to importations from Babylonia and Persia, and partly to the growing hopelessness of their national position, which naturally disposed them to a study of eschatology. It is probable that it was these anticipations of Christianity that gave the books so high a place in the estimation of the Church Fathers. In other respects, however, both ethical and theological, M'Clymont regards these books as falling far short of "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus".

The conclusions of some other writers have been given in our former treatment of the exposition of the respective eschatologies and need not be repeated at this point.

To add further conclusions of our own is perhaps unnecessary as these conclusions could not

but be based upon the investigations, the results of which are set forth in this thesis and must largely be a duplication of the conclusions already given. Speaking in general terms, however, it seems clear to me that the great eschatological doctrines of the NT either originated, or were greatly developed during the period from 200 B.C. to New Testament times; that whenever this development was in harmony with the underlying principles of the Kingdom of God, they were built upon by Christ and His disciples; and when not in harmony with those principles, it was discarded. In so far as the growth of this eschatological doctrine was real and natural it was extended into the New Testament; while in so far as it was unreal and fantastic it was, with a few exceptions, cast aside.

In line with these general observations, it seems that in regard to the conception of the Messiah and his Kingdom, Jesus and His disciples built upon the OT conceptions, enlarging and expanding them, and passing by the development of the doctrine in Judaism, which as we have previously noted was in a different direction. Paul's special emphasis on the future of the Kingdom was probably due to his training in Judaism, since this emphasis was common there but is foreign to the rest of the NT. A similar parallel is found in Paul's teaching on the subjects of angelology and demonology, especially in his distinctions in rank in these fields, which are apparently all borrowed from Judaism and justify Findlay's conclusion that in this connection Paul shows himself the "child of Judaism".

In the Apocalypse of John the idea of the millenium, to be followed by a final outburst of

Satanic power, and by Christ's judgment, is found neither in the OT nor the NT but seems based on conceptions of Judaism, the millenium being first mentioned in Slav. En. (A.D. 1-50). The resurrection and hope of immortality witnessed a great growth and extension and we have seen that this development - on the whole fairly normal - was largely builded upon in the NT. The emphasis of Eth. En., Ess. of Sol., and En. 37⁷⁰ on the spiritual nature of the resurrection was combined, in the NT, with the contemporary theory of a bodily resurrection, resulting in the NT doctrine of the resurrection of the whole life.

We have noted the increasing moral distinctions of Judaism in the conception of the states of the dead accompanied at the same time by much that was mechanical and unreal. The former seems to have been builded upon, while the latter was rejected by the NT writers. In John 14^{2,3}, and 17²⁴, Jesus seems to teach the immediate entrance of the righteous into heaven, and since this idea is foreign to the OT, but is found in Jub. 23, Philo, Bk. of Wis., and 4 Macc., the latter seem to furnish a probable source for Jesus' conception. We have also seen that the doom of the fallen angels in Jude, and the "second death" and "lake of fire" in Rev., are clearly derived from Enoch and other Apocalyptic books. Proof has likewise been furnished that the conceptions of the "Man of Sin" in Paul's Epistles and of the Antichrist in the Apoc. of John, originated in Daniel and the Apocalyptic books, and have been taken over with more or less changes from this literature of Judaism.

While, therefore, it may be conceded that most of the great doctrines of eschatology rooted primarily

in the OT, yet it must be acknowledged that these doctrines, both in the form and in the content of their teaching, underwent vast changes in this transition period of Judaism, which are manifest in the eschatological teachings of the New Testament.
