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Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part II)

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ABSTRACT

This paper, in two parts, discusses the significant scholarship on apocalypses and apocalypticism in antiquity published since *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Conference* (Collins and Charlesworth [eds.] 1991). Part II contains the second half of the section on (4) origins and influences, here the prophetic and sapiential traditions of Israel. This is followed by sections on (5) apocalyptic historiography and (6) the development of apocalypticism in antiquity and late antiquity, plus (7) a brief conclusion. The bibliographies are part-specific, but their entries are integrated.

Keywords: apocalyptic eschatology, apocalyptic historiography, apocalyptic literature, apocalypticism, late antique apocalypses, New Testament apocalypticism, origins, prophecy, wisdom literature

4. Origins and Influences (continued)

ii. The Traditions of Ancient Israel

a. *The prophetic tradition.* The place of Israel's prophetic tradition is one of the oldest and most contentious issues in the study of the development of apocalypses and apocalypticism. Few doubt that Israelite prophecy and prophetic eschatology played an important role; in dispute is the precise nature of this role.

The standard view of the relation between prophecy and apocalypse, which was argued forcefully by Rowley (1944), espoused by Russell (1964), and augmented and given classic formulation in a short paper by Cross (1969), hinges on the ideas of historical process and ideological trans-

formation. With few exceptions, the political and social crisis wrought by the Babylonian Exile signalled the end of classic prophecy and its intimate links to the old kingship. For some Jews, post-exilic theologies of history, like those espoused in P and in the final redaction of D, were considered inadequate. In their stead arose new voices, which looked beyond the ways and means inherent to the former national cultus, and sought answers in the older, mythic strains of Israelite religion. As Cross writes, 'History and myth, the wisdom tradition, and the prophet tradition, coalesced in the late sixth century never fully to separate again' (1969: 163). One result of this radical amalgam was the early apocalyptic literature, wherein the old prophetic forms and themes were revocalised in the ancient mythological language and reframed in terms of its eschatological horizon.

The view of the prophetic origin of apocalypticism has been reinforced and augmented in different ways. Some scholars have centered on the elements of interpretation and revelation. Carroll, for example, employs the social-scientific concept of cognitive dissonance to explain the genesis of apocalypticism in terms of, as the title of his book puts it, *Why Prophecy Failed* (1979b; cf. 1978, 1979a). For him, the reinterpretation of prophetic data in apocalyptic literature, which occurred tectonically rather than as a smooth movement, allowed aspects of older oracles to maintain their value to the present-day community and resolved tensions created by their apparent failure. In a chapter on 'Wisdom, Prophecy, and Apocalyptic', Clements (1975: 73-86) suggests that Second Temple apocalypses attempted to recapture the emphasis on prediction that had been the province of classical Israelite prophecy but was abandoned in favour of an emphasis on repentance through Torah (cf. Knibb 1982b, where apocalyptic eschatology represents a continuation of the future expectation of the prophets [176]). Arcari (2001) understands the rise of apocalypticism in terms of a literary and social development of a new mode of interpretation of the prophetic texts that began in the early post-exilic period and ran throughout early Judaism and Christianity (see also Arcari 2004). Aranda Pérez (1998) argues that the loss of the Temple, experiences of the Exile, and exigencies of the return expanded and altered the concept of revelation along lines that would reach their full expression in the classic apocalypses.

The link between prophecy and apocalypse is most regularly articulated in terms of their eschatologies. The studies of Plöger (1959), Millar (1976), and especially Hanson (1975; 1976; 1983; 1987) are foundational in this regard. Hanson's definition of prophetic eschatology stresses its earthly and historical dimensions. The prophet interprets how the divine plan for

Israel and the world 'will be effected within the context of their nation's history and the history of the world' (1975: 11). In contrast, apocalyptic eschatology 'focuses on the disclosure (usually esoteric in nature) to the elect of the cosmic vision of Yahweh's sovereignty—especially as it relates to his acting to deliver his faithful—which disclosure the visionaries have largely ceased to translate into the terms of plain history, real politics, and human instrumentality' (1975: 11-12). Underpinning these definitions is a conception of transformation and process that not only builds upon the work of Cross and others, notably in its focus on the significance of myth and mythic language, but also centres on a reconstruction of the social contexts. As we saw in Part I, §3, Hanson associates the rise of apocalyptic eschatology with a small, disaffected group whose members stood opposed to the hierocracy and its Temple-rebuilding programme. The conceptual horizon of their 'proto-apocalyptic' literature, unlimited as it was by the bounds of earth or history, adumbrated the eschatology that would come to characterize the full-blown apocalypses of a later era.

Many compositions have been nominated as belonging to this 'proto-apocalyptic' stage, although upon what grounds—genre, ideology, or eschatology—is often unclear. Candidates include Isaiah 24–27 (Millar 1976), Second and/or Third Isaiah (esp. Hanson 1975), Ezekiel 38–39 and/or 40–48, Zechariah 1–8 and/or 9–13 or –14 (esp., Plöger 1959, Hanson 1975 and S.L. Cook 1995; see Collins 2003a), and Joel (S.L. Cook 1995 and Sweeney 2003). Attridge describes the Hellenistic-Egyptian *Demotic Chronicle* as 'proto-apocalyptic' (1979: 168). For Olson (1997), the content and chiasmic structure of Jer. 4.5-31 presuppose a form of the myth expressed in the *Book of the Watchers*. Johnson (2004a; 2004b) claims proto-apocalypse status for Job by virtue of its message, otherworldly characteristics, and manner of revelation at 4.17-21 and 28.23-28, despite the book's 'lack of overt eschatology' (2004b: 236). According to Clements (1989), many of the proto-apocalyptic texts are discrete collections appended to larger aggregations of prophetic oracles, or the result of a reworking or elaboration of older oracles. For instance, an 'apocalyptic pattern of thought' transformed the originally prophetic nature of the expectation of the end as it is expressed in Isa. 10.23, 28.22 and Dan. 9.27. Future discussion on this topic must address Becking's proposition that 'there are no expectations about the end of time in the Hebrew Bible' (2003: 44), although he concedes that the book of Daniel is 'at the edge' (2003: 57-59). To my mind, the expectation of the advent of the Kingdom of God in Daniel 2 represents an unambiguous rebuttal of this proposition. Allen addresses the hermeneutic value of Ezekiel and Joel as precedents of apocalyptic eschatology

(1990; cf. Hanson 1975). Reventlow (1997) discusses the eschatologization of the prophetic books as a stage preceding the development of apocalyptic literature. Sweeney, too, asserts that 'apocalyptic literature developed initially from prophetic literature', citing as proof proto-apocalyptic sections embedded within the prophetic books (2003: 167).

Uffenheimer (1997) details a four-stage sequence from prophetic to apocalyptic eschatology:

The first type, represented mainly by Isaiah, is based on the belief that the final redemptive intervention of God will be the immediate outcome of the present historical situation... The second type is also rooted in the Book of Isaiah, in 2.1-4 and chs. 24-27, its main representative, however, being Ezekiel...[whose] approach is the result of a complete detachment of eschatology from contemporary history... The third one, that of Deutero-Isaiah, is based on the identification of contemporary history with eschatology... The fourth type is Haggai's and Zechariah's attempt to realize, to bring forth, the eschatological era by demanding the completion of the Temple building and by crowning Zerubabel as the messianic King of Judah (201).

When history bypassed Zerubabel, argues Uffenheimer, the sense of urgent eschatological anticipation subsided. Prophetic zeal waned with the failure of eschatological actualization, to lay dormant until revived, albeit in a new form, with the apocalyptic expectations triggered by the Antiochene crisis. The fourfold classification of eschatologies advanced by Bianca (1996), one of which is an 'apocalyptic model', is more model-driven and far less historically based.

The theory that proto-apocalypses represent a missing link between prophecy and apocalypse, or that proto-apocalypticism is a nascent form of apocalypticism, has not escaped criticism. In his survey of the scholarship, Oswalt lists the most serious charges that have been brought against the hypotheses of Hanson and Millar, including 'an overemphasis on the later prophets' use of mythical sources; an unwarranted application of the Cosmic Warrior motif; overconfidence in typologies of development, both literary and sociological, resulting in rearrangement of the text with little or no consideration of possible alternative arrangements or explanations; and heavy dependence on hypothetical reconstructions of Israelite society and history' (1999: 380). The 'contextual-typological' method used by Millar and Hanson to date and thereby rearrange the texts of the post-exilic prophets according to their eschatologies is, to paraphrase the sentiments of many reviewers, unable to bear the weight of the task it has been asked to bear.

Polaski (2001) examines the so-called 'Isaiah apocalypse' (Isaiah 24–27) in part as a test case for the thesis whether 'proto-apocalyptic' is an identifiable category and, if so, to isolate the basis by which it may serve a meaningful place in the history of the development of apocalyptic literature. He questions the nature of the correlation between text and context, which has underpinned the conclusions of scholars from Hanson to Grabbe to Cook, despite their different conclusions. He approaches the social culture behind these chapters inter-textually or, as he states it, 'through carefully reading the displacements within Isaiah 24–27 and between it and other texts of the period. The unevenly distributed tensions should provide a view of that culture' (Polaski 2001: 48). While Polaski is relatively unconcerned with identifying the specific social movement responsible for the composition of the text, he asks how Hanson's theory accounts for the apparent inconsistency that proto-apocalyptic literature, purportedly composed by marginalized groups, became part of the authoritative corpus of the Temple establishment (2001: 18). Polaski's approach builds upon earlier scholarship, including that of Grabbe (1989; 1998; 2003b) and Baumgarten (1998), who question whether there is any real basis to the claim that Haggai and Zechariah are products of oppressed communities.

Other studies ponder prophetic and apocalyptic eschatologies from different perspectives. Gruenwald's distinction between apocalypticism and what he terms 'prophetism' (1980) reflects his interest in *Merkavah* mysticism and thus concentrates on the cosmological stream of the ideology rather than its historical-political one. He identifies several characteristics of apocalypticism, including the participation of angels in the process and the ability of the seer to transcend the earthy bounds and visit these otherworldly domains. This last is sometimes so obvious as to be overlooked. For Sim (1996), apocalyptic eschatology is framed by a sense of determinism and dualism and exhibits several recurring themes: the expectation of an imminent end, an ultimate judgment (including a concern for the fates of the righteous and the wicked), the advent of eschatological woes, and the appearance of a saviour figure. For Aune (2005), apocalyptic eschatology contains two principal belief-characteristics: 'that (1) the present world order, regarded as both evil and oppressive, is under the temporary control of Satan and his human accomplices, and (2) that this present evil world order will shortly be destroyed by God and replaced by a new and perfect order corresponding to Eden before the fall'. J.W. Marshall (2005) employs the hybrid term 'apocalyptic prophet' to describe figures like Jesus, Paul, the Teacher of Righteousness, or John the Baptist, who

... makes his or her case concerning the present situation in relation to a much larger frame of reference (creation, eschaton, God's ideal realm, ultimate adversaries, the farthest reaches of the cosmos). Such a prophet would claim knowledge of realms beyond everyday human cognition (the future, the heavens, the book of life) though the articulation of such knowledge would take place in dialogue with a set of oral and textual materials specific to a cultural trajectory, and which would form resources to buttress the claims to knowledge, vision and insight. The point of such prophecy is to make claims about the present situation which are conditioned by this larger context, either by direct intervention, or by the knowledge that this larger context provides (2002: 70-71).

In his essay for Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (Collins [ed.] 1998; hereafter: *Encyclopedia*), Collins (1998) focuses on the development of the ideas about the expectation of the end via a survey of the literature from the post-exilic prophets through the apocalypses of the early post-70 CE era. According to Collins, although the visionary prophecies of the early Restoration period are eschatologically oriented and display an inclination towards cosmic imagery beyond that of the classical Hebrew prophets, they as yet do not exhibit the characteristics of the apocalypticism of later texts. The early Enoch booklets and Daniel 7-12, however, are properly apocalypses, and reveal the distinctive elements and themes concerning the idea of the end that Collins isolates more fully elsewhere, notably *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (1984; see also Quelle 1993 on eschatological expectations in early Jewish apocalypses). Early Judaism experienced two great flushes in the production of apocalypses: in the first half of the second century BCE, shortly before and during the Maccabean Revolt, and again in the decades following 70 CE, a period represented by *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch* and *3 Baruch*. Yet apocalypticism and apocalyptic literature did not disappear in the intervening centuries, and Collins identifies several eschatological concerns that developed or became prominent during this time.

The most important recent volume on the subject of prophetic and apocalyptic eschatologies is *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships* (Grabbe and Haak [eds.] 2003). In a long, valuable contribution that partially collates his previous work on related themes, Grabbe states that the time has come for fresh definitions of 'prophetic' and 'apocalyptic' (2003b). His evidence is the overlap of prophetic, apocalyptic, and mantic modes of thought ('mode' is my term, not his). Few today would deny that there is such overlap, but Grabbe understands it to be heuristically significant enough to undermine

fundamental aspects of the traditional distinctions among the modes. On the one hand, practitioners operating in all three modes shared the same goal: 'to find out God's will, God's plan, and what the future holds' (2003b: 123; cf. Grabbe 1998: 212: 'Whatever the actual differences between prophecy and apocalyptic, at the literary level they seem to have functioned in a very similar way'). On the other hand, elements considered distinctive to one mode are either common to all three modes or irrelevant to the nature of the affiliation among them. As a result, Grabbe proposes to subsume the three modes under the general label 'divination' (cf. also Rowland 1982 and Malina 1995).

Six conclusions follow. First, Grabbe stresses that the literary and social manifestations of phenomena such as prophecy and 'apocalyptic' are distinct, and one should not assume that a specific literary genre indicates a specific social origin. Second, prophetic and apocalyptic literature were primarily scribal creations, and should be distinguished from the actual words of the prophets and experiences of the seers. Third, prophetic and apocalyptic writings may be the result of a single individual rather than movements or groups. Fourth, Grabbe warns that modern definitions, while helpful, tend to be imposed on the evidence. His comment that 'prophetic literature, apocalyptic literature, and mantic literature are closely related, overlap extensively, and are not always distinguishable' (2003b: 130) is an obvious response to the definitions formulated by Collins and the SBL groups (see Part I, §1 of this paper). Fifth, *contra* Hanson, Grabbe states that the relationship between prophecy and 'apocalyptic' is not one of historical development and process, nor did prophecy abruptly cease in Judaism or elsewhere, as he discusses in another paper for this volume (1998; see also Rowland 2003 in the same volume, and, on the topic, Greenspahn 1989 and Alexander 1995). Finally, Grabbe observes that historical and anthropological research indicates that neither prophecy nor 'apocalyptic' is particular to Second Temple Judaism.

Collins (2003c) replies to Grabbe on several points. Regarding terminology and definitions, he reviews the reasons for making the literary form the starting-point for discussion and for abandoning the use of the noun 'apocalyptic' (note his similar comment in 2005b: 59-60). For Collins, to cling to the last is to 'set the discussion back to the state of confusion that prevailed before Koch wrote his monograph' (2003c: 46-47). As for the controversy over eschatologies, he concurs with Grabbe that the difference between prophetic and apocalyptic eschatologies should not be articulated as a simple contrast between history and myth. At the same time, he believes that it is wrong to posit that there is no distinction at all.

Collins next isolates two critical issues. The first is whether a category of post-exilic, 'proto-apocalyptic' eschatology may be differentiated from that of classical prophetic eschatology. He observes that while cosmically oriented eschatology is a prominent feature in the post-exilic texts, it is evident in the pre-exilic literature as well. In addition, the national, this-worldly anticipations characteristic to classical Hebrew prophecy are by no means absent in the post-exilic prophets, as he discusses in his other paper for the volume (2003a). Although the distinction between national restoration and cosmic eschatology in the late prophetic corpus may eventually prove critical, Collins states that our knowledge is presently unsatisfactory and more research is required. The second issue is whether apocalyptic eschatology is distinct from prophetic eschatology, be it classical or post-exilic. Collins is unequivocal: the expectation of individual post-mortem judgment marks apocalyptic eschatology, beginning with its earliest illustrations in Daniel and *1 Enoch*.

In light of the state of research on both issues, Collins proposes 'a moratorium on the use of "apocalyptic" or "proto-apocalyptic" in the discussion of texts from the Hebrew Bible other than Daniel' (2003c: 52). He also argues that to conflate the prophetic, apocalyptic, and mantic modes of thought (or their literary precipitates) under a broad category such as 'divination' does not advance our knowledge, since one must still distinguish one sub-category from the others. Even if precise categorical definitions are impossible, 'an approach that sees no difference between Isaiah and Daniel, or between astrology and prophecy, is ultimately not very helpful for understanding anything in its specificity' (51).

b. *The sapiential tradition.* Along with Israelite prophecy, the wisdom tradition of ancient Israel is held to be the other principal autochthonous influence on the origins and development of Second Temple apocalypses and apocalypticism. The name most associated with this perspective is that of von Rad, who argued that the apocalyptic conception of universal history, and the means and manner of its fulfilment, could not be rendered from the overwhelmingly national-salvation focus of Israelite prophecy (1965; 1970). Another trajectory was required, and von Rad located its point of origin in Israel's sapiential traditions, although he later conceded that not all wisdom complexes necessarily led to apocalyptic literature. Shortly thereafter, H.-P. Müller (1972) proposed the specifically mantic categories of wisdom as potentially viable fonts of later apocalyptic thought, particularly inasmuch as they might account for elements in apocalyptic literature that in his view were untraceable to Israel's prophetic writings. It is in

this context that VanderKam's work (1984) on the early Enochic tradition and Babylonian manticism (e.g., divination and astronomical-astrological forecasting) is so important.

As it is stated, von Rad's thesis streamlines the evidence too much. Indeed, the necessity for von Rad to refine it and Müller to isolate the mantic stream—thereby permitting the appreciation of sapiential literature in its larger sense—denotes a certain level of reflection and criticism from the start. Collins informs us that he is unaware of a single scholar who, three and half decades after von Rad's claim, endorses it without major modifications (1996: 19). VanderKam states that two immediate objections are the Hebrew Bible's unfavourable attitude to divination, which on the surface would argue against its influence on apocalypses that seek to understand sacred texts, and the fact that the eschatological visions of the seers appear quite different from the sort of predictions made by mantic specialists (1986: 247, although see below for his resolution). It is clear, too, that von Rad failed to define his terms clearly or discriminate among the kinds of wisdom (Collins 1977b; 1993b). Collins also correctly observes that apocalyptic wisdom patently differs from traditional Hebrew wisdom in its claims to and reliance upon supernatural revelation (1990). Even at this basic level, then, classical Israelite wisdom could not have led to apocalypticism without influences from other sources. Saebø subjects von Rad's proposals, in which he detects special pleading, to a rigorous evaluation (1994). Among his findings are that von Rad focused on the end of Israelite prophecy in its literary sense without recognizing that the broader prophetic current flowed well into the post-exilic period, and that, despite his assertion to the contrary, a navigable channel between prophetic and apocalyptic historiographies may be presumed on the basis of known developments within prophetic literature. In short, by circumventing prophecy and seeking in Israelite wisdom an alternate route to apocalypticism, von Rad chose to avoid Charybdis by rounding the Cape instead of Sicily.

Yet the eschatologization of wisdom, if we thus denominate the basic postulate, has provided a conceptual bedrock which while unstable in some spots has in other places proven firm enough to support a variety of fresh theories and fruitful discussions. For example, some scholars have sought to identify in the wisdom tradition and/or *Sitz im Leben* the social background of ancient apocalypses and/or apocalypticism (see above, Part I, §3). In many of these theories the tradition is identified less with the formal, didactic wisdom of the royal court and more in terms of manticism, a category that admits divination and oneirocriticism and a potentially less restrictive selection of social settings. The most notable concerted group effort

along all fronts has been the Society of Biblical Literature's Wisdom and Apocalyptic Group, which since 1994 has met to discuss papers, several of which Wright and Wills collected in the highly useful and aptly titled volume, *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (2005). Nickelsburg's essay (1994), which opens the volume, remains an essential programmatic study; see also Tanzer's response (2003) and Nickelsburg's rejoinder (2003).

Thus within the conceptual boundaries circumscribed by von Rad and Müller there was much room for new interpretations of the texts and novel proposals of the processes. In an important early article, Gammie (1974) argues that the Israelite and Jewish wisdom literature contains in good measure the spatial and ethical dualisms featured in many texts articulating an apocalyptic worldview, since developments in the wisdom tradition were assimilated and continued in the apocalyptic literature. (Note also Gammie 1990, a posthumously published piece that is filled with sensitive insights and deep understanding, and that describes the evolution of wisdom in its myriad forms, including its eschatologization.) In his contribution to *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, Perdue (2003) proposes that the third century BCE witnessed the rise of so-called 'apocalyptic sages', whose influence is to be seen in several Dead Sea sapiential texts. These sages combined traditional wisdom and Torah with apocalyptic thought and language, and were the principal opponents of the redactor of the final version of Qoheleth.

Another avenue of approach, analogous to the search for literary links between prophecy and apocalypse, isolates specific texts as illustrative of the eschatologization of wisdom. Seminal pre-1991 studies include Knibb (1982a) on 4 *Ezra* and F.J. Murphy (1986) on 2 *Baruch*. With its combination of mantic-oriented court tales and full-blown apocalypses, the book of Daniel is a ready-made illustration of the process, one that has been utilized by many scholars. An interesting tangent is the nature of the dream- and vision-interpreting abilities of the figure of Daniel in MT/LXX Daniel 2–6, the comparison with the skills of the Babylonian wise men, and what role the perception and presentation of these abilities might have played in the development of the figure in MT Daniel 7–12. In the recent scholarship, note the proposals of Lawson (1997), Bedenbender (2002b), Wooden (2003), and DiTommaso (2005a). Critical to such studies is the hermeneutic distinction between the sapiential worldview and the forms of Second Temple wisdom literature (cf. Collins 1993b).

Larkin (1994) argues that Zechariah 9–13 is a mantological anthology rather than a proto-apocalyptic link between prophecy and apocalypse. In their emphasis on mantological exegesis, texts such as Second Zechariah

and other such anthologies—Amos 7–8, Zechariah 1–6 and Daniel 7–12 (so Fishbane 1985, with modifications)—support the idea that wisdom traditions influenced the development of apocalyptic eschatology. Johnson (2004b) suggests the book of Job is possibly an early example of the sort required by von Rad's theory. Job, the problem of evil, and the emergence of apocalypticism is also covered in Lupieri (1995). In a well-argued piece, Burkes argues that although sapiential in form, in its views on death, the cosmos, and epistemology, the Wisdom of Solomon 'bridges the sapiential and apocalyptic worldviews' (2002: 40). On the Wisdom of Solomon, note Collins (1996) and also Gilbert (2003), who covers the manner in which it describes the post-mortem destinies of the righteous and wicked. For Inowlocki (2004), the interweaving of 'wisdom and apocalyptic literary patterns' helps construct the femininity of the heroine in *Joseph and Aseneth*. Wisdom and apocalypticism in the context of the understanding of the concept of person in Second Temple texts is the subject of the fourth chapter of Beyerle's thematically oriented volume (2005).

A fragmentary Dead Sea text, 4QInstruction (1Q26, 4Q415–4Q418b, 4Q423), has attracted special attention, notably with respect to the concept of the רָן נְהִיָּה —the words are unpointed in the manuscripts, and various translations have been proposed—and its implication for the correlation between wisdom and apocalypticism. In his book, *Weisheit und Prädestination* (1995), Lange proposes that the experiences of the 'Qumran community' caused its members to re-evaluate the axioms and dynamic of the accepted causal links between actions and consequences. One result, exhibited in 4Q417 and in rules and other texts central to the community's self-understanding, was an eschatologization of the traditional wisdom theme of primaeval rationality and natural order (identified with the רָן נְהִיָּה), whose predestined fulfilment came to be anticipated beyond the pale of history. This development, according to Lange, resulted from a crisis wrought by the challenge to traditional wisdom made by Qoheleth and Job, and supplies in its response in 4QInstruction the missing span for von Rad's bridge from wisdom to apocalypse (1995: 306). (On the issue of Torah and apocalypticism, Agourides states that Torah stayed out of the apocalypses [2000: 72], but see Hoffmann [1999] for a thorough and more balanced discussion of the Law in Daniel, 1 Enoch, the Testament of Moses, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and other texts.)

According to Elgvin (1995; 1998; 2000a; 2000b), 4QInstruction is an early example of the growth of sapiential-apocalyptic thought within the 'Qumran community'. In its present form, the composition preserves the remains of two literary strata. It contains traditional wisdom advice

based on reason, but its eschatology, among other things, displays the re-interpretation of this advice within an apocalyptic worldview, and is also reflected in some of the community's writings. Elgvin understands the *סֵדֵי הָעוֹלָם* as the underlying, pre-existent order of creation, but, *contra* Lange, argues that it should not be identified with the Mosaic Torah. Rather, it 'occupies the role of hypostatic Wisdom: it conveys divine revelation to man and provides the right relation to God and fellow man' (2000a: 237) within the larger framework of apocalypticism. This type of wisdom had its social origins in a scribal group different from the priestly sages represented by Ben Sira, and so might have been connected to the circle responsible for the early Enochic material (2000a). Elgvin also posits that it could have been used for didactic purposes in the wider Essene community throughout Judaea. The last point recalls Saebø's discussion (1994) as to how, in the later prophetic tradition, eschatology might have developed a sapientializing, learned quality, especially in its historiologic applications. This 'didactic eschatology', as he terms it, emerged through the systemization of the eschatological way of preaching and, as received theological teaching that itself developed a transcendentalizing quality, formed a new matrix from which literature such as the Daniel apocalypses emerged.

Sirach is frequently employed as a benchmark against which the eschatologization of wisdom is measured. In a stimulating essay in *Conflicted Boundaries* (Wright and Wills [eds.] 2005) that builds on his work over the past decade, Wright posits that while Sirach, *1 Enoch* and *Aramaic Levi* shared multiple interests and a scribal/priestly setting, they represent competing ideas of wisdom and groups or communities 'who know about each other, who do not really like each other, and who actively polemicize against each other although not necessarily directly' (Wright 2005: 108). In the same volume, Horsley argues that what distinguishes the scribal authors of Daniel and the early Enoch literature from Ben Sira 'is their extensive cultivation of visions and/or vision-interpretation, which Ben Sira simply rejected, and their inquiry into hidden prospects for the future, which Ben Sira forbade' (2005: 144). If Corley (2003) is correct, Sirach represents a response to the threat to traditional wisdom posed by the competing worldviews of apocalypticism and Greek rational philosophy. For J.K. Aitkin (1999), the wisdom in Sirach is available to all, in contrast to the special revelation of the *סֵדֵי הָעוֹלָם* of 4QInstruction. Yet he argues that both texts exhibit apocalyptic leanings, albeit expressed in distinct ways. Kister's study (2004) on Sirach includes his views on other Dead Sea texts, particularly 4QMysteries (4Q299-4Q300, preserved also in 1Q27 and possibly in

4Q301). He hesitates to define *רִיזְיָהּ* precisely, but cites Sir. 42.19 as its basic sentiment: God ‘declares the things that have come to pass and those that are (yet) to come, and reveals the depth of secrets’. In *4QMysteries*, awareness of such is obtained through prophetic revelation but is accompanied by the sapiential medium of human observation. This and similarly oriented texts lead Kister to conclude that while authors such as Ben Sira distinguished between traditional sapiential elements and ‘wisdom’ in its wider sense, many of the Dead Sea texts, including *4QMysteries*, exhibit a fusion of both. Intriguingly, Kister speaks less of the eschatologizing of wisdom, and more on the sapientializing of older traditions.

In a foundational article on ‘Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility’ (1993b), Collins observes how the underlying ideology of the earliest apocalypses contrasts sharply with that of the biblical wisdom books. In the apocalypses, there is the sense that the wrongness of this world is so pronounced that any resolution must be effected through supernatural means and on the eschatological stage. As time passed, however, and new ideologies emerged in the wake of events such as the Antiochene crisis, strands of wisdom and apocalyptic thought were integrated in literary forms. One illustration is the incorporation of sapiential sayings in compositions such as *Sibylline Oracle 2*, the *Epistle of Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, and the *Testament of Dan*. In another paper (1996), Collins discusses how views on the origin of sin were part of an ongoing debate among the wisdom schools of second-century BCE Judaea. Despite common theologic lemmata, Ben Sira and the Qumran sectarians arrived at divergent theodicean conclusions, and the appeal to supernatural explanation in the texts of the latter connotes the central place of apocalypticism in their thought. In a third essay, Collins (2004) returns to the worldview of *4QInstruction* and the multi-fold manner in which it differs from that of traditional wisdom, exemplified this time by Proverbs and Sirach. He rejects Elgvin’s thesis that the mixture of speculative and practical wisdom in the text denotes the presence of two literary strata (see also the evaluations of García Martínez 2003 and Goff 2003b: 217). As for its conceptual antecedents, Collins argues that, as with many second-century BCE texts, *4QInstruction* was ‘an exercise in bricolage’: rather than an heir to one or another pure stream of Israelite tradition, it was informed by a complicated aggregate of ideas and motifs.

Goff (2003a; 2003b) outlines the complementarity of the sapiential and apocalyptic aspects of the *רִיזְיָהּ* (translated as ‘the mystery that is to be’), which allows key elements of the positions of Lange and Elgvin to be held simultaneously, albeit with modification. *4QInstruction* describes the act

of creation as a mystery and appeals to revelation, but also is a response to a crisis in wisdom thought. This crisis, however, was not initiated by the theological developments of Job and Qoheleth, as per Lange, but instead is centred in a perceived need, witnessed in multiple second-century BCE venues, that revelation, *via* diverse media, was required to attain higher wisdom. An analogue to this stimulating hypothesis, which should be able to accommodate further deliberation with ease, might be the view that apocalyptic historiography, in its eschatological horizon, was a response to a related second-century BCE crisis in Jewish historiology. So in some ways we return, albeit via a less familiar path, to Cross's view that apocalypticism (or proto-apocalypticism) in part is a response to a post-exilic crisis regarding the theology of history. Goff also suggests that since claims about the created order in *4QInstruction* differ from those in the Enochic literature, it is unlikely, *contra* Elgvin, that both stemmed from the same social and intellectual circles or that the latter influenced the former.

Goff characterizes the wisdom of *4QInstruction* as both heavenly and worldly, the latter referring to those elements of רִן נְהִיָּה that involve the fostering of practical and eudemonistic knowledge (2003b: 27; see also Goff 2005). In the estimation of García Martínez (2003), however, the author of *4QInstruction* did not distinguish between heavenly and worldly wisdom. Instead, the revelatory aspect of the רִן נְהִיָּה spanned the entire spectrum of knowledge, including its most 'worldly' concerns. Bedenbender's short study (2002b) steers a different tack altogether, although it remains to be seen whether a return to sharper categorical distinctions represent a new direction or a step backward. His argument is that a close examination of the texts reveals that neither Joseph nor Daniel (*contra* H.-P. Müller 1972) nor even Enoch (*contra* VanderKam 1984) functioned as mantic sages in the Babylonian tradition. The influence of this branch of the sapiential tradition is thus quite limited, with the result that the main impulses in the formation of Jewish apocalypticism are seen to have derived from the prophetic tradition. In my view, Bedenbender's work (2000; 2002a; 2005) represents far more than an simple argument for prophecy over manticism. His attempt to formulate the origins of apocalypticism as an epistemological phenomenon whose literary replies are the works ascribed to Enoch and Daniel is acute and provocative. Finally, Larsen (2002) focuses on the manner in which the sapiential and apocalyptic material are related. Only through access to the רִן נְהִיָּה, a process which rejects experiential knowledge, are the chosen able to gain the ability to distinguish good and evil. In effect, wisdom is gained by revelation. While such an assertion may prove to be too simplistic, not for the first time one recalls the larger implica-

tions of Stone's trenchant observation that 'it seems most probable that part of [the] speculative concern of the apocalyptic lists [of revealed things] derived from Wisdom sources, although the lines of connection may prove difficult to trace' (1976: 438).

c. *Integrating the traditions.* The scholarly discussion concerning Israel's prophetic and wisdom traditions and the origin of Jewish apocalypses and apocalypticism has proven enormously fruitful. Among its results are an appreciation of the fundamental interconnectedness of these traditions in the post-exilic period. No longer can the majority of the texts be plotted as points on a trajectory proceeding from either Israelite prophetic or wisdom literature to the genre apocalypse. To borrow an analogy from the biological sciences, one cannot assume the existence of *genera* of one age based on the taxonomy of the extant *genera* of a later age. The discussion also has illuminated the spurious segregation of Jewish traditions from their wider intellectual contexts and, without resorting to strict history-of-religions explanations, allowed for a greater appreciation of the influence of ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean phenomena. This translates into an awareness of the limitations of terms such as 'prophecy' and 'wisdom literature', which in some of their post-exilic manifestations seem in scope and shape strange derivatives from their classical Israelite antecedents. Stone states as much when he observes that the terminology of the classical wisdom lost its peculiar meanings in the Second Temple literature, and came to serve 'to denote whatever teaching or doctrine the writer considered to be highest "wisdom" or understanding' (1984: 389). Nickelsburg (1994) even questions whether such categorical overlaps intimate a breakdown in the traditional boundaries. As for the ancient evidence itself, he notes that 'apocalyptic texts contain elements that are at home in wisdom literature, and wisdom texts reflect growing interest in eschatology' (1994: 20). This is a key point also for Collins: by the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, wisdom could no longer be identified with any one worldview (1996: 32). In the same vein, Venter writes of 'a rapprochement and even fusion between priestly, apocalyptic and sapiential traditions. Although these traditions were also in dialogue with other viewpoints...their main debate was with each other... No single tradition stood in isolation from the other traditions. Even when particulars are lacking, indications are found of a dialogue with opposing viewpoints' (2002: 485-86; cf. Vermeylen 1997). Abadie (2001) enquires whether a choice between one source or another is any longer warranted: early apocalypticism depended on prophetic eschatology and Babylonian mantic wisdom alike.

Furthermore, an increasing number of scholars now follow Stone (1976 and 1980a: 42) and insist—rightly, in my opinion—that a place must be found for the scientific forecasting texts: the prognostica, the astronomical and astrological treatises, the meteorologica, and perhaps (so Stuckenbruck 2002) some magical literature. A scientific cosmology ('pseudo-scientific' is unwarranted) certainly underpins much of the early Enoch material (VanderKam 1984) and informs a wide variety of ascent texts (Abusch 1995; Collins 1995b; Yarbrow Collins 1995). Carey (2000) reopens the matter of astrological prophecy as it relates to mediaeval apocalyptic timetables, the closest ancient parallel to which might be some of the Egyptian oracula of the Hellenistic era, the brontologia and related divinatory treatises, or even texts such as the *Book of Elchasai*. Divination and oneirocriticism must be considered, too, as I have mentioned already (Part I, §4, i).

The expansion of the corpus of material now considered to bear upon the issue of origins has provoked varied responses. Some scholars advocate expanding the definition of apocalyptic literature (e.g., Rowland 1982, etc.), the genre (e.g., Malina 1995), or the eschatology (e.g., Grabbe 2003b). Although the academy on the whole has not embraced such arguments, there is an intrinsic value in testing taxonomies to their limits. Other scholars, however, argue that the new evidence demands a fresh approach that would better understand apocalypticism in the ancient world but would remain within the framework of the SBL definitions. In this light, the ongoing investigation of apocalypticism's connections with sapiential literature, ancient scientific texts, and such concepts as the *רִי נְהִיָּה* are steps in the right direction.

VanderKam's 1986 paper provides a paradigm for the comprehensive attitude toward the post-exilic prophetic and sapiential traditions and their development. 'Prophecy and divination', he observes, 'were rather similar phenomena, not sharply contrasting entities' (1986: 248). They shared several characteristics, including an emphasis on divine revelation to selected individuals and through media such as dreams and night visions, a preoccupation with deciphering encoded messages and revealing the future, and an interest in political and military issues. Once the idea of 'prophet' and 'prophecy' beyond the limited scope of the classic prophets is admitted, their similarities with mantic wisdom are obvious. Moreover, a variety of passages from the Hebrew Bible confirm that the ancients themselves understood this. Similarly, in his contribution to *Mysteries and Revelations*, Charlesworth states that 'apocalyptic thought originated in the proto-apocalypticism of the latter prophets... [and was] enriched by thoughts derived from other cultures, especially from Meso-

potamia' (1991: 91-92). The origin of the genre apocalypse, he adds, 'is to be found primarily in Prophecy but also (to a lesser extent) in Wisdom' and its early examples exhibit multiple Near Eastern and Mediterranean influences (1991: 93-94).

Bockmuehl's 1990 volume, *Revelation and Mystery*, has much to say about apocalypticism and its origins. The first two sentences state his thesis regarding the origins of apocalypticism:

Faced with the theological problems of delayed deliverance and historical theodicy, Jewish religious thought in the Hellenistic period necessarily became engaged in a close reassessment of the received tradition and of the channels of revelation. Drawing on this re-reading of their Biblical heritage, and somewhat stimulated by the increasing secrecy of the surrounding popular pagan religions, many Jews found in the notion of revealed divine mysteries the key to a renewed understanding of God's sovereignty in history and the cosmos, being offered as it were an 'insider's look' at God's dealings in heaven (1990: 1).

His conclusion is that the contents of the divine revelation granted to privileged individuals—usually via inspired insights, visionary or exegetical—was frequently understood as a 'mystery'. The designation, then, was applied to a wide variety of subjects and for multiple purposes. Mystery, as Bockmuehl puts it, could be assigned to 'the hidden treasures of Torah or the intricacies of uranology and the heavenly plan of salvation' (1990: 225) while simultaneously serving several purposes. One of these purposes was revelation, notably as it might have been employed in the interpretation of scripture (cf. Lange 2003).

One of the most ambitious attempts to formulate the affiliation among the various, often interwoven strands of Second Temple literature is Boccaccini's hypothesis on the origins and nature of the early Enochic material, which has proven to be super-saturated with ideas, and one from which many fruitful discussions have precipitated. It expands on avenues of approach illuminated by Sacchi (1997, etc.) and Stone (1980b; 1980c), and encompasses social setting, worldview, and literary form. Boccaccini argues that there were several competing varieties or streams of Judaism in the Second Temple period (see 1998; 2002). One stream was 'Enochic' Judaism, so named on account of its close identification with the assumptions and attitudes reflected in the early Enoch material, including a focus on the figure of Enoch, a deterministic and mythopoeic historiography, and a distinctive theodicy. Enochic Judaism competed with Samaritanism and particularly 'Zadokite' Judaism, the religious ideology of the hierocratic elite who controlled the Jerusalem Temple and with whom are associated

most of the books in the Hebrew Bible and a few now collected in the Apocrypha. Zadokite Judaism promoted the idea of cosmic order and the ritualistic maintenance of well-defined boundaries in a thoroughly binary worldview. Enochic Judaism, on the other hand, saw the world as fundamentally chaotic, wherein issues of evil and purity reside ultimately beyond human control and where any meaningful reversal or restoration require divine intervention. Compositions such as *Jubilees* and *Daniel* represent attempts to fuse elements from the divergent streams, while *Daniel's* defence of Torah and Temple, which are principal Zadokite concerns, permitted its inclusion in the canon. Boccaccini also incorporates elements of the Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran origins to suggest the affiliation among a general Palestinian apocalyptic tradition, an Essene parent movement, and the Qumran community.

This paper is not the venue to treat the details of Boccaccini's complex thesis (cf. Arcari 2002b) or the subject of Enochic Judaism. These topics merit a dedicated review essay of their own. A fine introduction to the debate is *Enoch and Qumran Origins* (Boccaccini [ed.] 2005), which contains over five dozen essays and responses from the Second Enoch Seminar, convened at Venice in July 2003. Several times in this paper I have had the occasion to refer to essays from this volume. It is an essential collection.

5. *Apocalyptic Historiography*

The historiologic character of apocalyptic literature and apocalypticism is at once obvious and occluded. It is obvious because many examples of the genre exhibit detailed reviews of history, and because one of the fundamental concerns of the ideology is the historical situation of the communities for which the literature is composed. In short, apocalypses are often preoccupied with history, and apocalypticism with the meaning of history. It is occluded because apocalyptic historiography, the study of which includes enquiries into conceptions of time, theologies of history, and views of determinism and free will and their relation to questions of theodicy, remains incompletely understood. The origin and evolution of this historiography also require clarification, for example regarding the growth of the universalist perspective (Muñoz León 1994) and the degree of influence from the classical world and the prophetic traditions (see Sterling 1992 on historiography, and Barton 1986, esp. 'Prophecy and the Divine Plan for History' [214-34]).

The conception of time and history in apocalyptic thought is a cardinal issue. Any survey of the topic should begin with Pannenberg (1961) and

his immediate respondents (see Murdock 1967). More recently, it is fair to say that no other scholar has been more concerned with the subject than Koch, nor has anyone else produced such consistently innovative results. These are located in *Ratlos von der Apokalyptik* (1970), in his *Uppsala Volume* paper, titled 'Vom prophetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht' (1983), and in 'Sabbat, Sabbatjahr und Weltenjahr. Die apokalyptische Konstruktion der Zeit' (1997). In his dense contribution to *Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (2003), Koch examines the conceptions of time in four texts, Qoheleth, Sirach, 4QInstruction, and Daniel. He proposes a distinction between the sapiential literature, which includes reflections on one's life and place within the historical dimension (and which is apprehended through the understanding of the הַיְּמִינִי), and the apocalypses, which concentrate far more on the corporate aspect, especially as exemplified in the *translatio imperii*.

In a series of studies Koch highlights the importance of the concept of 'righteousness'. In one (1990), he traces the rise of prophetic eschatology in First and Second Isaiah, with special attention to the concept of metahistory. According to Koch, the precise historical situation addressed by a text was fully understandable only in its larger, meta-historical context. Metahistory was anchored in a theology of history that is grounded in the conception of a universal state of righteousness, which existed in the past, is anticipated in the future, and is the measure against which the disharmony of the author's present is comprehended (cf. DiTomaso 2006 on apocalyptic historiography). While righteousness is essentially a divine quality, it is also one to which human behaviour should be aligned. In this respect, then, apocalyptic theologies of history implicitly include postulates about the relationship between humans and the divine.

Koch's recent essay on the theme of righteousness (2005) nuances his conception of apocalyptic historiography. He cites Nickelsburg's dictum (2001: 441) that the central concept of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* is the idea of *qushṭa*, rendered variously as 'righteousness', 'truth', or 'Wahrheit'. Rather than orchestrated by God or the product of human activity, history unfolds as the result of a back-and-forth struggle between two opposing forces, an idea whose root is Zoroastrian (see Part I, §4 i, and Widengren 1995, on the periodization of history). On one side of the struggle is *qushṭa*; on the other *shiqra* ('deceit') and *ḥamsa* ('violence'). In the *Community Rule* this is expressed in the doctrine of the two spirits. Even though the venue of the contest between the spirits is the human heart (personal) instead of world events (corporate), again there is the view that there are opposing supernatural forces that cause time to flow

and effect change. In my opinion, apocalyptic historiography inherently freights a conceptual framework by which proposals concerning free will and determinism were expressed (see Vielhauer 1964a: 590-93). It is true that these issues were not always thought through by the authors of the apocalypses, or, in some texts at least, perhaps it is more correct to say that while the authors might have had a definite view of free will, determinism, and historical events, the particulars were often left implicit. Yet if Koch is correct, the *qushṭa-shiqra/ḥamsa* dynamic might help to inform a general apocalyptic theology of history that, among other things, circumscribes the role of free will and predestination at both the personal and corporate levels. Hobbins (1998) suggests that the view of history in *2 Baruch* allows for free will (and its consequences) at both the corporate and personal levels. While I do not agree with his postulate that the text anticipates a future 'healing' of history, it does raise some interesting points on the various trajectories taken by apocalyptic historiography after 70 CE.

Other notable studies of the concepts of apocalyptic time and history include the papers in the volume edited by Baumgarten (2000), and two essays by Weder on the conception and measuring of 'apocalyptic time-sense' and ideas of the past and future in early Judaism (1999) and in the New Testament (2001). De Vries's 1978 investigation of time in wisdom and apocalyptic writings touches on several topics. Although it mentions apocalypticism in passing, Malina's 1989 essay remains an indispensable resource for the notions of time in what he calls the ancient, 'circum-Mediterranean' world. Larkin states that the historical reviews of Daniel 7-11 are presented in 'the guise of eschatology' (1994: 14) and as such are no different from Joel's description of the locust plague, but this is a misunderstanding of the dynamics of apocalyptic historiography. As for notions of temporal and historical recurrence, in 1979 Trompf challenged the old paradigm of a sharp distinction between cyclical notions of time and history in Mesopotamian and classical Greek writings and the unswervingly linear conceptions in Hebrew historiography. More recently, Dailey (1999), referring primarily to *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, takes the position that the perception of time in Second Temple apocalypses is neither cyclical nor linear, but spiral. Yet, as I argue elsewhere, time and history operate on multiple levels in apocalyptic literature, an occurrence that is due partly to the device of pseudonymous authority and partly to the underlying theologies of history (DiTommaso 2006). One must be careful to distinguish among the levels, lest (i) recurrent macrostructural patterns within history be mistaken for evidence of a cyclical view of

time, or (ii) God's panoptic historical perspective be improperly equated with the human limitation to apprehend history as a sequence of events. For humanity, the arrow of time is linear. Rubin and Kosman's article (1997) on Adam's clothing as a symbol of 'apocalyptic time' in midrashic sources concerns neither apocalypses nor apocalypticism. On the periodization of history in *ex eventu* reviews, see, among other studies, Capelli (1997), and Goulder (1995), who identifies an awareness of the phases of the expected kingdom in Paul, Mark, and Revelation. I cannot discuss the many texts that anticipate a new creation, but I would be remiss not to highlight Beyerle (2005).

Apocalyptic historiography involves the imposition of a primary-level structure on events that appear random or meaningless. Its nature is the subject of a classic essay by Rappaport (1992), who argues that the authors of ancient apocalypses used historical data to create visions that were given authenticity by their meticulous attention to detail and similarity to the actual events. These visions were shaped by two assumptions: first, that the axis of history was history's impact on the fate of the Jews; and second, that history was telescoped, in that the closer the past events were to the author's actual time, the more details were brought into focus. Rappaport concludes that while apocalyptic literature neither 'educates' to historical consciousness nor shapes collective memory, it is a creative form of historiography that substituted for a national historiography. Lategan, indebted to Walter Benjamin, correctly terms historiographies as 'sense-making' endeavours. He writes, 'Sense-making is therefore a complex and multi-dimensional process of mediation. It mediates between past and future by relating experiences of the past to expectations of the future' (2003: 597). In a related vein, Yarbrow Collins (1996b) remarks that apocalyptic symbols propose an alternate system in order to envision the change that is required to the present, dominant social system. More sweeping is Collins's statement: 'The belief in a judgment beyond death and in the influence of angels and demons on human life created a framework for human decisions and actions' (1992: 283). Yet, as with all ideologies, apocalypticism has limitations as a sense-making endeavour. For example, Tiller calls *4 Ezra* an 'anti-apocalyptic apocalypse'. Although an apocalypse in form, its conceptual horizon admits that earthly exigencies and heavenly realities are beyond human comprehension to the point of admitting no possibility for optimism, and as such 'represents apocalyptic concession to the failure of an apocalyptic worldview' (2000: 260).

Tronier (1999) distinguishes four characteristics of the apocalyptic construction of history:

(1) the course of history is embedded in a coherent, comprehensive construction of reality, time and space; (2) the focus is not on the individual, retold events of history *per se*, but on the general structures and the regularities of history; (3) surveys and reproductions frequently have an allegorical form; (4) the account of history is incorporated into a revelatory frame, i.e. history is perceived and viewed in a particular way' (1999: 223).

The result, he argues, is an apocalyptic philosophy of history, or what I call an apocalyptic historiography. The remainder of Tronier's paper deals with the test case of the *Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch*. His work is uniformly stimulating and insightful; on apocalyptic eschatology see also Tronier 2001 (discussed in §6 ii, below).

The proposition that apocalypses substituted myth for history (Hanson 1975) has become somewhat axiomatic. It is time to rid ourselves of such binary thinking. Myth has a place in the Second Temple apocalypses, and in apocalyptic language and historiography as well. But we must not consider it a defining character of either the genre or the ideology. S.L. Cook (2003) rightly sees part of the development of apocalypticism as the shift from transcendent mythology to historical ontology. Tigchelaar (1996) shows how the post-exilic prophets were deeply concerned with history, which in their case meant the oracles of the 'prophets of old'. These are only a few illustrations of a newer perspective on the matter. We must also attend to what we label 'myth' and 'history'. Grabbe states, 'To the ancient writers—as to millions of modern-day fundamentalists—the cosmic drama is as historical as the Assyrian invasion. In the same way, it is hard to see that the endtime kingdom foreseen by Daniel differed in any significant way from that of the ideal Davidic rule conceived of by Ezekiel (34.23-30) and others' (1998: 195).

Jindo (2005) argues that history, which is underscored by the processes of change and progress, typifies prophetic eschatology, but myth, which articulates the desire for the perpetual and the immutable, characterizes apocalyptic eschatology. In apocalyptic eschatology, he says, history functions to express the underlying myth, whose cyclical conception of time and synchronic perspective on past events render historical detail unimportant. The concern of visions in such historiographies, then, is not history *per se*, but rather its predetermined ending. However, it is my contention that a profound concern for history and its details sits at the heart of all historical apocalypsa (DiTommaso 2006). In fact, historical details are the quanta of this apocalyptic historiography, wherein the identification and sequence

of past events enable readers to locate themselves historically and theologically. These processes contextualize and rationalize the eschatological expectations of the text, which in turn frames the overall message(s) to its audience. Bedenbender's short essay (2005) begins, 'While the Animal Apocalypse tacitly passes over the covenant of Mount Sinai and the giving of the Torah, the Apocalypse of Weeks seems to be ignorant of the exodus. Forgetfulness is as implausible an explanation as underestimation. The subjects are much too important for that' (200). Likewise, Gruenwald writes, 'Reflecting upon, or rewriting, the past amounts to actually inventing it. Doing so, the visionaries retrospectively justify their visions of the radical changes of the future... The history of the people of Israel is rewritten so as to converge with a certain notion of the historical future' (1996: 270-71). This is the chief function of historical apocalypses: they make sense of history for the persons for whom they are composed.

Although apocalyptic historiography rested on certain historiologic axioms, they were few enough in number and general enough in scope to permit a fairly broad spectrum of responses. As usual, one must also account for a measure of change and development prompted by historical circumstance and social setting. An important case study is the book of Daniel, where the apocalyptic historiography of its final redaction did not entirely harmonize the sometimes divergent theologies of history that were the products of its compositional process. In his *Hermeneia* commentary, Collins observes that the central issue in Daniel 9 is the relationship between the Deuteronomic theology of history of the Prayer of Daniel and the deterministic ideology of what follows (1993a: 359-60). He challenges Steck's (1980) position that the historical review of the latter also preserves a Deuteronomic theology. Rather, it is the other way round, a fact that Collins stresses in an excursus on the Prayer in an earlier work: 'As the text of Daniel now stands, the prayer in ch. 9 certainly contrasts sharply with the view of history in the rest of the book. Whether this contrast was intended by either the author or the redactor, it highlights the gulf which separated the apocalyptic view of history from the traditional Deuteronomic view found in the prayer' (1977a: 185-87). Dequeker (1993) opts for a middle path, acknowledging the merit of Collins's observation but affirming that 'the sins and shortcomings' of Daniel's people still have historical ramifications.

In a paper on determinism in Daniel (1995), Helberg argues that God's control of history is not completely and mechanically deterministic, but is based on some measure of covenantal reciprocity, which assumes for its human parties an element of free will. He also disagrees with theories

positing a distinction in Daniel between free will and the divine control of history. Yet this distinction seems to have been the compromise reached by the author-redactor of its final Hebrew-Aramaic form. For various reasons the historiography of MT Daniel was shaped by the need to expand the forum of God's actions to the supra-historical, and views on free will and determinism were adjusted accordingly. Just as there was an eschatologization of wisdom in the Second-Temple period, so too was there an eschatologization of historiography. The issue is whether both were powered by the same, general concerns. In the case of Daniel, partial evidence for this process is preserved in its literary strata and in related texts. One of these, 4Q243-244, preserves a clear Deuteronomistic theology of history. If Daniel 9 is a rejection of this theology, it might be that the chapter was composed in light of or even as a response to 4Q243-244 (DiTommaso 2005c). More investigation of these issues is required, since they are articulated over the entire range of ancient apocalyptic literature. 4Q243-244 also might represent as much a stage between the sapientialism of Daniel 1-6 and the apocalypticism of Daniel 7-12 as it is one between the genres of court tale and apocalypse. Another significant historiologic difference between 4Q243-244 and Daniel is in their retelling of history: in the Dead Sea document the period before the Exile is not ignored, whereas the historical record in Daniel might as well begin with Nebuchadnezzar.

6. The Development of Ancient Apocalypses and Apocalypticism

The genre apocalypse underwent historical changes (Sacchi 1990) and in this regard is similar to other literary genres (Collins 1984: 4, citing Fowler 1971). Yet, despite the recent work on the antecedents of apocalyptic literature, a comprehensive account of the historical development of apocalypses and apocalypticism from their earliest origins to their late antique forms has yet to be written. In its place are studies that consider isolated portions of the problem. For example, Collins indicates that in early exemplars such as Daniel and the first Enoch booklets (cf. VanderKam 1984), the genre was still in its 'experimental stage' and that both texts 'incorporate material that would not be considered apocalyptic if taken on its own' (1999b: 39). He adds that focus of the early Enoch material progressed from speculation to historiography (1998). In their study of the evolution of conceptions of eschatological restoration in Second Temple apocalyptic literature, Aune and Stewart (2001) propose that there was a general movement from an idealization of the past to an ideal, imaginary future. This was manifested in themes such as paradise lost and regained, the appearance

of the eschatological Temple, the future ingathering of Israel, and cosmic restoration. DiTommaso (2005b) suggests that this basic trajectory might have been followed by the development of the expectation for the New Jerusalem, which while not a topos exclusive to apocalyptic literature was a frequent feature in it. Nickelsburg (2004) shows that examples of Second Temple Jewish eschatology balanced the expectation of a future new creation, where sin and other disharmonious elements are non-existent, with the anticipation that only the righteous will gain eternal life in heaven. He concludes that earlier texts tended towards the former, while later ones, while not ignoring it, concentrated on God's justice for individuals and the future reward for a righteous life.

Tiller's (2000) focus is more specific. Both *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* employ a received 'list of revealed things' (cf. Stone 1976) but whereas the former espouses the 'older apocalyptic view', *4 Ezra* represents a development within the ideology: some aspects of the divine purpose are unknowable to humans. Himmelfarb (1991) discusses heavenly ascents in apocalyptic texts, primarily those of a post-70 CE vintage. The appearance of angels and the institution of an elaborate angelology is normally taken as indicative of a theological process where the figure of God was gradually withdrawn from the human sphere. Himmelfarb, however, suggests that the development of a cosmos that includes angels, including those who guided seers in otherworldly apocalypses, is not a cause of the divine retreat but rather an attempt at its solution. A heaven populated by angels with whom seers can sometimes collude, provides humans with a sense of interaction with the divine realm and reassures them that God is still near. On tours of the places of the dead in ancient apocalypses, see also Bauckham (1995).

Several studies stand out among those that address miscellaneous topics relating to apocalypticism in the first two centuries CE. Nickelsburg (1987) engages apocalyptic responses to the fall of Jerusalem, while Esler (2005) charts how Rome was perceived in apocalyptic and rabbinic literature. Bilde concludes that it is too simplistic to consider Josephus as 'apocalyptic theologian and writer' (1998: 55). At the same time, there are several points of contact between the ideology and the historian, including, most significantly, Josephus's understanding of prophecy and his own abilities, and their connection to the interpretation of Scripture, historiography, and the revelation of divine secrets.

To some degree, the historical development of apocalypses and apocalypticism in antiquity is reflected in the literary corpora of certain groups or movements. The principal examples in Hellenistic and Roman times are (i) the manuscripts discovered near Khirbet Qumran and at other sites in

the Judaeen desert, (ii) the New Testament, and (iii) the writings of certain Jewish and Christian streams from the post-70 period. The limitations of space permit only a summary presentation of each.

i. *Qumran*

The manuscripts from the Judaeen desert include many hitherto unknown apocalyptic texts, plus copies of portions of already known texts in their original languages. These discoveries have immeasurably augmented and reshaped our knowledge of early Jewish apocalypses and apocalypticism. However, the bulk of the relevant manuscripts have been published only in the past fifteen years. As a result, survey studies tend to be overtaken rather quickly by new research (for a recent effort, see Vázquez Allegue 2003). In addition, the manuscripts from the Qumran caves preserve a collection of diverse material, and the rationale behind the inclusion of each text or the circumstances of its preservation is not always apparent. The distinction among genre, ideology, and social settings is therefore crucial. As Collins writes,

...to say that Qumran was an apocalyptic community is not, of course, to describe it exhaustively...apocalypticism allows for many variations and can be combined with various theological traditions. Qumran can be called a halachic community as well as an apocalyptic one. Equally, there is no reason to take Qumran as a paradigm for the social setting of apocalypticism. The designation 'apocalyptic', however, draws attention to an important aspect of the world-view of Qumran, which serves to relate it to some strands of ancient Judaism and to distinguish it from others (1991: 24).

Collins's slim volume, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1997a), satisfies the need for a handbook for students and scholars that addresses the new corpus of the manuscript evidence in light of its basic Second Temple contexts. Its nine chapters cover all the important topics, including apocalypticism; Daniel, Enoch, and related literature; creation and the origin of evil; the periodization of history and expectations of the end; messianic anticipation; the eschatological war; resurrection and eternal life; the heavenly world; and the apocalypticism of the Dead Sea Scrolls in context. Surveys in French include Philonenko (1983) in the *Uppsala Volume*, and Puech (2003) in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*.

Nickelsburg (1999) devotes a long, programmatic essay to the form, function, content, and social setting of revelation in *Jubilees* and the early Enoch material, which are preserved in manuscript copies at Qumran, and in some sectarian texts. He argues that despite differences in its outward forms, the contents of their revelations are remarkably similar, comprising 'ethical or

legal matters, eschatology, and sometimes cosmology' (1999: 91). Revelation operated as a vehicle for self-understanding, and at Qumran additionally helped the sectarians distinguish themselves from their opponents. While a revealed interpretation of Torah is central to all the texts under his investigation, the nature of Torah differs from text to text, although Nickelsburg is careful to point out that the Mosaic Torah is critical to the Qumranic authors.

One relatively firm consensus over the past twenty years is that while the Qumran community was a millenarian movement with an apocalyptic ideology—or, as some would state, it was an apocalyptic community (but cf., e.g., Brooke 2002)—it did not compose apocalypses of its own. (I leave aside the question of the propriety of the label 'Qumran community', on which see Collins (2006). In her overview of apocalyptic and related texts at Qumran (1994), Dimant notes that most are written in Aramaic, several of which may be classified as visions or forecasts in a court-tale setting of the sort preserved in MT Daniel 2, 4 and 5, while none seem to contain the distinctive sectarian terminology. On the topic of Daniel, VanderKam (2000a) concludes that Daniel and the other early apocalyptic texts such as *Jubilees* and the early Enoch booklets exercised a significant influence on sectarian attitudes, principally in the manner which they shaped a way of life and contributed to the development of a own literary tradition. He observes that the sectarian focus on both Torah and apocalyptic themes stands more with the Daniel–*Jubilees* traditions than it does the Enochic, and, to the degree that it stresses the importance of Torah, seems more in line with the *Jubilees* stream than the Danielic one.

García Martínez is the scholar most associated with the subject of apocalypses and apocalypticism at Qumran (n.b. 1998, 2000 and 2003). He edited *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (2003), a landmark collection of twenty-three essays, some of which we have already discussed. Many of García Martínez's own papers were translated from Spanish, updated, and published in the volume *Qumran and Apocalyptic* (1992). Although the book is largely devoted to the examination of specific texts and thus outside the purview of this paper, its contents undermine Stegemann's influential hypothesis (1983; 1985; but cf. 1999) that the Qumran community had little interest in apocalypticism and that all traces of apocalypticism in the Scrolls are foreign intrusions. García Martínez writes,

In my opinion, the study of the Qumran manuscripts has completely transformed the way in which we nowadays understand the most ancient Apocalypses, those composed within the Enochic tradition, has had a

profound effect on the study of the origins and the development of the apocalypse of Daniel and has indicated a number of new factors demonstrating the variety and the ideological richness of the apocalypses written within the Qumran community itself (1992: xi).

Subsequent research on the Dead Sea Scrolls has confirmed this important evaluation time and again.

ii. *The New Testament*

Two generations ago, the debate over New Testament apocalypticism was formulated as one between Bultmann's existential, demythologizing approach, which attempted to de-emphasize or even remove many of the apocalyptic features from New Testament eschatology, and the more anthropological path of Käsemann, who sought to re-emphasize them (Boers 1967; Funk 1969; on 'apocalyptic' as the mother of early Christian theology [Käsemann 1960; 1962; 1969], see Bultmann 1964 and I.H. Marshall 1987). Although the vocabulary of the debate has since altered and its parameters broadened, the critical question remains: To what extent and at what point did apocalypticism influence the eschatological understanding of Jesus and the early Christians?

The *Encyclopedia* (Collins [ed.] 1998) contains several survey papers on this issue. Allison (1998a) contemplates the eschatology of Jesus, a topic that from the nineteenth century has been subject to the cult of personality. He reviews the interpretations of Weiss, Schweitzer, and their intellectual descendants, for whom Jesus was an apocalyptic preacher, then proceeds to the views of Crossan and others, who either see Jesus' original message as largely devoid of eschatological elements and/or hold that they were added by the early Church. Allison reviews themes and motifs related to eschatology, as well as aspects associated with Jesus' expectations, including the eschatological judgment, the resurrection of the dead, the restoration of Israel, eschatological tribulation, and the Son of Man sayings. He regards Jesus' eschatology as mostly conventional, but not without its new elements, the most important of which was the connection Jesus made between his situation and received expectations. Allison devotes a book-length study to Jesus and his self-understanding within the milieu of contemporary apocalyptic expectations (1998b), as does Corsani (1997) and Ehrman (1999). Another noteworthy volume is *The Apocalyptic Jesus: A Debate* (Miller [ed.] 2001), with papers by Allison, Borg, Crossan, and Patterson. (I encountered the work of Efron 2004 and Laporte 2005 too late, but include references to their volumes in the bibliography.)

More recent is *Apocalypticism, Anti-Semitism and the Historical Jesus* (Kloppenborg and Marshall [eds.] 2005), which includes Allison's essay on the theological reasons why scholars have encouraged or rejected the idea of 'a fervently eschatological Jesus' (2005: 98). In the same volume, Miller (2005), who maintains that Jesus was 'a non-apocalyptic sage' (2005: 111), surveys similar terrain but from a thematic perspective. Kloppenborg (2005) enquires why the issue of Jesus' apocalypticism matters, and is composed in response to the often implicit assumption that support for an apocalyptic Jesus flows naturally from the sources while those in disagreement necessarily proceed from ideological interests. This is a thoughtful essay that should be essential reading for scholars on both sides of the issue.

As for the synoptics, note Rowland (1994) on points of contact between Matthew and the Jewish mystical and apocalyptic tradition, Humphries-Brooks (1989) on apocalyptic paranesis in Mt. 6.19-34, and Waters (2003) on Mt. 27.52-53 as 'the same kind of apocalyptic prophecy that we find in Rev. 21.2-27 and context' (2003: 514). Cope (1989) and Sim (1996) cover the influence of apocalypticism on the eschatology of Matthew. Horsley's *Encyclopedia* essay (1998) discusses apocalypticism, the synoptic Gospels, and Jesus movements, with an emphasis on apocalypses as resistance literature in the face of imperialist or tyrannical pressures. The eschatological discourse of Mark 13 is the subject of articles by Beasley-Murray (1990), Dyer (1999), and Bird (2004). Yarbrow Collins (1999b) discusses the messianic secret in Mark, whose Jesus reveals mysteries in a 'partial and veiled manner', as with the Jewish apocalypses. She holds that, like the adepts of the Hellenistic mystery religions, Jesus was understood to have been able to cross the boundary separating the human from the divine. It goes without saying that Mark 13 and other pertinent passages from the synoptic Gospels are thoroughly covered in the better commentaries. In another paper, Yarbrow Collins (2006) considers the apocalypticism of Mark 13 and 2 Thessalonians as an early Christian exegetical response to the Jewish war against Rome. On John, note two older studies already mentioned, Aune (1986) and Hellholm (1986), both in *Semeia* 36, and, on apocalyptic polemic in John 8.38-47, von Wahlde (2001).

In his *Encyclopedia* essay M.C. de Boer (1998; cf. 1989) reviews the subject of Paul and apocalypticism, with a special stress on the ideas of Bultmann and Käsemann. By means of a series of queries he argues that the apocalyptic eschatology of Paul cannot be reduced to the apostle's conception of the parousia and the end, 'but also encompasses his understanding of Christ's advent, death, and resurrection' (1998: 379). Roetzel (1998) delineates how Paul's thought resolved tensions both inherent to apocalyp-

ticism and those which resulted from his mission and theology. Responding to Bultmann's view, Tronier (2000) highlights the significance of the spatial perspective in Paul's worldview. In another paper, Tronier examines the eschatological dimension of the apocalypses (with special note made of its epistemological roots) en route to a conclusion that 'the Corinthian correspondence may be placed 'somewhere between' a position like Philo's and that of the apocalypses (2001: 196). E. Rudolph discusses eschatology (1994) and political ideology (2001) in the apocalypticism of Paul and Revelation. Penna (1999) concentrates on the role of 'Enochic apocalypticism' in aspects of Paul's conception of sin as a condition or power that precedes and stands beyond specific human transgressions. Segal (1998) describes how Paul's notion of the risen Christ's activity derives from Jewish apocalypticism (see also the earlier study of Hays 1989). In contrast, Forbes (2001) posits that in his conception of the 'spirit world' Paul did not rely on the background of Second Temple apocalypticism, nor did he engage in demythologizing apocalyptic ideas. Hall (1996) probes the nature of apocalyptic rhetoric in Galatians. G. Williams (2006) offers 'an apocalyptic and magical interpretation' of Paul's reference to a fight with wild animals in 1 Corinthians 15. Matlock (1996) helps to contextualize the discussion.

The canonical status of the book of Revelation, whose texture and tenor profoundly coloured what scholars thought about apocalypses generally, also had a great influence on the study of New Testament apocalypticism. Among the recent studies, note Yarbro Collins's paper in the *Encyclopedia* (1998), which addresses the book's date, contents, and structure, its social setting and purpose, the history of its interpretation, and the issue of women and feminine symbolism; plus C.R. Smith (1994), Court (2000), Korner (2000), Arcari (2002a), and the commentaries. On wisdom and apocalypticism in James, see the articles of Hartin (1997) and Tiller (1998) in *Conflicted Boundaries*. The volume also contains E.B. Aitken's essay on the sapiential framework and apocalyptic material of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, whose early date forces its consideration along with New Testament texts of the last decades of the first century.

Although dated, Vielhauer's study of New Testament apocalypticism (1964b) remains insightful. Lewis's 2004 volume, *What Are They Saying about New Testament Apocalyptic?*, covers much ground, albeit cursorily. In her article for the *Uppsala Volume*, Schüssler Fiorenza (1983) reviews past approaches to discover 'why they have or why they have not come to describe early Christian apocalyptic as a peculiar constellation within the syncretistic phenomenon apocalyptic within the Greco-Roman world' (297). Holman (1996) concludes that 'Christian apocalyptic expectation' shares

with Second Temple apocalypticism a 'near-expectation/delay tension', an acknowledgment that free will affects the arrival of the expected kingdom, the advent of eschatological woes, and a 'reinterpretation of earlier sources to meet community needs' (153-58). Early Christian 'apocalyptic', however, differs from the Jewish variety in its 'more real and urgent expectation', the minimization of the eschatological importance of the signs of the end, the relatively positive role played by eschatological delay, and its realized eschatology. The systemic use of imprecise terminology in these and several other studies that focus on New Testament apocalypticism frequently clouds meaning (see Part I, §2 ii of this paper).

Fusco's nuanced overview (1995) of the topic is worth consulting. Charlesworth's essay, equally fine, explores the implications of the view that 'New Testament experts tend to concur that NT theology is grounded in and defined by apocalyptic thought' (1995: 222). Myers (1995) concludes that apocalypticism in the New Testament is not restricted to a few texts, nor did a delay in the second coming of Jesus eliminate apocalyptic expectations among second- and third-generation Christians. Rowland's concern is 'to consider the fundamental importance of the apocalyptic tradition, derived as it was from ancient Judaism, for Christian theology' (1995: 40). In *Knowing the End*, Rowland (2003) outlines the prominence of prophetic and mystical elements in the books of the New Testament. His carefully delineated observations reflect his scholarship elsewhere: the revelation of heavenly mysteries was an essential focus of the early Christians. The collection of essays in Yarbrow Collins (1996a) inform a variety of topics relating to Christian apocalypticism and the book of Revelation in particular. Aune (2005) provides an excellent, readable summary of the basic information about ancient Jewish and Christian apocalypses, and about apocalypticism and the New Testament. One would be hard-pressed to find a better short essay for non-specialists. In *Knowing the End*, Aune (2003) investigates the transformation of apocalypticism in early Christianity, with special attention to the influence of Hellenistic eschatology. For J.W. Marshall (2005), the inner-group conflict typifying many of the Second Temple Jewish apocalypses was magnified to universalist proportions and employed in inter-religious contexts by later Christian writers. In this sense, elements of the criticism of some Jews by other Jews was transformed into stereotypical criticisms of Jews by Christians, and Jesus became the 'Jew against Judaism' (81). Finally, the New Testament is a primary vehicle for the study of apocalyptic discourse; on this, see Part I, §2 iii of this paper.

iii. *Late Antiquity*

Less is known about apocalypses and apocalypticism in the four centuries after Bar Kokhba than the four centuries before it. Several non-canonical apocalypses were considered authoritative by some communities of the period (and were the object of debate in others), but the constitution of the Jewish and Christian canons gradually imposed a *de facto* restriction on subsequent theological reflection. Even though the scholarly focus had broadened by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (cf. the collections of Kautzsch 1900 and Charles 1913), the corpus remained restricted to Daniel, Revelation, and a handful of mostly Second Temple texts, and as a collection remained proportionately understudied. Also, while the literary treasures of Qumran and Nag Hammadi were ventilated in the middle of the twentieth century, it took a generation or more before the full effects of their transforming influence was felt. The cumulative effect of these circumstances cannot be underestimated: traditionally, the expertise or interest of most biblical scholars interested in apocalypses did not extend past the first or second centuries CE, while experts in late antiquity and the early mediaeval period tended to consider their disciplines (and texts) separate from the study of early Judaism or the New Testament. It is only in the past few decades that these old boundaries have slowly crumbled.

The development of the genre apocalypse certainly did not terminate at the end of the first century CE. The post-biblical Daniel apocalyptic, for instance, testify to a major transformation through the late antique period (DiTommaso 2005). Certain eschatological motifs, too, materialized or gained accent as the ancient world slowly transformed into the mediaeval one. It is still to be proven whether the historiography of early mediaeval apocalyptic (Southern 1972) or the political and social settings in which they might have been rooted (see, *inter alia*, Justice 2004) differ substantively from their ancient analogues.

Several broad-spectrum studies stand out among their contemporaries. Yarbrow Collins's *Semeia* 14 paper (1979) on Christian apocalyptic literature of the second to fourth centuries remains a handy introduction (see also U.B. Müller 1983 in the *Uppsala Volume*). Oegema's 1999 book, *Zwischen Hoffnung und Gericht*, is a significant contribution. It is not meant as a detailed examination of every text and its versions, and indeed largely bypasses apocalypses of the otherworldly type. Instead, it surveys a vast range of material in order to establish a meaningful framework for its author's chief concerns, among which are to identify and discuss the themes of the political-historical texts of the second to sixth centuries CE, to illuminate the processes of the reception of older material and the creation

of new works, to trace the evolution of the genre and the development of (and differences between) Jewish and Christian apocalypticism after Bar Kokhba, and to address issues pertaining to the formation of the canon.

Another essential work is CRINT 3.4 (VanderKam and Adler [eds.] 1996). In it, Adler (1996b) traces how some classic apocalyptic timetables played a major role in post-70 apocalypticism, while VanderKam (1996) discusses the status of the figure of Enoch, Enochic motifs, and the early Enoch literature in the early Christian writings. The introduction, also by Adler (1996a), centres on Jewish apocalypses and apocalyptic tradition in early Christian settings and is an excellent entry-point into the discussion. He notes that the feature typifying much of the apocalyptic legacy inherited by the early Christians is 'esoteric book wisdom', which involves the authority of the written text. The understanding of Jewish apocalypses as records of higher, hidden wisdom informed the function and status of the texts in their new, Christian settings. Adler also indicates that by the third and fourth centuries there was a general hardening of attitudes against these apocalypses. Yet, while few such books other than Daniel ever circulated widely or enjoyed popular or official support, certain texts were accepted (e.g., *4 Ezra*), while others had their champions among the Church Fathers or within select communities.

Frankfurter's work on the subject of early Christian apocalyptic literature and apocalypticism is most original. His approach is to classify and characterize the apocalypica by their regional provenance. His long, dedicated paper in CRINT 3.4 (1996) extends beyond the chronological limits of the present paper, but is one of the most important studies on the topic produced in the past decades. Frankfurter distilled portions of this paper for his more general survey of the topic (1998) in the *Encyclopedia*. He begins with the apocalyptic literature of Roman Egypt, his special area of study (cf. 1991). In his view this collection exhibits three characteristic trends: (i) a 'gnostic' orientation towards the acquisition of otherworldly wisdom, connected especially to book culture and notions of heavenly ascent; (ii) a 'sectarian millennialist anticipation served by esoteric angelologies and timetables'; and (iii) a focus on eschatological judgment and its meaning for this world. The apocalypses of Syro-Palestine, however, while demonstrating a tremendous diversity of forms and contents, exhibit connections with scribal interests and functions. As for Asia Minor, these texts reflect an interest in what Frankfurter identifies as 'prophetism', or the tradition within early Christianity of religious prognostics who spoke of coming woes and tribulations or who were 'reputed to speak as mediators of the supernatural and travelers to the heavenly world' (1998: 427). Finally, the

emphasis on self-consciousness in the texts from the cities of the western Mediterranean such as Carthage and Rome denotes a sophisticated, elevated social-economic class whose members accentuated personal psychic transformation. Frankfurter concludes his paper with an examination of the motivations for the early Christian apocalypticism and some of its recurrent elements, which I discussed in Part I, §3 of this paper.

Several specialized studies warrant special mention. Fredriksen (1991) addresses the topic of the early Christian responses to the book of Revelation and the idea of eschatological redemption. Maier (1997) introduces the conception of narrative self-representation as a hortatory device in several apocalyptic texts, including Revelation and the *Sibylline Oracles*. Court (2000) asks whether a Johannine apocalyptic tradition persisted into late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Del Verme (2001) discusses the *Didache* in the context of the genre apocalypse and its Second Temple examples, particularly the Enochic material. Prostmeier (1999) attends to the function of some of the early Christian apocalypses. Daley's fine handbook on patristic eschatology (1991) contains sections on early Christian apocalypses and apocalypticism. His survey contribution for the second volume of the *Encyclopedia* (2000) distills and augments this work. Dal Covolo's essay (2000) covers eschatology and apocalypticism in the early Christian apologists.

The disinterment of the Nag Hammadi codices has proven as significant to the understanding of gnostic Christianity (in its broad sense) as the Dead Sea Scrolls have been to early Judaism. The codices contain a treasure-trove of early Christian apocalypticism, including copies of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse of Adam*. Some of these are copies of documents preserved in other manuscript copies and languages; others were unknown before their discovery, and many are unique to these codices. Not every text in the Nag Hammadi library is gnostic and/or an apocalypse, but there are gnostic apocalyptic writings preserved in manuscripts elsewhere. For synopses and overview discussions of all or parts of this material see Fallon (1979) in *Semeia* 14; Krause (1983) and MacRae (1983), both in the *Uppsala Volume*; and the papers of Irmischer and Jossa (1995). Our knowledge of gnostic eschatology is supplemented by other ancient sources, including the arguments of its bitter theological opponents.

The relationship between Second Temple apocalypticism and early Christian gnosticism resists easy description, since neither is a neat, self-contained category, nor can their interaction be delineated in terms of a simple chemical reaction. The gnostic material also contains examples of

related literature, such as the revelation dialogue, whose origins may be located in other traditions (Fallon 1979 and his sources). In addition, the categories of 'gnostic' and 'gnosticism' themselves have recently been the object of re-evaluation (M.A. Williams 1996; King 2003). Such complications notwithstanding, Bilde (1994) assumes that Gnosticism, Jewish apocalypticism, and early Christianity, to use his terms, are well-defined enough to offer conclusions as to their dissimilarities and similarities. He notes that Jewish apocalypticism did not share the solidly anti-Jewish stance of the other two traditions, that the divine status of Christ was most pronounced in early Christianity, and that the demiurge was unique to gnosticism. For Bilde, the affiliation among these groups is represented in terms of a historical process: 'Early Christianity developed out of Jewish Apocalypticism, and Gnosticism developed from Christianity' (1994: 51). The driving force behind this development was each group's conflict with traditional Judaism. The key stage in the continuum was early Christianity, without which full-blown gnosticism could not have developed.

Such a trajectory might be too elementary. Attridge (2000) observes that our view of the situation has changed much since Grant (1959) suggested that gnosticism was heir to the apocalyptic expectations dashed after the failures of revolts against Rome. It is now clear that any formulation of the relationship in terms of a simple continuity improperly suggests a linear progression on an evolutionary spectrum. As Frankfurter observes, 'The evidence ... must therefore illustrate a *continuum* in the use of apocalypses during the first, second, and third centuries CE' (1996: 162, *italics original*). Likewise, gnosticism did not suddenly spring fully-formed into existence in the second century CE, and here Bilde is correct to focus on sapiential elements in it and in apocalypticism. Other issues regarding the points of contact between the two worldviews are addressed in a volume dedicated to the issue, *Apocalittica e gnosticismo* (Cerutti [ed.] 1995). Jossa, for example, observes that despite its general devaluation of the Jewish/Old Testament heritage, gnosticism shared some conceptual historiographic categories with apocalypticism. Kippenberg's essay is concerned with the topic of secrecy and the revelation of mystery (cf. his 1983 paper in the *Uppsala Volume*), while Cerutti examines dualism in apocalypticism and gnosticism. The volume also contains the articles of Bianchi and Sacchi, which address aspects regarding the topic of evil (on which, see Grypeou 2003 on demons). Note also Stroumsa's study (1984) on the question of the origin of evil and the theme of the fall of the angels and their significance to some apocalypses and gnostic texts, and Arnal's paper (1995) on apocalypticism, gnosticism, Q, and the *Gospel of Thomas*.

Attridge's article (2000) is an important contribution to the development of apocalypticism after the first century CE that avoids oversimplifying the evidence. He highlights and augments the conclusions of Daley (1991; 2000), who distinguishes between the Valentinian eschatological concerns and the apocalyptic expectations of some of the Nag Hammadi material, and Frankfurter (1991; 1996; 1998), whom, as we have seen, identifies Egypt as a special source of 'gnostic' elements that consistently appear in its native apocalypica. Assuming that blanket definitions of 'apocalyptic' and 'gnostic' are problematic, Attridge traces the trajectories of two distinct apocalyptic traditions within gnostic literature, and his thesis is worth quoting at length. He writes,

Valentinian teachers eschewed the literary trappings of Jewish apocalyptic literature; although occasionally interested in 'visions', they presumed that the major 'ascent' was eschatological. In their eschatology, while disposed to interpret apocalyptic scenarios in an allegorical or 'realized' sense, they maintained a philosophically respectable view of the consummation of history but could occasionally draw upon apocalyptic descriptions of the end, particularly from early Christian texts that had achieved some authoritative status, to give expression to their belief. 'Sethians', much closer to their Jewish literary roots, used apocalyptic literary conventions and apparently did engage in practices designed to provide revelatory experience. Nonetheless, they distanced themselves from their Jewish roots, particularly in texts with evidence of a ritual setting for revelatory experience. Although, like the Valentinians, their eschatology focuses on the fate of the soul and they use eschatological categories metaphorically, their interest in cosmic or historical eschatology remains and perhaps serves as one basis for several of the late apocalypses from Nag Hammadi (2000: 178-79).

Attridge discusses proposals that an important vehicle for the transmission of elements from Jewish apocalypses/apocalypticism to the Sethian texts might have been liturgical (Frankfurter 1996), but demonstrates that the Mani Codex, which while suggesting links to Jewish apocalypticism and *Merkavah* mysticism (cf. Gruenwald 1988), is not decisive in this matter. He notes that a linear, 'steady stream of continuity' (202) from Jewish apocalypticism to Sethian gnosticism is unsupported by the evidence. Instead, and echoing the later studies of Turner (1980; 1995), Attridge posits a more complicated developmental process that stresses a variety of conceptual elements and literary forms that were apprehended and utilized differently by the various gnostic traditions.

An interest in the study of apocalypses and apocalypticism in the early rabbinic literature has undergone a minor revivification in recent decades

(note Ginzberg 1922 and Bloch 1952 among older studies). As Saldarini explains in his resumé of the topic for *Semeia* 14 (1979), the classic forms of rabbinic literature lack examples of the genre apocalypse (although see Kirschner 1985: 27-34). One explanation, advanced by Scholem, is that *Merkavah* mysticism of mediaeval Judaism is the heir to apocalypticism, which during the rabbinic centuries remained a subsurface phenomenon. Saldarini speculates that a rabbinic disinterest in political activity after Bar Kokhba led to a shift away from future speculation, and that a corresponding emphasis on Torah stressed present visions of the heavenly world gained through its study.

Yet the details of the relationship between apocalypticism and mysticism, a topic associated in more recent years with the work of Gruenwald (1988) and Rowland (1982), remain open to debate. In part this is because of the large chronological gulf between the apocalypses of Second Temple Judaism and the corpus of mediaeval Jewish mystical texts. Scholem's solution was that while these texts may have reached their final forms at a late period, many were composed earlier and/or contain central ideas which reflect a first- or second-century milieu (see Deutsch 1995 for a discussion of Scholem's arguments and critics). But too often assumption and implication bridge the immense gap in the literary evidence. Another problem is the nature of the manuscript sources. The *Hekhalot* material, as Schäfer demonstrates, should be understood less as texts with long, relatively uninterrupted tradition histories, and more as a broad collection of compositions that were assembled and reassembled from blocks of received material (Schäfer 1988; 1992; cf. Gruenwald 1988, regarding the coherence of macro-structures, and Mach 1998). The subject is further complicated by the Christian gnostic tractates, which are chronologically and perhaps conceptually situated in the gulf between apocalypses and mystical texts but whose affiliation to either or both elements remains enigmatic.

For Gruenwald, the issue is clear: several aspects of *Merkavah* mysticism are understood to be major offshoots of apocalypticism (1980; cf. Prigent 1995 on the links between apocalyptic literature and *Hekhalot* mysticism). Rowland, too, understands the history of Jewish mysticism, 'in all its various manifestations', to extend from 'the return from exile in Babylon by way of the mystics among the tannaim and amoraim through the kabbalah down to Hasidic movements nearer our own day' (1996: 405). Jewish apocalypses played a role in this history, one vector of which was the recurrent descriptions of the divine chariot, particularly as an element in the otherworldly ascents (cf. Davila 2001 on otherworldly journeys and the *Hekhalot* literature). In Part I, §1 we encountered Rowland's inclina-

tion to define the genre apocalypse principally as the revelation of heavenly mysteries, and Collins's subsequent criticism of this position. At the same time, we would be unwise to ignore the fact that, as Hengel (1969) observes, the 'quest for higher wisdom through revelation' is an important facet of ancient apocalypticism, even if the ways in which this might have been expressed in the ancient literature are so diverse as to obscure the underlying connections.

In his paper for the *Encyclopedia*, Mach (1998) reformulates the question of the apparent demise of Jewish apocalypticism during the early rabbinic period to allow for a broader compass of investigation: 'What other forms of religious thought', he asks, 'might have been created out of former apocalyptic ideas, and in what religio-social context are these to be expected?' (1998: 230). His attention concentrates on the ascent literature, and in particular the way in which Second Temple examples allowed the seer to transcend the limitations of his earthbound horizons and witness heavenly realities first-hand. Mach details how in their content and conception such ascent stories might have set the groundwork for the mystical literature, but also notes the differences, which he attributes in part to diverse historical and social changes after 70 CE. Still, 'the door to heaven was opened by the apocalypses. Whether they were known to the later mystics or not, the apocalyptic writings are, therefore, the necessary precondition for the Hekhalot type of mysticism' (1998: 261).

Owen's article (2004) reaches a different conclusion. He isolates several distinctions between apocalyptic and *Hekhalot* literature, and counters that the comparisons with *Hekhalot* macroforms are not strong even in the most plausible cases of deliberately induced mystical ascent in an ancient text (cf. also Himmelfarb 1991 and 1995). More text-specific are two penetrating studies that were published in 2005. The first, by Schäfer, outlines the evolution of cosmology in the ascent apocalypses and its theological appropriation by the rabbis, the latter as a process involving an acceptance of the cosmological structures but an imposition of conceptual strictures against heavenly ascents. In the same vein, Reed concludes that there was a wholesale 'abandonment of Enochic texts and traditions in classical Rabbinic Judaism' and, until the early Middle Ages, a 'striking silence' concerning the figure of Enoch (2005: 234), the classic Second Temple Jewish ascent-figure. Furthermore, rather than assuming that undocumented oral traditions filled the lacuna between ancient and mediaeval texts (thereby permitting a transmutation from apocalypticism to mysticism), she argues that 'however tempting it may be to view inner-Jewish transmission as inherently more plausible than Jewish dependence on non-Jewish sources,

there are many examples of the reintroduction of early Jewish texts and tradition into mediaeval Rabbinic culture through the mediation of non-Jews' (2005: 239). The seventh chapter of Reed's book makes a good case for a re-evaluation of traditional perspectives on the interchange of ideas between Jews and Christians in the early mediaeval period. I would add that the process of Jewish 'back-borrowing' (Reed's term) from Christianity included the wholesale adoption by Byzantine Jews of the forms and topoi of the contemporary Christian historical apocalypica.

Noteworthy among other works on the topic of apocalypticism and *Merkavah* mysticism is Lemmer (1996), which while careful to maintain distinctions between the two categories, in the main agrees that they shared points of contact in the ancient literature. Lemmer concludes that although apocalypticism always had mystical dimensions, mysticism was an 'amaterial' response to the loss of the Temple at different times, while apocalypticism developed more to address issues of political, religious, and national deprivation. According to him, some New Testament texts preserve an intertwining of Jewish apocalyptic and mystical elements. On the subject of New Testament mysticism, Segal identifies Paul's epistles as 'the very first witness to Jewish mysticism, in a personal confessional way' (1995: 115). The evidence for this perspective includes the Pauline exhortations for believers to share Christ's sufferings and to be 'in Christ'. Munoa (1998) suggests that the book of Revelation is 'part of an incipient mystical tradition of exalted human mediators'. McGinn (1991) stresses how Second Temple apocalypticism provided a conceptual background for early Christian mysticism through ascent apocalypses, while Stroumsa (1996) concentrates on the Jewish roots of esotericism in early Christian thought. Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa (2002) investigates expressions of fear in the Enochic and *Hekhalot* texts as they are transmitted through the risks of heavenly ascensions, the dread of angels, and the fear inspired by the divine chariot.

Freund's paper (2002) identifies two ways in which the rabbis understood the destruction of the Second Temple and the Jewish diaspora. One stream, which he terms 'non-apocalyptic', held that these events were an anticipated part of a greater, divine plan and that Temple restoration and other eschatological expectations were not immediately forthcoming. The other stream, 'apocalyptic', focused on messianism, the imminent anticipation of the end, and so on. Freund identifies *Targum Neofiti*, with its embellishments of certain passages from the Pentateuch, and Rabbi Akiva as representatives of the apocalyptic stream. *Contra* Saldarini and others, Freund understands Jewish mysticism to reflect both streams: one, which

stems from Akiva, is active in outlook and stresses the experience of encounter; the other, which traces its roots to Rabbi Yishmael, is passive and concentrates on the study of Torah. Capelli (1999) discusses views on messianism and the coming of the eschaton in the early rabbinic literature. Kalms (1999) isolates aspects of the apocalyptic imagination in rabbinic texts: the periodization and eschatological alignment of history, the typology of the dominant world-power, the interpretation of the present day as a transitional phase, and messianism.

The theory of a sharp decline in the popularity of historiologic apocalypticism among Jews and Christians after Bar Kokhba enjoys a weak consensus. The textual evidence strongly denotes that for a few centuries full-blown apocalyptic literature of the historical type was neither preserved nor composed in early rabbinic circles. Part of the reason, as Saldarini (1977; 1979) explains, could have been the failure of several Jewish revolts against Rome, which caused a move away from the genre. Perhaps this view should be reformulated, placing the stress on the ideology rather than the genre: apocalypticism was abandoned as a viable historiography, which led to the disuse of the genre, or at least its historical-political form. In early Christianity the situation was similar, but the reasons for such a development are less clear, and more investigation is required. Frankfurter (1998: 433) observes that the ‘compositional style *vaticinium ex eventu*’—so popular in the book of Daniel, the *Sibylline Oracles*, and later in the Byzantine apocalypica—is not really a feature of early Christian apocalyptic literature. The imperial adoption of Christianity could have led to a loss of the small, relatively localized oppressed communities of the sort for which earlier apocalypses like Daniel and Revelation were written. But this hypothesis cannot explain all the evidence. Whatever combination of reasons were responsible, while apocalypticism remained a viable ideology in late antique Judaism and Christianity, and although apocalypses were still produced, the emphasis shifted to the otherworldly-journey type, which came to include tours of Hell. One note: some scholars argue that the point of origin for some of the late historiologic apocalypica is located in the Second Temple period. While such claims are currently unsubstantiated, the possibility cannot be discounted out of hand. If true, it would cause a revision of the view that the production of historical apocalypses ceased for a time after *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*.

There was a renewed interest in historical apocalypica during the late fourth century. The apocalypses and apocalyptic oracles of this period were attributed to figures such as Daniel, the Sibyl, Leo VI, or Methodius, and were products of the eastern Mediterranean, even if in later centuries texts

such as the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius became staples of mediaeval Latin and western vernacular manuscript books. The formation of many of these apocalypica, which to some degree were also composed and transmitted in Jewish and Islamic circles, apparently involved a process similar to the composition of the *Hekhalot* tracts. Several scholars have previously commented on the bricolage nature of these texts and the persistent coherence of macro- and microforms, but only recently has the process been the subject of a dedicated study (DiTomaso 2005a). Reeves's fine 2005 anthology includes a wide range of Jewish apocalyptic compositions from the second half of the first millennium. Likewise, studies on early Muslim apocalypticism have uncovered a wealth of literary evidence (cf., e.g., D. Cook 2002).

A review of the studies on apocalypticism and apocalyptic literature and eschatologies among Jews, Christians and Muslims in the period following the fall of the Roman Empire in the West is the topic for a different paper. Introductions to these phenomena are contained in the contributions to volume II of the *Encyclopedia* (McGinn [ed.] 2000). It is my conviction that scholars of ancient apocalypses and apocalypticism can learn much from the work of their counterparts in mediaeval studies, and vice-versa.

7. A New Direction?

It is difficult to overestimate the stabilizing effect of the taxonomical enquiry of the 1970s and 1980s. As was observed in Part I, §1, it supplied a foundation that permitted subsequent academic discourse to engage higher-order issues. The fruit of this discourse has been the subject of this paper. In one sense, therefore, the work of the past fifteen years represents the continuation of an era in scholarship that began a generation ago. To some, such a statement might imply stagnation. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As we have seen, the recent research has refined the old issues, and has identified and explored many new ones.

In another sense, though, the current scholarship has charted the path for a new direction. There is a developing consensus that apocalypticism provided a conceptual structure by which hitherto discrete traditions of ancient Israel were re-interpreted in light of Second Temple realities. The ability of the ideology to accommodate various realms of enquiry within a fundamentally transcendental outlook also permitted its wide social and literary applications. But the details remain incompletely understood. Should apocalypticism be envisioned as a broad-band ideology into which hitherto divergent intellectual currents were conflated (or by which they were

interpreted)? Or was it more a discrete phenomenon, some but not all of whose elements came to overlap or even overwrite elements of other modes of thought? What is the place of apocalypticism in Judaism (see Collins 2005c)? Was this the same as the place of apocalypticism in late antique Christianity? To what degree is the blurring of categories such as prophecy and wisdom (or 'sapiential' and 'apocalyptic'; cf. Nickelsburg 1994) a result of the imposition of traditional taxonomies upon the evidence? By what vehicle or mode did the ideology come to address historiologic, ethical, and sapiential questions or crises, and how was it understood to do so? Was it the *זן* of Daniel, the *זן נהיה* of 4QInstruction, or something else still? While Semeia 36 (Yarbro Collins [ed.] 1986) addressed the function of the genre, what elegant theory can explain how and why apocalypticism operates (literally: how/why does it *work*?), not only in the final form of Daniel, but also in the *Book of the Watchers*, 4QInstruction, Revelation, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*?

Perhaps what is required is a new comprehensive theory, one that is grounded on the taxonomical insights of the past generation but that accommodates the fresh approaches and novel insights and addresses the problems illuminated by recent scholarship. The focus of this theory must be apocalypticism. I do not propose that we remove the ancient texts from the centre of our endeavour, nor would I care to argue that research on apocalypses or apocalyptic eschatology should cease. Rather, the heuristic value of these elements, I suspect, is ultimately secondary to that of the ideology. It is the *interpretative dimension* of apocalypticism that conceptually framed the eschatology and precipitated the emergence of the literature, including the genre proper (and its characteristic language, themes and forms) and the apocalypica in their broadest sense. Moreover, if we could express the function of apocalypticism, as opposed to that of the genre, with reference to the obvious plurality of types of apocalypica, then perhaps the relationship among ideology, genre and social settings might become more distinct. In this light, the articulation of the eschatology and the formation of the genre, and also of their historical development, would be part of a comprehensive investigation on the emergence and evolution of apocalypticism in antiquity *as an epistemological phenomenon*, one with scriptural, political, historiologic, sapiential/scientific, ethical, social, and of course theological dimensions.

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