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JEWISH APOCALYPTICISM IN THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD: LITERATURE, SOCIOLOGY AND THEOLOGY

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Jewish apocalyptic literature was at its zenith during the Second Temple Period and is even said to have exerted “remarkable influence on politics, ethics and religion down to the present time.”[1] Some scholars even see Christianity as being born from Jewish apocalypticism, noting that “it was a peculiar emphasis upon and interpretation of apocalyptic ideas which caused Christianity to separate from Judaism.”[2] The question poses itself then, just what is Jewish apocalypticism and where did it come from?

This paper examines Second Temple Jewish Apocalypticism from various angles. First, definitions are analyzed because the field of the study of Jewish apocalypticism is marked with ambiguity and confusion. These result from the varied uses of key terms in the ancient and modern worlds. Subsequently, the paper will then address the chronic question of the history and origins of Jewish apocalypticism. Was it a completely new phenomenon or was it influenced by outside, that is, non-Jewish, sources?

The third major section of the paper will deal with features and characteristics of Jewish apocalypticism. This section will engage some classic characteristics of Jewish apocalyptic literature such as the presence of otherworldly beings and pseudonymity and will then consider the sociology of Jewish apocalypticism as it is perceived through the apocalyptic eschatological community at Qumran. The final section will afterward survey

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[1]*The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia in Ten Volumes: An Authoritative and Popular Presentation of Jews and Judaism Since the Earliest Times*, ed. Isaac Landman (New York: The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., 1939), s.v. “apocalyptic literature.”

[2]*Ibid*.

the various types of apocalypses. Moreover, it will offer glimpses into some of the Jewish apocalypses as examples of the respective types.

The intentionality, popularity and influence of Second Temple Jewish apocalypticism cannot go unnoticed and must be considered. Consequently, the aim of this paper is a fuller and clearer understanding of Jewish apocalypticism during the Second Temple period. Analysis will be done so as to highlight the literature that arose from the thought world of apocalypticism, the sociology of apocalypticism as seen in apocalyptic groups and communities and the theology of apocalypticism that is made manifest through an examination of the various features and characteristics of the phenomenon.

Thus, as has been previously said, to speak meaningfully at all about Jewish apocalypticism during the Second Temple Period, one must first pursue and examine numerous definitions so as to make clear what is being discussed, with what terms and with what qualifications. Defining the particular terms in question poses difficulties because of the numerous ways each term is used, not necessarily during ancient times, but, rather, how they are used presently. John J. Collins recognizes the difficulty and confusion in defining these terms, remarking that “the abstraction ‘apocalyptic’ hovers vaguely between literature, sociology, and theology.”[3] These three categories will make sense once each of the three main terms, apocalypse, apocalypticism, and apocalyptic literature, is defined.

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[3]John J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins. *Semeia* 14 (1979): 3.

“Apocalypse” is the anglicized form of the Greek word aVpoka,luyij, which literally means an “uncovering” or “making known.” It came to mean a “revelation,” “manifestation,” or a book which contained such a revelation or manifestation.[4] The earliest discovered occurrence of the noun in Greek is late in the 2nd Century BCE in *Sirach* (11:27; 22:22; 42:1), where it is “used in the sense of a disclosure of secrets.”[5] According to the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, when apocalypse is understood in the strictest terms, it “is to be distinguished from all types of divinations and oracle on the one hand and from prophecy on the other.”[6] This distinction is a necessary one to make, but apocalypses cannot be divorced completely from divinations and oracles on one side and prophecies on the other. Doing so would be to pursue an understanding of apocalypse that faulty, namely, to view apocalypses as completely new phenomena. The relationship between apocalypses and prophecies will be examined later.

The definition given so far does well to understand apocalypse as a noun, however, it offers no insight into the genre as a whole. To be sure, the noun is used a handful of times in the ancient world, but it is used copiously in present-day discussions and used in such a manner as to be referring to something more than a simple noun. John Collins works, once again, against ambiguity and confusion. Collins recognized a general consensus among

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[4] *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. “apocalypse.”

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] *Ibid*.

scholars about writings which could be defined as apocalypses.[7] The works that he held must be included were the Jewish works of Daniel (chapters 7-12), 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and the Christian book of Revelation.[8] From his examination of these works, he determined a set of criteria around which to form a definition for the genre. Collins' definition works to encompass what is clearly apocalyptic, while not pulling the boundaries too close, for, pulling the boundaries too close would exclude works that do not necessarily contain all of the identified characteristics, yet are still apocalypses.[9] Thus, the comprehensive definition that Collins settles on is: "'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."[10] James C. VanderKam also sees merit in Collins' definition noting that Collins' definition "does not limit the content of the apocalypses to disclosures about the future; for [Collins], apocalypses tell about a greater reality, whether temporal or spatial."[11] Collins' definition

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[7] Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 3.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Not any single apocalypse that has been discovered to date contains every single feature that is characteristic of apocalypses. Note also that the characteristics identified by Collins will be examined more closely in the section Features and Characteristics of Jewish Apocalypticism. See Collins' discussion in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins. *Semeia* 14 (1979); specifically the chart on page 28.

[10] Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 3.

[11]

should not be the final word in defining the genre, though, because scholarship does not yet completely understand all the details of the genre and its relationship to other, closely related, literary types.[12]Even being cognizant of this, it is still usually possible to decide whether a specific text should be classified as an apocalypse or not.[13]

The next term to deal with is apocalypticism or apocalyptic, as many call it. A definition of apocalypticism will help to draw a clear distinction between what is apocalypticism or apocalyptic and apocalypse, the literary genre with certain distinctive characteristics.[14] Klaus Koch offers a broad definition of apocalyptic: “a complex of writings and ideas which were widespread about the turn of the era in Palestine, in the Israelite diaspora and in early Christian circles; but which can also appear in similar form in other religious situations and mental climates.”[15] This definition is flawed, though, in that it exhibits the tendency of many scholars to move freely between and often interchange the terms in question – apocalypse and apocalypticism. Apocalypticism, more correctly, is used to designate a specific pattern of ideas. It should be regarded as a pattern of thought.[16] This

James C. VanderKam, “Recent Studies in “Apocalyptic,”” *Word and World* 4 (Winter 1984):72.

[12] Michael E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 393.

[13] *Ibid*.

[14] *Ibid*., 392.

[15]Klaus Koch quoted in Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 2.

[16] Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, 393.

pattern of thought is “primarily eschatological in character, typifying some apocalypses and also a number of works belonging to genres of literature of the period of the Second Temple.”[17] Michael Stone observes that “scholars’ interest has centered chiefly upon the relationship between this pattern of ideas and New Testament thought.”[18] This, however, should not dissuade the reader from researching this pattern of thought in thought worlds other than the New Testament thought world, for, New Testament thought finds many of its ideas and much of the composition of its thought world from other sources, especially Second Temple Judaism.

Klaus Koch offers a definition in the manner of a list of features that characterize apocalypticism:

> the acute expectation of the fulfillment of divine promises; cosmic catastrophe; a relationship between the time of the end and preceding human and cosmic history; angelology and demonology; salvation beyond catastrophe; salvation proceeding from God; a future saviour figure with royal characteristics; a future state characterized by the catchword “glory.”[19]

Numerous problems arise from this definition. The first of which is that it is really pointing toward an apocalypticism that is also eschatological in nature and not a simple apocalypticism. The second problem arising from this definition is that it is just a list of features and not a definition, thus, belonging more appropriately in a discussion of the features and

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[17] *Ibid*., 394. Stone lists a few works that should be thought of here: some of the Qumran *pesharim*, *The Testament (Assumption) of Moses*, and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

[18] *Ibid*., 392.

[19] Klaus Koch quoted in Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, 393.

characteristics of apocalypticism. The third problem, then, that arises from this definition is that it leaves out features that many works which are clearly apocalypses contain. The most obvious example is that this list of features lacks any mention of revelation, be it in the form of a vision or something else. Of the 15 apocalypses contained in Collins' discussion, only Jubilees 23 lacks a vision; speaking to the ubiquitous nature of visions in apocalypticism and the defectiveness of Koch's definition.[20] The question may then be asked why it is so important to distinguish between the terms in question. The helpfulness of clear definitions should become apparent when one realizes that apocalypse is a literary genre, but apocalypticism is a thought world and, more specifically, apocalyptic eschatology is a particular religious perspective.[21]

The final term to examine then is apocalyptic literature. The *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* notes that apocalyptic literature began "as far back as 200 B.C.E. and exerts a remarkable influence on politics, ethics and religion down to the present moment."[22] Then, what is this influential literature? It is "writings in which the recipients of apocalypses record their revelations; in particular, writings which describe the end of the world, the events of the future, or the realms of the dead and the non-human spirits, under the form

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[20] The other fourteen apocalypses, in no particular order, are the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, Test Abraham 10-15, 3 Baruch, Test Levi 2-5, 2 Enoch, Similitudes of Enoch, Heavenly Luminaries, 1 Enoch 1-36, Apocalypse of Abraham, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Apocalypse of Weeks, Animal Apocalypse and Daniel 7-12. Some of these apocalypses will be examined in more detail in the section of this paper that deals with the different types of Apocalypses.

[21] Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 3.

[22] *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "apocalyptic literature."

of dreams, visions and auditions."[23] Moreover, apocalyptic literature is a type of writing which criticizes present evils and promises future improvement. It does this condemning and pledging "under the guise of denunciations and predictions that are usually based upon supposedly supernatural visions and revelations."[24] It is important to note here that while apocalyptic literature uses many forms and techniques that are foreign to modern day readers and while it heavily condemns others, it is ultimately writing that has as its purpose offering hope.

This type of literature, however, was not created *ex nihilo* and many scholars have offered much commentary on the history/origins on apocalyptic literature. Is it a completely new style of writing, different from anything that went before? Is it a product of Persian dualism? Does it flow out of biblical prophecy? These questions and more will addressed in the following section as this paper briefly attempts to sketch the history/origins of apocalyptic literature.

Some scholars have argued that Jewish apocalypticism is a product of contact with the Persians. So ubiquitous was this view in the first half of the 20th Century that the 1939 edition of the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* states:

> It is generally agreed that the contact with the Persian religion on the part of the Jews had a powerful effect upon the course of apocalyptic literature…It gave the impetus to many eschatological descriptions of the wars of God and of the Messiah against Satan. Those sections of the Bible that are of an apocalyptic nature bear the stamp of the

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[23] *Ibid*.

[24] *Ibid*.

> arithmetical and mechanical nature of the expected future; for numbers are at the very heart of apocalyptic literature.[25]

Paul Hanson also sees that "the most common outside source to which the origins of apocalyptic are traced is Persian dualism, especially as it was mediated by later Hellenistic influences."[26] This reasoning makes sense if one is considering apocalyptic literature "as a new phenomenon rising in the third to second century B.C."[27] For, if apocalyptic literature were a new phenomenon during this time period, then the logical approach would be to look for a contemporary influence to account for certain characteristics, such as its dualism and determinism.[28] Thus, one arrives at the conclusion that "Persian dualism is the primary source of apocalyptic" literature.[29]There is, however, a large methodological flaw in this traditional position. Hanson states it well:

> The origins of apocalyptic cannot be explained by a method which juxtaposes seventh- and second-century compositions and then proceeds to account for features of the latter by reference to its immediate environment. The apocalyptic literature of the second century and after is the result of a long development reaching back to pre-exilic times and beyond, and not the new bay of second-century foreign parents. Not only the sources of origin, but the intrinsic nature of late apocalyptic compositions can be understood only by tracing the

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[25] *Ibid*.

[26] Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 5-6.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] *Ibid*.

> centuries-long development through which the apocalyptic eschatology developed from prophetic and other even more archaic native roots.[30]

Thus, the debate over source material for Jewish apocalypticism should not begin with Persian dualism; rather it should look in Israel's own history, specifically to biblical prophecy and biblical wisdom.

While the roots of Jewish Apocalypticism are surely widespread and included many sources, Hebrew prophecy was certainly one of the most foundational areas of influence.[31] One example of Jewish apocalypticism appropriating and expanding a major prophetic theme is its use of the motif of the Day of the Lord. When the apocalypticists wrote about the final struggle against evil and God's universal judgment, it becomes apparent that this theme was "evidently borrowed and revamped."[32] The apocalypticists merely transformed what was a day of divine visitation on Israel into a time of universal judgment.[33] Further, many scholars have argued that many apocalyptic traits such as "eschatological orientation, determinism, the seers' enlightenment or authorization, encoding reality in symbols and possibly pseudonymity" come from biblical wisdom.[34]

The shift from prophecy to apocalypticism is not difficult to see, for, apocalypticism rises as prophecy declines. The prophets and the

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[30] *Ibid*., 6.

[31] VanderKam, "Recent Studies in "Apocalyptic,"" 74.

[32] *Ibid*.

[33] *Ibid*.

[34] *Ibid*., 76.

apocalypticists certainly did not do things the same way, but the slight changes in worldview are made manifest when prophecy and apocalypticism are compared. In prophecy, the message is always addressed to the people. The people are made to be part of the action. This is seen through the restoration being conditional upon whether the people return to God and follow God's ways. Within apocalypticism, though, good and bad, calamity and restitution, are acts of God. The people have little or no part. The prophets implored their hearers to actively pursue justice and righteousness, while the apocalypticists directed their hearers "to shun 'this wicked age' and to await the end."[35]

Furthermore, prophecy tended to be concerned with the past, present and future, while apocalypticism was mainly concerned with the future. Prophecy generally worked within history. Apocalypticism "envisage[d] the end of history or, rather, a radical new beginning."[36] The attempt is made by apocalypticism to "bridge the gap between the beginning, when God was dealing with all humankind (Gen. 1-11), and the end, when God would again appear as the Lord of world history (Dan. 4-5)."[37]

William Murdock sees an even closer connection between biblical prophecy and Jewish apocalypticism, specifically with the exilic and post-exilic prophets. He asserts that before the exile Israel "had seen the decisive self-demonstration of God in the *past* events of the Exodus and the

[35]*The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "apocalyptic literature."

[36]T*he Encyclopedia of Judaism*, ed. Jacob Neusner, Alan J. Avery-Peck, William Scott Green (New York: Continuum, 1999), s.v. "apocalypticism."

[37]*Ibid*.

Conquest."[38] This changes, though, with the exilic and post-exilic prophets when the "attention was shifted to the *future* as the locus of the final and decisive revelation."[39] Apocalypticism, then, picks up this idea but modifies it slightly so that now "the final and full revelation was expected only at the *end* of history."[40] Therefore, though it seems that prophecy and apocalypticism stem from the same source, there are marked differences between the two phenomena and apocalypticism is often characterized by deliberate divergences from prophecy.[41]

VanderKam reminds, though, that while there is much that can be gained from looking at biblical prophecy and biblical wisdom as precursors to Jewish apocalypses, one should not overlook that some Akkadian texts, especially from Persian and Greek times, may likely be the "closest Near Eastern parallels to the Jewish apocalypses with historical surveys."[42] Indeed, one of the so-called "Akkadian prophecies," the Dynastic Prophecy, "voices opposition to the rule of the Seleucid regime, it appears; the same is true of the earliest Jewish apocalypses."[43] This, in and of itself, does not merit a conclusion of dependence, but it does highlight that "similar political

[38] William R. Murdock, "History and Revelation in Jewish Apocalypticism," *Interpretation* 21 (April 1967): 168.

[39] *Ibid*.

[40] *Ibid*.

[41] T*he Encyclopedia of Judaism*, s.v. "apocalypticism."

[42] *Ibid*.

[43] *Ibid*., 76-77.

conditions led some Jewish and Babylonian writers to compose a protest literature in much the same form."[44] The Akkadian prophecies remind one that though it is indeed insightful and profitable to study Jewish apocalypticism as a development from within Judaism, a clearer and fuller perspective is gained when it is viewed in its entire Near Eastern and Hellenistic context.[45]

After examining the history and origins of Jewish apocalyptisim during the Second Temple Period it necessarily follows that the genre and thought world of apocalyptic literature and apocalypticism, respectively, should be explored. Thus, this next section will begin with examining some of the features and characteristics of Jewish apocalyptic literature and will then look at Jewish apocalypticism as it is seen through the apocalyptic eschatological community at Qumran. As mentioned previously, there are numerous identifiable characteristics of apocalyptic literature. Some of the more common features are visions, otherworldly journeys and judgments. Through examining the commonly agreed upon texts of Daniel 7-12, Animal Apocalypse, Apocalypse of Weeks, Jubilees 23, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, Apocalypse of Abraham, 1 Enoch 1-36, Heavenly Luminaries, Similitudes of Enoch, 2 Enoch, Test Levi 2-5, 3 Baruch, Test Abraham 10-15, and Apocalypse of Zephaniah, Collins has found four features that are present in every single apocalypse.[46] Those four features are: 1) otherworldly mediator, 2)

[44] *Ibid*., 77.

[45] *Ibid*.

[46] For a very clear and helpful chart on all of the elements in Jewish apocalypticism and which texts contain which elements see John J. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," in

pseudonymity, 3) judgment/destruction of wicked, and 4) otherworldly beings. Otherworldly mediators and otherworldly beings go hand in hand so they will be discussed together. Pseudonymity will also be discussed here, as it is a unique phenomenon that sharply differentiates the Jewish apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple Period from the Hebrew prophets. The judgment/destruction of the wicked motif will be looked at through the views of the Qumran community.

The presence of apocalypticism and apocalyptic literature was an "intentional phenomenon" during the Second Temple Period.[47] As such, apocalyptic literature was an expression of the time and it expressed "the sufferings and disappointments of earnest believers in the ultimate righteousness of the world order."[48] However, since the order of the world is not apparent, revelation must come from an outside source, hence the presence of otherworldly beings and otherworldly mediators.[49] The revelation in Jewish apocalypses is always mediated by an otherworldly angelic figure. Often times the revelation contains a solution to the present world order and that solution usually contains "either a cosmic transformation which fundamentally alters the world, or an otherworldly afterlife."[50] Collins suggests that the presence of otherworldly beings in all of the Jewish

Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre, ed. John J. Collins. *Semeia* 14 (1979): 28.

[47]VanderKam, "Recent Studies in "Apocalyptic,"" 77.

[48] *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "apocalyptic literature."

[49] John J. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins. *Semeia* 14 (1979): 27.

[50] *Ibid*.

apocalypses suggests that the apocalypticists viewed human affairs as being "shaped in some part by superhuman forces."[51] The more appropriate point to focus on as a result of observing the presence of otherworldly beings in all of the Jewish apocalypses is that in all Jewish apocalypses the realm of salvation transcends the present world and "stands in sharp discontinuity with it."[52] This transcendent characteristic of Jewish apocalyptic literature implies a fundamental issue at the heart of all the apocalypses: "this world is out of joint, one must look beyond it for a solution."[53] That is, vindication, salvation, can only be found outside of this world. That the present situation of the apocalypticists was flawed becomes apparent when one recognizes that apocalypticism generally emerged from crisis situations. Daniel is a good example of this, being written from the perspective of the Hasideans who practiced "passive resistance and looked askance at the heroic efforts of the Maccabees" and opposed the oppressive policies of Antiochus Epiphanies.[54]

Apocalypticism and the resulting apocalyptic literature is the writing of the powerless and disenfranchised. It is a response to the current situation. M. C. Thomas describes apocalypticism as a socio-religious movement that is responding to the social, political, religious and cultural domination of the day, which "operates as a mechanism of resistance exhibited by the

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[51] *Ibid*., 26.

[52] *Ibid*., 27.

[53] *Ibid*.

[54] *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "apocalyptic literature."

oppressed minority thereby instilling a new identity in them in relation to God and also in relation to their struggles against the dominant imperial powers in the socio-political realm."[55] Seeing apocalypticism in this manner means that even when the non-homogeneous nature of Jewish apocalypticism is noticed, the reader will understand that apocalypticism was less concerned with systematic uniformity than with their present crisis situation. Specifically, this meant defining themselves within a hostile and evil world and working to sustain their hope for deliverance and salvation from beyond.[56] Those their efforts may seem futile to the modern reader, when one puts herself in the shoes, so to speak, of a Second Temple Jewish apocalypticist, the power becomes evident. From this viewpoint it becomes evident that apocalypticism places the earthly kingdoms under the ultimate power of God.[57] The apocalypticists "experienced the divine power in their sufferings and afflictions," thus giving them a "radical hope to resist and challenge the dominant and hegemonic social system."[58] Hope is very much at the heart of apocalypticism.

Pseudonymity is when a work is issued under a false name or title. Thus, Jewish apocalyptic literature is often called Pseudepigrapha. As such, pseudonymity is an appropriate place to bridge from discontentment with

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[55] M. C. Thomas, "The Book of Daniel: The Apocalypse with a Distinct Charter for Liberative Praxis and Theological Vision," *Asia Journal of Theology* 19 (October 2005): 287.

[56] *Ibid*.

[57] *Ibid*., 288.

[58] *Ibid*.

the present world, for, discontentment with the present world seems to be part of the reason that apocalyptic literature was written pseudonymously and ascribed to figures such as Abraham, Enoch, Baruch and Shem. Attributing a work to an ancient author such as these removes the text from its current context and places it in another context, validating the view of the defectiveness of the present world and the need to obtain revelation from an outside source.[59]

Discontentment with the present world was not, however, the only reason for pseudonymity. Many believed the prophets to be inspired and believed their age to be passed. In addition, attaching the names of “famous ancient worthies such as Enoch and Baruch” served to give the texts greater popularity.[60] Finally, much of the material that was being transmitted in apocalyptic literature actually was really old and had been handed down orally from generation to generation, thus the actual author, as we understand the term, namely, the one who wrote it down, would not have perceived the need or the right to attribute the text to himself.

Additionally, the pseudonymous nature of Jewish apocalyptic literature necessitates that the texts be future-oriented. For, if such an ancient worthy as Enoch were actually to write about present conditions it would have to be by way of prediction. The apocalypticist then describes the course of history from the time of the ancient hero, in this case Enoch, down to the period of

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[59] Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 11-12.

[60] *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. “apocalyptic literature.”

the writing to validate the truth of the alleged prediction.[61] Because of this style, the time period of the actual writer can usually be determined. Establishing the time period of the actual writer is done by examining a "sudden break between clear allusions to known historical events and the confused generalized descriptions of the evils of the 'last days.'"[62]

It is largely the "last days" with which apocalyptic groups concern themselves. One such ancient Jewish apocalyptic group was the Qumran community. This apocalyptic group "withdrew from the larger Jewish society to go into exile [in]…the barren area by the Dead Sea."[63] Many scholars understand the members of the Qumran community to have been Essenese because of some roughly parallel descriptions between some of the Qumran writings and those given by Philo, Josephus and others.[64] The members of the Qumran community viewed themselves as the children of light and in opposition to the children of darkness who are to be destroyed in the pending eschatological battle (see, e.g., CD 3:11-12). The children of darkness have been predestined to wickedness and this eschatological destruction just as the children of light, the members of the sect, have been

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[61] *Ibid*.

[62] *Ibid*.

[63] Joel Marcus, "Modern and Ancient Jewish Apocalypticism," *Journal of Religion* 76 (January 1996): 3.

[64] John C. Trevar, "The Book of Daniel and the Origin of the Qumran Community," *Bibical Archaeologist* 48 (June 1985): 90. Also, for a discussion of what the term *Essene* actually means see Stephen Goranson, "Who is an Essene?," *Bibical Archarology* 48 (June 1985): 101.

predestined to goodness and eternal life.[65] This sort of belief is appropriate within Jewish apocalypticism because “the basic conception of the world and history rests upon a vivid faith in God’s sovereignty and a fatalistic acceptance of the doctrine of predestination.”[66]

The crux, then, of what really happens is that sharp distinctions are made between then children of darkness and children of light. Thus, only those who are members of the sect are children of light, that is, “who are the faithful remnant, or the true Israel.”[67] Ultimately, then, the children of darkness are not just Gentiles, but also Jews who are not members of the community. In this case, there has been a “repositioning of the salvific dividing line.”[68] The expectation of salvation, though, is still otherworldly.[69]

Now is as appropriate time as any to briefly discuss the connection of the book of Daniel to the Qumran community. There are many similarities between the book of Daniel and the Qumran community. John Trevar has outlined these in an article in the Biblical Archaeologist. Moreover, the most

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65 *Ibid*., 4.

66 *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. “apocalyptic literature.”

67 *Ibid*.

68 *Ibid*., 5.

69 Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 11. Let it be noted that Philip R. Davies strongly rejects many of the commonly held ideas about the Community at Qumran. Specifically, he challenges just how “Essene” the members of the community are and also challenges the common view that the community at Qumran was highly eschatological, not finding support for that view in ancient witnesses (Josephus and Philo) and finding varied views within the scrolls themselves. Moreover, Davies argues for a method of “documentary analysis” which seeks to classify different descriptions and, as far as is possible, to suggest lines of evolution of ideas such as that of the eschaton.

intriguing claim about the link between the book of Daniel and the Qumran community comes also from Trevar. He claims that “the author of Daniel was precisely the person who went beyond his faith-saving book to become the founder of the Qumran Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls.”[70] Among the similarities, Trevar notes the apocalyptic chronology of the two, specifically of Daniel 7-12 and certain Qumran documents such as the Damascus Document 1:3-10; 1QM 1 and 15; and 1QpHab 2 through 4. Trevar also points out the use of visions, use of angelology, belief that the end-time was at hand and a devotion to Scripture as similarities between the book of Daniel and the literature of the Qumran community and as evidence to support his claim that the author-compiler of the book of Daniel is indeed the Teacher of Righteousness from Qumran.[71] While Trevar’s argument is certainly well thought through and well-documented it should not necessarily be accepted right away, for, as this paper has already shown, these are characteristics of Jewish apocalyptic literature and apocalypticism. Thus, the relationship should indeed be recognized, but a conclusion of dependence need not be arrived at just yet.

Furthermore, returning to the identification of apocalyptic groups, Joel Marcus poses a great question: “Where does the group see itself as standing on the apocalyptic time line – in the great tribulation that precedes the redemption; or in the beginning of the redemption itself?”[72] Understanding

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[70] Trevar, “The Book of Daniel and the Origin of the Qumran Community,” 90.

[71] *Ibid*., 100.

[72] *Ibid*., 26.

where a group sees itself will aid in determining how sharp their distinctions may be “between purity and impurity, the wicked and the righteous, Jews and Gentiles” or if they even still hold to any of these distinctions.[73]

These are indeed important questions to ask and distinctions to make, but there are other distinctions that must be made as well. These distinctions are between different types of apocalypses, for, just because a text can be classified as an apocalypse, it does not mean that it is precisely like other texts that are classified as apocalypses. Moreover, just because a text contains certain characteristics that are present in some apocalypses, it is not automatically an apocalypses. Collins says it this way: “Not every writing which expresses apocalyptic eschatology can be classified as an apocalypse,” hence the importance of distinctions.[74]

John Collins effectively identifies six types of apocalypses in *Semeia*’s *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, which are very helpful in categorizing, comparing and understanding the Jewish apocalypses from the Second Temple Period. While not every type that Collins identifies has a Jewish example, all six types will be discussed here briefly so as to offer a full presentation of the types of apocalypses and some of the characteristics of each type. The types of apocalypses are distinguished by “both manner of revelation and eschatological content.”[75]

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[73] *Ibid*.

[74] *Ibid*., 3.

[75] *Ibid*., 14.

The two main categories make the distinction between apocalypses that do not have otherworldly journeys and those that do. Each main category is then split by three sub-categories. These three sub-categories are: 1) “Historical” apocalypses which include reviews of history, eschatological crises and cosmic and/or political eschatology; 2) Apocalypses that have no historical review but envisage cosmic and/or political eschatology; and 3) Apocalypses which have neither historical review nor cosmic transformations but only personal eschatology.[76] Accordingly, the first category is that of “historical” apocalypses with no otherworldly journey. This is the “most widely recognized type … and is often the basis for generalizations about “apocalyptic.””[77] Oddly enough, though, this group is only made up by about a third of the pseudepigraphical Jewish apocalypses: Daniel 7-12, the Animal Apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Weeks, Jubilees 23, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch.[78] The Animal Apocalypse of Enoch is a good example of this group, for it presents an allegorical history of the world from creation to the messianic kingdom.[79] The allegory is not interpreted, but Enoch is guided by the archangels (1 Enoch 87: 3-4); thus, the presence of an otherworldly mediator. Moreover, the allegorical visions conclude with a judgment on human oppressors. It should be noted, however, that though the angels do

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[76] *Ibid*., 13.

[77] *Ibid*., 14.

[78] *Ibid*.

[79] My main source for analysis of these texts and their apocalyptic features is John J. Collins, “The Jewish Apocalypses,” in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins. *Semeia* 14 (1979).

lift Enoch up “to a lofty place” (87: 3), Enoch does not actually take a heavenly journey, hence its placement in this type of apocalypse.

The second type of apocalypses is those with cosmic and/or political eschatology, which have neither historical reviews nor otherworldly journeys. The clearest example of this type of apocalypse is the Christian book of Revelation. Though this type may be prominent in the minds of many readers, there actually are no purely Jewish apocalypses that correspond with this type.[80]

The third type, apocalypses with only personal eschatology and no otherworldly journey, is like the second one in that there are no Jewish apocalypses in this category. This type is only found in Christian and Gnostic works. In fact, it is the most common type of Gnostic apocalypse.[81] Some examples of this type of apocalypse are 5 Ezra 2: 42-48, the Apocryphon of John, and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Peter.

The fourth type of apocalypse, then, brings us into the category of apocalypses with otherworldly journeys. The first type in this category is that of “historical” apocalypses with an otherworldly journey. A very rare type, two examples are the Jewish Apocalypse of Abraham and Sefer Hekalot (3 Enoch). In the Jewish Apocalypse of Abraham there is a very brief review of history and in Sefer Hekalot, there is historical interest, but it is outweighed by the prominence of the heavenly world.[82]

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[80] *Ibid*.

[81] *Ibid*.

[82] *Ibid*.

The final two types of apocalypses are both very widely attested. The first of the final two types includes apocalypses with otherworldly journeys and cosmic and/or political eschatology. This category includes 1 Enoch 1-36, Heavenly Luminaries, 2 Enoch, Test Levi 2-5 (all Jewish), and some other Christian and Gnostic texts as well.[83] An appropriate example to expound on here is 1 Enoch 1-36, also known as The Heavenly Journeys of Enoch or the Book of the Watchers. It is likely the oldest Jewish apocalypse.[84] The opening chapter of this apocalypse sets the rest of the apocalypse in the situation of cosmic judgment. Then, in chapters 17-36, Enoch has heavenly journeys. These journeys are not vertical, but rather horizontal, as Enoch was lifted to heaven in chapter 14. Moreover, they are indeed otherworldly since Enoch is taken to the "mythical regions at the extremities of the earth."[85]

The final type, then is that of apocalypses that include otherworldly journeys with only personal eschatology. Some apocalypses included in this category are 3 Baruch, Test Abraham 10-15 and the Apocalypse of Zephaniah. The illustrative text here will be 3 Baruch. 3 Baruch is an appropriate text to observe in more detail because, though it may not be the quintessential text for this category, it clearly conveys the characteristics of the category. In 3 Baruch, Baruch journeys through five heavens. There are, however, no references to historical events or eschatological crises and,

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[83] *Ibid*., 15.

[84] Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," 37.

[85] *Ibid*., 38.

though there are rewards and punishments, they are solely individual. It is a revelation purely for Baruch.

The heart of this paper has been the desire for a fuller and clearer understanding of Jewish apocalypticism. Jewish apocalypticism was at its peak toward the end of the Second Temple Period. Apocalyptic literature has been the "source of innumerable later writings and of various political and social movements" and it has "exercised a most unusual influence upon the evolution of religion."[86] Distinctions have made in order to clarify that apocalypse is a literary genre, but apocalypticism is a thought world and, more specifically, apocalyptic eschatology is a particular religious perspective.[87] Possessing a clear understanding of the terms being used in this discussions allows for one to speak more precisely and accurately about Jewish apocalypticism during the Second Temple period.

Additionally, this paper has shown that apocalyptic literature offers critiques of contemporary situations and offers promises of brighter futures, but the question is often asked from where this writing came. Stemming from biblical prophecy, biblical wisdom, and other outside influences such as Persian dualism, apocalyptic literature was an expression of afflictions and discontentment. Furthermore, through this work it has become evident that apocalypticism generally emerges from crisis situations. The apocalypticists saw their world as being in need of repair and, thus, looked beyond their world for revelation and salvation.

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[86] *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "apocalyptic literature."

[87] Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 3.

Jewish apocalyptic literature, though likely not universally circulated, instead being the prized possession of a small group, was quite popular. James VanderKam states why this is:

> One key to the perennial appeal of the apocalyptic literature is the fact that the writers did not stop with their frightening pictures of eschatological woe; on the contrary, they unveiled behind these pictures a larger scene which conveyed to their readers the ultimate triumph of God and his kingdom. In other words, they spoke words of comfort to the oppressed and summoned them to trust in an unconquerable divine sovereignty.[88]

Jewish apocalypticism, to be sure, offered critiques of their present situations, but it became meaningful through the fact that it assured change for the better in the future. Where present governments and religions offered distress, Jewish apocalypticism offered hope.

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[88] VanderKam, “Recent Studies in “Apocalyptic,”” 70.

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