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THE APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE  
A RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROPHETIC  
IN THE PREPARATION OF JUDAISM  
FOR THE COMING OF CHRIST

by

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A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for  
THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SACRED THEOLOGY  
in  
The Biblical Seminary in New York

New York, N. Y.

April 1937

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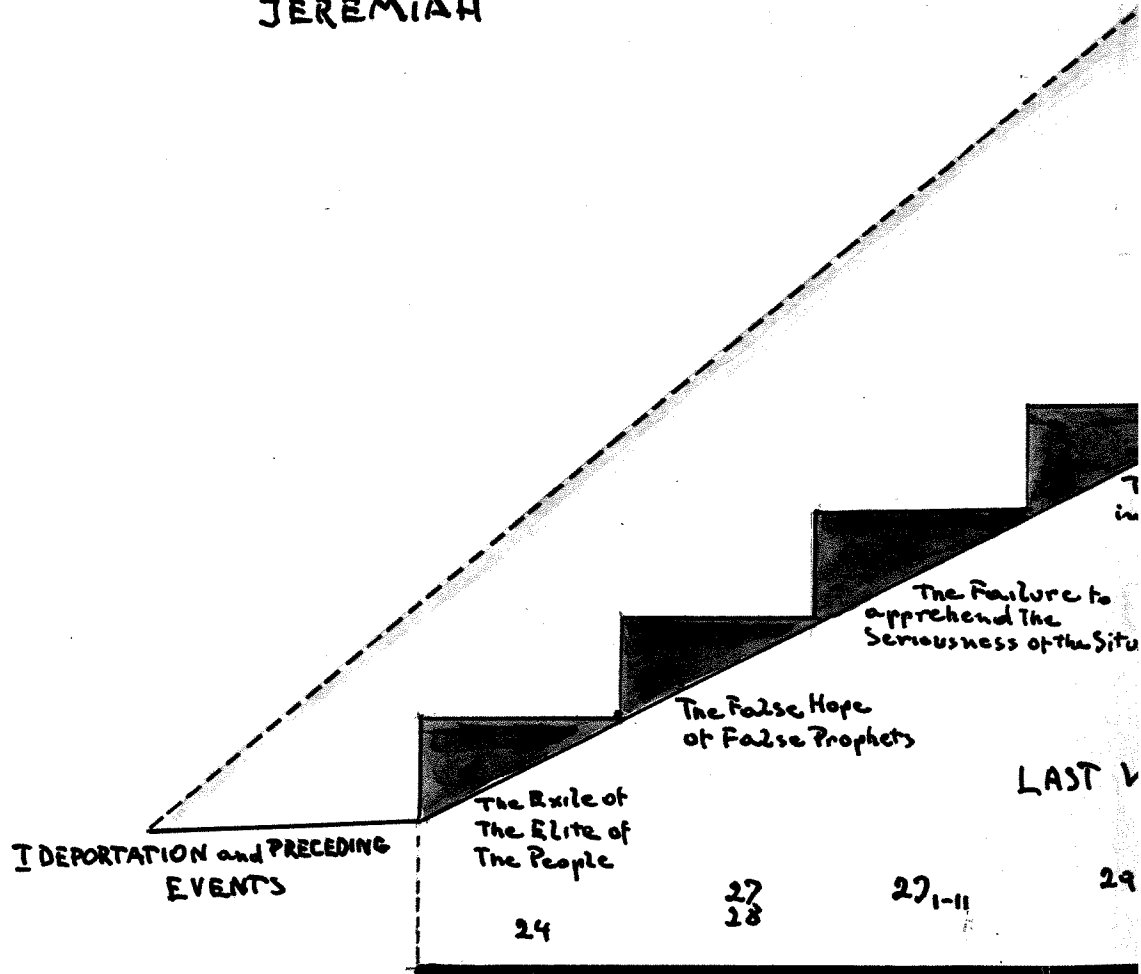
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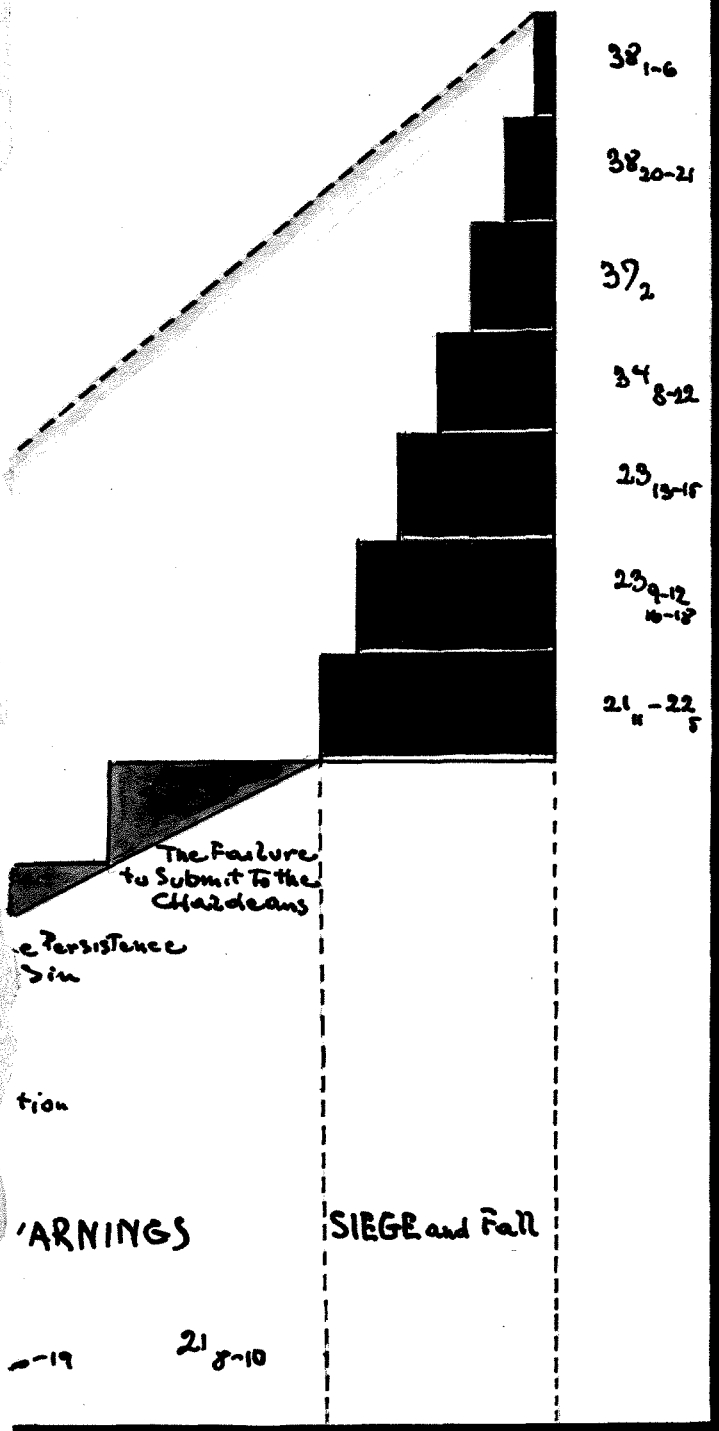
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## INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. The Problem of the Thesis

- a. To Report the Religious Contribution of Apocalyptic Literature toward a Preparation of Judaism for the Coming of Christ

It is a characteristic feature of the Hebrew prophetic literature not to be final in itself, but always to be pointing to something higher, something beyond the immediate horizon of the contemporary world. The Old Testament prophet did not content himself with a mere renunciation of the evils of the time, but constantly reminded the nation that God rules supremely and executes His definite plans. This awareness of the divine interference was never lost, and found its most beautiful expression in the Messianic expectations. The fulfillment of these expectations, in turn, lifted these utterances far beyond the possible charge of being mere speculations, and secured for them a place of authority that justified the application of the term "divine revelation".

Thus prophecy and Christ mutually strengthen our faith in the reasonableness of our Christian belief. It seems only natural to us, from our retrospective vantage point, that an event of such paramount significance

as the coming of Christ should have its distinct fore-shadowings. Indeed, the laws of nature seem to support our view. Everything has its development and growth; all things evolved at the end of a visible or invisible process.

The apostle Paul seems to have the idea of a process or a continuous development in mind, when he says: "but when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law ..".<sup>1</sup> Doubtless he conceives of an invisible preparation that culminated, and became apparent to human eyes, in the person of Jesus Christ. How this preparation took place during the interval which is commonly called the "inter-testament period", about which the Hebrew Scriptures are silent, is a question that arises very aptly at this point, and forms the central problem of our thesis.

b. To Report its Relationship to Prophecy

If we could conceive of the prophetic utterances concerning Christ in the figure of a plane, above the material plane of sense impressions, we should find in the testimony of the prophets a steady support of its existence. These prophetic witnesses, then, indicating the existence of this realm of spiritual preparation, bring us down to a period roughly four centuries before

. . . . .

1. Gal. iv.4, A.R.V.

the arrival of Christ. Should we assume that, with the cessation of the written testimonies concerning Him, this spiritual plane of preparation disappeared also, or should we rather assume its continued existence and try to find the tangible witnesses to it in the non-canonical literature of these four centuries?

Several references in the New Testament seem to exclude the former possibility from the possible solutions. Luke tells us that the aged Simeon was "waiting" for the consolation of Israel.<sup>1</sup> A similar reference indicates the living expectation of the immanent arrival of the Messiah. Anna, a prophetess and devout woman, "spoke of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the continuation of some type of spiritual preparation must be assumed in order to explain the apparent expectation of the Messiah's immanent arrival. On the other hand, this preparation, in order to fall in line with the prophetic preparation of the preceding centuries, must in its nature be Messianic and prophetic. It will therefore be our problem to find the prophetic element in the apocalyptic literature of the period between the Testaments, and to evaluate their contribution as a preparatory force for this state of anticipation.

. . . . .

1. Luke 11.25

2. Luke 11.38 (N.B. Nestle, app. crit.)



c. The Field Delimited

The statement of the problem carries with it a necessary limitation of the field. We shall occupy ourselves in this study only with the apocalyptic literature as our field of investigation, and here only with the products of the pre-Christian centuries.

B. Justification for Such a Study

a. The Fascination of the Subject

Apocalyptic literature is a strange, and sometimes irrational expression of a time pregnant with possibilities and developments. There is something fascinating in the unification of its complexity, in the laying bare of principles behind the apparent diversity. One who cares to listen can hear between the descriptions of strange images and celestial dreams the outcry of hearts, hungry for the vindication of their faith.

b. The Importance of the Subject

Yet this literature is of more than transitory interest to the student of the New Testament. How far Jesus Himself was under its influence it is impossible to determine; some scholars, like Albert Schweitzer, think that it was considerable.<sup>1</sup> In the Gospels, however, there

... .

1. Schweitzer, Albert: The Quest of the Historical Jesus, passim

are allusions made to the book of Daniel in the description of the great tree in the Parable of the Mustard Seed,<sup>1</sup> or in the picture of the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven.<sup>2</sup>

St. Paul, in his description of the Man of Sin,<sup>3</sup> employs features derived from the portrait of Antiochus Epiphanes in the book of Daniel.<sup>4</sup> Also, other writers of the New Testament seem to have held representatives of this type of literature in high esteem.<sup>5</sup> The writers of the Second Epistle of Peter, and the Epistle of Jude, actually quote from it.<sup>6</sup>

#### c. The Philosophical Instinct

But not only does our interest in this receive its justification from the light which comes to some New Testament passages from the study of this literature, but it also accords with a philosophical instinct in us that finds enjoyment and satisfaction in explanations and in the quest for underlying principles. Cicero recognizes this in his "vivere est cogitare", and for Descartes it

. . . . .

1. Mt. xiii.32; Mk. iv.32; Lk. xiii.19

2. Mt. xxiv.30; xxvi.64; Mk. xiii.26; xiv.62

3. II Thess. ii.3 sq.

4. Dan. viii.9-12, 23-25

5. "The language of the New Testament reflects it (the book of Enoch) in quite a number of passages and in one place it is directly quoted (Jude vv. 14f)." Dum-melow, J. R.: A Commentary on the Holy Bible

6. II Pet. ii.11; Jude vv.9,14,15. From the book of Enoch and the Assumption of Moses.

becomes the infallible proof of man's existence. "Cogito ergo sum", he said, and the truth therein has survived the centuries.

### C. The Sources for Such a Study

#### a. Primary Sources

The amount of existing literary products that deserve the title "apocalyptic" is large; yet there are general characteristics, common to all of them, that justify a concentration on a few specimens and entitle the student to a general treatment for the rest of them. We shall therefore concentrate our investigation upon

1. The Book of Enoch, and
2. The Book of Jeremiah.

The latter is included for the purpose of a comparison between the prophetic and the apocalyptic types of literature, as well as for a comparison between the differences in outlook and in thought.

#### b. Secondary Sources

As secondary source material we shall briefly consult the following books:

1. Apocalypses Proper
  - The Apocalypse of Baruch
  - The Assumption of Moses
  - The Ascension of Isaiah
  - The Fourth Book of Esdras
2. Legendary Works—
  - The Book of Jubilees

3. Psalmic Pseudepigrapha  
The Psalter of Solomon  
The Odes of Solomon

4. Testaments  
The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs  
The Testament of Adam  
The Testament of Abraham  
The Testament of Job

5. The Sibylline Oracles

D. The Method of Procedure

As we have already intimated, we have confined ourselves to an investigation into a typical prophetic book (Jeremiah), and into a typical apocalyptic book (Enoch). With a description of the historical and religious setting of the book of Jeremiah, we hope to elucidate sufficiently the background of the prophetic personality to make an analytical study of the forces that are involved in the prophetic utterance profitable. We shall then try to chart our results, and to summarize our findings.

From our investigation of the prophetic we shall proceed to the apocalyptic field, using the findings in the former as norms for the distinctions necessary. The study of the book of Enoch will furnish us with sufficient material to compare these two types of religious expression. We shall then attempt to consider the religious forces that gave rise to the apocalyptic movement, and to follow its subsequent development.

In a final chapter we propose to deal with the contribution of the apocalyptic literature to the time in which it originated. We hope to close this study with a general evaluation of this type of religious writing, and a consideration of its possible permanent values.

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

AS AN EXAMPLE OF PROPHETIC LITERATURE

## CHAPTER II

### THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH AS AN EXAMPLE OF PROPHETIC LITERATURE

#### PART ONE: THE BACKGROUND

It is necessary for man to have a window for his soul through which he can see the skies which tell of eternal laws, order, and a purposive plan. Without this view of perpetuity the contradictions and perplexities of human life could not be bridged; hope and faith, its noble seed, could never bloom.

As the individual, so the nation. A people who has forgotten to consider the eternal is doomed, though it may linger on for centuries. A people who has lost its hope and faith in the abiding reality of the unseen, will through necessity fall a prey to transiency. The utterances of the Hebrew prophets were such windows for the soul of the nation. Proclaiming the reality of a God Who is righteous, personal, and loving, they inspired hope and faith and aroused in their contemporaries the moral consciousness of obligation.

We shall now turn to the records of one of their noblest representatives, the prophet Jeremiah.

## A. A. Survey of the Political Situation

### a. The Decline of Assyria

The data of the book reveal a period of catastrophes and violent changes in the political constellation of the leading empires. The very year of Jeremiah's call<sup>1</sup> saw the death of the last of the great rulers of Assyria, the mighty Ashurbanipal. His great political structure began to tumble, and its heterogeneous elements started to disintegrate. Egypt was already practically independent from Assyria, and proceeded, under the able leadership of Psammeticus I, to strengthen and secure her gains. Elam, the source of continuous trouble and vast expense for the empire, had been lost, while a constant feud with warlike Persian tribes tested the resources of the empire to the limit.<sup>2</sup> Even in the province of Babylon the authority of the heirs of Ashurbanipal existed only nominally. Nabu-pal-usur, a Chaldean chieftain, had made himself king in its capital city Babylon and vigorously asserted his independence. Invading hordes of Scythians endangered the state in the well-fortified northern part of the empire. A conspiracy of Nabu-pal-usur with the Median king Cyaxares and the following military engagements with the forces of Assyria finally

. . . . .

1. Jer. 1-3

2. Goodspeed, Geo. S.: A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians, pp. 320ff



weakened the empire still further, and opened the way for the Scythians to a successful siege of the capital Nineveh. With the timely help of a catastrophic flood, which destroyed parts of the strong fortifications of the besieged city, the barbarians took and destroyed Nineveh in B.C. 612.

b. The Revival of Egypt

In the mean time Egypt experienced a new wave of prosperity under the successful leadership of Necho II, a son of the preceding ruler Psammeticus I. His alert eyes soon noticed the imminent downfall of the Assyrian empire, and he determined to gain his share of the prospective plunder. In B.C. 608 or 609 he left Egypt with the intention of regaining Palestine and the Parts of Assyria that once had been Hittite. Speeded on his way by the successive surrender of the Syrophoenician cities, he met unexpected resistance from the small kingdom of Judah. Motivated by a high spirit of nationalism, king Josiah of Judah threw his lot against the expanding imperialism of Egypt and lost both life and cause in the battle of Megiddo, B.C. 608.<sup>1</sup> The remnants of the defeated army reached Jerusalem and, passing over Josiah's eldest son, made his younger brother Jehoahaz king.<sup>2</sup> Necho

. . . . .

1. II Kings xxiii.29

2. II Kings xiii.30

marched northward and now considered himself supreme lord over all the Syrophoenician states. He deposed the newly installed king of Judah, and put in his place the unpopular Eliakim changing his name to Jehoiakim. Then, assured of the perpetuity of his gain, he returned to Egypt carrying with him the captive Jehoahaz.<sup>1</sup> Not content with this expansion of his domain, he prepared an immense army for further conquests.

c. Judah under the Chaldeans

Nabu-pal-usur, however, divining Necho's intentions, dispatched his son Nebuchadrezzar with a large body of soldiers to the western borders of the empire. The two hostile forces met at Carchemish with fatal result for Necho.<sup>2</sup> He fled with the rest of his army, pursued by the victorious Chaldeans. On his march through Palestine, Nebuchadrezzar found the same submissive attitude of the Syrophoenician cities which Necho before him had received. The news of the death of his father, however, compelled him to return speedily to Babylonia and to abandon temporarily his intentions against Egypt.

Nebuchadrezzar's speedy arrival at Babylon prevented the realization of any contemplated rebellion. Without interruption the work of building up and assuring

. . . . .

1. II Kings xxiii.33

2. Jer. xlvi.2

the stability of the empire continued under the new king. After a period of a few years, the impression of the power and ability of the far-off ruler faded from the memory of the subjugated principalities, while the yearly tribute became more and more a hard-felt yoke. In the third year of his absence, this sentiment finally gained in impetus, and Judah began to omit the payment. There was no immediate reaction from Babylon, except the encouragement given to surrounding states to ravage the country.<sup>1</sup> In B.C. 597, finally, Nebuchadrezzar sent an army to besiege the rebellious city of Jerusalem. Jehoiakim died suddenly, and it was the task of the new king Jehoiachin to face the grave situation. Armed opposition against the powerful foe seemed unpromising and the only hope was surrender. This resolve was carried out and the submission accepted. Nebuchadrezzar dethroned the young king and took him captive to Babylon with 8000 of the elite of his nation. The punished city was given a new ruler in the person of Mattaniah, a third son of Josiah, whose name was changed to Zedekiah. Rogers gives a good estimate of him when he writes:

"Zedekiah was morally incapable of faithfulness to the Babylonians, and that, if for nothing else, because he was too weak to resist popular clamor and a mad patriotism. He was not wise enough to make himself and his state leaders in the counsels of the

. . . . .

1. Cf. Rogers, R. W.: A History of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 318

Syrophoenician states, nor strong enough to make any concert that might be reached a power in troublous times. The policy he embraced was alike fatal to all who joined in it. It was, however, apparently not of his own devising. He fell a prey to other schemers bent on their own purposes."<sup>1</sup>

Egypt in the mean while had recovered from the severe shock of seeing the lofty dreams of Necho shattered by the Babylonian reality. A new Pharaoh brought new hopes and new aspirations, and soon the secret channels of espionage and conspiracy began to flow again. Egypt's promises of assistance in case of a general rebellion of Palestine found everywhere receptive soil for schemes of treason and rebellion. Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon started it, and Judah soon followed. Against the protest of a minority party headed by Jeremiah, rebellion was declared and the city and nation prepared for war. After a short delay Nebuchadrezzar's army appeared a second time before the walls of Jerusalem. Surrounded by strong fortifications and resting on the hope of speedy deliverance through the Egyptian ally, the Jewish war party looked with confidence to the future.

The early developments, indeed, seemed to justify their optimism. The fortifications were strong and Nebuchadrezzar lacked the artillery to penetrate them. The assistance promised by Egypt was already on the way to relieve the city, and even distracted the besieging Chaldeans

. . . . .

1. Rogers: op. cit., p. 319

temporarily.

But soon the news of the unhappy outcome of the Egyptian attempt reached the city, while the returning Chaldeans resumed their former positions. Gradually the city starved, and when finally hunger and pestilence from the inside, and reinforced assaults from the outside, broke down their stubborn defense, the impatience of the besieger found a sad release in blood, fire, and destruction. Cowardly Zedekiah tried to flee by night, yet was overtaken and brought with the spoils before the angry Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah. The judgment was short and cruel. His sons and the nobles of Judah were slain before his eyes; he was blinded and carried in chains to Babylon, and with him everything of value. A second time a large number of the population was carried away to Babylon. A small remnant of the poor farmers was left, and the vacant and desolate land was divided among them. Rogers gives a good suggestion as to the reason for this unexpected act of clemency:

"It was probably the purpose of the Chaldeans to give the land a stable government and a full opportunity for the development of its resources. Under favorable conditions it would doubtless soon be able to pay a good tribute and so add to the wealth of the empire."<sup>1</sup>

This purpose, however, was frustrated by a successful plot against the new governor Gedaliah whom Nebu-

. . . . .

1. Rogers: op. cit., p. 333

chadrezzar had intrusted with the reorganization of war-torn Judah.<sup>1</sup> Ishmael, an ambitious offspring of the royal house of Judah,<sup>2</sup> felt humiliated by the preference given to Gedaliah and treacherously killed the governor and a number of his aides. Terror stricken, the remnant decided to flee to Egypt in order to escape the double danger of imperial punishment and hostile neighbors. The prophet Jeremiah was taken with them against his will, and in all probability died there.<sup>3</sup>

So much for the tragic setting of the political stage where the life of the prophet was lived and where his words of counsel and grief were uttered.

#### B. A Survey of the Religious Situation

##### a. The Situation Created by the Existing Polarity between the Indigenous Worship of Nature and the Religion of Yahwe

Since the settlement of Canaan the Hebrew nation was confronted with the problem of the existence of forms of religious worship that were alien to her own conception of the Deity. It centered largely around the cult of Baals, local idols, that were regarded as the sustainers of life and the increasers of fertility.<sup>1</sup> The necessity of adaptation, which was involved in the change from

. . . . .

1. Jer. xl.5

2. Jer. xli.1

3. Cf. Peake, Arthur Samuel: Introduction to Jeremiah in The New Century Bible, p. 27

the mode of life of the nomad to that of the tiller of the soil, opened the door to the influx of these indigenous practices. Subsequently the habit of regarding the local deities as the dispensers of daily necessities asserted itself, while the religion of the national Yahwe was too often reserved for days of patriotic exultation.<sup>1</sup> Hosea, in likening the relationship of Israel to her God to that between man and wife, pictures the situation very impressively when he has her say: "I will go after my lovers (i.e. Baals), that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink."<sup>2</sup> And then, speaking for the true God, he presents the conflict dramatically:

"For she did not know that I gave her the grain, and the new wine, and the oil, and multiplied unto her silver and gold, which they used for Baal. Therefore will I take back my grain in the time thereof, and my new wine in the season thereof, and will pluck away my wool and my flax which should have covered her nakedness."<sup>3</sup>

This duality in religious worship, and the necessarily involved association of allegiance to Yahwe with the worship of idols, was reason enough for the morally-sensitive prophets to denounce the practice. While condemning the idolatrous habits of the people, however, the prophets never forgot to include in their denunciation the forces that fostered this unhealthy situation.<sup>4</sup>

. . . . .

1. Smith, Robertson, W.: The Prophets of Israel, p. 39
2. Hosea 11.5
3. Hosea 11.8f
4. Jer. 11.18

This leads us to the discussion of the second aspect of the religious situation:

b. The Situation Created by the Existing Relationship between the Foreign Policy of Assyria and her Religion

A glance at the map of Palestine will convince one that the narrow strip of land, situated between the Mediterranean and the desert, was an ancient "corridor,"<sup>1</sup> a bridge between the old civilizations of the Nile valley and those of the fertile plains of Mesopotamia.

Not only had the peaceful commercial intercourse<sup>2</sup> between these two centers of cultural gravitation to lead over Palestine, but the armies of their rival nations also took this route. The human streams which swept over this ancient bridge contained the cultural expressions of the times that motivated them. Thus, in peace and in war, streams of thought radiated continuously from the Nile and the Euphrates and found their way through Palestine toward their respective objectives.<sup>3</sup>

Religion, in the ancient world, was very closely tied up with the motives for conquest and subjugation. The results of the excavations in Babylonia and Assyria have given us many indications in this direction. An inscrip-

. . . . .

1. Walton, D. J.: Jeremiah's Significance as a Teacher, p.18
2. E.g. the mercantile firm of Murashu and Sons in the time of Artaxerxes. Cf. Pinches, T.G.: The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylon, p. 526
3. Cf. *ibid.*, ch. v-vi



tion of Nebuchadnezzar refers to the cause of the downfall of Assyria as being a work of the gods:

"The Assyrian, who from remote days ruled all people, and with his heavy yoke oppressed the people of the land, I, the weak, the humble, the worshipper of the lord of lords, by the mighty force of Nebo and Mero-dach, my lords, cut off their feet from the land of Akkad, and caused their yoke to be thrown off."<sup>1</sup>

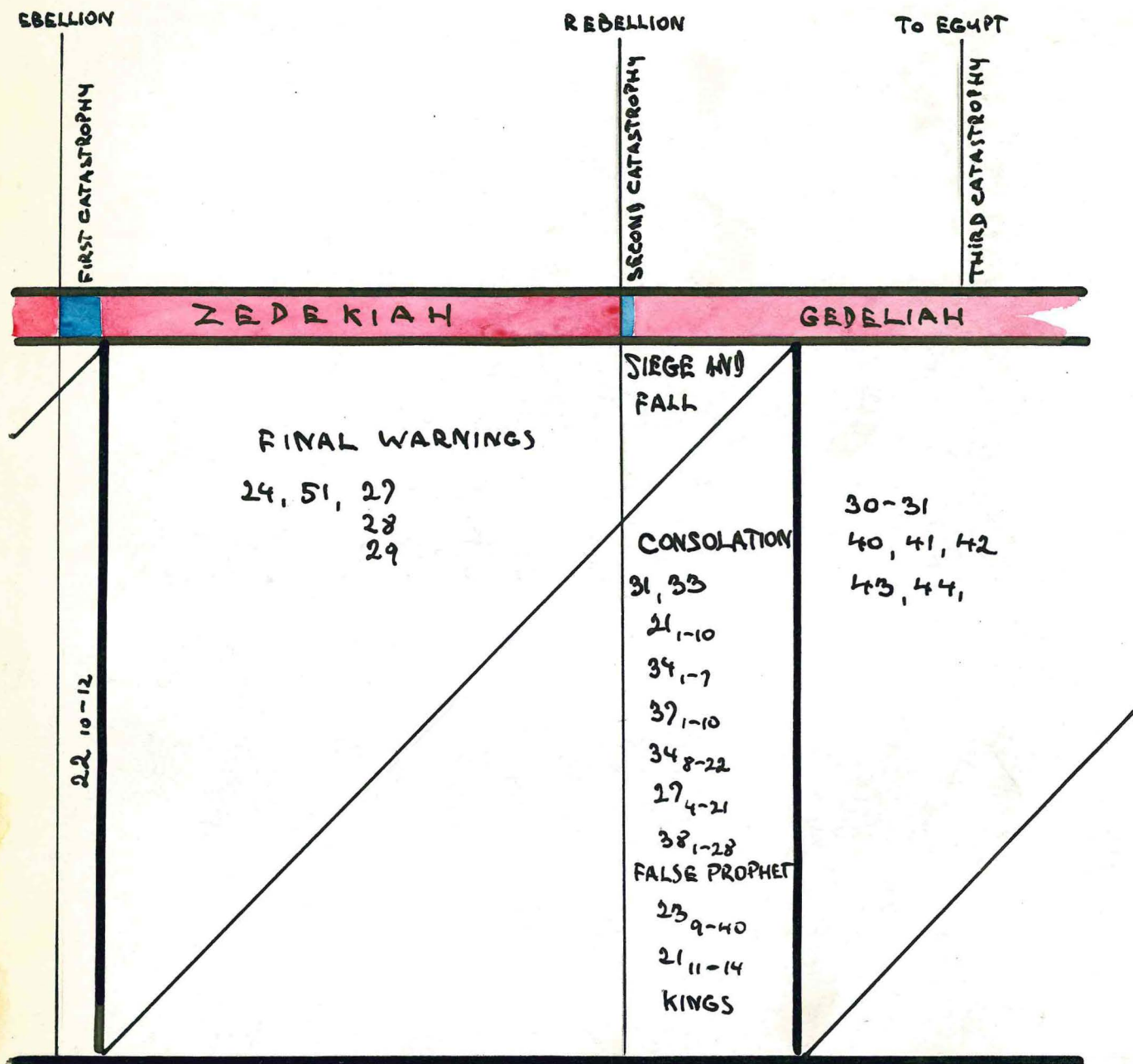
The problem of polytheism already existing in Palestine was thus aggravated by the authoritarian support that its various cults received through the political lordship of Assyria. Indeed, it was an imperial policy of Assyria to introduce the worship of her gods into her vassal states.<sup>2</sup> The alliance of Ahaz with Tiglath-pileser, therefore, had not only political but an even greater religious significance.<sup>3</sup> This brings us to a discussion of the internal situation in Judah during the lifetime of Jeremiah.

c. The Situation Created by the Reform Movement of Josiah

A steady alternation in the faithfulness of the rulers of Judah to their God characterized the period just preceding. The alliance with Assyria had left deep stains on the religious life of the nation, while the subsequent failure of the sovereigns of Judah to live up to the high ideals of the best of their nation still aggravated the

. . . . .

1. Pinches: op. cit., 393n, quoting Weissbach: Babylonische Miscellen
2. Cf. Skinner,
3. II Kings xvi.7



- ASSYRIA
- BABYLON
- EGYPT
- INDEPENDENT

PURGE	CALL OF THE PROPHET	LAW FOUND	MEGIDDO	CHARCHEMISH
JOSIAH			JEH	OIAKIM
1, 2, 3 EARLY SERMONS	4, 5, 6-10 SCYTHIAN INVASION		26, 27, 28, 29, 30 TEMPLE DISCOURSES 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 19, 20 ORPHAN CHAPT. FOURTH YEAR MESSAGES 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 THE BATTLE OF CHARCHEMISH	
	11, 12, 13. REACTIONS TO JOSIAH'S REFORMS			

social, political, and moral tension.<sup>1</sup> Young Josiah, however, coming to the throne at the age of eight, began to turn the tide,<sup>2</sup> and finally inaugurated, in his twelfth regnal year, a process of purification that cleared the land from the idolatrous practices which had established themselves under the patronage of Assyria and by toleration of most of the Jewish rulers.<sup>3</sup> The restoration of the dilapidated temple brought a copy of the Law to light, which played a considerable rôle in giving the reformatory movement a new dynamic.<sup>4</sup> It was read publicly, and effected a revival of the religion of Yahwe and the subsequent centralization of His worship in Jerusalem. The prophet Jeremiah, coming from an old priestly family of Anathoth, identified himself whole-heartedly with the reform and subsequently became its most ardent exponent.<sup>5</sup>

This background is necessary for an understanding of the prophetic message of the book of Jeremiah. Let us now recall our intention to discover the essentially prophetic method and its characteristics,<sup>6</sup> and turn to the book itself.

. . . . .

1. II Kings xxi.16 and II Chron. xxxiii.22
2. II Chron. xxxiv.1-7
3. II Kings xxi
4. II Kings xxii; II Chron. xxxiv
5. "In Anathoth ... a small village  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours N.E. of Jerusalem, lived a class of priests who belonged to a sideline, not to the line of Zadok (cf. I K. ii.26)." Von Orelli, C.: "Jeremiah"; International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia
6. Vide supra, p. 8

PART TWO: THE STUDY OF THE PROPHETIC ELEMENT  
IN THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

A. The Preparation of the Material

a. Elimination of Earlier Utterances

We have attempted to group the material of the whole book in the attached chart. The first of these groups is concerned with the Scythian invasion which did not become a historical reality for Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> We shall therefore omit detailed discussion of this collection of discourses. Lofthouse makes an interesting remark in his discussion of this group of early utterances of Jeremiah:

"We possess some six or eight brief but arresting poems—hardly more than snatches of poetry—often referred to as the "Scythian Songs," in which his emotions at this time have found expression. And in them he does not refer his words to Jahveh. He is for the time the spectator of Jahveh's acts rather than the mouthpiece of his word."<sup>2</sup>

b. The Prophecies Grouped around the  
Three Central Events (Chart)

A survey of the book at large reveals three ma-

. . . . .

1. The expedition against Egypt is mentioned by none other than Herodotus i,103-7; iv,1. The silence of the Hebrew historians in regard to this invasion makes it very doubtful that it affected Judah, the more so because it was anticipated by Jeremiah. Wilke, after a careful review of the evidence, comes to the conclusion that the narrative of Herodotus is destitute of historical foundation and relates this group of utterances to the Chaldean invasion (Alttestamentliche Studien R. Kittel zum 60 Geburtstag dargebracht, 1913, pp. 222ff), to which Skinner rightly objects (Op.cit.,p.42).
2. Lofthouse, W. F.: Jeremiah and the New Covenant, p. 56

for catastrophes in the history of the Jewish nation, all at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar:<sup>1</sup>

1. The first deportation under Jehoiakim;
2. The rebellion under Zedekiah with the subsequent siege and destruction of Jerusalem; and
3. The deportation of the Jewish refugees in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

These three crucial events fall into the lifetime of Jeremiah and constitute the natural centers of gravitation around which his utterances revolve.

We note that each group of utterances can be placed at a time slightly preceding these three major events,<sup>3</sup> whose reality and relevance was proved by the actual historical occurrence.

## B. The Discussion of the Material

### a. Prophecies Related to the First Deportation

#### 1. From Megiddo to Carchemish

The group on which we shall center our first analytical investigation comprehends the utterances of Jeremiah between the battles of Megiddo and Carchemish.<sup>4</sup>

The number of passages attributed to this short period lead us to conclude that Jeremiah regarded it as important.<sup>5</sup>

. . . . .

1. Cf. the attached chart
2. Cf. Josephus: History of the Jews, Vol. I, p. 638
3. Arrangement derived from lectures on Jeremiah by Dr. H. T. Kuist, Biblical Seminary, Second semester, 1935-36
4. Ch. xxvi, vii, viii, ix, (x?); xiv-xx; xxv, xxxv, xxxvi, xlv-11, xxii.13-30; xxii.10-12. Cf. also chart.
5. Cf. Skinner: op. cit., pp. 232 ff



The world situation, as we attempted to show in the preceding paragraph, justified his opinion. Egypt had again become a world power,<sup>1</sup> and sensing the decline of Assyria was determined to share in the spoil. Her advancing army was met by Josiah at Megiddo, and this resulted in a fateful defeat of the forces of Judah. Josiah's determination to liberate Judah from all foreign ties was thus frustrated, and a short hegemony of Egypt commenced<sup>2</sup> which lasted but three years. In the year 605 B.C., the rising power of Babylon regained the lost parts of the great Assyrian empire by defeating the Egyptian army decisively at Carchemish.<sup>3</sup>

The arrival of the Babylonian empire on the Palestinian scene made the prophet more than ever aware of the seriousness of the situation. In Nebuchadrezzar he saw the instrument of divine punishment.<sup>4</sup> A submission, therefore, to his power seemed to be the dictate of common sense. There were still possibilities of averting impending Babylonian reprisals by timely submission to her lordship.

This brings us to the discussion of a second deduction: The prophet is still convinced that an imminent tragic repercussion can be avoided.

. . . . .

1. Vide supra pp. 13f

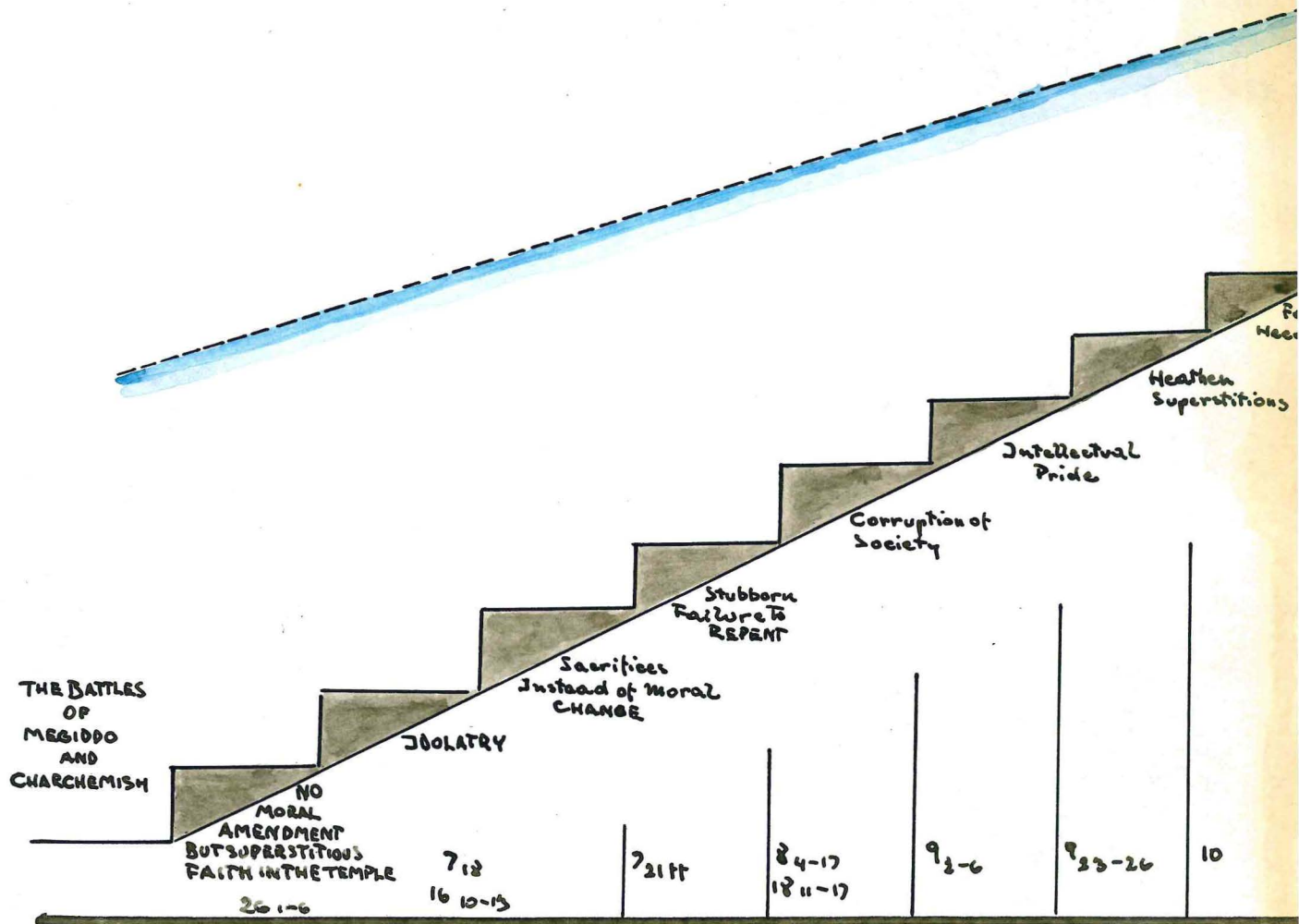
2. Cf. Rogers: History of Babylonia and Assyria, pp. 309ff

3. Jer. xlv.2

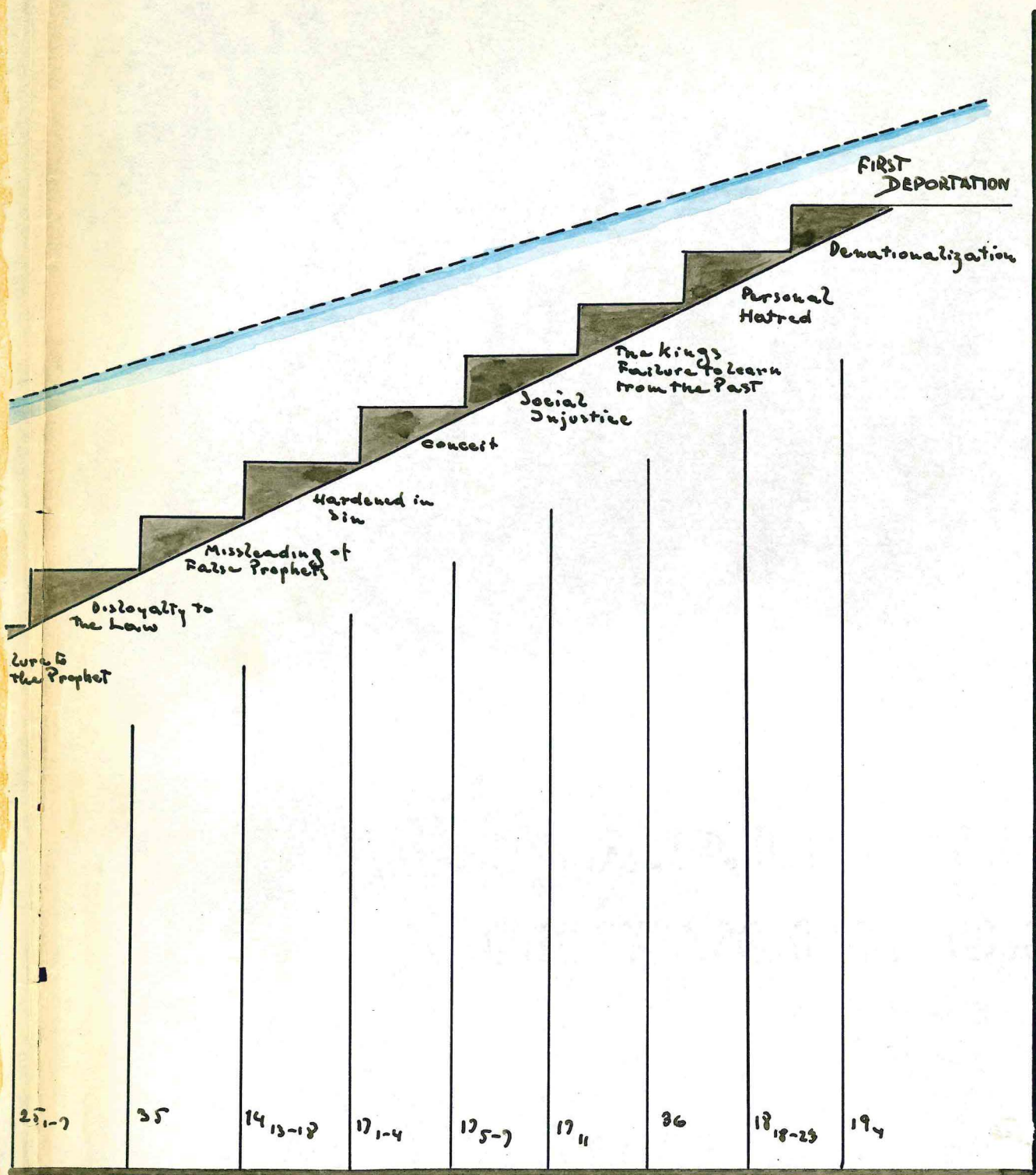
4. Cf. Skinner: op. cit., p. 239

(Page 26 is omitted in enumeration.)

# CAUSAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE BATTLES OF MEGIDDO AND CHARCHEMISH AND THE FIRST DEPORTATION AS SEEN BY JEREMIAH







The number of utterances belonging to this period, and their tone of urgency, convinces us that the prophet still believes that a genuine repentance by the sinning nation at this time can avoid the fearful consequences of divine retribution.<sup>1</sup> He is still hopeful, and utters his prophetic words of warning with the object of achieving this repentance and averting the foreseen destruction of the Jewish commonwealth by the war machinery of the Babylonian empire.

## 2. From Carchemish to the First Deportation

For the second period, ending with the rebellion under Jehoiakim, we have very little literary expression.<sup>2</sup> After having made the utmost efforts during the "plastic period," Jeremiah seems to have decided to let the inevitable run its course.

## 3. Graphic Presentation

We have tried to present the prophet's analysis of the forces that are responsible for these fateful developments in a graphic way.<sup>3</sup> Before we describe them, we must say a few words about the problems that are involved in such an approach.

. . . . .

1. Jer. xv.19-21; xxvi.3,13; vii.3-7
2. According to Dr. Kuist only xxii.13-30 and xxii.10-12
3. With Dr. W. W. White we believe that a chart can sometimes give a better presentation of a problem than lengthy descriptions. Cf. the Chinese proverb, "One picture teaches more than a thousand words."

Can we speak of a causal relationship between the two battles and the first deportation under Jehoiakim? We have listed in the chart the chain of causal relationships which seems to have tied these two events together in the mind of Jeremiah. But beside this array of ethical and religious reasons his conviction was doubtless confirmed by other factors which presented themselves to his intelligent perception.

(a) Political. Political rivalries, like those existing between the empires of the Euphrates and the empire of the Nile, made it highly probable that their armed conflicts would have grave repercussions upon their respective vassal states.<sup>1</sup> An intelligent and politically-sensitive mind perceives now, and must have sensed then, that a shift in one of these centers of ancient civilization must have had its reflexes in their dependencies.

(b) Geographical. A glance at the map of the ancient world strengthens our argument further.<sup>2</sup> Megiddo, only about fifty-three miles north of Jerusalem, is the center of a net of caravan routes covering the kingdom of Judah. Carchemish, on the other hand, is an ancient point

. . . . .

1. Numerous examples of this fact can be taken from the history of a small state like Belgium in her relation to the neighboring powers. Compare with this the situation created for the Baltic states and Poland after the defeat of Russia at Tannenberg, August 26, 1914.
2. Cf. Prof. Dalman's map, "Vorderasien zur Zeit des Alten Testaments," in Nestle's "Novum Testamentum Graece" (ed. lat. marg. imp. 1933)

of junction, connecting the system of West-Palestinian routes with the main route to Nineveh and Babylon.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion, that events of such importance for the contesting empires should have some repercussions in the territories so intimately connected with the places where they were staged, proves again the sanity of the prophet's deductions.

(c) Religious and Ethical. Jeremiah's fundamental convictions concerning God's justice and his realization of Judah's continuous failure to live up to the ethical demands of His Law, must have further strengthened the prophet's assurance that punishment through the arm of Babylon was immanent.

The two elements of political and geographic probability are represented by the ----- line on the chart. His religious and ethical convictions which demanded divine retribution are summarized in the blue field, and form one aspect of his vision. Thus, one sin after the other must have become more and more convincingly a step on which the divine judgment, in the form of the Chaldeans, must reach Jerusalem.

However, we should not be justified in accounting for the prophetic convictions purely on natural grounds. Profane history furnishes many examples of a situation ob-

. . . . .

1. "An exceedingly ancient Hittite city." See further Pinches, T.G.: "Carchemish"; International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia

viously seeming to demand a certain natural consequence, and yet predictions conformable thereto never became true. From the diary of Henry Greville we take an example of such predictive failure:

"It is curious that Lord Hardinge, who arrived here on Thursday, passed two hours at Vienna, and saw Metternich, who spoke of passing events, without the slightest apprehension, and said that it was possible there might be some disturbances in different parts of the Empire, but that they would be put down without any difficulty, and that he had no intention of making any concessions at this time. Four days afterwards he was obliged to fly from Vienna, and his house was sacked and burnt."<sup>1</sup>

This apparent failure to foresee events of such paramount importance to the statesman, shows clearly that even an extraordinary knowledge in the field of statecraft does not necessarily imply the ability to anticipate impending events.

b. Prophecies Related to the Destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Deportation

Let us return to the second group of predictions, leading up to the central tragedy of the Jewish nation, the destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar. Here the prophet comes to similar conclusions concerning the reasons for the Babylonian approach as in the preceding utterances. We have therefore presented the issue in a chart resembling in idea and structure the first chart.

. . . . .

1. Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville, Vol. I, p. 243, quoted by Urquhart, John: The Wonders of Prophecy, p. 11

## 1. From Zedekiah to the Siege

After Jehoiakim's death and the exile of Jehoiachin, his son, Zedekiah was installed on the throne of his father Josiah.<sup>1</sup> However, nothing had yet been done about the fundamental corruption of the internal situation. Once more Jeremiah concentrated his efforts to avert the impending doom in messages of final warnings.<sup>2</sup> Untouched by his pleas, king and people followed stubbornly their own way, thus bringing the catastrophe nearer and nearer. Finally Nebuchadrezzar, infuriated by the new breach of promise,<sup>3</sup> reaches the city. Jeremiah's prophecy thus became awful reality.

## 2. From the Siege to the Fall

For the last time the prophet attempts to serve the city by his advice of speedy surrender.<sup>4</sup> Unquenchable faith in the mercy of God prompts him to proclaim the saving message, but in vain. The city remained unmoved in its self-deceit.<sup>5</sup> Crazy in their over-heated nationalism, they accuse the prophet of treason and throw him into a dungeon.<sup>6</sup> Previous sufferings and ridicule<sup>7</sup> were thus climaxed by threatened capital punishment. Yet Jer-

. . . . .

1. II Kings xxiv.6; xxiv.15; Jer. xxiv.1, xxix.2; II Kings xxiv.17
2. Ch. xxiv, li, xxvii-xxix. Cf. note 4, p. 24
3. Jer. xxvii indicates the development of the forces that were driving Zedekiah
4. Jer. xxvii.9-11
5. Jer. xxxviii.4, xxxvii.11-21
6. Jer. xxxviii.5f

emiah survived these trials with the help of his God and for the sake of his message.<sup>1</sup>

c. Prophecies Related to the Tragedy in Egypt

1. Post-Fall Utterances

Our final study in Jeremiah will be centered around the group of post-fall utterances of the aging prophet. Here we see unusually clearly another aspect of the prophetic mission, his rôle as a comforter and consoler. It is this aspect of his pastoral duty that manifests in the stern and accusing man, in this tool in the hand of a powerful God, the warmth and human sympathy of a genuinely compassionate heart.

The city is fallen; untold suffering and despair hold the exhausted survivors in the thralls of their merciless grip. In this time of bitter vindication, the once accusing and denouncing prophet appears to be transformed. The same love which he felt for his city and nation, which compelled him to utter indignant words of punishment, prompts him now to break forth with soothing words of hope. The love of God found the deep resonance of Jeremiah's kindred feeling:

"For thus saith Jehovah, Sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout for the chief of the nations: publish ye, praise ye, and say, O Jehovah, save thy people, and the remnant of Israel. Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the uttermost parts of the earth, and with them the blind

. . . . .

1. Jer. xxxvii.17,21

and the lame, the woman with child and her that travaileth with child together: a great company shall they return hither. They shall come with weeping; and with supplications will I lead them: I will cause them to walk by rivers of waters, in a straight way wherein they shall not stumble; for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn."<sup>1</sup>

## 2. From Gedaliah's Death to Egypt

A study of events related in the forty-second and third chapters, however, unveils the old persistency of the conflict between the proclaimer of the divine counsel and the stubborn reliance on superficial judgments on the part of the remnant and its popular leaders.

The situation, in short, is as follows. Ishmael, a young man of royal descent, had been offended by Nebuchadnezzar's preference for Gedaliah as governor of the province of Judah, and killed him after the departure of most of the Chaldean army.<sup>2</sup> The remnant, in fear of the revenge of the Chaldean ruler, decides, upon the counsel of some popular leaders, to emigrate to Egypt; but before a decisive step was taken the prophet was asked for the counsel of Jehovah.<sup>3</sup>

Jeremiah promises due consideration of this, and doubtless reflected the issue at length.<sup>4</sup> Finally, after ten days, he receives the divine command to proclaim God's disapproval of the plan. His counsel, based on a knowl-

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1. Jer. xxxi.7ff
2. Jer. xli.1; xli.2ff
3. Jer. xli.17; xlii.3
4. Jer. xlii.7



edge of God, advocates no change in locality, but a change in attitude.

True to his former analysis of the causes of Jerusalem's doom, he sees no lasting advantage in running away from a mere agent of God's retributive justice. He realizes that somehow the ethical and moral transgressions of an unrepenting nation will have to be punished in a new environment as truly as they would have been punished in the homeland.

His counsel proved to be only too true. The perpetual disobedience which had been fatal to the nation as a whole, blurred again the decision of the remnant. Scorning the divine advice, they left for Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them. Once more the prophet predicts the downfall of their superficial faith in their final security in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Then the records of Jeremiah close, leaving us in the dark as to the final fulfillment of the last prophecy. The Jewish historian Josephus, however, writing the history of his people, attests its consummation. We let him tell it in his own words:

"... for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, he made an expedition against Syria; and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he

. . . . .

1. Jer. xlv.27-30

fell upon Egypt in order to overthrow it; and he slew the king that then reigned, and set up another; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon; and such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it had been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the historical event again proved the truth of the prophetic word. As in the previous tragedies, Jeremiah showed himself here again as a keen moral analyst, superior to all the seers and diviners of his day.<sup>2</sup> In the three crucial periods of his nation he was ready to impart his God-given knowledge to prevent the bitter catastrophes. His advice was a practical one, born in the test-tube of his personal experience.<sup>3</sup>

We shall now attempt to summarize the results of our investigation into the three groups of prophetic utterances.

### C. The Results of This Study

#### a. The Sources of Prophetic Information

##### 1. Intelligence

Jeremiah was a close observer of the settings of

. . . . .

1. Josephus: Antiquities of the Jews, Bk. X, ch. ix,7
2. Cf. Davidson, A. B.: Old Testament Prophecy, "... prophesying became a fashion. Men assumed the hairy mantle who had no real call. They affected the prophetic manner and speech, saying, "Thus saith the Lord," and "This is the burden of the Lord"; and some did this with conscious falsehood, and merely for a livelihood." p. 302 Also, Jer. xxviii, v.31, vi.14, viii.11, xxiii.9ff, etc.
3. Jer. xviii.1-23, xv.11

the historical stage where he pronounced his denunciations and his predictions. By no means a far-away dreamer, he watched the movements of great empires, tested their ambitions and dreams, and weighed their chances in a possible contest.<sup>1</sup> With intelligent interest he followed the developments among the Jews in Babylon, the victims of Nebuchadrezzar's first deportation. Their dreams and expectations of a speedy return are his grave concern. To keep them from hasty decisions he dispatches a messenger to counsel them.<sup>2</sup>

With intelligent interest he weighs the historical, geographical and religious probabilities, seeing all not from the standpoint of the impartial observer, but from the anxious vantage point of one who is able to judge the consequences of the forces which he contemplates. This insight into the working of the central powers in a nation's life furnishes him with the first clues, pointing toward a possible development of the affairs of the little Jewish kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Here the internal social and religious situation demanded the vindication of the moral universe. Who should be the agent of retributive justice?

This leads us to regard the second source of the prophetic certainty.

. . . . .

1. Jer. xxxvii.7-10, xxv.15ff

2. Jer. xxix.1-20

3. Cf. W. G. Jordan: History and Revelation, who says at this point: "Notwithstanding the condition of the text, and the broken nature of his utterances, suggesting the varying moods of his intense passion, it is clear that he was a student of history, and a critic of prevailing social conditions." p. 217

## 2. Intuition

We have shown from the predictive failure of a most eminent statesman, that a keen political insight and a mere recognition of historical and political possibilities can not furnish the certainty which is manifested in the prophet's predictions concerning the agent of Judah's doom.<sup>1</sup>

Insight and intelligent consideration must be coupled with a gift of association which intuitively eliminates the lesser possibilities and lifts the one chosen into a place of authority. This prophetic intuition is seen over and over again as an element of Jeremiah's predictions.

We need only recall the elements involved in his advice to Zedekiah, when the city was already besieged by the Chaldeans.<sup>2</sup> The ordinary human intelligence would not have been able to decide with any degree of certainty between the two possible consequences of the anger of Nebuchadrezzar. The prophet, however, intuitively affirms that an immediate surrender will affect him favorably, preserving the city and the life of its inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

The same ingenious gift of integration is seen in his prediction that Babylon will be the cause of Jerusalem's destruction and not the declining power of Assyria

. . . . .

1. Vide supra p. 30

2. Jer. xxxviii.17

3. Jer. xxxviii.22

nor to the rising ambitions of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Revelation

This intuitive grasp of essentials which Jeremiah discloses is still further strengthened by the undeniable evidence of divine revelation.

His basic supposition, that all the mishaps which finally culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem are the necessary consequence of a continuous violation of the basic laws of a Supreme Moral Being, leads him into a search of these principles in the character of God. Thus, in every newly arising situation, he does not trust his own human conclusions but attempts to fathom the divine attitude.<sup>2</sup>

These threefold processes then, the intelligent apprehension of the problems of the situation, the intuitive combination of all possibilities, followed by a genuine search for the divine attitude, form the sources of the prophetic assurance.

#### b. The Prophetic Objective

And yet the prophet's predictions never became ends in themselves; they were never artistry, never skill displayed for the sake of its performance. The prophet

. . . . .

1. Jer. xxxvii.7,10

2. Cf. Oehler, Gust. F.: Theology of the Old Testament, p. 313

always had a goal in mind. His words of counsel and reproof always found their ultimate justification in the purpose for which they were uttered.<sup>1</sup> Behind the word always stood the personality of the man who loved and cared for the people whose sins he denounced.<sup>2</sup>

His supreme passion was the preservation of the national integrity, the prosperity of his beloved Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> To this end everything else was subordinated; his soul, his keen discerning mind, his capacities as seer and prophet, his health and share in happiness.<sup>4</sup>

#### c. The Prophetic Method

As he subordinated himself to his goal, so he adapted his method by what he taught. From the stately poetry<sup>5</sup> of his sermons to the imagery of nature<sup>6</sup> and the

. . . . .

1. Cf. Davidson: op. cit., p. 95
2. Sellin, E.: Einleitung in das Alte Testament, p. 80
3. Kent, Charles Foster: The Growth and Contents of the Old Testament, p. 117
4. Jer. xvi.1
5. McIvor, J. G.: The Literary Study of the Prophets, p. 23
6. McIvor (ibid., p. 77) gives the following list of the figures of speech used by the Hebrew prophets:
  - I. Figures of Thought
    1. Metaphor
    2. Simile
    3. Synecdoche and Metonymy
  - II. Figures of Feeling
    1. Personification
    2. Apostrophe
    3. Interrogation
    4. Exclamation
  - III. Figures of Sound
    1. Onomatopoeia
    2. Paronomasia

application of symbolic action,<sup>1</sup> everything that could convey his message was used by him. Market place<sup>2</sup> and temple,<sup>3</sup> workshop<sup>4</sup> and open fields,<sup>5</sup> they all served him as class room. Wherever men and women assembled, the true prophet was found, delivering the burden of his message, revealing his deep concern.

#### D. Conclusion

So we see the true prophet before our eyes, a man in the midst of the problems of his time, unswayed by popular emotions, bearing witness to the reality of the moral order of the universe; a voice ringing out like the leading melody in a symphony, unforgetably impressing itself in the minds of the hearers. Sincere and tragically concerned, shunning easy aloofness, he stands before us; a tool in the hand of a Mighty One, who reveals in his agonies God's love.

. . . . .

1. Jer. xxv.15
2. Jer. xxiv.2(?)
3. Jer. vii, sqq.
4. Jer. xviii, sqq.
5. Jer. xix.2

CHAPTER III

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

AS AN EXAMPLE OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE



## CHAPTER III

### THE BOOK OF ENOCH

#### AS AN EXAMPLE OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

#### PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

##### a. The Meaning of the Term Apocalyptic

The verb ἀποκαλύπτω according to Cremer, means to unveil, to discover, to make visible, to reveal; thus ἀποκάλυψις is an uncovering, unveiling, disclosure, or revelation. The word is very rarely used in secular Greek, and is in the New Testament peculiarly Pauline.<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with this analysis of the term, we shall expect, under apocalyptic literature, writings which are religious thought in their character, and which claim superhuman revelation as their origin.

##### b. General Characteristics of Apocalyptic Literature

Bousset, in his little book "Die Jüdische Apokalyphtik," gives the general characteristics of these writings succinctly as follows:<sup>2</sup>

1. Uncanonicity
2. Pseudonymity
3. Bizarreness
4. Visionary
5. Ecstatic

. . . . .

1. Cremer, Hermann: Biblico-Theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek, s.v.
2. Bousset, D. W.: Die Jüdische Apokalyphtik, p. 11

They all claim to be special revelations given to the seer during dreams or in visions. They all have the same general treatment. The predictions are put into the mouth of some Old Testament hero, such as Moses, Baruch, or Enoch.<sup>1</sup> In almost all cases they are attributed to a man who is mentioned as having some intimate contact with God.<sup>2</sup> They claim to have been written by the respective patriarch, then sealed and handed down through a long line of prophets and priests, in order to be finally opened in the time to which their predictions refer.<sup>3</sup>

With these general characteristics before us, we now turn to the Book of Enoch as one of the most outstanding examples of this type of religious literature.<sup>4</sup>

## PART TWO: THE CONTENT OF THE BOOK

### a. Introduction and the Book of Angels

The first chapter gives an account of the purpose of the book. This is followed by an admonition to survey the heavens. With chapter six the narrative proper begins, with an account of the fall of the angels, which shows strong affinities with the sixth chapter of Genesis.

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1. The most important apocalyptic books have been mentioned in the introduction; see pp. 7f
2. Moses, Exod. xx-xxiv; Abraham, Gen. xv.7; Enoch, Gen. v.24
3. Cf. Bousset: op. cit., p. 11
4. Cf. with this estimate of the Book of Enoch: Volz, Paul: Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde, pp. 16ff; also Thomson, J. E. H.: "Apocalyptic Literature," International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia

We are further told the kind of punishment which God has appointed for these transgressors. Enoch is requested to intercede for them who, in disobedience to the will of God, left their heavenly dwellings, and committed adultery with the "daughters of men." (ix.8) He writes the petition for the fallen angels, who are not permitted to make the request themselves after having sinned against their holiness. Enoch receives the answer in a series of visions and proclaims the fateful message. The request is not granted, and the final message came:

"And now as to the Watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been aforetime in heaven, (say to them): 'You have been in heaven, but all the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth.' Say to them therefore: 'You have no peace.'" (xvi.2-4)

In the following chapters, Enoch relates, in the first person, his experiences on journeys which he undertakes with the assistance of angels. He visits the innermost parts of the earth and sees the divine origin of all.

"I saw the treasures of all the winds; I saw how he had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth. And I saw the cornerstone of the earth: I saw the four winds which bear (the earth and) the firmament of heaven." (xviii.1-2)

Equally, he descends to the infernal places of punishment to which the evil angels were banished. Thence he is taken to Sheol where he sees the abode of the departed souls awaiting the great judgment. Then his journey takes him to the west where he has occasion to admire the heavenly

luminaries. After that he comes to a mountain region, awe-inspiring in its fiery beauty. On one of the mountains, as the accompanying angel points it out to him, he sees the throne of God, while not far away he sees the Tree of Life. Finally, he returns and is shown Jerusalem, "a blessed place" and the accursed valley "between." (xxvi.1) This part of the book ends with further journeys to the north and to the south.

b. The Book of Similitudes

The Book of Similitudes begins with chapter thirty-seven. The first allegory (xxxviii-xliv) is a prophecy of the coming judgment, and a vision of the heavenly resting places for the righteous, who are described as a "company of elect ones, who are praising the Lord of Spirits."<sup>1</sup> Here we also encounter the first mention of the "Elect One"<sup>2</sup> whom Enoch sees under the wings of the Lord.<sup>3</sup> Also, in the celestial courts, Enoch meets the advisors of the "Lord of Spirits," the four archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel, and is introduced into further mysteries of heaven. He sees the lodging places of the winds, and is shown the hidings of moon and stars.

In the second similitude our hero learns further

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1. En. xxxviii.2,4,6,etc.
2. Cf. Luke xxiii.25
3. En. xxxix.6-7

details concerning the Messiah and his mission in the world. This section is especially interesting because of the titles given to the Messiah. We shall return to it (xlv-lvii) for a more detailed discussion.

The repentance of the Gentiles and promise of the resurrection of the dead (l-li) is followed by an account of the judgment and two short passages which describe a contest between the heathen powers and Israel.

The third similitude in substance is a vivid description of the last judgment, preceded by a short account of the blessings of the righteous and elect ones. (lviii-lxxi) Apparent intrusions<sup>1</sup> deal with the mysteries of thunder and lightning, and a description of the flood (Noah fragment).<sup>2</sup> An interesting feature of this part is the description of the Son of Man as judge in this final vindication.<sup>3</sup>

Chapters seventy and seventy-one form the conclusion of this section, with an account of Enoch's translation and two more of his visions.

#### c. The Book of the Course of the Heavenly Luminaries

The third main section of the collection comprises

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1. Cf. Oesterley in his Introduction to Charles' translation of the Book of Enoch, p. xxii
2. The investigations of Dillmann, Ewald, and Koestlin have shown that the passages liv.7-lv.2; lx.65-lxix.25, breaking the sequence of the narrative, were inserted at a later period. The end of this fragment is contained in lxix.26-29. Cf. also Schürer, Emil: A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, Vol.III,p.69
3. En. lxi.8

the Book of the Courses of the Heavenly Luminaries (lxxii-lxxxii). Here Enoch receives information, through the angel Uriel, concerning the sun, the moon, and the stars, their coming and going, their purpose, and the laws of their operations. Beginning with chapter eighty, there is again an ethical element introduced, and we are taught that in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened, and all things on earth shall alter.<sup>1</sup>

d. The Historical Book

The next section offers a Jewish history of the world from the beginning of the human race down to the Maccabean struggle. This, however, is again preceded (lxxxiii-lxxxiv) by one of the visions of Enoch picturing the destruction of the world. The fearfulness of the events seen moves Enoch to fervent intercession for the salvation of at least a remnant of mankind from the wrath of God. The following symbolic representations of the History of Israel lead up to the era of the Maccabean revolt and thus offer some clues for the dating of the book.<sup>2</sup>

. . . . .

1. En. lxxx.2

2. Schürer: op. cit., pp. 68 ff., regards ch. 1-36 and 72-105 as belonging to the time of John Hyrcanus, and places the Similitudes (37-71) at the earliest in the reign of Herod the Great. Charles dates ch. 83-90 as Maccabean (B.C. 166-161), and ch. 6-36 as pre-Maccabean, at the latest before 170 B.C., while ch. 37-71 are dated B.C. 94-79, or 70-64. Rudolf Otto dates the whole book from B.C. 200-50; cf. Reich Gottes und Menschensohn, p. 142

The dream visions conclude with a prediction of judgment and retribution to the Gentiles, and the vindication of redeemed Israel in the Messianic era.

e. The Exhortations of Enoch

The following fourteen chapters form a section comprising the "Exhortations of Enoch." (xc-ciii) The exposition of the history of the world contained therein is intended to strengthen the hortatory character of the product.<sup>1</sup> There are obvious dislocations to be noticed here. Charles sees the original order thus: xcii, xci.1-10, 18-19, xciii.1-10, xci.12-17, xciv.<sup>2</sup> Human history is seen rolling up in the course of ten "weeks," in the last of which the final judgment will take place.

f. Appendices

The last portion of the book is a series of appendices and interpolations. The most noteworthy of them is the Noachian Fragment,<sup>3</sup> wherein Noah and not Enoch is the leading figure. The general character of this section is confused and repetitious.<sup>4</sup> The last chapter claims to be a further revelation to Enoch concerning the fire of hell where the souls of the wicked have to suffer, and concerning the blessings in store for the righteous. The

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1. Thomson, J. E. H.: "Apocalyptic Literature," International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia
2. Charles, R. H.: The Book of Enoch, p. 218
3. cvi-cvii
4. Cf. civ.2,4 with xcii.2, etc.

closing sentences recall once again the final vindication of the divine justice, and promise the faithful and obedient the sight of the sinners' final perdition.

### PART THREE: THE TOPICAL TREATMENT OF THE BOOK

Let us now turn more specifically to the teaching of the book. Under a topical treatment the content yields characteristics and conceptions which were common among most of the apocalyptic books. Apart from the general features which we have mentioned previously,<sup>1</sup> the Book of Enoch has very definite ideas about God, the world, man, and all things related to these three great realities of life.

#### A. God

##### a. The Judge of the World

God is the Supreme Ruler and Creator of mankind and of the world, man's environment.<sup>2</sup> Yet far more than on His attributes as originator and sustainer, the apocalyptic books dwell on His judicial functions as majestic judge and supreme recompenser for all wickedness. As such He appears over and over again in the Book of Enoch.

"... And the eternal God will tread upon the earth ... and appear in the strength of His might ... and there shall be a judgment upon all (men)." (i.4, 7, 8)

. . . . .

1. Vide supra p. 42

2. En. ix.4; lxxxiii, lxxxiv



b. The Vindicator of the Righteous

This judgment, however, will be the great vindication of the righteous ones who trusted in God. He will now consider their faithfulness toward Him and will preserve them from His wrath.

"And they shall all belong to God,  
And they shall be prospered,  
And they shall all be blessed." (1.8)

God's moral order which had been violated for so long a time shall now finally be victorious. With the victory of the righteousness of God there shall also be vindicated the faith and trust of those who believed in it. God who once created the universe will prove to be able to operate it after His holy will. All who participate in opposition will come to grief in the time of vindication.<sup>1</sup>

The mind of the apocalyptic seer thus goes from the past, when God showed Himself as Creator, to the future when He shall appear again as Judge. The permanency of His moral rule, however, is not secured if there are still forces existent which are strong enough to oppose it. The judgment, therefore, must reach the forces which caused wickedness and disobedience. The cause of the failure of man must be destroyed, and the lurking Evil in the world be met. Nothing of it can be tolerated to survive. A great flood of purification has to sweep through the uni-

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1. Cf. Volz: Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde, pp. 83, ff

verse before it can issue<sup>in</sup> the bliss of the elect ones in the kingdom of God.<sup>1</sup>

c. The Destroyer of Fallen Angels and Men

God must therefore destroy the source of all evil, the fallen angels. We do not wish to anticipate here our discussion of the theory of evil held by the apocalyptic seer, yet we may state that it belonged in his conception of God that the now-forebearing Lord of Creation should judge and destroy His spiritual enemies. The special delight with which the seer seems to dwell on this celestial tragedy is understandable when we consider that these disobedient heavenly beings were held responsible for all the evil in the world.<sup>2</sup>

Thus to the seer the actual intervention of God is the theme of his most intense desire. In God's creative appearance "in the beginning" he sees the guarantee for his second coming as judge and vindicator at the end of time. The past is viewed with the hope of sustaining the faith of the righteous, yet suffering, servant. The same God, who in the beginning created a world which He Himself regarded as good<sup>3</sup> will be able to restore it to its initial glory.

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1. En. civ-cvii. Cf. also Fairweather, William: The Background of the Gospels, pp. 283, 289.

2. En. vi, vii, viii, ff

3. Gen. 1.31

## B. Man and Sin

### a. Humanity

The apocalyptist who contemplates the origin of the world and the almightiness of his God, can not reduce His manifestations to a single nation.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the superficial separation between Jews and Gentiles, Romans and Greeks, and other nations, has little room in the panorama of the universe. For him there is but one great dividing line between humanity; the line which divides the good and righteous from the evil and wicked.<sup>2</sup>

Enoch does not claim, either, to be a prophet to Israel, his words are meant for a larger audience:

"And I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth." (xxxvii.5)

### 1. History

As with the moral distinctions of the universe, so it was also with the historical speculations. The stage of the divine drama had been enlarged. The whole world takes part in the struggle between the forces of light and the forces of evil.<sup>3</sup> This necessitates a contemplation of their actions and a description of their history. And yet

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1. Otto: Reich Gottes und Menschensohn, pp. 28 ff
2. "In der entwickleteren Eschatologie stehen sich nun nicht mehr Israel und die Weltmacht gegenüber, sondern gottlose und fromme Menschen ganz im allgemeinen."  
Volz: op. cit., p. 85
3. Otto: op. cit., p. 25

the apocalyptic poet was too much saturated with the Hebrew Scriptures to allow himself to view the history of the world from any other angle than the Biblical one. The nations are admitted, yet their place and function form the background of the Jewish theme.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the apocalyptic presentation of the history of mankind is in itself again an interpretation of it. In the colorful language of images and symbols, the seer relates and contemplates his theme. Here is an example of his description of the Exodus:

"And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep with all their power. And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep followed Him: and His face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between them and the wolves. And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceed into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and (the wolves) ran after them into that sea. And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but the sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered those wolves. And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned." (lxxxix.21-27)

Sometimes his symbolic language becomes more bizarre and involved, as in the passage containing the description of the Maccabean revolt:

"And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there

. . . . .

1. Cf. Kittel, Gerhard: Die Religionsgeschichte und das Urchristentum, p. 66

sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. And it looked at them (and their eyes opened) and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it." (xc.9,10)

This is a pointed and concentrated description of a historical incident. It could doubtless be understood by those who knew the symbols. As to the poetic possibilities of descriptions of this kind, the judgment of the scholars is divided. Some regard it as the result of the disintegration of the prophetic imagination,<sup>1</sup> while others again come to the conclusion that it is an independent and highly artistic form of literary expression.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Goal

The inclusion of the world at large in his speculations leads the seer into further speculations as to the goal of humanity. He finds two principles at work in the universe, the forces of good and the forces of evil. Once, in premundane history, the will of God had been opposed by faithless angels, and thus evil had established itself.<sup>3</sup> An issue had been created which had ultimately to lead to a celestial tragedy. The God of the Old Testa-

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1. Cf. MacDonald, Duncan Black: *The Hebrew Literary Genius*, p. 92; also Clavier, H.: *L'Evangile Apocalyptique*, p. 34: "Le style enporte la marque; il est habituellement, d'une platitude et d'une monotonie desesperantes."
2. Cf. Montgomery, J. A.: "The Education of the Seer of the Apocalypse," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1926
3. En. vi.3; vii.5

ment, the Yahwe of the Decalogue, could not allow any spiritual power beside Himself to rule.

The apocalyptic thinker finds the same issue also on earth. The righteous servants of God, obedient to His law, are opposed by wicked violators of the divine commands. The celestial punishment had, therefore, to be followed by a terrestrial one. The transcending will of God must be victorious in both spheres. The righteous had been waiting patiently for the day of vindication. God's own patience and mercy, however, delayed the expected event.

"And Michael said unto me: 'Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and longsuffering towards those who dwell on the earth. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgment come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgment, and for those who take His name in vain—that day is prepared; for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.'" (lx.5)<sup>1</sup>

Thus was the way opened. A new heaven and earth would again appear, the paradise of Genesis would become a reality.

This paradise, however, will not be confined to a certain place. It will cover the earth and include all the righteous. The earth will then be a place without darkness, without sin, and will no longer bear the curse for transgression.

. . . . .

1. Cf. also En. xciii.16f

"And I will transform the heaven and make  
it an eternal blessing and light,  
And I will transform the earth and make  
it a blessing  
And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell  
upon it:  
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not  
set foot thereon. (v.7)

We find distinctions no more made between Gentiles and Jews; the only prerequisite for participation in this bliss is righteousness and obedience to the law of God.<sup>1</sup>

#### b. Individuals

##### 1. The Importance of the Individual

The universality of the events described does not shorten the importance of the individual. Schürer says:

"The object therefore of the pseudepigraphic prophetic compositions ... was always of an eminently practical kind, viz. consolation amid the sufferings of the present."<sup>2</sup>

Consolation, however, involved the strengthening of individual belief, the support of the faith of the individual in the moral order of the world. This objective is approached rather from the general point of view of the apocalyptic product. There are, however, passages where the appeal is distinctly worded:

"But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life, And walk in the paths of peace And ye shall live and prosper." (xciv.4)

. . . . .

1. En. v.6

2. Schürer: A History of the Jewish People, Vol. III, p. 4

The individual is the responsible agent before God. His personal life is overshadowed by the great reality of the impending judgment.<sup>1</sup> He as a personality has to bear the consequences of his own action when he stands before the judgment seat of an all-powerful God.

## 2. The Necessity of Decision

This stress on religious individualism becomes still more apparent in passages that emphasize moral responsibility:

"We have now learned that we should glorify  
And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is King over  
all kings. ...  
And now we long for a little rest, but find it not."  
(lxiii.4, 6)

The strict dualism of the apocalyptic conception does not tolerate lukewarmness. The issue is clearly presented before the eyes of the readers. Death and destruction to the body of the sinner, curse and torment to his soul; bliss and eternal happiness for the faithful and obedient. In spite of the apparent determinism found in almost all apocalyptic literature,<sup>2</sup> we can justly assume that the glowing descriptions of the various catastrophes were intended to bring the undecided to a decision, and to strengthen the motivation of those who had ceased to believe in the effectiveness of the divine order.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Bousset, Wilhelm: Die Religion des Judentums im Spät-hellenischen Zeitalter, p. 293
2. Volz: Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde, p. 6
3. En. 1.2. Cf. also some practices of current revivalism.



### 3. Salvation

The apocalyptic writers seem to have had little appreciation of the world in its present state. Their sense of justice was constantly hurt by the aspects of thriving unrighteousness and all sorts of wickedness apparent about them. Their longing reached toward a world where the just will rule over the unjust, a world where their faith in the justice of God will be finally vindicated.<sup>1</sup> Not even the fact of death could heal the wound; not even the great reality of the end of life for just and unjust alike, could offer consolation to the downcast, much less furnish the answer to the burning question of justice. Yet where the reason of the cynical skeptic found no other solution than

"As we die so die the righteous,  
And what benefit do they reap for their deeds?  
Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness,  
And what have they more than we?  
From henceforth we are equal. (cii.6,7)

the faith of the seer found comfort and answer; the survival after death, the salvation and preservation of the personality, from death and annihilation; and a glorious recompense for sorrow and grief.

"Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by  
the glory of the Great and Honoured and Mighty One  
in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you:  
I know a mystery  
And have read the heavenly tablets,

. . . . .

1. En. xlviii.7; also 1.3

And have seen the holy books,  
And have found written therein and inscribed  
regarding them:  
That all goodness and joy and glory are pre-  
pared for them,  
And written down for the spirits of those who  
have died in righteousness,  
And that manifold good shall be given to you  
in recompense for your labours,  
And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot  
of the living." (ciii.1)

The emphasis with which this mystery is pro-  
claimed seems to indicate the desire of the seer to make  
his argument as weighty and irreproachable as possible.

#### 4. Final Abode

In the description of the resting place of the  
righteous, the seer achieves great poetic height:

"Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous  
angels ... and righteousness flowed before them as  
water, And mercy like dew upon the earth." (xxxix.5)

Yet, somehow, the spiritual state of future  
blessing seemed not to offer an entirely satisfactory so-  
lution of the problem of evil on earth. The problem hurt  
deeper and had to find some more adequate solution on  
earth.

#### 5. Resurrection of the Dead

The idea of the last judgment as a possibility  
of retributive justice was still further strengthened by  
the conception of a general resurrection of the dead:<sup>2</sup>

"And in those days shall the earth also give back that  
which hath been entrusted to it, And Sheol also shall  
give back that which it has received, and hell shall  
give back that which it owes." (li.1)

1. For a good discussion of the genesis of this belief,  
see Volz: op. cit., pp. 234-235

c. Sin

1. The Origin of Evil

Yet sin in the mean time ruled the visible world. It was seen in the oppression by the mighty, in the pride and hardness of the rulers of the earth, in the wickedness and disobedience of nations and individuals.<sup>1</sup> Yet where this sin came from, and how the evil in the world came into existence, were questions which the apocalyptic seer endeavored to answer.

(a) The Story of the Fall of Angels. The story contained in Genesis (6:1) seems to have been the thread to which the apocalyptic poet tied his imagination. The angels, celestial beings, came down to earth in the beginning and committed fornication with the daughters of men. They taught them all the evil things which were a secret in heaven<sup>2</sup> and hence were made responsible for all the suffering which issues out of their evil deed.<sup>3</sup> We shall quote the writer's narrative in full, as it gives us his opinion as to the most fateful evils of his time.

"The name of the first Jeḡōn: that is, the one who led astray (all) the sons of GOD, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the

. . . . .

1. En. xlv.7,8

2. It is not quite clear whether the evil was hidden in heaven or unknown there. Cf. En. xv ff.

3. Cf. Volz: op. cit., pp. 311 ff.

daughters of men. And the second was named Asbeēl: he imparted to the holy sons of GOD evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men. And the third was named Gādreēl: he is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed (the weapons of death to the sons of men), the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore. And the fourth was named Pēnēmūe: he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them; but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power it is consuming me." (lxix.4-11)

(b) Their Preliminary Judgment. The judgment, however, for their evil deeds, shall reach them. They shall be bound for seventy generations in the "valleys of the earth" until their final doom.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Their Final Doom. When the time of reprieve is passed, they will be judged in the last judgment, and punished according to the wickedness of their deeds: "... and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire."<sup>2</sup> The delight with which the seer describes their deserved doom becomes even more understandable when we read the extent to which he

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1. En. x.12 ff. For a discussion of the two conceptions of judgment, see Volz: op. cit., pp. 90 ff.
2. En. xc.24

sees the world afflicted through their trespass.

## 2. The Extent of its Operation

(a) The Earth. The evil forces released through the lust of these angels find themselves incarnated in the powers of oppression and avarice, haughtiness and blasphemy.<sup>1</sup> In a larger degree, however, the demons inhabiting and torturing man and beast<sup>2</sup> are to be regarded as the direct descendants of the adulterous angels. These evil forces, however, are also seen at work in the antitheocratic powers threatening the existence of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Their doom and the final frustration of their opposition to the reign of God is connected with the universal judgment, and with the arrival of the Messiah.<sup>4</sup>

(b) The Cosmos. The fatal consequences of sin, however, are not felt only on earth. They are affecting every created thing, and do not stop before the laws regulating the machinery of the cosmos.<sup>5</sup>

"And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order prescribed; And these shall alter their orbits and tasks, And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them." (lxxx.6)

However, they shall also meet their master. In a vision Enoch is permitted to see the place where the disobedient and punished stars are kept.<sup>6</sup>

. . . . .

1. En. xciv.6,7,8

2. En. xv.8ff. Also Volz: op. cit., pp. 287ff.

3. En. lvi.5-8; Assump. Mos. x.2; Baruch lxxxii.2

4. En. lxii.3,4ff.

5. En. xviii.15

6. En. xvii.15

The rebellion against the will of God found a further foothold among the angels of heaven, and split the celestial unity into two opposing kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> Thus evil permeated the universe, and opposed the good intentions of God to such an extent that we can partly understand that the apocalyptic thinker saw it necessary that the Deliverer, the so-fervently expected Messiah, must be endowed with more than human powers to eradicate sin successfully. Before we turn to this important matter, we have to deal with another aspect of the apocalyptic literature.

### C. The World

#### a. Spiritual

The comprehensiveness of the apocalyptic world-view is strangely enriched by attempts of scientific interpretation of the laws that govern it.

As a whole, the sear finds the world to be divided into two aspects, spiritual and physical. His interest lies in both spheres, and is best expressed by a phrase found in the twenty-fifth chapter, "I wish to know about everything."<sup>2</sup>

The world is governed indirectly by God through spiritual beings. These beings, the angels, have in an act of disobedience divided themselves into powers doing

. . . . .

1. En. 6:3; cf. also xxix.4, liv.6, lxxxvi.1-3, xc.21  
2. En. xxv.2

the will of God on the one hand and powers opposing the will of God on the other.<sup>1</sup>

(1) God's Agents. There is considerably more elaboration on the function of angels than in the Old Testament. God Himself is very seldom pictured as taking part in the government of the world. All necessary duties are performed by angels. Even in the last judgment, the person of the Messiah officiates more dominantly in the duties of the judge and avenger.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, only natural that more personal interest is taken in the immediate agents of God. We find them, therefore, provided with names and definitely-assigned functions.<sup>3</sup> We meet them as protectors of nations and of individuals,<sup>4</sup> as leaders of heavenly armies,<sup>5</sup> as guides and messengers.<sup>6</sup> They have certain tasks to perform, and in various other instances they fulfill the divine obligations connected with the government of the world.

The multitude of angels, again, is divided into groups, differing in rank and occupation. In the twentieth chapter we find the names of seven of them, with exact

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1. En. vi.1

2. En. xlv.3

3. In the book of Enoch we find angels variously designated as "Sons of God," "Sons of Heaven," vi.2, xiii.8, xii.4, xiv.3, ci.1; "Holy ones," i.9, ix.3, xii.2, xxxix.1, &c; sometimes "Stars," lx.1; probably derived from it is "Watchers," i.8, x.9,15, xii.4, xiii.10. Cf. also Schürer: A History of the Jewish People, p. 322

4. En. xx.5

5. En. xxix, xxxiii.10, xxii.6

6. En. lxxi.3

reference to their particular tasks.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Evil Agents. True to the apocalyptic conception of the angelic administrators of the universe, the seer attributes also to the fallen angels certain natural and spiritual tasks. Their names figure quite dominantly in the celestial economy. As the other angels are divided into groups, so do the evil ones also differ in position and duty.<sup>2</sup> At the head of them stand as rulers two fallen angels, Semiazaz and Azazel.<sup>3</sup> Their place in the divine economy is diverse; their influence on man, however, is always evil. They are thought of as being the originators of idolatry, witchcraft, and astrology.<sup>4</sup> They taught the art of war and, strangely enough, industrial sciences, which were considered evil.<sup>5</sup> In this connection it is even stranger that the art of writing was condemned as an invention of the evil one.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Only six are mentioned in the Ethiopic text. Charles adds the name of the seventh, Remiel, from a Greek manuscript. Cf. also Bousset: *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 325; see also En. lxxxi.5, lxxxvii.2
2. En. liii.3, lxii.11, lxiii.1, lxvi.1, etc.
3. Probably from 'Schemchasai,' the hidden name, cf. 'El-chasai,' the hidden power. Cf. also En. vi.7; there are nineteen other evil angels mentioned. Bousset: *op. cit.*, p. 309. Azazel is mentioned in Lev. xvi.8-10; according to article in *Encycl. I*, 394-8, Azazel was a creation of the priests for the purpose of spiritualization of the popular belief in demons. Cf. also Bousset: *op. cit.*, p. 332
4. En. xix.1; viii.3; *ibid.*
5. En. viii.1. An interesting sidelight is the judgment given about the application of cosmetics: "And Azazel made known to them the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all coloring tinctures." (viii.9)



Frequently they are mentioned as the executioners and tormenters of the wicked who had been condemned by God.<sup>1</sup>

b. Physical

The apocalyptic poet betrays considerable interest in the physical side of the world. Doubtless the most fascinating subject for him was astronomy. The Book of Enoch abounds in astronomical descriptions, journeys to the stars, and revelations of celestial secrets.<sup>2</sup> Through all the phantastic theories and descriptions rings an undertone of scientific quest, an endeavor to bring order into the bewildering mass of impressions.

As they are behind every movement on earth, so we find the angels as maintainers of the cosmic harmony in the heavens also.<sup>3</sup> The work is divided among the angels, who have leaders and overseers.<sup>4</sup>

The important luminaries are mentioned by name, and their course and particular characteristics are carefully described.<sup>5</sup> The effects on the earth of the evolutions of the celestial bodies is observed, and attempts are made to systematize the findings.<sup>6</sup> The change of seasons and the alternations of day and night are noticed,

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1. En. x.3, lxiii.1, etc.
2. En. lxii-lxxxii; sections of xxxvii-xliv
3. En. lxxxii.10ff
4. En. lxxxii.13
5. En. lxxxiii, lxxii (sun and moon)
6. En. lxxii.25-26

explained, and subordinated into the animate world view of the seer.

The externals of terrestrial life are equally scrutinized and explained. Angels and demons are again the actors in the interplay of the elements. Storm and lightning, hail and rain are ascribed to the more or less friendly actions of the invisible population of the universe.<sup>1</sup>

#### D. The Messiah

The eschatological drama of the world is crowned by the appearance of a personality who bears Messianic characteristics. We attempt to group the prophecies concerning this most interesting eschatological figure under the four headings of prophecies concerning his origin, manifestation, work, and equipment.

##### a. Origin

There are four terms<sup>2</sup> used to denote the Messiah, of which "Son of Man" and "Elect One" have decidedly the greatest usage.

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1. En. lxxvi.1-14; cf. also Deissmann, Adolph: "Elements"; Encyclopaedia Biblica
2. Son of Man: En. lxxx.5,7,9,14, lxiii.11, lxix.26,27,29, lxx.1, lxxi.14,17  
Elect One: xlix.2,4, li.3,5, lli.6,9, lv.4, lxi.5,8,10  
Anointed: xlviii.10, lli.4  
Righteous One: xxxviii.2, liii.6

The Messianic personality came into existence through an act of choice by God:

"Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness ~~now~~ for ever." (xlv.3)

This choice, further, took place before the creation of the world:

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

Thus, his existence is assumed even before the act of election:

"For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,  
And the Most High preserved Him in the presence of  
His might." (lxii.7)

#### b. Manifestation

This divine and preëxistent personality finally rises and appears before the Lord of Spirits.<sup>1</sup> In this connection, it is to be noted that the description of the Messiah is often vague and does not always bear the signs of a distinct personality.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, we do find actions attributed to him which presuppose an intelligent, active being.

#### c. Work

His work is largely that of a supreme judge.<sup>3</sup>

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1. En. li.5, also xlix.2; lii.9

2. Cf. Messel, Nils: Der Menschensohn in den Bilderreden des Henoch, pp. 39ff

3. En. li.3

In this capacity he will not only judge the wicked but also the holy (angels?).<sup>1</sup> Frequently we have the impression that the Messiah takes the place of God in his judicial function.<sup>2</sup> This is in accord with the apocalyptic conception of sin, which, because of its all-pervading, pernicious influence, requires a God-like personality for its successful eradication.<sup>3</sup>

From the judgment of the angels, the Messiah turns to the condemnation of the powers of darkness, the fallen angels and their wicked leader "Azazel and all his associates, and all his hosts" meet their final doom from his hand.<sup>4</sup>

Then follows the conviction of those who had been misled by the fallen angels, and who in their stubborn conduct had despised the law of God.<sup>5</sup> The kings and the mighty ones, the rich oppressors, are the special victims of his wrath and retribution:

"And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats,  
And the strong from their thrones,  
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,  
And break the teeth of the sinners." (xlv.4)

With their power crumbles also the strength of their heathen kingdoms:

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1. En. xxvii.3; lxi.8
2. En. li.3
3. Vide supra pp. 62f
4. En. lv.4
5. En. lxii.5

"As wax before the fire  
And like the water that streams down from above."  
(lfi.6)

Beside his judicial function, the Messiah appears as revealer of hidden treasures. The context of this passage, however, indicates that heavenly treasures are meant.<sup>1</sup>

Very significantly, his mission is described in another passage of the Book of Similitudes as being a "staff and a saviour" to the righteous and a light to the Gentiles.<sup>2</sup> The genuineness of this verse, however, is questioned.<sup>3</sup>

#### d. Equipment

The Messiah was endowed with divine power and authority for his world-wide mission. The seer does not hesitate to attribute to him all the essentials which are the prerequisites of God.<sup>4</sup> With special delight, however, he dwells on the attributes of righteousness and justice, essentials indeed for a judgment of such magnitude.<sup>5</sup>

Another most important requirement for his tremendous task is wisdom, which, according to the visions, he possesses to an extraordinary degree.<sup>6</sup> Behind his wisdom and justice, however, stand the power and glory of

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1. En. xlvi.3
2. En. li.3; xlviii.4
3. Cf. Messel: op. cit., p. 50ff
4. Cf. Bousset: op. cit., pp. 230ff
5. En. lxi.2ff, xlvi.7
6. En. xlix.3, li.3

God which makes the execution of the sentences possible. Yet this power and glory are not something borrowed from God, nor some reflection of the Almighty, but the rightful heritage of the Messiah "for ever and ever."<sup>1</sup>

#### PART IV: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This is a type of apocalyptic literature which we find had taken the place of the prophetic writings during the intertestament period. They came out as the religious expression of the time, as in the centuries before the prophetic writings had appeared. However, the change is too obvious to be overlooked. The simplicity of the prophetic books was supplanted by an elaborate style; the rudimentary, "thus saith Jehovah," by fantastic visions and ecstatic revelations. And yet undeniable prophetic elements are evident amid the bizarreness of most of the speculations.

With a clearness and insight which amazes us we find the divine Messiah predicted. Granted that his picture as found in the Book of Enoch might have been interpolated by later editors, the fact nevertheless remains that the writers especially of the Book of Similitudes had a vision of the need of salvation, and an understanding of the necessary endowments of the Messiah,

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1. En. xlix.2

which truly can be called prophetic.

Close to the amazing Messianic predictions stands the religious fervor which runs all through the book; a fervor, however, which realized the divine possibilities in the human limitations. The writers of the Book of Enoch felt the discord between reality and the ideal keenly, and they betrayed their wounded sense of justice in the fierce condemnation of sin and its servants. Yet they bent themselves down to their suffering brethren with comfort, soothing their hurt with exalted visions of future bliss.

We recognize, further, in the writers of our book not only visionary and ecstatic dreamers, who lived apart from reality, but also thinkers wrestling with the problems of their time. We find them involved in questions of astronomy, geology, and last but not least, philosophy. It seems that the latter was very dominant in their minds. Throughout the whole book we have noted an undertone of meditation and of philosophic contemplation. The problem of evil versus the moral character of God, the question of the end and aim of history, the final integration of the present course of the world and the demands of the moral good; all these questions find their attempted solutions. The apocalyptic writers of the Book of Enoch were assuredly thinkers.

The full weight of the contribution of the apoca-

lyptic writers can not, however, be comprehended apart from an understanding of the religious situation of the time in which they wrote. With so much information concerning the characteristics of apocalyptic literature as we have been able to deduce from this object of our special attention, let us now turn to the Hellenistic period of Judaism with the purpose in mind of discovering the possible contributions of books of this type to religious men and women during the last two centuries before the arrival of our Lord.



## CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS NEED OF JUDAISM  
MET BY THE APOCALYPTIC WRITERS

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### THE RELIGIOUS NEED OF JUDAISM MET BY THE APOCALYPTIC WRITERS

#### PART ONE: RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT FOLLOWING THE RETURN FROM CAPTIVITY

The Hebrews ceased to exist as a nation when Nebuchadrezzar destroyed Jerusalem and took most of its inhabitants to Babylon.<sup>1</sup> This deportation terminated a series of expatriations which drained the nation of its best elements.<sup>2</sup> With the destruction of the city and the dissolution of the nation, however, a religious process started which was of the greatest consequence for later Judaism. We see the beginnings of it already in the Book of Jeremiah. The superstitious trust of the people in the externals of religion, such as in the temple and in the sacrifices, proved to be a great hindrance to the prophetic message of repentance.<sup>3</sup> Over and over again Jeremiah placed his emphasis on the union of moral conduct and true worship, rather than on the fulfillment of rites and ceremonies.

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1. Jer. lli.15

2. Jer. lli.28-30; cf. Jer. xxiv

3. Cf. Jer. vii.4,8-11,21-23

The incidents after the destruction of Jerusalem prove that the import of his message had not been comprehended.<sup>1</sup> In the reasonings of the remnant, left in Palestine under the governorship of Gedaliah, the same arguments are advanced which the prophet had labored so hard to undo.<sup>2</sup> The people had not yet learned to express their worship and devotion in the integrity of an ethical conduct, rather than in the fulfillment of ceremonies on sacred sites.

With the destruction of the externals of the Jewish faith, therefore, and with the disappearance of temple and sacrifice, a large number of Israelites were in danger of losing their faith. Disillusioned and unsettled, the captives went to the plains of Babylon, and it took the labors of prophets like Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah to restore their faith.<sup>3</sup>

The Jewish captive found himself in an intense pagan environment in Babylon. He met religion garbed in gross idolatry and sensuality. He compared the teaching and practice of his heathen neighbors, and found his own faith far superior.<sup>4</sup> The lesson which Jeremiah failed to teach his contemporaries was now understood in the strain and trial of captivity. The temple, the outward manifes-

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1. Vide supra p. 33

2. Cf. Jer. xlii, xliii, and vide supra p. 34

3. Cf. Kent: The Growth and Contents of the Old Testament, p. 120

4. Cf. Isa. xlvi.1

tation of God's presence, had been taken away; yet the worship of Jehovah did not fall with it, but, freed from the bonds of formalism, it arose anew in a purer form. The captives now realized that the soul of their religion was not a symbolic ritual around an altar in Zion, not a formalism centered in the temple at Jerusalem, but a living faith in the one God who reveals His will through His law, and His council through the mouth of His prophets.

#### PART TWO: THE NEW COMMONWEALTH OF REPATRIATED ISRAEL

The lesson which God wanted to be taught had apparently been learned, for His providence opened again a way for an outward change. Under Cyrus (536 B.C.), the captives were allowed to return to Palestine, and at least a section of them did so.<sup>1</sup>

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah provide us with the record of their courageous labor and their gradual success. The feeble colony, in constant danger from hostile neighbors, succeeded in establishing a healthy commonwealth, which in the course of the centuries was able to weather many a dangerous storm. It is a most interesting task to trace the history of the young colony. For the purposes of our study, however, we must confine our-

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1. Ezra i.1, ii.1ff. For reasons why a great number chose to stay in Babylon rather than return to Judea, see Maynard, John A.: The Birth of Judaism, pp. ivff.

selves to the religious aspects of the new commonwealth.

a. Its Religious Foundations

1. The Mosaic Law

No observer of the religious life of Judaism, after the return from the exile, fails to call our attention to the fact that the religious emphasis underwent drastic changes.<sup>1</sup> The forces which brought about the restoration under Nehemiah and Ezra were predominantly religious as opposed to merely political.<sup>2</sup> The new establishment bore, therefore, the seal of a theocratic rather than of a political association. The necessities of government, however, demanded some central authority and some form of constitution or written code. The religious forces of reborn Judaism, on the other hand, were strong enough to oppose any attempt at their relegation to a secondary place in the administration of the commonwealth. The interplay of will and necessity found its expression in the adoption of a priest-governed theocracy, in which the Mosaic Law filled the place of the constitution.

This development was favored by the experience of the captivity. There the true contribution of the He-

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1. So Schürer: A History of the Jewish People, I, Vol. I, pp. 188, 193; also Maynard: op. cit., pp. 108 ff; also Fairweather: The Background of the Gospels, p. 14
2. Neh. viii.1

brew faith was revealed to the hearts and minds of the exiles. In addition to the necessary reduction and spiritualization of their worship, they found themselves compelled to fall back on the essentials of their faith. What were these essentials? Doubtless, they were the records of the historical witnesses to this faith and hence, with peculiar emphasis, the Mosaic Law. Thus the Law which they had previously transgressed and disobeyed, and whose precepts the prophets had tried in vain to impress on their idol-bent minds, became now the treasure and essence of their faith. Their religious energy, which previously had been spent on idolatrous practices and empty formalism, was now at work to make Judaism a religion of the book. This tendency was greatly aided by the forces which had been released by Josiah through his Deuteronomistic reforms.

Thus in a wonderful way several events contributed to the spiritual liberation of Judaism, strengthening the elements of abiding value in it, and weakening its more material aspects.

## 2. The Synagogue

Besides the spiritualizing of religion, the other contribution of the exile as a testing time was the synagogue. We have no information as to the place and time of its origin, but the preceding spiritual development of Judaism during the captivity seems to point defi-

nitely to the exile as its birthplace. Professor Maynard sees the incentive for the formation of the synagogue in the immediate spiritual need of the captives:

"We can only suppose that during the captivity the same persons who taught children to read Hebrew were also called upon to read aloud to adults out of the sacred documents, old and new."<sup>1</sup>

There is no question that the synagogue became one of the best and most essential strongholds of later Judaism. Without its previous development, legalism could not have taken the road which, as we shall see, it had chosen.

#### b. Its Religious Leaders—The Scribes

While the Law to which the prophets were apt to refer had a strong ethical emphasis, the law of Ezra was essentially a ceremonial law. Proudly the postexilic Jew differentiated himself from the Gentiles by the ritual aspects of the divine ordinances. Ethical laws were also to a certain degree found among the nations, yet none of these could boast the possession of a divinely appointed set of rules for daily conduct.<sup>2</sup>

This emphasis and the veneration of the Law found its most striking expression in the rise of a special order who, under the name of "scribes," devoted themselves to the study and exegesis of the law. We can trace the beginnings of this order even in the book of Ezra. We

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1. Maynard: op. cit., p. 127

2. Fairweather: op. cit., p. 15

are told in Ezra vii.7 that Ezra was "a ready scribe in the law of Moses." In verse 11, the idea of the merely scribal function is transcended; Ezra is described as the scribe (sopher) "of the words of the commandments of Jehovah and of his statutes to Israel." Bousset, König, Sellin,<sup>1</sup> and others, regard this rightly as the first indication of the interpretative occupation which became so dominant with the later scribes.<sup>2</sup>

Thus we see how the emphasis on the interpretation of the divine Law grew in dominance, and placing itself beside the priestly emphasis on the execution of the Law it formed an important aspect of the religious life of postexilic Judaism.

The degree of veneration paid to the Law becomes even more apparent when it is seen in the authority and respect which it gave to its representatives. Numerous references in the New Testament testify to the honor which was paid to them. Most commonly the appellation "rabbi," my lord, was used.<sup>3</sup> Translated into Greek, it took the form κύριος or διδάσκαλος, teacher.<sup>4</sup> Beside these we find πατήρ and καθηγητής.<sup>5</sup>

Yet even more significant are their own social

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1. Bousset: Die Religion des Judentums, p. 162  
König, Eduard: Geschichte der Alttestamentlichen Religion, p. 416  
Sellin: Einleitung in das Alte Testament, p. 46
2. Schürer: op. cit., p. 188
3. Matthew xxiii.7, etc.
4. Matthew viii.2,6,8,21,25, etc.; viii.9, etc.
5. Matthew xxiii.9ff



demands. Mark, quoting Jesus in one of His discourses, gives their claims pointedly as desiring "to walk in long robes, and to have salutations in the market places, and chief seats in the synagogues, and chief places at the feasts."<sup>1</sup>

c. Its Religious Expression

1. Legalism

Let us look for a moment at the direction in which their labors pointed the religious life of the nation. Nothing can be more descriptive than quotations from the results of some of their exegesis.

The passages in the Pentateuch dealing with the prohibition of work on the Sabbath were favorite fields for their interpretation.<sup>2</sup> With great ingenuity the scribes finally deduced thirty-nine types of work which were forbidden during the Sabbath. All of those thirty-nine special prohibitions were of course in their turn subject to further casuistic interpretations.

According to Exodus xv.23, e.g. it was forbidden to bake and to boil on the Sabbath day. The food, therefore, which had to be prepared the day before, could not have been warmed anew over an ordinary fire. Equally, it could not be stored away in substances that were liable

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1. Mark xii.38

2. Schürer: op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 96

to increase its heat. Thus, it could not be put into

"oil-dregs, manure, salt, chalk, or sand, whether moist or dry, nor in straw, grape-skins, flock, or vegetables, if these are damp, though it may if they are dry. It may, however, be put into clothes, amidst fruits, pigeons' feathers and flax-tow. Rabbi Jehudah declares flax-tow unallowable, and permits only coarse-tow."<sup>1</sup>

This meticulous interpretation and materialistic elaboration of religious prohibitions extended over all the fields of human activities, yet it caused special havoc in the spiritual realm. The divine Law thus interpreted became less and less an aid to living. Rather it became a chart of human obligations which formed one part of the contract with which God, as it was believed, related Himself to His chosen race.

This becomes especially clear when we consider some of the ordinances concerning the most spiritual occupation, the practice of prayer. The two prayers then customary for daily usage were the Shema and the Shemoneh Esreh.<sup>2</sup> They were, of course, also made the subject of casuistic argumentations. The regulation that the Shema should be offered daily in the mornings invited the wit of the scribes to determine exactly the hour and extent of the respective intervals. Thus the morning Shema may be

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1. Shabbath iv.1 and the commentary in Surenhusius' Mishna, ii.18; quoted by Schürer: op. cit., II, Vol. II, p. 99
2. It is doubtful whether the latter was in common usage during the Maccabean time. It shows evidences at least of later recensions. For details, v. Schürer: op. cit., pp. 83ff

said, according to Rabbi Elieser, as soon as one can distinguish between blue and leek-green.<sup>1</sup> Rabbi Joshua shows himself more considerate with late risers by determining the exact time of the morning prayer at nine o'clock.<sup>2</sup>

The same casuistic efforts were undertaken to determine the hour and the minute of the evening prayer, and we find it at work all through the spiritual experiences of the nation.

It is evident from what has been said that a righteous life based on the fulfillment of such minute details of a carefully worked out code could be attained only with the aid of a thorough knowledge of the particular prohibitions which posed as aids to righteousness. The scribes became, therefore, the teachers of the nation. Their methods were rather crude, seen from the standpoint of modern pedagogy. Their aim was not to stimulate intelligent understanding of the venerated Law but rather to transmit as perfectly as possible the content matter of their elaborations and casuistic exegesis. The Pirke Aboth<sup>3</sup> gives us the picture of an ideal pupil as one who is "like a well of chalk, which loses not a drop of water."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Berachoth I, 1; quoted by Schürer: op. cit., p. 115
2. Berachoth I, 11; *ibid*
3. A collection of sayings of Jewish rabbis; cf. Volz: *Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde*, p. 82, or a more elaborate treatment in Bousset: op. cit., p. 42
4. Schürer: op. cit., II, 8; cf. König: op. cit., pp. 418 ff.

It is evident that with this terrible externalization of religion there was little room left for individual religious expression in different channels. The tendency of intolerance against everything except the Law is best seen in the efforts which were made to prepare some of the prophetic books for their admission into the canon.

## 2. The Formation of the Canon

The canon was formed, according to König,<sup>1</sup> in the time and under the active participation of Ezra. It was in line with the spirit of the new theocratic community to have a set of books which contained the Mosaic Law, and which, according to the tradition, were handed down from Moses, lifted out of the ordinary religious literature and sharply distinguished from it.

The criterion for canonization was divine inspiration. The Pentateuch was therefore canonized, because it was believed that it contained the authentic word of God.

In regard to the prophetic books it was more

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1. There is, however, considerable dispute as to how far Ezra and Nehemiah were actively engaged in the canonization of the Pentateuch. Some, as Bousset: *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 143; Cornill: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 68, believe that only the Priestly Document was deemed worthy of canonization. König's argument, however, that Ezra combined the extant documents and formed the Pentateuch seems to be nearer the truth (op. cit.). Sellin also agrees with him: op. cit., pp. 47ff., and Wellhausen: *Prolegomena*, p. 434

difficult to come to an agreement. Since inspiration was in the main granted only to Moses, the originator of the Law, a prophetic book had to be in perfect harmony with it in order to be recognized. In the case of Ezekiel<sup>1</sup> some divergencies caused a dispute, and we are told that Gamaliel I by burning three hundred units of oil (meaning, by hard labor) accomplished the corrections which made its admission into the canon possible.<sup>2</sup>

The canon of the Old Testament, then, as it was fixed by 200 B.C., comprised the Torah of Moses; "the Former Prophets," i.e. the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; and the "Later Prophets," i.e. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve.<sup>3</sup>

The words of the prophetic books, however, were never as binding as the words of the Law proper. A reader, e.g., was permitted to omit sentences or paragraphs in a passage from the prophets, while a like omission from the Law was a grievous sin.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. The Cessation of Prophecy

This spirit of formalism and the narrow limitation to prescribed channels of inspiration made it impossible for any religious personality to be heard. When the

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1. Ezek. xl-xlvi

2. Bousset: op. cit., based on Shabbath 13, Chagiga 13 a.; according to König: op. cit., p. 423, however, it was Rabbi Chananja

3. Cf. Bewer, Julius A.: The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development, p. 427

4. Mi. Megilla 4,4; König: op. cit., p. 423

Law was considered the authentic and final word of God, when it was taught and expounded as the all-sufficient divine prescription for men in all states of life,<sup>1</sup> the counsel and admonition of inspired prophets became increasingly superfluous. Professor Maynard is right when he says: "Prophetism, being preaching with a vision, flourishes not when faith is not bewildered by uncertainty."<sup>2</sup> The prophet, as seen in the treatment of Jeremiah, was always speaking to a definite religious need of the time. He stood realistically with both feet on the ground and registered in his sensitive soul all the many problems and needs of his contemporaries. His spiritual contact with the divine, however, made him able to supply their want of guidance and to fill the seat of the counsellor.

Not so now. There existed no need for spiritual guidance; there was no problem of the Jewish soul which the Law and its expounders did not claim to meet. The prophets were dead, but the law was alive. This spirit is admirably expressed in the words of the Apocalypse of Baruch:

"Know ye, moreover, that in former times and in the generations of old those our fathers had helpers, righteous men and holy prophets; ... And they helped us when we sinned and they interceded for us to Him Who made us, because they trusted in their works, And the Mighty One heard their prayer and forgave us.

. . . . .

1. Schürer: A History of the Jewish People, II, ii, p.125
2. Maynard: *op. cit.*, p. 104

"But now the righteous have been gathered, AND THE PROPHETS HAVE FALLEN ASLEEP, And we also have gone forth from the land, And Zion hath been taken from us, AND WE HAVE NOTHING NOW SAVE THE ALMIGHTY AND HIS LAW."<sup>1</sup>

The cessation of prophecy is very difficult to explain fully because we have no exact knowledge of the literature of the time.<sup>2</sup> However, there seem to have been some serious limitations of the prophetic theology which excluded prophets of the types known through historical tradition from participation in the religious life of Hellenistic Judaism.

This limitation is most clearly seen in the inadequate teaching of the prophet concerning sin and its punishment. It greatly stressed the ethical duties of the individual, but treated retribution en masse.<sup>3</sup> It directed its appeal for repentance to the individual, but kept largely only the well-being of the nation in mind.<sup>4</sup> The returning captives, however, were only a mere part of the nation. The experience of the migration had taught them the worth of the individual and had greatly enlarged their horizon. The core of the message of the prophet, therefore, found no adequate echo in the nation and thus became powerless.<sup>5</sup>

Another inherent mistake of literary prophecy was its neglect of some fundamental religious urges of

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1. Apoc. Baruch lxxxv.1-3
2. Bousset: op. cit., p. 470
3. Maynard: op. cit., p. 104
4. Cf. Jer. xv.4
5. Maynard: op. cit., p. 105

the human soul. In its emphasis on a religion of the heart it forgot the importance of the form. In their stress on inwardness the prophets failed to leave sufficient room for such religious expressions as sacrifice, ritual, and outward form.<sup>1</sup>

The moment, however, when this prophetic emphasis found no vigorous supporter, the moment when no great and outstanding religious personality arose to take the helm of the precariously balanced Jewish church, then we find her drifting toward renewed emphasis on form and ritual. We have seen how this took place in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah and how it continued during the following Hellenistic period. Bousset seems to be justified in saying that

"Wherever the higher faith of a people becomes brittle or is threatening to disintegrate, while new and higher forms do not yet exist, so in all periods of transition, the older and lower forms of faith reappear from the soul of the people."<sup>2</sup>

The authorities seem to agree that the Hellenistic period of Judaism was characterized with an appalling lack of religious personalities.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Bousset: op. cit., pp. 105ff

2. Ibid., p. 336

3. Especially Schürer: op. cit., pp. 193ff



PART THREE: THE RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTION  
OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

Let us now turn to our initial proposition and try to determine the possible religious contributions of a type of religious literature such as is found in the Book of Enoch.

Our survey of the general religious situation of Judaism had revealed the dominance of form and legalism in the religious approach to God. This tendency had been strengthened by the apparent lack of leading prophetic personalities. The increase of formalism and the deification of the Law failed to meet the religious need of the people as much as the former prophetic emphasis on heart religion had failed to supply the needs for form and ritual. However, now we find the situation exactly reversed. Outward form and routine had pressed spirituality into an iron cast, while legalism kept its eyes open for the complete identification of Judaism with this special interpretation of religion.

a. The Apocalyptic offered an Outlet to  
Repressed Religious Enthusiasm

It is a psychological law that impression without expression results in the loss of the impression. This principle holds just as true in religion as in pedagogy. Legalistic Judaism of late Hellenism failed to provide sufficient outlet for religious expression outside

of the strict fulfillment of the Law. When prayers had to be uttered in a certain form at a certain time of the day in a way exactly regulated by minute ordinances, and when all religious activities centered themselves in a huge DO NOT, then, we hold, somewhere and somehow the healthy religious instinct of a people will seek for another way of expression. In providing this possibility of expression, we see one of the religious contributions of the apocalyptic literature. It is not that its writers were hostile toward the Law and its ordinances. The frequent commendatory references to the law in Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and other apocalyptic books, would easily discredit this view,<sup>1</sup> but the very writing of the apocalyptic books seems to betray a spiritual need of the time for expression of religious feeling.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1. In its Representation of Old Testament Characters

We see this outlet of religious enthusiasm in the apocalyptic literature expressed in its representation of Old Testament characters.

It is in the nature of the deep respect and the love which the Jew cherished for his Scriptures, that he lets his imagination play around the Biblical characters

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1. Cf. Bk. of Jubilees, ii.33, vi.17ff, xiii.26, xv.29; Apoc. of Baruch, xlviii.22, xvii.4, xxxii.1, xli.3; Sib. III. 719 ff. Philo, vita Mos. ii.43ff.
2. We agree with Bousset and Fairweather in regarding the apocalyptic literature as a product of Jewish lay circles, rather than as writings of Pharisees and Sadducees.

who have meant so much in the spiritual history of his nation. Let us take up some of the Biblical personalities who are made the objects of reverent contemplation.

Beginning in chronological order, we find Adam mentioned quite frequently. The fact that he was created by God personally and after His image made him an interesting object for contemplation. He is mentioned commendatorily and derogatorily.<sup>1</sup> His great sin, however, is forgiven and he inhabits the paradise with his great descendants, the patriarchs and the prophets.<sup>2</sup> And

"At the end of days he shall be among those who rise first." "He shall be among the blessed and redeemed ones who will inhabit the new earth."<sup>3</sup>

In describing these personalities, we must keep in mind that there is little uniformity as to the order of events or places of habitation.<sup>4</sup>

We have discussed Enoch in our treatment of the apocalyptic content attributed to him.<sup>5</sup> There he is mentioned as the scribe of heaven, and special importance is attributed to him as a witness of God and intercessor for the suffering faithful.<sup>6</sup>

The significance of Noah is seen in a similar light. He also becomes the revealer of hidden celestial

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1. En. lx.8, and Vita Ad. l2 ff.; Bar. xlviii.42, and Esr. vii.118
2. Volz: Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde, p. 397
3. Philo, bios. 28.41; quoted by Volz: op. cit., p. 236; Test. Joseph. 19
4. Volz: op. cit., p. 397
5. Cf. pp. 43ff. supra
6. En. xii.3ff

secrets.<sup>1</sup> His body will take part in the general resurrection.<sup>2</sup>

The most important part, however, is given to Moses. He was the deliverer from the bondage of Egypt, and the originator of the deeply-venerated Torah. He is therefore the most highly esteemed of all the prophets and wise men of Israel.<sup>3</sup> In the little Apocalypse of Moses, he even takes the place of the Messiah as the future redeemer of his nation.<sup>4</sup> An interesting reflection of the love for tombs and memorials for the dead prophets, which was criticized by Jesus,<sup>5</sup> can be found in the idea that the tomb for his body shall be the whole earth, thus denoting his superiority above all other men buried in sepulchres.<sup>6</sup> He is become the intercessor for his nation and shall return with Elijah to defeat, as of yore, all oppression.

Next, we find the patriarchs being the objects of special veneration. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were familiar figures to all Jews. In the picture of their future bliss they could not be missing. They will be present in paradise to receive the martyrs for the cause of their faith.<sup>7</sup> They are not dead, but continue living

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1. Jub. x.10

2. Test. Benj. x.; quoted by Volz: op. cit., p. 236

3. Bar. lix.1ff; xvii.4

4. Apoc. Mos. i.14

5. Luke xi.47ff

6. Apoc. Mos. xi.8

7. IV Macc. xvi.25

in God, making intercession for their descendants.<sup>1</sup> They live in a sort of heavenly community, while their bodies are awaiting resurrection.<sup>2</sup>

The simple man, however, dreamt more about the return of the beloved hero-king David than about any other figure of the Old Testament. With anxious eyes he searched the Scriptures for justification of his hope. Hence, with increasing clearness the son of David takes on supernatural traits.<sup>3</sup>

In this connection it is interesting to note that it was always a historical personality whose return as eschatological savior was expected. One group looked for Moses, others for Elijah, and many for David.<sup>4</sup>

We could go on enumerating the Old Testament personalities in whom the contemplative Jew saw special evidences of divine favor. Jeremiah, Baruch, Daniel, and Ezra are some of the outstanding ones whom we have not hitherto discussed. The teaching concerning them is also very conflicting. The general reference toward them and the increasing interest in their personalities, however, proves that we are dealing here with religious emotions which did not find adequate expression in the frame of the legalistic piety of official Judaism.

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1. Philo, de exerc. 166; quoted by Volz: op. cit., p. 236
2. En. lxx.4; Test. Judah, xxv
3. Ps. Sal. xviii f
4. Cf. Bousset: Die Religion des Judentums, p. 362

## 2. In its Portrayal of Heavenly Places

Another form of the repressed expression of religious sentiment can be seen in the elaborate portrayal of heavenly places. We must keep in mind that the underlying philosophy of Jewish legalism was based on a reward theory. Man in fulfilling the ordinances of the Law was the justified claimant of the divine reward. This reward was at first purely materialistic, comprising happiness on earth, but became, in the course of the development of Judaism, increasingly transcendent and supernatural.<sup>1</sup> Thus the reward became spiritualized and was transferred to heaven. In the frequent and elaborate descriptions of heaven, then, the pious Jew found a release from the painful tension of religious disappointment. These descriptions of the future life filled heaven with the content-matter of human experience.

This heaven will be a reward primarily for the faithful children of Israel.<sup>2</sup> There wisdom and justice shall reign, while the righteous "shall shine as the stars."<sup>3</sup> The presence of the patriarchs and the angels will make the heavenly home even dearer and more familiar to the faithful.<sup>4</sup>

The realistic imagination of the place of future reward for the just as well as the unjust added consider-

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1. Bousset: op. cit., p. 276
2. Ass. Mos. x
3. Dan. xii.3
4. Bar. v.1

ably to the motivation for right living, thus stabilizing the often severely-tested faith of the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. In its Descriptions of Raptures

The third outlet of religious enthusiasm which was offered in and through the apocalyptic literature can be found in the descriptions of the raptures of the apocalyptic seer. Contrasted with the dryness of the scribal expositions of the Law, the descriptions of the celestial voyages of the dreamer aided greatly the religious imagination. They doubtless served as an incentive to greater loyalty to the faith of the fathers to whom, because of the righteousness of their earthly lives, these visions had been granted.<sup>2</sup>

Bousset rightly considers the frequent descriptions and visions in the apocalyptic literature a sign of the still active Jewish gift of spiritual apprehension.<sup>3</sup>

Connected with the accounts of these raptures are psychological details which are in conformity with the general phenomena of this kind,<sup>4</sup> e.g. we read in Enoch:

"And I fell on my face, and my whole body became relaxed, And my spirit was transfigured; And I cried with a loud voice, ... with the spirit of power, And blessed and gloried and extolled." (xcl.11)

No doubt there was a genuine experience underlying the

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1. Cf. Volz: op. cit., p. 130

2. Cf. Kittel, G.: Die Religionsgeschichte und das Urchristentum, p. 63

3. Cf. Bousset: op. cit., p. 395

4. Cf. Pratt, James B.: The Religious Consciousness, p.421

description. This could not have been written without acquaintance with ecstatic experiences.<sup>1</sup>

In most cases these experiences are associated with the divine Spirit. Enoch called his sons around him because "the spirit is poured out upon him."<sup>2</sup> Rebecca pronounces the blessing over Jacob after the "spirit of truth" had come over her.<sup>3</sup> Upon Isaac comes the "spirit of prophecy" while he blesses Levi and Judah.<sup>4</sup> It is true that all these raptures are attributed to characters of the Old Testament. Their frequent recurrence, however, and the mass of pictorial details not taken from the Old Testament originals, indicate that the writers must have had some intimate contact with experiences of the same or a similar kind.

b. The Apocalyptic offered a Supplement to the Prophetic Teaching

Besides serving as the needed outlet of religious enthusiasm, the teaching content of the apocalyptic literature was a valuable supplement to the prophetic teaching on retribution.

Professor Maynard has noted the inadequate reasoning of literary prophecy. The wholesale condemnation of the nation for the sins of individuals, and, most of all, the argument that the captivity was the deserved

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1. Cf. Bousset: op. cit., p. 395

2. En. xci.1

3. Jub. xxv.14

4. Jub. xxxi.12; cf. also xl.5



punishment of God for the sins of the nation, had become increasingly difficult to accept. The captives had come in contact, during the exile, with idolatrous and corrupt nations who, in spite of their moral faults, lived in apparent prosperity. This obvious injustice was hard to reconcile with the prophetic reasoning. Should Israel be the only nation to feel the wrath of God for her sins, or was the exile not a direct consequence of her failure? It is very difficult to trace the Jewish reasoning, because of our lack of contemporary documents,<sup>1</sup> but we can be certain that such questions were the ferment of the apparent discontent with the equation: Israel sinned, hence Israel's captivity.<sup>2</sup>

Reasoning by analogy, we may see a certain parallel development in post-war Germany. The wholesale allied accusation that Germany is to be held responsible for the World War became, with the growth of German self-consciousness, more and more intolerable. The younger generation especially felt the sting of discrimination more keenly than it probably had been intended, until finally the forces of protest rallied and abrogated the obligations which issued from the verdict. There are lacking, of course, evidences for such a common and public protest against the accusation of the prophets that the

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1. Bousset: *op. cit.*, p. 470; cf. also Maynard: *The Birth of Judaism*, pp. 104ff
2. Bousset: *ibid.*

sin of Israel caused the captivity of the nation. This would have been impossible with the reverence of the orthodox Jewry for their religious leaders. But we can agree with Professor Maynard that the inner logic of the case, slowly working among the nation, pushed the prophetic solution to the problem of suffering gradually into the background.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, after the theory of universal suffering for individual sin had slowly been driven into the background, a religious need arose for a more satisfying explanation of the justice of God. The same practical experience that had put the first theory out of effect demanded another one capable of supplying the practical demand for divine justice and its intelligent and satisfactory explanation.

This theory was offered by the apocalyptic writers through their doctrine of the future life.

#### 1. In its Faith in Immortality

A survey of the teachings concerning the future life shows much inconsistency, a sign of a process of fermentation which had not reached its termination in our period.<sup>2</sup>

Josephus gives us an interesting description of

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1. Maynard: op. cit., p. 105

2. Bousset: Die Jüdische Apokalyptik, p. 66

a form of belief in the future life common among the Jewish sect of the Essenes.<sup>1</sup> They taught that the body is subject to decay but the soul is immortal. The soul or the spirit of man lives before the incarnation in an ætheric realm, in bliss and happiness. However, tempted by sensual pleasures, the individual souls leave their lofty domicile and take on human flesh, discovering too late that they have been deceived. The longing of the soul from the moment of incarnation is to be freed again from the bonds of the body. After death this longing shall be fulfilled and the soul shall soar again toward its original home. The bad ones, however, shall be appointed to a "dark and tempestuous den, full of never-ceasing punishment."<sup>2</sup> These conceptions of the Essenes gain in importance when we accept the position of Wellhausen, J. E. H. Thompson, Ginsburg, Friedländer and others who attribute the apocalyptic literature largely to Essene authorship.<sup>3</sup>

We also find a strong belief in the future life in the Fourth Book of Maccabees. It is taught there that the soul is imperishable,<sup>4</sup> hence the righteous and pious achieve in their death the "athanasia."<sup>5</sup> The martyrs of God are not to perish, but like the patriarchs are to live in God.<sup>6</sup> After their endurance of the trials and hard-

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1. Josephus, Wars, II, viii.11ff. For a thorough treatment of the Essenes see Schürer: A History of the Jewish People, Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 189ff; also Bousset: Die Religion des Judentums, pp. 456-465
2. Josephus, Wars, ibid. (Notes continued next page.)

ships of life, they will stand near the throne of God and inhabit His heaven in eternal happiness.<sup>1</sup>

The same faith in the immortality of the soul is expressed in the Testament of Job,<sup>2</sup> and among other apocalyptic writings last but not least in our source book, the Book of Enoch.<sup>3</sup> A strong element of apocalyptic belief in immortality is also apparent in the writings of Philo.<sup>4</sup> He teaches that man is at the same time a mortal and immortal; mortal in relation to his body, immortal in his power of thought.<sup>5</sup> He also teaches that the soul is a being created by God with a free will able to choose between two realms of existence. Driven by a desire for sensual pleasures, however, the soul became incarnated into a human body.<sup>6</sup> Dissatisfied with the corruptible shell, its highest ambition and greatest desire is to be redeemed from it. Hence, those who after a life of testing of their higher desire for redemption are found worthy, return in the death of the body to the Ruler of the world.<sup>7</sup>

Thus new vistas were opened by the apocalyptic

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1. IV Macc. xvii.5
2. Test. Job xxxix.12; lxi.10
3. En. lxxiff, cii ff, cviiiff
4. The references to Philo's writings are taken from Volz: Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde, p. 268
5. Philo: de opif. mundi 134
6. Philo: de sommis I, 138
7. Philo: res. divin. 283

(Continued from page 100:)

3. Cf. Fairweather: The Background of the Gospels, p.255ff
4. IV Macc. xiv.6
5. IV Macc. xiv.5 and xvi.13
6. IV Macc. xvii.18

writers and a new way was shown leading out of the prophetic dilemma. Because of this faith the believer need no longer be downcast and unable to answer the derisions of scoffers, but could draw new hope from this hope in a future life and could be sustained by this new power in his ethical conduct.

## 2. In its Belief in the Resurrection of the Body

Even more specifically apocalyptic than the belief in a future life, is the conviction of the resurrection of the dead.<sup>1</sup> We are not certain when this belief appeared for the first time,<sup>2</sup> but it seems to have achieved widespread popularity since its clear-cut expression in the Book of Daniel.<sup>3</sup> From here it gained recognition in most of the other apocalyptic books.

The possibility of resurrection seems at first to have been limited only to the righteous, but during the Maccabean age it achieved more general proportions.<sup>4</sup> Because of the different authorships of the Book of Enoch, we find both conceptions present.<sup>5</sup> In the Book of Simili-

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1. Bousset: op. cit., p. 269
2. Bousset sets the rise of this belief between the third and second century B.C. He fails, however, to include Scripture passages like Ps. xvii.15; xxxix.1; xlix.16; lxxiii.23; Job xix.25f; or Ezek. xxxvii. We do not agree with this omission and therefore refrain ourselves from dating the origin of the belief.
3. Dan. xii.2
4. Bousset: op. cit. p. 269
5. Cf. En. xc.33 (pious), also xci.10; while xxvii.2 (wicked)

tudes, however, we find the concept expressed more clearly and the ideas concerning are more unified.<sup>1</sup>

The Book of Jubilees indicates that the doctrine was not accepted by all apocalyptic writers, for though the ideas of judgment and the future life are present the belief in the resurrection is missing.<sup>2</sup> The apocalyptic literature taken as a whole, however, stresses the resurrection of the righteous more than that of mankind in general.<sup>3</sup>

There was also opposition to and ridicule of the apocalyptic writers' belief in the resurrection. Possibly we find a reflection of it in the words of the writer of Ecclesiasticus:

"For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; and man hath no preeminence above the beasts: for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again." (iii.19f)

However, the faith in the resurrection from the dead was too vital a contribution to the prophetic teaching on retribution to be dropped from the faith of the people. It lingered on together with the other forms of transcendental faith, and furnished part of the strength and the courage of confession which preferred the sacrifice of life to the betrayal of the national hope.

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1. En. 11.1-3; xlv.1-3; lxi.5; c f. also IV Esr. vii.32

2. Jub. xxiii.30

3. Cf. esp. Test. of XII Patriarchs: Sim. 16; Lev. 18; Judah 25; Zeb. 10

### 3. In its Doctrine of the Messiah

This national hope, however, concentrated itself in the most personal way in the doctrine of the eschatological king. With him, as with the Old Testament Messiah, the political and national hopes of the nation are connected, yet political was almost synonymous with religious in the Jewish theocracy. The theocentric aspect of Messiah's reign had been accentuated in the Old Testament, while the belief of the apocalyptic writers puts the national Messiah into the foreground.<sup>1</sup>

The Judaistic eschatological king takes the form of the Old Testament Messiah. Thus he appears as the Mashiah, the Christ, and the Anointed One in the various forms of apocalyptic writings.<sup>2</sup> There are some, however, where he fails to appear or plays a subordinate rôle only in the last judgment. In most of the Apocalypse of Enoch he is absent.<sup>3</sup> He fails to appear in the eschatological descriptions of chapters xc to cviii, with the exception of cv.2. Chapter xc has him also only in a rather inactive rôle, while the judgment and the redemption are accomplished by God Himself with the assistance of a figure, however, which Volz thinks is not the Messiah, but

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1. Cf. Volz: op. cit., p. 173
2. Meshiah (absolutely) in Bar. xxix.3, xxx.1, Esr. xii.32; The Anointed of God, spec. in Ps. Sol. xviii.5,7, En. xlviii.10, lxi.4; My Servant the Messiah, Bar. lxx.9; My Son, Esr. vii.22, cf. xiii.32,37,52, En. cv.2; Son of David, Talmud and Ps. Sol. xvii.21; The King of Israel, Ps. Sol. xvii.42; The King, Ps. Sol. xii.32
3. En. i-xxxvi esp.

a leading archangel.<sup>1</sup>

After the judgment and the restoration of ideal Jerusalem, when universal peace and happiness will rule, the Messiah will appear as a white bull with great horns and will be adored and respected by all; yet not as divine, as the figure of the bull shows, but as parus inter pares.<sup>2</sup>

In the Book of Jubilees the Messiah appears as king out of Jacob. His characteristics are those of an earthly ruler and as such he wields the scepter. In the Assumption of Moses the resurrected personality of Moses takes the place of the Messiah. In the apocalypses of Esdras and Baruch, however, the hope of the Messiah is again strong, and he is presented in a most colorful way in the eleventh chapter of Esdras where he is the lion who condemns the Roman Empire. After a successful struggle he redeems the nation and introduces a reign of joy and happiness.<sup>3</sup> The judgment after the reign of the Messiah, however, is conspicuous in the absence of Messiah. Volz sees in this fact a general characteristic of the Judaistic Messianic expectation when he says:

"The Messiah does not live an independent life for himself; he lives solely in his objective, and disappears with its accomplishment."<sup>4</sup>

As a whole the personality of the expected Messiah is better drawn in the book of Baruch than in any

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1. Cf. Volz: op. cit., p. 178

2. En. xc.37

3. Esr. xii.31ff

4. Volz: op. cit., p. 179



other apocalyptic book. Chapters thirty to forty describe him as the prince of God fighting against the rulers of the earth for the initiation of the reign of righteousness. Finally, after the last of the wicked rulers is captured and killed the Messiah reveals the happy time of his era. Protecting his beloved from all oppression and evil, he rules his kingdom until the end of the world.

In Esdras<sup>1</sup> the Messiah appears not as a soldier but rather earns his exalted attributes through the wisdom and justice which he displays in judgment.<sup>2</sup> After this critical event he calls the remnant of the people of God together and establishes his divine rule of peace.<sup>3</sup> The hope of a personal Messiah is very dominant also in the Testament of the Patriarchs. Judah predicts that after the punishment of Israel there shall appear the star of peace under which man shall walk joyfully and that the scion who shall judge and redeem shall appear out of Judah.

Thus we see that the Messiah as portrayed in apocalyptic literature is not primarily a religious figure, but has very accentuated social and political missions to fulfill. True, he has undeniably divine attributes, but he has them primarily to overcome spiritual antagonists on the one hand and entrenched political and social opposition on the other hand. Volz observes that:

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1. Esr. xi. ff
2. Bar. xxxvi. 3
3. Bar. lxxii. 1; c f. lxx-lxxiv

"it is important to note that the Jewish faith knew a savior for the outer need who is able to create a short earthly joy which perishes with the world, but knew no savior from sin, death, and condemnation."<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the visualization of a Messiah of such magnitude as is portrayed in the Book of Similitudes and other apocalyptic writings,<sup>2</sup> testifies concerning the need which was felt for him. It bears witness to the religious resignation of at least a part of the Jews who, living under the regulations of the elaborated Mosaic Law, saw that the Law with all its temporal advantages could not be the last word of God because it could not meet the full need of the world.

It is, on the other hand, tragic to observe how orthodox Judaism clung in despair to the letter of a code, which, though divine in its precepts, had been proclaimed in human words with all their imperfections. On the other hand, however, it speaks for the vitality of true religious feeling when we see how groups of pious Jews intuitively sensed that the need of the world is far greater than the Law was able to supply. Judaism could still produce men who were able to see beyond the Law. These men in their sense of need looked for something greater than Judaism, and painted it with the brush of faith and the colors of desire. Faith and need, then, shaped the Messiah like unto God in his magnitude and like unto the Son of Man in his form.

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1. Volz: op. cit., p. 179
2. Cf. esp. Bar. xxix.3

Can we blame the entranced seer when sometimes the earthly cares and sorrows of poverty and oppression tinge his divine picture and he expects a vindication more temporal than eternal? The fact remains that the personality expected and longed for bore the signs of the faith of the forefathers and as such offered a valuable continuation of the faith fostered by the prophets, a faith which does not see the final word in this world spoken by man but by God. This faith helped to sustain that forward look toward the future which formed an important emphasis in the prophetic message, and created a spirit of expectancy which manifested itself in the growing Messianic revolts.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. In its Tenet of Universal Judgment

In close connection with the teaching concerning the Messiah there was the conviction of the universal judgment. In the framework of the early Judaistic ideology, the expected judgment of God was usually cast into the expression "the day of Jehovah." and comprehended mainly the idea of judgment over the present enemies of Israel.<sup>2</sup> This idea, however, experienced a pronounced widening and enlargement in connection with the accentuation of spiritual dualism. It came to mean not only a vindication of His

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1. Cf. Schürer: A History of the Jewish People, II, ii, pp. 126-187; also Bousset: Die Religion des Judentums, p. 224

2. Bousset: op. cit., pp. 257 ff

earthly power but also His spiritual supremacy over Satan, the wicked angels, and their demonic descendants. With this content we find it used in the formulae "the day of the great judgment," the "day and the power and the punishment and the judgment," and "the day of destruction."<sup>1</sup> In the place of the warring Hero-God taking vengeance on the enemies of Israel, there appears now the Judge and the "Head of Days" "whose head was white like wool."<sup>2</sup> He is enthroned on the judgment seat, surrounded by His heavenly host, pronouncing His verdicts upon mankind in a universal manner.

This conception appears already in an especially clear form in the Book of Daniel and in the Book of Enoch.<sup>3</sup> Also, Fourth Esdras and Second Baruch show it with sufficient distinctiveness.<sup>4</sup>

The judgment is complete and universal. Everything created is consumed on this day before the majesty of God.<sup>5</sup> The justice and equity of the judgment is brought out in a special way through the mention of books out of which the material for accusation and defense is taken. Special angels have been occupied in carefully registering all the good and evil deeds of men.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, there

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1. En. x.6, x.12, xxi.4,11, xxv.4, liv.6; lx.6, lxxxiv.4, xci.5; xcvi.10, xcix.15, c.4
2. En. xlvi.1
3. Dan. vii.9-12; En. i.3-9, xxxix.8, xlvi.3, xci.15
4. IV Esr. vii.33; II Bar. xxx.49-51
5. IV Esr. vii.39-44
6. Evil deeds of men are listed: En. lxxxi.4, lxxxix.61, xc.17,20, xcvi.6, xcvi.7,8, civ.7, cviii.7; or weighed in a balance: xli.1, lxi.8, xlii.5, xlix.2, lii.15

will be little possibility of slighting offences or a possible slip in the memory of the Almighty. Not that the pious considered that as a possibility, but faith that the deeds of men were written in heaven certainly added a psychological weight to the idea of vindication.

While the prophetic judgment had universal aspects, it concentrated the main force of its threat on Israel. Israel sinned before the Lord and therefore must endure its deserved punishment. Judah dealt treacherously toward Him and, therefore, His wrath will consume her. This teaching had been generally accepted in pre-exilic times; while its acceptance later seems to have encountered difficulties. Why should Judah feel the whole strength of God's wrath, while others, in her eyes more sinful nations, continued in their wickedness? Why should the hand of the Lord lie heavier on His elect race than on the despised Gentiles? Was not their sin more grievous because they did not even possess a spiritual guide, because they did not even know the Law?

Doubtless this was a problem in the mind of the common man. The apocalyptic literature offered a solution of the dilemma. It did not discard the prophetic teaching of judgment, but enlarged it and made it truly universal. The God of Israel whose hand had been felt heavily upon His people will now show Himself mighty also over the oppressive Gentiles. No longer will Israel have to bear the punishment for her sins alone, but the nations and

racers who transgressed the will of God will also stand before His judgment seat. And more than that, not only as nations or groups shall the world feel the power of the God of Israel, but every individual soul who sins will have to bear the verdict. There will be no hiding behind the guilt of a group, and consequently there will be no excuse for the individual oppressor in the name of government, army, or other official capacity.

The severity and yet justice of the judgment gave a further incentive to right living. If the individual was made conscious that his deeds were not only weighed but also justly measured, when he was made aware that out of the millions of single acts his particular deed counted and was able to determine his future course either to eternal bliss or to everlasting condemnation, then who can doubt that deeper springs of motivation had been touched.

The idea of the last universal judgment further brought the individual under the influence of what the medieval theologians called "sub specie aeternitatis." Life became, viewed from the angle of eternity, proportionately an episode in the unending whole. Time became relative in the greater reality of the timeless. However, the importance attributed to moral decisions in the present life shifted its core from the purely material to the spiritual. This outlook made the moral victories of a man appear infinitely more important than social position, power, or political rank. In this form the idea of the

universal judgment served on the one hand to strengthen the motivation for moral living, while at the same time it became consolation to the suffering and oppressed. Thus it created a form of anticipation which was a desirable preparation for the preaching of the Gospel by our Lord.

#### 5. In its Hope for National Vindication

While the content of the four preceding apocalyptic teachings satisfied a more spiritual need of contemporary Judaism, the tenet of this hope aimed more at a national one.

Through the teaching of the prophets and especially through the Psalms, the feeling was widespread that the chosen race did not occupy the place in the world which it should.<sup>1</sup> During the Syrian persecutions these hopes experienced a strong revival and entered through the Book of Daniel into the apocalyptic literature. With the beginning of the Maccabean period the realization of these hopes seemed to be imminent.<sup>2</sup>

During the confusion and the excitement of the period immediately before Herod, it took on the gloomy language of judgment and cataclysm. This at first primarily national hope is summarized in the Malkuth Yahwe (מלכות יהוה) or the βασιλεία θεοῦ. The best translation of

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1. Cf. Jesus Sirach xxxiii, and Tobit xiii-xiv
2. Cf. En. xc, Test. Job xxiii, Test Levi xviii

the expectation of Israel behind these terms is, according to Dalman,<sup>1</sup> "reign of God" rather than "kingdom of God."<sup>2</sup> The reign of God, however, is at the same time the reign of His chosen people.<sup>3</sup> The belief that God's rule is at present hidden, yet that it will appear in the future, was readily paralleled in the interpretation of the Jewish experience. The chosen race is hidden at present in the rôle of a servant to other nations, but it will in due time be elevated to her rightful position as the mistress of the world. Together with the God of Israel His saints shall be made manifest, and the rule of the world shall be conferred upon them. This idea is well developed in the Book of Daniel,<sup>4</sup> and can be traced through the entire apocalyptic literature. In the visions of Enoch, e.g. the writer dwells with obvious delight on the description of the place of supremacy which will be occupied by the pious Israelites.<sup>5</sup>

The advent of this era, however, shall be solely the work of God, for no man can effect that radical change, nor can any man aid in its completion.<sup>6</sup> The Lord will come in person to initiate this era, or He will send

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1. Quoted by Bousset: op. cit., p. 214
2. Cf. En. lxxxiv.2, ciii.1, xxiv.3, Dan. iii.33, Jub. xii.19
3. Cf. Dan. ii.44, iv.14-29, vii.14, vii.27
4. Daniel vii.27
5. Esp. En. 1.2, xc.3, xcii.4, xciv.7, xcv.3-7, also Job xxxii.19, Ass. Mos. x
6. Cf. Dan. ii.34-45



His angel Michael who will battle for the saints.<sup>1</sup> In the Book of Enoch, the Lord of Israel is described as taking the "staff of His wrath" and smiting the world asunder, thus destroying the enemies of Israel in the catastrophe.<sup>2</sup>

The pious are only inactive spectators in this celestial drama. They can do nothing but wait and continue in steadfastness and allegiance.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the idea is propounded that God, while destroying the entrenched opposition of the hostile nations, will hide His saints away until the task is accomplished.<sup>4</sup>

In all cases, however, the world revolution which will bring Israel the leadership to which she feels herself entitled, will be the exclusive work of God. The rule of God thus made synonymous with the rule of Israel is conceived as the culmination of history, and the end toward which God's spiritual agents are working. Here, then, the Messiah finds his mission. The great judgment is also one of the necessary means which will open the way for its establishment, and the resurrection of the saints was introduced to make the participation of the deceased righteous possible.

Thus in a sense the national hope is the great

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1. Cf. Ass. Mos. x.1

2. En. xc.18

3. Dan. xi.33-35 and Ass. Mos. ix

4. En. xcvi.2, c.5; Ass. Mos. x; II Baruch xxix.2, lxxi.1

frame for all the apocalyptic expectations.<sup>1</sup> It is the divine objective on which all these apocalyptic writers agree. However, specifically considered, the apocalyptic realization of a fervent yet unrealized hope for national supremacy formed the link between the eternal religious aspirations of the best elements of Israel and its temporal expression in a national commonwealth. The Jewish state was in its historical and ideological foundations so thoroughly theocratic that a divorce between politics and religion was an almost impossible task. The apocalyptic conception of the reign of God, therefore, bore a very definite message to the bewildered Jews of the intertestament period. This message fulfilled a double objective.

On the one hand, it gave an intellectually satisfying solution to the religious problem of the suffering people. Fortified by the authority of Old Testament personalities, the apocalyptic writers set forth the idea of absolute foreordination, thus connecting the present with the past. Accepting the faith of the apocalyptic seer, the pious Jew could bear heathen supremacy, knowing that according to divine foreordination their fate had already been sealed, destining the heathen to the judgment of the God of Israel.

On the other hand, the apocalyptic affirmations satisfied the Jewish hunger for light on the disturbing

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1. Bousset: Die Religion des Judentums, p. 222

question of the discord between divine promises and hard reality. The promise of rule by Israel proclaimed by the prophets found thus its adaptation and transfiguration through the apocalyptic message of the reign of God. By integration of the faith of the fathers to the pressing demands of the time, the apocalyptic seer spread comfort and consolation among those who felt themselves crushed under the hard realities of life. A comfort from faith in the immutability of the divine purpose and an assurance of promises of a speedy vindication thus issued from the pages of the visionary account which carried the hope of the nation over the hurt inflicted by the past.

c. The Apocalyptic carried on the Prophetic Ministration

1. The Ministry of Teaching

Beside these accomplishments, the apocalyptic authors carried on the prophetic tradition. We had occasion to point out, in the discussion of the Book of Jeremiah, that the message of the prophet fulfilled a threefold objective.

For one thing, the prophet purposed to teach the nation. It was not only the appalling lack of spiritual understanding concerning the close relationship of moral conduct and true worship, but also the difficulties of understanding the peculiar workings of God in history that prompted him to instruct the people concerning these things. The many perplexing problems of sin and its immediate and

remote consequences required the prophet's keenest thinking and the most extensive use of his spiritual means. In this connection we have discussed the prophet's necessary equipment, and came to the conclusion that a keen mind, able to analyze situations and then to synthesize the results of this analysis, is one of the prerequisites of true and great prophecy. This mental capacity, however, must be further enhanced by an intuitional insight into the range of the problems, and into the endless variety of possible interpretations. Both these, however, must be transcended by a religious attitude toward life and a worshipful approach to the divine reality from whence the revelation must come, which gives the authoritative sanction to the results of the prophet's intuitive grasp of the issues. Thus, we have said, true prophecy comes from individuals with whom all these conditions are fulfilled, where intellect, intuition, and revelation each contribute their share to the prophetic utterance.

The apocalyptic writer did not diverge from this purpose. His ambition also was to supply the need for teaching and explanation. He too tried to weld the multitude of problems and issues into a great synthesis, reducing its perplexing variety to a simplified whole. He, too, felt the prophetic responsibility to give words of guidance in a time of spiritual bewilderment.

The need of the hour, however, did not bring

forth personalities who, like the prophets, were wholly capable of meeting it. It is the tragic failure of Hellenistic Judaism that it was not able to produce religious personalities even approximating a Jeremiah. Hence there is no uniformity in the teaching of the apocalyptic writers, and very little originality. We have discussed in previous paragraphs the most important advances on the teachings of the prophets. But we are obliged to confess that it must have been difficult for the contemporary reader to deduce from the maze of apocalyptic speculations some of the more valuable answers to a spiritual need.

The honest endeavor of these seers to fill the teaching place of the prophet led them sometimes into wild and phantastic speculations of the type which we found in the astronomical sections of the Book of Enoch. Prompted more by the desire to help than by ability to interpret, their teaching lacks the seal of unity and the marks of the labor of a superior intellect. In the place of intuitive insight and the consequent rational explanation which characterizes the prophetic procedure, the apocalyptic writer shows chiefly the working of an exalted imagination. Motivated by the various distressing situations of contemporary religious and national life, he escapes on the wings of his dreams into higher realms whence he sometimes brings back flashes of illumination and even prophetic insight. This is not the logical consecutive process of reasoning crowned by divine reve-

lation such as characterizes the prophetic information, but rather the spontaneous sudden illumination of an exalted imagination which opens new vistas and shows new possibilities in the nature of religious contribution. We have in the preceding chapter discussed some of the apocalyptic teachings which we consider spiritual contributions to the prophetic deposit. Let us turn now to the second prophetic objective and see how the apocalyptic writers fulfill its obligations.

## 2. The Ministry of Consolation

We have had occasion to show the prophetic emphasis on consolation in the Book of Jeremiah. It requires a great personality to be able to condemn a people for its moral faults and for the hardness of their hearts and then, when the predicted catastrophe has occurred, to speak sincerely-felt words of consolation, rather than to show satisfaction in the verification of his own prediction.

It was deep sympathy and concern which made the prophet a critic and teacher, when the situation demanded it, and later the friend and consoler of the sufferer. In the effort of the apocalyptic writers to render this service we behold their underlying similarity of feeling. Both prophet and apocalyptic seer were deeply sympathetic and sensitive to the needs of their race. Doubtless the prophet was the greater genius, the better orator, and

poet; yet if the apocalyptic writer could hold his own anywhere it was in the ministry of consolation.

"And then healing shall descend in dew,  
And disease shall withdraw,  
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation  
shall pass from amongst men,  
And gladness shall proceed through the  
whole earth." (Bar. lxxiii.2)

It was neither reason nor teaching that people desired mostly in moments of pain, but healing words of consolation. The apocalyptic writer uses the same means as the prophet in drawing his consoling picture of the future. It is God, over and over again God, in whom both prophet and apocalyptic writer sees the justification for his hope. Both types of religious leaders perceive clearly that there is a hurt and a wound in Israel which none can heal save God alone.

Thus in the ministry of consolation prophet and seer are closely akin. Their sympathetic hearts were strangely sensitive to the open and secret sorrows of the nation, and both gave and derived their ultimate strength from their faith in the all-sufficiency of the God of Israel.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. The Ministry of Prophecy

Now we come to the last field in which we can detect the apocalyptic writer as following the prophetic tradition. The fundamental difference between the prophetic and the apocalyptic prophecy is that the former is always conditioned by and concerned with a definite situ-

ation, while the latter is detached from the pulse of life, and hence is less definite and in general more elaborated.

The prophetic prediction is conditioned in the three spheres of reason, intuition, and revelation, and has sometimes something of a mathematical element in the preciseness of its predictions.<sup>2</sup> The apocalyptic prediction, on the other hand, comes from a different psychological constellation of the seer and there are almost no processes of analytical reasoning to be detected. All revelation is spontaneous, detached from the labors of a searching reason, hence it is less systematic and more difficult to understand.

It must of course be taken into account that the events predicted in the apocalyptic books are very different from those of the prophetic writings. While the prophet has been largely concerned with the problems of his nation and has occupied himself largely in the proclamation of God's will in specific cases, the apocalyptic seer deals with matters almost entirely transcending the material sphere. Hence he has little room for his reason. Accordingly, he ventures daringly on the wings of his faith, propelled by the sense of his own and

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1. That this service was gratefully recognized is proved by the many references to them as "comforters" and "leaders of the multitude." Cf. Esr. xiv.13, xii.40; Bar. xliv.7ff, Dan. xii.3, En. xci.1
2. Vide supra on Jeremiah, ch. ii



the nation's need. The prey which he brings back from his celestial voyages is sometimes so astonishingly prophetic that many critics are inclined to discard them as later interpolations.<sup>1</sup> We do not exclude this possibility in our evaluation yet its results seem similar to those achieved by higher criticism with the Gospels. Even the remnant of the apocalyptic writings, after all dubious passages have been eliminated, contain so much of the prophetic that the general content of the teaching remains essentially untouched.

Taking as a criterion for prophecy the one applied by a prophet himself<sup>2</sup> we must admit that the apocalyptic literature contains for the Christian a decidedly prophetic element. The doctrine of immortality, the belief in the resurrection of the body, and the faith in a divine Messiah have been gloriously corroborated by our Lord Jesus Christ. Indeed, even the national hope of a rulership of Israel has found its fulfillment, though not in the same sense as had been expected yet in an even completer and deeper meaning. Today missionaries all over the world spread the fame and with it the dominion of Israel's prophets and wise men, a fame enlarged and made significant by her greatest son Jesus of Nazareth.

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1. So Bousset, Volz, R. Otto, Messel
2. Jer. xxviii.9

#### PART FOUR: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We have attempted to prove that the apocalyptic succeeded the prophetic in time as well as in the content of its teaching and in the objectives it aimed to achieve. This succession did not involve radical changes in purpose and motivation, however, but differed principally in the method of approach. The prophet reached his predictive conviction through a process of reason enlightened by intuition and crowned by divine revelation. The apocalyptic seer, on the other hand, uses the medium of his speculative imagination aided by contemplation and illuminated by divine revelation. Both types of religious personalities attempt to use their prophetic revelations in a time of bewilderment to aid and direct the nation as a whole as well as individuals. The prophet, as well as the apocalyptic seer, responded to a spiritual need of Judaism with his prophecies and visions, that is, the need of explaining to a distraught world the doings of an all-powerful God. The apocalyptic dreamer responded to this necessity in a different way, according to his peculiar gifts and abilities. Yet the fact that he responded to this same spiritual challenge indicates that the same spiritual force was at work here which in earlier days had produced the prophets and leaders in Israel.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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It will be admitted readily that the deposits which we have listed as contributions of apocalypticism to contemporary Judaism are equally salient in the preparation of the nation for the coming of Christ. Religion is subject to growth or to decline, as the example of many classical faiths proves. The growth of a religion, however, is contingent largely upon its spiritual renewal and the presence of great religious personalities. Pre-Exilic Judaism without the prophets would have degenerated into a jungle of natural religion, superstition, and empty ceremonialism. The prophets were the great pioneers who blazed their way through the wild undergrowth, cutting down illusions, and with the fierceness of their denunciations burning out the superstitions. In this way they cleared the path for the advent of God's fuller spiritual revelation.

In the time under our consideration there was the same threat of an externalization of religion,<sup>1</sup> yet there were no prophets who called the nation back to a spiritual approach to the God of their fathers. The need

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1. Vide supra pp. 75-89

for spiritual religion was felt and is best expressed in the very existence of the apocalyptic literature.<sup>1</sup>

The apocalyptic seers, however, were not sufficiently prophets of the pre<sup>ex</sup>ilic type to denounce the increasing stress on legalism, yet they protested by setting their visions and raptures over against the strict contract philosophy of the scribes. Religious enthusiasm which found little room in the scribal system was nourished and fostered by the apocalyptic writers.<sup>2</sup>

No religion can survive and remain vital without enthusiasm. The Lord's preparation for the future can be seen in the fact that faith and fervor were furnished the nourishing soil of the apocalyptic, and thus provided the spiritual draught of the prevalent religion of the letter.

The words of Christ, therefore, fell on ground better prepared to receive the Gospel because of the labors of these unknown seers.

The contribution of the apocalyptic writers, however, is not exhausted in the nourishment of a greater faith and in the fostering of religious enthusiasm, but it also furnished new answers to puzzled believers. When a religion loses its power to answer the questions of its bewildered followers, then it is indeed in danger of losing its grip on them.

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1. Vide supra pp. 90-91

2. Cf. Volz: Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde, p. 235, also Bousset: Die Religion des Judentums, p. 224

The classical religions furnish the illustration of this truth. The Greek and Roman gods died because they were unable to answer the problems of their devotees. Philosophy took their place only because they had become unreasonable, and when Athens and Rome began to outthink her priests, paganism was doomed.

There were also problems and questions coming up in the minds of the pious Israelites. Dominant among them was the problem of evil. The answer of the preëxilic prophets was no longer satisfying. They covered only a part of the problem and left out the part of the individual. The apocalyptic seer in preaching the doctrines of immortality, the resurrection of the body, the victory of justice in final judgment, and the doctrine of the divine Messiah who will fulfill the hopes of Israel furnished Judaism with new answers for the rising religious need, and thus prepared the soil for the teaching of the New Testament.

Another contribution of the apocalyptic toward a preparation for Christ can be seen in the way the seers carried on the prophetic ministration. The New Testament does not give us a favorable account of the pastoral activities of the representatives of official Judaism.<sup>1</sup> We have no reason to believe that it was much better a hundred years or more before Christ. Yet a religion which offers no help to man in his spiritual needs and which

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1. Matthew xxiii.1-7

can not be carried as comfort and power into homes of the humble sooner or later will deteriorate into philosophic speculations or frank unbelief.

Postexilic Judaism deified the Law. However, had the Law met the spiritual need of the nation then there would have been no necessity to seek religious satisfaction in apocalyptic dreams and hopes. In giving the thirsty soul of the Hebrew nation the word of comfort and encouragement to faith, the apocalyptic writer rendered a pastoral service without which the wings of faith and courage would have been clipped in Israel.

Thus our Master found the soil better prepared for the reception of His Gospel. These humble dreamers nourished the faith and exalted the expectations of many who might have drifted away.

In itself apocalypticism is insufficient and only as a part of a greater whole can its usefulness be comprehended. The dreams and visions of divine vindication, the exalted hopes in a new and better order would have been only an addition to similar ones existing all over the ancient world had it not been for the Gospel.

Jesus made use of its expectations by sowing His message on the soil which had been prepared by these writers. He gathered all the hopes and dreams into His own personality and hallowed them because He fulfilled them.

Thus, returning to our statement at the beginning of this study, we see a divine preparation throughout this period "between the Testaments," different in many respects from the preparation recorded in the Old Testament, yet none the less distinctly expressed in the spiritual efforts of inspired men. The apocalyptic seer ventures on the wings of his imagination and, propelled by his faith into the same sphere whence the prophets received their divine assurance, returns blessed with insights and revelations. The relevance and truth of his predictions in turn indicate the continuation of God's preparation which in former times found its expression through the mouth of the prophets, but now finds utterance in the dreams and hopes of the apocalyptic seer.



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