

§ 29. MESSIANISM

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Two main groups are to be distinguished in the sphere of religious ideas prevalent among the Jewish people during the period under discussion: general religious ideas on the relationship of man and the world to God, and specifically Israelite ideas on the relationship of the Jewish people to the God of Israel. Of these the latter predominate; they form the nucleus round which the others are grouped and to which they are linked. In later times, however, these specifically Israelite ideas again acquired their special colouring through the legal concept of the relationship between God and Israel. To the belief that God chose this one nation for himself and therefore bestowed his benefits on them exclusively, was added the further thought that he also gave them a law and thereby bound himself to grant his blessings provided that that law was obeyed. The Torah was to be observed for its own sake (*תורה*) and the fulfilment of its commandments brought its own reward (in acts of obedience and loving-kindness); nevertheless it was also expected that Israel's faithfulness would be suitably rewarded in the life both of the nation and of the individual.¹ Yet it was obvious that in actual experience the reward came neither to the people as a whole, nor to individuals, in the proportion anticipated. Accordingly, the more deeply this awareness penetrated into the mind of the nation and the individual, the more they were forced to turn their eyes to the future; and of course, the worse their present state, the more lively their hope. It may therefore be said that in later eras religious consciousness was concentrated upon hope for the future. A perfect age to come was the goal to which all other religious ideas were teleologically related. As the conduct of the Israelite was essentially observance of the Torah, so his faith was centred on awaiting God's kingdom. It was around these two poles, as has been noted earlier (p. 466), that the religious life of the Jews revolved at this time. They were zealous for the Torah so that one day they might have a share in the 'world to come'.

I. RELATION TO THE OLDER MESSIANIC HOPE

Expectation of the better future was already a basic element of the religious consciousness of the Old Testament prophets. It was never entirely lost by the people, even though it was not always as vigorous as it became after the Maccabean uprising. In the course of time,

1. mBak. 5:16; cf. above § 28, p. 466.

however, this hope underwent many changes. Indeed, there was far more freedom of movement in the sphere of belief than in that of conduct. Whereas legal precepts were binding in their smallest detail and were to be handed down unchanged from one generation to another, a relatively greater latitude was permitted in respect of religious thought; as long as certain fundamentals were adhered to, individual requirements were allowed far freer play (see above, pp. 339-55, *Halakah and Haggadah*). In consequence, hope of the future also developed in a variety of ways. Nevertheless, certain common basic points may be observed which on average distinguish the later messianic hope from the earlier. The earlier expectation moved within the setting of the present world and was simply directed towards a better future for the nation. The hope of the pre-exilic prophets was that the community would be morally purified and cleansed of all its bad elements; that it would flourish unmolested and respected in the midst of the Gentile world, its enemies either destroyed or forced to acknowledge Israel and its God; that it would be ruled by a just, wise and powerful king of the house of David, so that internal justice, peace and joy would prevail; and even that all natural evils would be annihilated and a condition of undoubted bliss come into being. This vision was however substantially modified in later ages, partly during the time of the later prophets, but particularly in the post-biblical period.

I. Above all else, the prospect widened and lengthened to embrace the world: it was not only the future of the nation that mattered but also that of the universe. Whereas the Gentiles had been considered only in so far as they were related in some way to Israel, the expectation of later times extended ever more positively to the fate of all mankind. Originally judgement was one which would purify Israel or, alternatively, destroy its enemies. Later, it developed into a judgement of the world by God or by his Anointed, the messianic King of Israel, which would decide the fate of all men and all nations. The earlier ideal kingdom of the future did not reach beyond the actual boundaries of the holy land; the later kingdom of God was seen to contain all those who, willingly or by force, were united within one kingdom of the world under the sceptre of Israel. The Messiah was therefore to be judge and ruler of the world. Even the animals and heaven and earth—i.e. the whole universe in the strict sense—were to be transformed; the old creation was to be destroyed and replaced by the new and lovely.

This enlargement of the concept of the future was already partly brought about by the extension of the political horizon. The more the small individual states were engulfed by the great world powers, the easier it became to imagine the ideal kingdom of the future as a world power. After the downfall of the last Gentile kingdom of the world,

God himself would take the sceptre into his hand and found a kingdom in which he, the heavenly King, would rule through his people. But still more important than the widening of the political horizon in the development of the messianic idea was the expansion of the notion of God himself and of the world in general. At first, YHWH was God and King of Israel alone. Later, he was envisaged ever more precisely and clearly as God and King of the world; and with this, an idea of the 'world' took shape as of a unified whole comprising all that exists. It was essentially this extension of religious consciousness in general which gave rise to the growing universalism of the expectation of a future age of blessedness.

2. This extension and enlargement of hope for the future was related, on the other hand, much more specifically to the individual. Again, this was associated with the development of religious consciousness in general. Originally, YHWH was the God of the nation, one who controlled the fortunes and misfortunes of his people. The fate of the individual was scarcely considered. But with the deepening of religious awareness, he came increasingly to feel himself to be the object of God's care. Each knew that his destiny was in God's hand and was sure that God would not forsake him. The strengthening of this individual belief in Providence gradually gave an individual shape also to hope for the future, though admittedly not until relatively late: there is no definite evidence of it before Daniel. The form in which it was first expressed was in belief in resurrection. Since the just Israelite was certain that his personal, and indeed his enduring and eternal salvation was desired by God, he expected that he, together with every other just man, would participate in the future glory of the nation. Therefore, whoever was overtaken by death before this came to pass, especially the martyr, might hope that one day God would re-awaken him and take him to the kingdom of glory. The object of resurrection was participation in the nation's glorious future; and the basis of belief in resurrection was an increasing interest in personal salvation.

It was however not interest in salvation alone that assumed a personal form; increasingly, attention in general was turned to the future destiny of the individual, *in malam partem* as well. God—it was thought—keeps account in heaven of the deeds of every man, of every Israelite at least. And judgement will be pronounced on the basis of these heavenly ledgers; reward and punishment will be measured out exactly in accord with each one's merits. Thus the expected resurrection also came to be seen differently as affecting all men; not only the righteous but also the unrighteous would rise again to receive judgement. But this idea was never commonly accepted; many continued to look only for a resurrection of the just.

In the end, interest in the salvation of the individual was no longer content even with resurrection for the purpose of participating in the messianic kingdom. This was regarded no more as the final and supreme bliss. After it a still higher, everlasting heavenly beatitude was awaited: namely an absolute transfiguration in heaven for the good and for the godless not merely exclusion from the kingdom but eternal agony and torment in hell.

3. These last factors, combined with the failure of political messianism in A.D. 70 and 135, are associated with a further characteristic distinguishing the later expectation from that of earlier ages: it became more transcendent, more and more transposed into the supernatural, the ultramundane. The older hope remained within the framework of the present world. The enemies of Israel would be destroyed; the people would be purified; their future would be glorious. However imaginary the representation of this future blessedness, it nevertheless stayed within the context of idealized present circumstances. In the later approach, present and future became more and more sharply opposed, the gulf between them grew ever deeper, the concept increasingly dualistic. Entry into the messianic age was to be the start of a new world, a new עולם. But this world to come (עולם הבא) was to be in every respect entirely the opposite of the present world (העולם הזה) ruled by the ungodly powers of Satan and his angels and therefore submerged in sin and evil. The future world was to be under the dominion of God (and his Anointed); therefore only righteousness and blessedness would prevail there. There was scarcely any connection between them. By a miraculous act of God, the one would be destroyed and the other called into existence.

Although this approach is greatly dependent on the earlier idea, the opposition between present and future is far more sharply drawn. The earlier concept sees much more of God's gracious rule in the present time as well. According to later thought, it might almost appear as though God had surrendered the government of the present to the Satanic forces and reserved the full exercise of his dominion for the world to come. Accordingly, future salvation was also increasingly regarded as purely transcendent. All the good things of the new world are to proceed from above, from heaven, where they have pre-existed for all eternity. They are reserved there for the saints as an 'inheritance' which will one day be apportioned to them. In particular, the perfect new Jerusalem is already there, the city which will descend on earth in place of the old one at the consummation of time. Equally there already, in the company of God, is the perfect King of Israel chosen by God from eternity, the Messiah. Henceforward, all goodness and perfection can in fact only come from above, because everything earthly

in its present condition is the exact reverse of the divine. So in the end, hope of the future reached beyond earthly existence altogether. Final redemption would not be found even in a kingdom of glory on an earth made new, but in a condition of absolute transfiguration in heaven.

With the concept of salvation itself, so also the idea of the way in which it was to be realized became more and more transcendent. Judgment was to be a forensic act in which, with no intervention by earthly powers, man's fate was to be decided by God or his Anointed; and the execution of this sentence was to take place only through supernatural powers, through a miraculous act of God which would destroy the old and call into existence a new order of things.

It is possible that Iranian influences may have affected this development of Jewish expectation, bearing in mind that the Jewish people were subject to Persian rule for two hundred years. These influences are unmistakable in angelology; in eschatology they are not so evident, but to some extent nevertheless probable. The doctrine of an individual reward after death and a strong transcendentalism are characteristic of Persian eschatology. But these are the very points which distinguish the later Jewish from the older Israelite eschatology. All in all, therefore, one may well speak of the probability of Persian influences. But they are only of a general nature. As soon as the details are considered, the parallels vanish; or where they are stronger, the antiquity of the Persian views may be in doubt. The Jewish concepts remain special throughout, and are to be explained as modifications or supplements of Old Testament ideas. Iranian religion therefore enters into consideration only as an incidental factor which furthered the development in some way, not as one that dominated it.

4. Finally, messianic hope acquired an essentially new colouring in later times from its increasing systematization in the work of the Torah scholars and rabbis. The freedom of religious imagination was replaced by learned research into the writings of the prophets which determined doctrinally the details of the messianic picture of the future. The task of the Torah scholars was primarily, of course, the establishment and elaboration of the law. But following the same methods, they then developed and defined the religious ideas themselves, including the messianic expectations. Thus, not only were the relevant details collected and arranged by them, but by means of combining one text with another, after the fashion of haggadic midrash, new details emerged (see above, § 25.III). To acquire fresh information, the most diverse passages were ingeniously related to one another, and the messianic ideals ever more precisely and comprehensively determined. This learned doctrine was nevertheless fluid. For unlike the detail of halakha, it never became really binding. The individual was therefore

free to accept as much or little of it as he wished, and to fashion it according to his own opinion, so that the messianic hope was in a state of flux and is encountered in different forms especially during the first century A.D.

Above all, it is to be noted that the characteristics mentioned here of the later messianic expectation were by no means everywhere the same. But the essential ancient hope of a glorious future for Israel predominated in later times also.

But did this hope remain constantly alive among the people? In its general form as it affected the future for the nation, messianic expectation did not die with the disappearance of prophecy. In the last pre-Christian centuries, and especially in the first century A.D., it became once more very lively, as the Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Josephus and the Gospels show so decisively. But in addition to manifesting itself as an expectation of final national prosperity, it expressed in particular the hope of a Messiah, or of several messianic figures. This will become clear in the following pages where the historical development of messianism will be outlined, followed by a systematic survey of messianic concepts.

II. HISTORICAL SURVEY

The visions of the book of Daniel (about 167 to 165 B.C.) exercised a profound influence on the formation of the messianic idea. In the age of distress (דָּרַךְ, Dan. 12:1) which had broken upon Israel in consequence of the wicked actions of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author foretells a coming deliverance. God himself will sit in judgement on the kingdoms of this world and will take away from them power and dominion and will uproot and wipe them out for ever. But 'the saints of the Most High' will receive the kingdom and possess it for evermore. All peoples and nations and tongues will serve them, and their kingdom will never be destroyed (7:19-27; 2:44). The just who have fallen asleep will also have their share in it; they will rise from the dust to everlasting life, whereas the ungodly will awaken to everlasting shame (12:2). Whether Daniel visualized a messianic King at the head of his kingdom of saints of the Most High is not clear. He makes no mention of such a person in any case. For he who appears in the form of a man (וְיֵשׁוּעַ בְּנוֹן הַיְהוָה, 7:13) is in no way the personal Messiah but, as the author clearly and expressly says in his interpretation, the people of the saints of the Most High (7:18, 22, 27).² As the kingdoms of the world are

² Nevertheless, from very early times the Daniëlic figure has been identified with the Messiah. See below on 1 En. 37-71 and 4 Ezr. 13, pp. 505, 511 f. Cf. G. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 241 f.; H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* (1929), pp. 343-73; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jews and Judaism during the Greek Period* (1941).

represented by beasts which ascend from the sea, so the kingdom of the saints is symbolized by a human form which travels with the clouds. The kernel of Daniel's messianic hope is therefore the universal dominion of the devout (see especially 2:44; 7:14, 27). Moreover, the author does not think of this as brought about simply by a judgement of God, as might appear from ch. 7. He says rather in 2:44 that the kingdom of the saints shall 'break in pieces and consume' the ungodly, i.e. conquer them by force of arms, though admittedly with God's support and in accordance with his will. It is further worth noting that in this book the hope of a bodily resurrection is plainly and firmly expressed (12:2).

Accordingly, here as earlier, the messianic hope is for a glorious future for the nation, but with a dual modification: namely that the future kingdom of Israel is envisaged as a kingdom of the world, and that all the dead saints will also participate in it.

In the apocryphal books of the Old Testament,³ messianic hope is not very prominent, a characteristic due only in part to the predominantly historical or didactic contents of these writings. Indeed, most of them are evidence that at the time that Daniel revived it, messianic expectation had in general greatly weakened. It is not possible to say for certain how Ecclesiasticus stands in regard to some points. It is clear that the author not only pleads, but really hopes, for the destruction of Israel's enemies and a glorious future for the nation corresponding to God's promises. Of particular importance is the confident prayer,

Gather all the tribes of Jacob,
that they may receive their inheritance as of old.
Have mercy on the people called by thy Name,
Israel, whom thou didst surname Firstborn.
Have mercy on thy holy city,
Jerusalem, the place of thy dwelling.

3. Cf. on this Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, pp. 169-76, 257-9.
Grélot, 'Le Messie dans les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament', in E. Massaux, P. Grélot, *et. al.*, *La venue du Messie: messianisme et eschatologie* [Recherches Bibliques VI] (1962), pp. 18-50 [Bibliography, p. 21, n. 1: this study includes the Pseudepigrapha as well as the Apocrypha]; M.-J. Lagrange, *Le Messianisme chez les Juifs* (1909), pp. 210 ff.; J. Klausner, *Messianic Ideas*, pp. 246 ff.

Fill Zion with thy majesty,
and thy temple with thy glory.
Testify to the first of thy works,
and confirm the vision spoken in thy Name.
Give reward to them who wait on thee,
that thy prophets may be found trustworthy.
Thou wilt hear the prayer of thy servants,
in accordance with thy benevolence towards thy people,
that all the ends of the earth may know
that thou art the everlasting God.

The glory prayed for is thought of as one of limitless time.⁴ But it is characteristic that the expression of prayer and hope is conveyed in very general terms; in particular, despite the reference to the promises of the prophets there is no mention of a messianic King. There may be allusions to such a person in two other passages, but in both, the interpretation is uncertain.⁵ If the author hoped for a messianic King on the ground of prophetic visions, this expectation arose more from the study of Scripture than from a real religious need. He was much more concerned about the everlasting continuance of the priesthood of the house of Phinehas than about the renewal of the Davidic dynasty (45:24 f.). That the beginnings of a scholarly messianism were already present is shown by the expectation of the reappearance of Elijah (48:10-11).

A more lively picture would of course emerge if the passage following 51:12 in the Hebrew text (it is missing in the Greek and Syriac) were genuine in its entirety. Here, God is extolled not only as the redeemer of Israel and as the gatherer of the dispersed (vv. 5-6), but also as he who 'builds his city and his holy place' and who 'causes a horn to sprout from the house of David'. These phrases are found word for word in the

4. No appeal should be made here to 44:13, with its statement in Greek that 'the seed' of the Fathers (*σπέρμα αβραάμ*) remains for ever, since from the Hebrew and Syriac it appears that this should read, 'his memorial' (as is confirmed by parallels). Note, however, that the Masada Ecclesiasticus reads with the Greek; cf. Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (1965), p. 97. This is, nevertheless, clearly a corruption in Hebrew, followed by the Greek: a dittograph of *amr* in the previous line replacing the true reading *amr*. But 37:25 certainly reads, 'the life of Israel (Jeshurun) continues for days without count'. The verse is preserved in two Geniza fragments (B and D); cf. *The Book of Ben Sira: The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* (1973), p. 38.

5. Eccles. 47:11 says of David that God has exalted his horn 'for ever' (*לְעוֹלָם*), but this vague expression does not necessarily mean a dynasty without end. Ch. 47:22 is translated by Box and Oesterley: 'and he will give to Jacob a remnant, and to the house of David a root from him'. Cf. Charles, *Apocrypha I*, p. 499. But a future interpretation of *לְעוֹלָם* is not demanded by the context. The Greek translation has *ἐὼς*; cf. further Th. Mückendorf, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Sira zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* (1973), p. 67.

Shemoneh 'Eshreh (see above, p. 461) and were possibly—though not very probably—introduced from there into the text of the Hebrew Ben Sira.

Expectation of a messianic King is in any case far from the thoughts of the author of 1 Maccabees, who for his part sees the guarantee of Israel's greatness to lie in the dynasty of the Hasmoneans.⁶ Otherwise, the Apocrypha reveal, for instance, the expectation that God will judge the Gentiles (Jdt. 16:4) and will reassemble the dispersed people of Israel into one nation (2 Mac. 2:18; Bar. 2:27-35; 4:36-7; 5:5-9); that the nation will be established for ever (2 Mac. 14:2-5). The author of Tobit hopes not only that the just will be assembled and the people of Israel raised up and Jerusalem magnificently rebuilt with gold and precious stones (Tob. 13:12-18; 14:7), but also, in common with some of the Old Testament prophets, that all the Gentiles will turn to the God of Israel (Tob. 13:11; 14:6-7).

In the Hellenistic Wisdom of Solomon, the nationalistic element becomes unimportant; indeed owing to his Platonizing anthropology, the author cannot expect true salvation for his soul until after death. For him therefore, the essential is that the righteous who have died shall one day sit in judgement over the Gentiles (Wis. 3:8; 5:1; cf. 2 Cor. 6:2 f.).⁷

One important feature distinguishing the religious expectation of the earlier apocryphal books (Ecclesi., Jdt., Tob., 1 Mac.) from the messianic hope of later times is the absence of hope of resurrection.⁸ In this respect, the books mentioned adopt the ancient Israelite position: the dead have no more than a shadowy existence in Sheol; there is no blissful after-life.⁹ The expectation of resurrection attested in the book

6. The words attributed to the dying Mattathias in 1 Mac. 2:57, *Αειὸς . . . ἀπονομίην ἐσθίων βασιλείας ἐς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος*, or according to a better reading, *εἰς αἰῶνα*, ascribe only a long duration to the dynasty of David, not an everlasting one. Cf. M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, p. 139, n. 2.

7. Cf. C. Larcher, *Études sur le livre de la Sagesse* (1909), pp. 310 f. (Larcher scarcely does justice to this rôle of 'the righteous' in Wisdom). Cf. also C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (1953), p. 68, who sees in 1 Cor. 6:2 f. a reference to Dan. 7:22. But the idea also appears in 1 En. 1:9, 38; cf. also Jub. 24:29; Mt. 19:28; Lk. 22:30; Rev. 20:4. See also C. K. Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (1968), p. 136. For the rôle of Enoch as the representative righteous man, M. Black, 'The Eschatology of the Similitudes of Enoch', *JThS* 5 (1952), pp. 1-10. Larcher explains the singular in Wisd. 4:13 f., 5:1 f. as representing a group, and to be understood collectively (*ibid.*, p. 128).

8. See W. Bousset, *Religionen*, pp. 269, n. 1. Volk, *Eschatologie*, pp. 229 ff. Moore, *Judaism* II, pp. 292 ff. See further below, p. 539.

9. Cf. in particular Ecclesi. 7:17; 10:9-11; 14:17-19; 17:28; 22:11; 38:21; 41:11-4. Here, death is regarded simply as the end of life; there is no hint of another new existence. Survival rests only in the memory of those who come after (44:8-15). In the kingdom of death there is repose (38:21; 30:17). There is no delight there

of Daniel had therefore not become generally accepted in the second century B.C. and indeed never penetrated certain circles (e.g. the Sadducees). It figures clearly only in Maccabees (2 Mac. 7:9, 14, 23, 29, 36; 12:43-4). The Wisdom of Solomon has instead the expectation of a blessed after-life (3:1-9; 4:7; 5:16; 6:20).¹⁰

In the oldest Jewish Sibylline Oracles of around 140 B.C., the flow of messianic prophecy is rich and abundant. Sibyl. 3:286 f. must not of course be referred to here (*καὶ τότε δὲ θεὸς ὑπενώθηεν* [Geffcken: *ὕπενωσεν*] *πέμπει βασιλέα, Κωνεὶ δ' ἀδρα ἕκαστον ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ πρὸς αἰῶνι*), as this alludes to Cyrus.¹¹ Nor can *υἱὸς θεοῦ*, 3:775 be cited, if according to a persuasive conjecture of C. Alexandre (*Oracula Sibyllina* [1869], *ad loc.*), *υἱὸν* is to be read instead of *υἱόν*.¹² And finally, it is erroneous to interpret the *κόρη*, in whom according to Sibyl. 3:784-6 God will dwell, as the mother of the Messiah.¹³ For the *κόρη*, Hebr. *מרת*, is none other than Jerusalem. But even allowing for all these passages, it nevertheless remains true that the whole section Sibyl. 3:652-795 is almost exclusively messianic in content, despite the fact that there is but one brief mention of the messianic King at the beginning. God will send a King from the east (*ἐκ ἡλίου*), the text reads, who will put an end to all war upon the earth, destroying some, and fulfilling the promises made to the others. And he will not do this independently, but in obedience to God's commands.¹⁴ At his appearance (for this is no doubt the author's

(*αὐτὸν, πρὸν*) to pursue (14:16), and God can no longer be praised (17:17 f.). If 11:26 is concerned with reward *ἐν ἡμέρῃ ἰερουργίᾳ*, then this is surely an inexact translation for 'at the end of his days', i.e., at the end of his life.

10. See Larcher, *Études sur le livre de la Sagesse* (1909), pp. 237 f.

11. This is disputed by H. N. Bate, *The Sibylline Oracles*, Books III-IV (Translations of Early Christian Documents, Series II, Hellenistic Jewish Texts, 1918). Bate identifies the figure in question with the Messiah, King and Judge' (Introduction, p. 31, p. 58 note *ad loc.*) On the Sibyllines, RE, Zweite Reihe II (1923), col. 2073 ff. and 2117 ff. (Jewish and Christian); V. Nildprowetzky, *La troisième Sibylle* (1970). (No comment on 3:286 f.) Note, however, that in the form in which this work has been transmitted, it cannot be earlier than the Augustan period. See vol. III, § 33.

12. This emendation is much closer to the context than the hypothesis that the whole verse is a Christian interpolation (Chröner, Hilgenfeld, Geffcken). Bate revives the theory of a Christian interpolation (*op. cit. ad loc.*). Cf. RE, col. 2129; Nildprowetzky, *op. cit.*, pp. 329, 333.

13. Cf. O. Bätz, 'Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer', NTSt 3 (1956-7), pp. 314 ff.

14. Sibyl. 3: 652-6: 'And then from the sunrise God shall send a king. Who shall give every land relief from the bane of war. Some he shall slay, and to others he shall consummate faithful vows. He shall not do all these things by his own will, but in obedience to the good ordinances of the mighty God.' Cf. Bousset, *Religionen*, pp. 222, 226, 260-1.

meaning) the Gentile kings will gather once more for an attack on God's Temple and the holy land. They will offer their idolatrous sacrifices around Jerusalem. But God will speak to them with a mighty voice, and they will all perish by the hand of the Immortal One. The earth will quake, the mountains and hills will collapse, and Erebus will appear. The Gentiles will die by war, sword and fire because they raised their spears against the Temple (663-97). The children of God will then live in peace and tranquility, for the hand of the Holy One will protect them (698-709). And the Gentile nations seeing this, will encourage one another to bless and praise God and to send gifts to his Temple and accept his law, for it is the most just law on earth (710-26). Peace will then prevail among all the kings of the earth (744-61). And God will establish an everlasting kingdom over all men. From all the corners of the earth men will bring offerings to his Temple. And God's prophets will lay down the sword, for they will be judges of men and just kings. And God will dwell on Zion and universal peace will prevail on earth (767-95).

As may be seen, the chief emphasis falls on the eventual recognition and acknowledgement of the law of God by the nations on earth. Yet the author does not look for this alone, but also for the establishment of an everlasting kingdom over all mankind (767-8: βασιλείας εὐς αἰῶνας πᾶσας ἐπ' ἀσβεστούς) with Jerusalem as its theocratic centre. It is true that he mentions the King sent by God as his instrument in the restoration of universal world peace only in the preamble (652-6). But the King is undoubtedly to be thought of as the intervening cause when it is said in v. 689 that God will destroy the attacking Gentiles by battle and the sword (πρόλαβεν ἦδὲ μεχέσθη). And if in the kingdom of peace only the prophets of God in general (θεοῦ γενεῶν προφήται, i.e. no doubt the Israelites, 'the saints of the Most High' as Daniel names them) are described as judges and kings (781-2), at least the author's words do not exclude that a theocratic King stood at their head. It is worth noting in any case that in his image of the future even this writer, often believed to be an Alexandrian, cannot dispense with a God-sent king.

Relatively little messianic material is to be found in the oldest sections of the Book of Enoch (dating to the second century B.C.).¹⁵ It is the end of the vision of history that is especially considered here

15. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Introduction* (1965), p. 619. On the 4Q Aramaic fragments of this part of 1 Enoch, see J. T. Milik, 'Problèmes de la littérature hénoclique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân', *HTHR* 64 (1971), pp. 354 ff. and especially *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (1976). Milik dates the Book of Dreams (1 En. 83-90) to 164 B.C. (p. 44).

(90:16-38). The author expects first of all a final powerful attack by the Gentiles (i.e. mainly the Syrians), which will however be defeated by God's miraculous intervention (vv. 16-19). A throne will then be erected in the lovely land and God will sit in judgement. First, the fallen angels and the apostate Israelites will be cast into the fiery depths (vv. 20-7). Then the old Jerusalem (for the 'house' is Jerusalem) will be done away with and God will bring in a new Jerusalem and erect it in place of the old one (vv. 28-9). In this new Jerusalem will live the pious Israelites, and the Gentiles will pay homage to them (v. 30). At this point, the Messiah will appear (in the form of a white bullock) and all the Gentiles will entreat him and be converted to God the Lord (vv. 37-8).^{16a}

The transcendental character of the later messianic idea is manifest here: the new Jerusalem has nothing in common with the old, but is brought miraculously down from heaven. The Messiah appears, but not until God has sat in judgement; he himself therefore takes no part in it. It should further be noted that in the first section of Enoch there is

also no expectation of everlasting life for the individual, but only of a long and happy life in this world (1:8; 5:7-9; 10:9-11:2; chs. 24-5). The religious hopes for individuals consequently follow the same lines as in Ecclesiastics.

The figure of the messianic King is encountered in fuller colour and sharper outline in the Psalms of Solomon, composed most likely in the time of Pompey (63-48 B.C.).¹⁶ These psalms are instructive if only because their author emphasizes both that God himself is Israel's King (17:1), and also that the kingdom of the house of David will never fail before God (17:5). Where the first is the case it must therefore not be assumed without further ado, that the second is impossible. The poet's longing for the Davidic king is particularly vivid because Jerusalem in his time had fallen under the Gentile rule of the Romans and no future expectation could be built on the Sadducee-minded dynasty of the Hasmoneans. He therefore hopes that God will raise up a King from the line of David to rule over Israel and crush its enemies and cleanse Jerusalem of the Gentiles (17:23-7). This King will gather a holy people together and will judge the tribes of the nation and not allow unrighteousness to remain among them, and will distribute them throughout the land according to their tribes, and no stranger will dwell among them (17:28-31). And the Gentile nations will serve him, and will come to Jerusalem to see the glory of the Lord, bringing as

15a. However, see now J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (1976), p. 45.

16. For bibliographical material see Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, pp. 610, 773; A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudepigraphes grecs d'Ananias I testament* (1970), pp. 60 ff. Full details in volume III.

gifts the children of Israel 'who had fainted'. And he will be a righteous King, taught by God (17:32-5). And there will be no unrighteousness in those days. For all will be saints. And their King will be the Anointed of the Lord.¹⁷ He will not put his trust in horse or rider. For the Lord himself will be his King. And he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever (17:36-9). He will bless the people of his Lord with wisdom. And he will be pure from sin. And he will rule over a great nation and not be weak. For God will make him strong through his holy spirit. He will lead them all in holiness and there will be no pride among them (17:40-6). This will be the beauty of the King of Israel. Blessed are they who will be born in those days (17:47-51).

The writer appears to hope, not for God-fearing kings in general of the house of David, but for a single Messiah endowed by God with miraculous powers, holy and free from sin (17:41, 46), one made mighty and wise by God through the holy spirit (17:42), who will therefore smite his enemies not with external weapons but by the word of his mouth (17:39 after Isa. 11:4). Despite this idealization he is nevertheless presented as a worldly ruler, a real King of Israel. To the evidence of Ps. 17 should be added Ps. 18:6-10, and especially Ps. 11 (gathering of the dispersed) and 31:6; 14:2 ff. (resurrection of the righteous).

As the Psalms of Solomon appear to have been occasioned by the oppression of the Pompeian period, so a more recent Sibylline piece (Sibyl. 3:36-92) was a response to the despotism of Antoninus and Cleopatra in Egypt. At that time when Rome had acquired dominion over Egypt also, the Sibyl awaited the beginning of the kingdom of God on earth and the coming of a holy King who would reign for ever over every land. The relevant passage (3:46-50) reads:

*Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥά μιν καὶ Ἀγάρρου βασιλεύσει,
Εἰς τὴν ἡβέραν, ἃ τότε δὴ βασιλεύει μεγίστην*

17. *Χριστὸς κήπος* (17:36) is probably an incorrect translation of *ἅγιος πνεῦμα*; cf. Lam. 4:20. In 18:8, *Χριστὸς κήπος* is to be interpreted according to the preceding *Χριστὸς εἰρῆς* (18:6), *κήπος* being therefore dependent on *Χριστὸς* (J. Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, p. 132). In Lk. both occur (2:11, *Χριστὸς κήπος*; 2:26 *τὸν Χριστὸν κήπον*). For alternative explanations of *Χριστὸς κήπος*, see especially H. Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (1969), p. 111. According to Schürmann, the *Χριστὸς κήπος* in Lk. 2:11 may be a Lucan redaction, interpreting the *Χριστὸς* title (cf. Lk. 2:32 where it is interpreted by *βασιλεύς*). Similarly, Psalms of Solomon 17:36, Lam. 4:20, may be a 'free translation' of *ἅγιος πνεῦμα*. It could also be a Hellenistic 'messianic' interpretation, Jewish or Christian; if the former, then it prepared the way for the application of the title *κήπος* to the Messiah.

18. One manuscript has *εἰς τὴν ἡβέραν*. Geffcken conjectures on this: *ἐστὴν ἡβέρα*, still Rome hesitates'. (The Sibyl is pretending to live at an earlier period when the dominion of Rome over Egypt still did not exist.) Nikiprowetzky reads with MS. *Ψ*, *εἰς τὴν ἡβέραν*, and renders: '[Mais lorsque Rome sur l'Égypte aussi étendra son empire] la soumettant à son gouvernement unique (alors le très grand Royaume du Roi immortel brillera sur les hommes...)

** Ἀθάνατον βασιλεύσας ἐπὶ ἀθάνατοι φανεῖται.
Ἡγείει δ' ἄνευ πάσης γῆς σφετήτρα κροστήσαν
Εἰς αἰῶνας πάντας ἐνεργουμένου χρόνιοιο.*

The immortal King whose kingdom will appear among men is of course God himself. On the other hand, the *ἐργὸς ἀναξ* who will hold the sceptre in every land for ever can be none other than the Messiah. Thus here too, as in the Psalm of Solomon, the personal Messiah and the idea of the kingdom of God appear side by side.

If already in the Psalms of Solomon the form of the messianic King towers over the ordinary human dimension, this is even more conspicuous in the Parables (chs. 37-71) of the book of Enoch. Here the messianic image chiefly follows the book of Daniel; the expression 'son of man' is applied to the person of the Messiah, and the coming from heaven is understood literally, whereby pre-existence is ascribed to him. However, in the light of the Qumran evidence, no early, i.e. pre-A.D. 70, date for the Parables is likely, in consequence, they cannot be included in the present historical sketch,¹⁹ and will be used only in the systematic survey.

Evidence of the existence of messianic expectation in the time of Herod is provided by Josephus's narrative, *Ant.* xvii 2, 4 (43 ff.). The Pharisees are said to have promised Pheroras, Herod's brother, that the rule of Herod and his family would end and pass to Pheroras and his children. At the same time, however, the Pharisees are reported as having promised a eunuch called Bagoas that he would be named father and benefactor in a pronouncement made by the future king who, since all would lie in his hands, would grant him the ability to marry and to father children of his own.²⁰ This future king who will restore fertility to the eunuch is naturally not Pheroras, but the Messiah (see Isa. 56:3: 'Neither let the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree'). Therefore, either Pheroras wrongly applied to himself the Pharisees' words concerning the approaching downfall of the rule of Herod and the coming king, or Herod, when these remarks reached his ears, merely assumed that he did.²¹

19. See J. T. Milik, 'Problèmes de la littérature hénocchique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân', *HTR* 64 (1971), pp. 373-8; *The Books of Enoch* (1976), p. 96, dating the composition of the Parables to ca. A.D. 270. Cf. however Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, p. 176. Below, pp. 520 f.

20. *Ant.* xvii 2, 4 (45): ἤτρο δὲ ὁ Βαγώας υἱὸς ἀθράων ὅς πατήρ τε καὶ ἐσπυγέρης διοικασθήμενος τῷ ἐπιτακταρθεωρημένῳ προφήτῃ βασιλεύσει, κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ εὐεῖω τὸ πᾶν εἶναι, μαρτυροῦντος αὐτῷ γάμοιο τε ἰσχυρὸν καὶ παύδουενος τέκων γυναικῶν. Translators of Josephus render *προφήτῃ* wrongly, advancing the nonsense that Bagoas is to be called the father of the king who restores to him his ability to beget children!

21. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, p. 25; A. Schalit, *König Herodes*, pp. 630-1.

The Assumption of Moses,²² dating from around the beginning of the Christian era, prophesies in beautiful and spirited language the advent of the kingdom of God. After foreseeing a period of hardship such as that suffered under Antiochus Epiphanes, the author continues in chapter 10:

'And then His kingdom shall appear among all creatures. And then Satan shall be no more and sorrow shall depart with him. . . . For the Heavenly One shall arise from the throne of his kingdom, and he shall go forth from his holy dwelling-place with indignation and wrath for his children's sake. And the earth shall tremble; to its ends shall it be shaken; and the high mountains shall be brought low and the hills fall. The sun shall give no light and the moon . . . shall change into blood (cf. Joel 3:4) and the circle of the stars shall fall into disorder. And the sea shall recede into the abyss, and the springs shall fail, and the rivers dry up. Then shall God arise, the Most High, the only Everlasting One, and shall step forth, and shall scourge the nations and destroy all their idols. Then shall you be happy, Israel, and shall climb upon the eagle's back and wings (see below p. 531) . . . And God shall lift you up and cause you to soar to the starry heaven. And you shall see from on high your adversaries on earth, and shall know them, and shall rejoice, and shall give thanks, and shall acknowledge your Creator.'

With this expectation of Israel's elevation into heaven the picture of the future is concluded. Of a messianic kingdom in the accepted sense there is no mention at all.

The Book of Jubilees depicts in broad outline the age of joy and delight which will enter in for Israel when she turns to God (Jub. 23:27-31).²³

'And the days shall begin to grow many and to increase amongst those children of men, from generation to generation and from day to day, until their lifetime approaches one thousand years. And there shall be no aged or weary of life, but they shall all become as children and young lads, and shall complete all their days and live in peace and

22. Cf. Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, pp. 623-4, 774; A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépiques grecs de l'Ancien Testament*, pp. 1-14; R. H. Charles, *The Assumption of Moses* (1897) (dated A.D. 7-30; cf. pp. 14-17viii). See further, vol. III, E.-M. Laperrousaz, *Le Testament de Moïse (généralement appelé 'Assomption de Moïse')*, *Semítica* 19 (1970); G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Studies in the Testament of Moses* (1973).

23. R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudépiques of the Old Testament II*, pp. 1-82; Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, pp. 606-8, 773; A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépiques grecs de l'Ancien Testament* (1970), pp. 130-62. See further, vol. III.

joy, inasmuch as there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer, but all their days shall be days of blessing and healing. At that time the Lord shall heal his servants; and they shall rise up and see deep peace, and shall drive out their enemies, and the righteous shall watch and give thanks and rejoice with joy for ever. And they shall see all their judgements on their enemies and all their curses. And their bones shall indeed rest in the earth, but their spirits shall have much joy; and they shall know that it is God who sits in judgement and exercises mercy towards hundreds and thousands and towards all who love him.'

Whilst it is only said in general here that the servants of the Lord 'shall drive out their adversaries', in another passage world dominion is promised to the seed of Jacob (32:18-19).²⁴ God said to Jacob:

'I am the God who created heaven and earth. I shall increase you, and multiply you exceedingly; and kings shall come from you and shall rule wherever the foot of the sons of man has trodden. I shall give to your seed all the earth which is under heaven, and they shall rule over all the nations according to their desire; and afterwards they shall draw the whole earth to themselves and shall inherit it for ever.'

This world dominion of the posterity of Jacob will however be brought about by the tribe of Judah. Isaac said to Judah (31:18-20):²⁵

'God give you strength and power to trample upon all who hate you! Be a prince, you and one of your sons, over the sons of Jacob! May your name and the name of your sons go out and extend over the whole earth and in [all] lands! Then shall the Gentiles fear before your face and all the nations shall be dismayed. In you shall be the help of Jacob, and in you the salvation of Israel. And when you sit on the throne of the renown of your righteousness, deep peace shall rule over all the seed of the children of the beloved (i.e. Abraham).'

The words 'you and one of your sons' seem to point to the coming Messiah.

The intensity of messianic hope in the age of Jesus is attested very characteristically by the fact that even a philosopher such as Philo depicts the awaited happiness of the just and virtuous within the

24. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

25. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Charles compares Test. Levi 18, Test. Reub. 6, and 1 En. 90, and suggests that here the Messiah ('one of thy sons') has no active part to play, as in 1 Enoch 90. He also thinks that 'this seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a temporary Messianic kingdom; cf. 2:330'.

framework and in the colouring of Jewish national expectation.²⁶ Two passages in particular of his work. On the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked', *Phaem.* 29 (104-5, 168) and 25 (85)-20 (126), are involved here. In the first he expresses the hope that all Israelites, or rather, all those who return to the law of God (for he is concerned with this, and not with natural descent from Abraham) will assemble in the holy land.

For though they dwell at the ends of the earth as slaves among their enemies who have led them away captive, yet shall they at a given signal one day all be freed, because their sudden turning to virtue shall astonish their masters. For they will release them because they will be ashamed of ruling over better men. When this unexpected freedom is bestowed on them who were previously dispersed in Hellas and in barbarian lands, on islands and on the mainland, they shall on one impulse hurry from all quarters to a place indicated to them, led by a divine superhuman apparition which, invisible to all others, is visible only to the saved. . . .²⁷ When they then have arrived, the ruined cities shall be rebuilt, and the deserts reinhabited, and the unfruitful land shall be changed into fruitfulness.

In the second passage Philo describes the age of happiness and peace which will enter in when men turn back to God. Above all, they will be safe from wild beasts.

'Bears and lions and panthers and Indian elephants and tigers, and all animals of invincible strength and vigour shall turn from living

26. Cf. on the Messianic idea in Philo, A. Götterer, *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie* (1831) I, pp. 495-534. Whether there is anything more than an implicit messianism in Philo is debatable. E. R. Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus* (1962), p. 78, states that Philo 'kept his messianism to himself'. At the same time, he argues that *Phaem.* 29 (165) affords a glimpse of a still higher type of King for whom he (Philo) was looking, that figure which is usually called the Messiah, an ideal Warrior and King' (*The Politics of Philo Judaeus*, p. 115). Drummond [*The Jewish Messiah* (1871)], *Philo Judaeus or the Jewish ALEXANDRINE PHILOSOPHY* (1888)], failed to find any Messiah in Philo. More recent scholars tend to agree with Goodenough's view: e.g., G. Bertram, 'Philo als politisch-theologischer Propagandist des spätantiken Judentums', *ThLZ* 64 (1939), pp. 192-9. F. Grégoire, 'Le Messie chez Philon d'Alexandrie', *Éphém. Théol. Lovain.* 12 (1935), pp. 28-50; J. de Savignac, 'Le messianisme de Philon d'Alexandrie', NT 4 (1956), pp. 319-27. By contrast, Annie Jaubert, relying mainly on *Phaem.* 15 (87)-16 (95), continues to maintain that Philo presented a 'discreet Messianism', cf. *La notion de l'alliance dans le Judaïsme* (1965), pp. 383-5. For the messianic interpretation of Num. 24:7, the basis of Philo's exegesis in *Phaem.* 16 (95) (cf. also *V.M.* 1:290), see Vernes, *Scripture and Tradition* (1973), pp. 159-61.

27. *Ἐλευσίνωνος ἡρώδης τῶνος θεατοῦς ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀβραμῆνός]* ἔδρασε, ἔδρανον ἡὲν εἴρεως, μὴ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀνατολίταις ἐπιβραβεῖ. The allusion concerns a phenomenon similar to the pillar of fire guiding the Israelites through the wilderness after the exodus from Egypt rather than the Messiah.

solitarily to living together, and from intercourse with few, after the manner of herd animals, shall become accustomed to the sight of man, who shall not, as previously, be attacked by them, but feared. As their master, and they shall revere him as their natural lord. Some, emulating tame animals, shall like lapdogs even offer him homage by wagging their tails. The genus of scorpions and snakes and other reptiles shall then no longer possess any harmful venom.' *Phaem.* 15 (89-90).

A further blessing of this age will be peace among men. For they will be ashamed to be more savage than unreasoning beasts. And whoever attempts to disturb the peace will be destroyed.

'For a man shall come forth, says the prophecy (Num. 24:7), who taking to the field and waging war shall conquer great and populous nations, God himself sending help to his saints. This consists in imperturbable boldness of the soul and invincible strength of the body, of which qualities each is in itself terrible to enemies, but against which, when they are united, no resistance is possible. But some of the enemies shall, as the prophecy says, not even be worthy to perish by human hands. Against them, he shall set swarms of wasps which shall fight for an ignominious overthrow for the saints. But these (ὄφρων should probably read *οὐόφρων*, i.e. the saints) shall not only have certain victory in battle without the shedding of blood, but also invincible power of government for the welfare of the subjected, who subject themselves out of love or fear or respect. For they possess three qualities, which are the greatest, and which found an indestructible government: holiness and mighty power and benevolence (*σεμνότης καὶ δεινότης καὶ ἐδωπεία*), the first of which engenders reverence, the second fear, the third love. But if they are harmoniously unified in the soul, they engender subjects who are obedient to the rulers.' *Phaem.* 16 95-7.²⁸

For the period after Jesus there is more than enough evidence of the liveliness of messianic hope. The many politico-religious movements in the time of the procurators (A.D. 44-66) show with what feverish suspense God's miraculous intervention in history and the beginning of his kingdom on earth were expected. How else could people such as Theudas and the Egyptian have found hundreds and thousands to believe in their promises? Even Josephus admits that the messianic

28. A similar figure, the Messiah of Israel or the Prince of the Congregation, appears in the Qumran documents (e.g. 1QSa 2:14; CD 7:20); Numbers 24:7, the Star and Sceptre in the Balsam prophecy, is messianically interpreted along the same lines as Philo's use of Numbers 24:7 (LXX) (CD *loc. cit.*, 4QTest.) and his rôle is also that of the conquering Messiah (e.g. 1QSb v. 27). See further pp. 550-1.

expectation was one of the most powerful levers in the great rebellion against Rome. He himself was not ashamed to apply messianic prophecies to Vespasian, as did also Yohanan ben Zakkai, and this found a reflection in Tacitus and Suetonius.²⁹

On the position of messianic hope after the destruction of the Temple, in the last decades of the first century A.D., copious information is provided by the Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra. Baruch³⁰ describes the last things as follows. First, there will be a period of general and terrible confusion. Men will hate each other and fight with one another. The dishonourable will rule over men of high repute, the base over the illustrious, the godless over heroes. And nations prepared by God beforehand for the purpose will come and fight against the remaining princes. And it will come to pass that whoever escapes the war will succumb to earthquake; and whoever escapes this, to fire; and he who escapes fire, to famine. And whoever is saved from all these evils shall be delivered into the hands of the Messiah (70:2-10). For he will be made manifest, and will destroy the hosts of the final kingdom of the world. And the last prince still remaining shall be chained and brought to Zion; and the Messiah shall convict him of godlessness and slay him (39:7-40:2). The Messiah shall then assemble the nations and shall grant life to some but wipe out the others with the sword. He shall grant life to those who submit to the seed of Jacob. But those who have oppressed Israel shall be wiped out (72:2-6). He shall then sit on the

29. B. J. vi. 5. 4 (312): *Τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσθημάτων μετέωρα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν χρησιμὸς ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίαις ἐπισημαίνοντες γράψαντες, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος τῆς ἐπιπνεύσεως τῆς οὐρανοῦ. Τότε οἱ μὲν αἱ εὐαγγελιστὶν ἐξέταξαν, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σφοδρῶν ἐπιληρηθῆσαν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔμελλεν εὐαγγελιστὸς τὸ λόγιον ἠρῆμαίνεσθαι, ἀποδοξάζοντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰουδαίων ἀντιπροσέτιμος. Cf. Tacitus, Hist. v. 13: Flavius persuasit inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Titum praedixerant; sed vulgus more humanae cupidinis sibi tantam factorum magnitudinem interpretati ac adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Suetonius, Vesp. 4: 'Pecorebrat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in factis, ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea evenit paruit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes rebellantur.' See A. von Hamack, 'Der jüdische Geschichtsschreiber Josephus und Jesus Christus', Internationale Monatschrift 7 (1913), pp. 1013-67; E. Norden, 'Josephus und Tacitus über Jesus Christus und eine messianische Prophecie', Neue Jahrb. für das Klassische Altertum 31 (1913), pp. 637-66; R. Eisler, *HEBREW BAZILAVEI*, I, p. 343. n. 8; II, pp. 603-4; G. Ricciotti, *Filippo Giuseppe IV*, p. 189, n. on B. J. vi. 5. 4 (312); P. Corssen, 'Die Zeugnisse des Tacitus und Pseudo-Josephus über Christus', ZNW 15 (1914), pp. 114-40; O. Michel-O. Baumfeind, *de bello judaico*, II. 2. Exkurs XV, 'Der Christus epiphonias und seine Deutung', pp. 190-3; S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots* (1907), pp. 335, n. 3, p. 362. Cf. also vol. I, p. 494 and n. 41.*

30. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, I, pp. 569-95; Eisfeldt, *Introduction*, pp. 627-30, 775; A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudepigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*, pp. 182 ff. See vol. III, § 32.

throne of his kingdom for ever;³¹ and peace shall appear, and sorrow and tribulation shall depart from men, and joy shall reign over the whole earth. And the wild beasts shall come and serve men; and vipers and dragons shall submit to young children. And reapers shall not be exhausted nor builders be weary (73-74; cf. 40:2-3). And the earth shall yield her fruits ten-thousandfold. And on every vine there shall be a thousand branches, and on every branch a thousand clusters, and on every cluster a thousand grapes, and one grape shall yield one *kor* of wine.³² And manna shall again fall from heaven and men shall again eat it in those days (29:5-8). And at the end of that time, all the dead shall arise, the just and the unjust, in the same shape and bodily form which they had previously. But after the judgement the resurrected shall be changed. The bodies of the just shall be changed into radiant light, but the godless shall wither and become uglier than before. And they shall be given up to torment. But the just shall see the invisible world and dwell in the heights of that world. And Paradise shall spread before them, and they shall see the hosts of angels standing before the throne of God. And their glory shall be greater than that of the angels (30; 50-1, cf. 44:15).

The eschatological expectations of the writer of the Fourth Book of Ezra agree in all essential points with those of Baruch.³³ He too predicts a preliminary dreadful famine and distress (5:1-13; 6:8-28; 9:1-12; 13:29-31). After this, the Messiah, the son of God, shall be revealed. And it shall come to pass that when the nations hear his voice they shall forget the war among themselves and shall gather together in countless multitudes to attack the Anointed. But he shall stand on Mount Zion and shall convict them of their ungodliness and shall destroy them by the Torah, without battle and without weapons and shall destroy them by cf. 12:31-3). Then shall the hidden city (i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem) appear (7:26); and the ten tribes shall return to the holy land (13:39-47). And the Anointed shall protect and gladden God's people in the holy land and shall show them many wonders for four hundred years (7:27-8; 12:34; 13:48-50; cf. 9:8). And after this time, the Anointed and all men who have breath shall die. And the world shall return to the silence of death for seven days, as in the beginning. And after seven days a world shall be awakened which now sleeps, and the corrupt

31. z Bar. 73:11: '... When he has ... sat down in peace for ever on the throne of His kingdom'. 49:3: 'And his principate shall stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end (Charles' translation). From this last passage it is clear that the rule of the Messiah is not to last strictly 'for ever' but only until the end of this present world.

32. Cf. Papias in Irenaeus, *Haer.* v. 33, 3-4.

33. R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha II*, pp. 542-624. Eisfeldt, *Introduction*, pp. 624-7; A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudepigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*, pp. 194 ff. See further vol. III, § 32.

world shall disappear. And the earth shall give up those who sleep within her, and the receptacles shall give back the souls entrusted to them (7:29-32). And the Most High shall appear on the judgement seat and patience shall have an end; only judgement shall remain; and the reward shall come to light (7:33-5). And the place of torment shall be revealed, and opposite it, the place of rest; the abyss of hell, and opposite it, Paradise. And the Most High shall say to the risen: Look on him whom you denied and did not honour, whose commands you did not obey. Here is joy and bliss, and there is fire and torment. And the duration of the day of judgement shall be a week of years (7:36-43; cf. 7:84 and 95-8).

Such are the messianic expectations of the two Apocalypses. That they are not isolated but form an essential part of Jewish religious thought is apparent from the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, the daily prayer of the Jews revised in about A.D. 100. As this prayer has already been fully discussed (pp. 455-63), it is enough at this point to recall that the tenth benediction prays for the gathering of the dispersed; the eleventh, for the reinstatement of national authority; the fourteen, for the rebuilding of Jerusalem; the fifteenth, for the sending of the Son of David and the establishment of his kingdom; and finally the seventeenth for the restoration of sacrificial worship in Jerusalem. In the shorter Palestinian recension, the fifteenth *berakhoth* is missing. The prayer for the coming of the Son of David is merely indicated in conjunction with the fourteenth *berakhoth*.³⁴

Because of their composite character, and the difficulty in dating their constitutive elements, this survey has purposely passed over the Targums, where 'the King Messiah' frequently appears.³⁵ For whereas a number of Targumic traditions are no doubt pre-Christian, the surviving compositions probably belong to the second to the fourth century A.D. The situation here, therefore, is the same as that affecting other rabbinical writings (Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash): although based on older material, in their present form they do not belong to the period under discussion.

The essential features of Jewish messianic hope of this later time (around the beginning of the third century A.D.) are very well summarized by Hippolytus:

34. The prayer for the re-building of Jerusalem and restoration of the 'abodah' (sacrificial worship) occurs also in the Passover Liturgy. See mPes. 10:6.

35. A list of messianic passages in the Targums may be found in J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum* (1639), cols. 1268-73. Cf. R. Le Déaut, *La Naït Pascalie: Essai sur la signification de la Pâque juive à partir du Targum d'Ézra et de la Palestine* (1963), especially pp. 279-303. See also M. McNamara, *The New Testaments and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (1966), pp. 238-52; J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (1969), pp. 278 ff., 290, etc.; S. H. Levey, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation—The Messianic Exegesis of the Targum* (1974).

'For they say that his generation will be of the stock of David, but not from a virgin and the holy spirit, but from a woman and a man, according as it is natural for all to be procreated from seed. And they allege that he will be king over them, a warlike and powerful man, when he has done battle with all the nations, will restore for them Jerusalem the royal city. Into this city he will bring together the entire race, and will once again reinstate them in the ancient circumstances as a nation exercising royal and priestly functions, and dwelling in security for a long time. Then, when they are gathered together, war will be waged against them, and in this war Christ will fall by the sword. Then, after a short time, the end and conflagration of the universe will follow. In this way, their opinions concerning the resurrection will be fulfilled, and a recompense be rendered to each man according to his works.'³⁶

Of messianic expectation among the Samaritans at the time of Jesus nothing precise is known since the sources on Samaritan theology belong to a later era. In these, the Messiah is called *Tahzeb* (he who returns or who converts?), and is represented above all as a prophet who restores everywhere the true doctrine (cf. Jn. 4:25), but also as priest and king.³⁷

For Qumran messianism, see Appendix B below.

36. *Ref. omn. Isaac*, ix 30: Γένεω μὲν γὰρ αἶρος [scil. τοῦ Χριστοῦ] ἐκ γένου λέγουσιν ἐκ γένου Δαβὶδ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ γυναίκης καὶ ἀνδρός, ὡς πάντων ὅσοι γεννῶνται ἐκ σπέρματος, φέροντες τοὺτον τοῦτον βασιλέα ἐν αἰσίοις, ἀδελφὰ πολλοῦτον καὶ δυνατὸν, ὃς ἐπιστρέψῃς τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πολέμῳ, ἀναστήσει αὐτοὺς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, πάλιν βασιλεύσει, εἰς τὴν ἐπιουσίαν ἕσται τὸ ἔθνος καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη αἰὶν ἄποκαταστήσει βασιλεύσει καὶ ἱερατεύσει καὶ κερταύσει ἐν ἐσάτω τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν μάχῃ, ἔπειτα μετ' αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσει καὶ ἱερατεύσει τὸν πᾶντον ἔθνος, καὶ οὐτως τὰ μετὰ τὴν αἰώνιον δοξαζόμενα ἐπιουσίῃ θήσει, τίς τε ἐπιούσιος ἐσάτω κατὰ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐπιουσίαν ἀποδοθήσει. There is much material in Jerome on the Jewish messianism in his time. See the summary by S. Krauss, JQR 6 (1894), pp. 240-5.

37. A. Cowley, 'The Samaritan doctrine of the Messiah', *Expositor* (1895), pp. 161-74; J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907), pp. 245-50. See further, A. Marx, 'Der Messiah oder Ta'eb-der Samaritaner', *BZAW*, 17 (1909); I. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (1964), especially, pp. 362 ff. M. Black, *Sevalls*, pp. 158 ff.