APOCALYPTIC SHEEP AND GOATS IN MATTHEW AND 1 ENOCH

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Abbreviations

Primary Sources

1 En.	1 Enoch
2 Bar.	2 Baruch
3 Bar.	3 Baruch
3 Philip.	Demosthenes, *3 Philippic*
An. post.	Aristotle, *Analytica posteriora*
Ant.	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*
Apoc. Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses
b.	Babylonian Talmud
Brut.	Cicero, *Brutus*
Cat.	Aristotle, *Categoriae*
Crat.	Plato, *Cratylus*
Creation	Philo, *On the Creation of the World*
Criti.	Plato, *Critias*
De an.	Aristotle, *De anima*
De or.	Cicero, *De oratore*
Ep.	Seneca, *Epistulae morales*
Eq.	Aristophanes, *Equites*
Evag.	Isocrates, *Evagoras*
Fam.	Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*
Gen. Rab.	Genesis Rabbah
Gorg.	Plato, *Gorgias*
Hel.	Gorgias, *Helena*
Hist. an.	Aristotle, *Historia animalium*
Inst.	Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*
Int.	Aristotle, *De interpretatione*
Jub.	Jubilees
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve
Leg.	Plato, *Leges*
LXX	Septuagint

Mem. rem.	Aristotle, *De memoria et reminiscentia*
Metaph.	Aristotle, *Metaphysica*
MT	Masoretic Text
Or. Brut.	Cicero, *Orator ad M. Brutum*
Paed.	Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*
Pesah.	Pesahim
Phaedr.	Plato, *Phaedrus*
Phileb.	Plato, *Philebus*
Phys.	Aristotle, *Physica*
Poet.	Aristotle, *Poetica*
Praep. ev.	Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio evangelica*
Prot.	Plato, *Protagoras*
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Ran.	Aristophanes, *Ranae*
Rhet.	Aristotle, *Rhetorica*
Rhet. Her.	Rhetorica ad Herennium
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
T. Dan	Testament of Dan
T. Isaac	Testament of Isaac
T. Job	Testament of Job
Test. Ab.	Testament of Abraham
Theaet.	Plato, *Theaetetus*
Tim.	Plato, *Timaeus*
Top.	Aristotle, *Topica*

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York Doubleday, 1992.
AJSR	*Association for Jewish Studies Review*
AnBib	Analecta biblica
AOS	American Oriental Series
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibNot	*Biblische Notizen*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BR	*Biblical Research*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConBNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica or Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
ETS	Erfurter theologische Studien
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HALOT	Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTSTSt	*HTS Teologiese Studies*
IBT	Interpreting Biblical Texts
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDBSup	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume*. Edited by Keith Crim. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCTCRS	Jewish and Christian Texts in Context and Related Studies

JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTC	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
MSJ	*The Master's Seminary Journal*
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OEBI	*The Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*. Edited by Steven L. McKenzie. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
QJS	*Quarterly Journal of Speech*
RPP	*Religion Past and Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion*. Edited by Hans Dieter Betz et al. 14 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2007–2013.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SBTS	Sources for Biblical Theological Study
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series

STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StZ	*Stimmen der Zeit*
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976.
TS	*Theological Studies*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

1
Approaching Matthew's Apocalyptic Discourse

1.1. Introduction

For many readers, apocalyptic and eschatological judgment have long characterized the Gospel of Matthew.[1] For example, it is from his study of the Gospel of Matthew that Ernst Käsemann coined the dictum, "apocalyptic is the mother of all Christian theology."[2] Matthew's eschatological imageries of judgment are often identified as apocalyptic and referred to as Matthew's apocalyptic discourses (e.g., Matt 25:31–46). However, it is not clear what exactly that apocalyptic identity entails. In the past, scholars who have read Matthew's eschatological judgment in light of Jewish apocalyptic literature assigned a specific function to its apocalyptic character. For example, David C. Sim perceives the apocalyptic material in Matthew to reflect an ideology that some scholars of Jewish apocalyptic literature call "apocalyptic eschatology." For Sim, that clearly indicates Matthew's intentions about an imminent parousia and judgment.[3]

A recent turn by scholarship on apocalyptic literature recognizes apocalyptic as a cultural phenomenon distinct from eschatology, a phenomenon that points toward the literary and intellectual creativity of Jewish scribes. This suggests that apocalyptic and eschatology are distinc-

1. For convenience, I will refer to the text of the Gospel of Matthew as Matthew. If in places it seems I may be referring to the author, I refer to the implied author, which may stand also as editors. I may also utilize *Matthean* in modifying texts that are products of redacting/editing sources, which I perceive as intertexts of inner-Synoptic and intertextual dialogue in the texts. I will refer also to the implied audience when speaking of the text's intended audience.

2. Ernst Käsemann, "Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie," *ZTK* 57 (1960): 162–85, ET Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," *JTC* 6 (1969): 17–46.

3. I will return to David C. Sim's work below.

tive and should not be conflated. If this is true, then in contrast to what Sim and others say,[4] apocalyptic in the Gospel of Matthew may not equate with an ideology or social movement. That allows for a reassessment of the relations between apocalyptic in Matthew and possible notions of an imminent parousia and judgment. Thus, it is important that this study on the function of Matthew's apocalyptic discourse of judgment imagery establishes at the outset a working definition of *apocalyptic*.

1.2. Apocalyptic Literature and Apocalyptic

Scholars have long explored the nature of apocalyptic literature and attempted to define the extent to which we can refer to a text as apocalyptic.[5] Ancient authors did not understand ἀποκάλυψις the way modern scholarship interprets *apocalypse*, that is, as identifying forms of literary works, nor did they use the adjective ἀποκαλυπτικός to describe the contents of these works.[6] The need to distinguish between apocalyptic and

4. I will return below with a survey of literature of those who equate apocalyptic material of Matthew with the imminent coming judgment.

5. With reference to Rev 1:1, Friedrich Luecke is credited for first using *apocalypsis* in a generic sense for Jewish and Christian texts that were similar in form and content to the Revelation of John. See Friedrich Luecke, *Versuch einer vollstaendigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis und in die gesammte apokalyptische Literatur* (Bonn: Eduard Weber, 1832). By the mid-1900s, *apocalyptic*(*ally*) as verb, noun, and adjective were often used interchangeably by scholars and theologians alike, and the overlap of categories created confusion to the point that many abandoned the term. David Hellholm, like many others, recognizes that the generic designation *apocalypse* was influenced by the self-reference in the prologue of Revelation, which should be seen not only as a title but also as a reference to a genre. See David Hellholm, "Apocalypse," *RPP*, 1:297. See also Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, SBT 2/22 (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1972), 18.

6. Morton Smith, "On the History of ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΩ and ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*, ed. David Hellholm, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 9–20. The Greek verb ἀποκαλύπτω, "to reveal, disclose, uncover," was in use as far back as Plato (*Prot.* 352a; *Gorg.* 455d). The noun ἀποκάλυψις appeared in Philodemus to mean "revelation" in the literal sense (Περί κακίον 22.15). Both refer to things related to humans. Plato uses the verb figuratively, for example when Socrates asks Protagoras to reveal his opinion. In addition, Gorgias informs Socrates that he will reveal his opinions concerning oratory. Philodemus speaks in the above instance about uncovering the head. Smith argues that the LXX never uses ἀποκάλυψις to refer to things relating to the divine, but that

eschatology has been on the minds of scholars.[7] Instead of acknowledging the past for exacting use of the terms, scholars recently have been mobilizing for a resolution.[8] This includes identifying the origins of apocalyptic

it does use the verb ἀποκαλύπτω to refer to things relating to humans. The adjective ἀποκαλυπτικός is regularly cited as first coming from Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 1.1), describing the divine Word as "revealing" when taught, which is not necessarily what scholars today call apocalypse (see Smith, "On the History," 10–11). Smith conjectures that, in the final centuries BCE, a rise in belief among the "lower-middle-class" that the gods had secrets to reveal took hold in the eastern Mediterranean (Smith, "On the History," 12–14). By extension, this would culminate in the use of ἀποκάλυψις in Rev 1:1: "The revelation [ἀποκάλυψις] of Jesus Christ which God gave to him to show his servants what must soon come to pass." Smith points out that both the noun and verb appear in the LXX but more often refer to matters being revealed among humans (Smith, "On the History," 10–11).

7. H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic: A Study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to the Revelation* (London: Lutterworth, 1944), 49. In noticing the absence of eschatology in some Jewish Apocalypses, Rowley already suggested in a work published in 1944 that the distinction between apocalyptic and eschatology must be made: "Just because so much eschatology enters into all apocalyptic, the two terms are commonly confused."

8. Koch, *Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, 13–15. The interest in distinguishing between the terms follows the concern for the lack of clarity as to the relationship between the Old Testament and New Testament. According to Koch, theologians have provided excessive and unfounded answers that are due to the lack of studies by scholars of the historical aspects of apocalypses. Koch's call for a resolution became a turning point to rejuvenate the studies of apocalyptic literature as scholars began to (re)define the relevant terminologies. This may have been the point at which apocalyptic as a literary genre became more defined, for in the last decade of the twentieth century, scholarship on apocalyptic literature began to choose between two approaches to apocalyptic: apocalyptic as a literary genre and apocalyptic as a theological concept. In distinguishing between form, content, and function, Koch designated *apocalypse* as a literary genre, *apocalyptic* as describing the literary contents found in the apocalypses, and *apocalypticism* as an intellectual movement (Koch, *Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, 18–33). Koch went on to list six characterizing entities. These were visions (discourse cycles with *angelus interpres*), spiritual turmoil, paraenetical discourses, pseudonym, mythical images rich in symbolism, and composite character. Koch notes that "the generic characteristics of the *paraenetic* sections, as well as the origins of the form, are still uninvestigated" (Koch, *Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, 25). He asks whether these came from either the wisdom or the prophetic traditions. His recognition of symbolism will be significant later in this study as I explore apocalyptic language. For a survey of studies on apocalyptic literature up to the second half of the twentieth century in light of the term/concept of apocalyptic, see Richard E. Sturm, "Defining the Word 'Apocalyptic,'" in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed.

phenomena and establishing a definition that defines the phenomena in terms of form, content, and function.

John J. Collins led a group of scholars in establishing a definition of apocalypse at the Society of Biblical Literature meeting in 1979, the proceedings of which were published in *Semeia* 14.[9] Many scholars today have accepted this definition as a heuristic paradigm. Collins wrote,

> Apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality that is both temporal, insofar as it envisages an eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another super natural world.

Collins classifies two types of apocalypses: historical and otherworldly journeys.[10] He finds the adjective *apocalyptic* more useful if it refers to works identified as apocalypses and suggests that it can be extended legitimately to other literature insofar as that literature resembles the apocalypses. For Collins, apocalyptic contents consist of a worldview that perceives the world as mysterious.[11] He states, "If we say that a work is apocalyptic we encourage the reader to expect that it frames its message within the view of the world that is characteristic of the genre."[12] Collins goes on to list those characteristic elements. He favors prophetic origins of the apocalypses, while acknowledging wisdom material of the wider Mesopotamian and Hellenistic world.[13] We might ask at this point: If a

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Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989). Sturm in this essay conveniently places the history of scholarship before the mid–nineteen hundreds in two broad approaches to the term apocalyptic: apocalyptic as a literary genre and as a theological concept.

9. John J. Collins, ed., "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–20.

10. Collins, "Introduction," 13. See also John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 6.

11. Collins, "Introduction," 8. For example, "human life [that] is bounded in the present by the supernatural world of angels and demons and in the future by the inevitability of a final judgment."

12. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 9.

13. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 28. Reproduced in Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 7. He lists cosmogony, primordial events, recollection of past, *ex eventu* prophecy, persecution, other eschatological upheavals, judgment/

particular worldview underlies apocalyptic literature, what prevents the gospel writers from sharing the same worldview? Why is such a worldview linked a priori with apocalypse as a genre?

Assuming a prophetic origin and function to the phenomenon of apocalyptic, some scholars attribute to apocalyptic literature a social movement of a suffering and marginalized group.[14] In taking considerable care not to link function too closely with content, Collins perceives an apocalyptic movement to exist "if it shared the conceptual framework of the genre, endorsing a worldview in which supernatural revelation, the heavenly world, and eschatological judgment played essential parts."[15] The problem is that not all Jewish apocalypses, such as 1 Enoch, contain a developed eschatology. There may also be as many different types of apocalyptic movements as there are different kinds of apocalypses. For Collins,

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destruction of wicked, judgment/destruction of world, judgment/destruction of otherworldly beings, cosmic transformation, resurrection, and other forms of afterlife.

14. Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Early Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979). Hanson clearly delineates the apocalyptic phenomenon into form, content, and function. In the power structures of the hierocracy, as Hanson argues, visionary successors of the prophets felt helpless under these conditions and doubtful of prophetic visions like Second Isaiah; hence, they were inclined toward eschatological perceptions of the sort found in apocalyptic literature. For Hanson, the dominant feature of Jewish apocalypse is "apocalyptic eschatology," since it would be "mindful of the historical dimension behind its [apocalyptic] development" (Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 10). Hanson defines apocalyptic eschatology as "the disclosure (usually esoteric in nature) to the elect of the prophetic vision of Yahweh's sovereignty (including his future dealings with his people, the inner secrets of the cosmos, etc.) which vision the visionaries have ceased to translate into terms of plain history, real politics and human instrumentality because of a pessimistic view of reality growing out of the bleak postexilic conditions in which the visionary group found itself." In a later work, Hanson describes apocalyptic as follows: "Apocalyptic is commonly the mode of thought adopted by people who have grown deeply disillusioned with the realities of this world. They feel that the normal channels of power have passed them by. They feel cut off from their own societies, victimized and abandoned." See Paul D. Hanson, *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, IBT (Nashville: Abingdon, 1987), 34. See also Paul D. Hanson, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism," *ABD* 1:279–82. There he repeats his definition of the word *apocalyptic* as designating a phenomenon of disclosure, namely, that of "heavenly secrets in visionary form to a seer for the benefit of a religious community experiencing suffering or perceiving itself victimized by some form of deprivation." These, however, I argue here to be problematic.

15. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 12–13.

movements differ in context and cannot be assumed to be universal. He contends that social setting does not seem to be inferred from the literary genre and that it varies through time and space.[16] How then can we say that social movement is apocalyptic?

Paolo Sacchi and Gabriele Boccaccini offer an interesting alternative to the relations of content (apocalyptic) and genre (apocalypse).[17] For these Italian scholars, the adjective *apocalyptic* designates a tradition of thought, whose cornerstone is the conception of evil as the cause of sin and of corrupted creation. This tradition of thought, they insist, should be understood apart from the genre. They state that "the 'apocalyptic' tradition cannot be defined as the [distinct] tradition of thought of the Apocalypses,"[18] because,

16. John J. Collins, "Genre, Ideology and Social Movements," in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*, ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 19–20.

17. Sacchi sees apocalyptic as a single tradition built upon the origin of evil pervasive in the book of 1 Enoch. See Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, trans. William J. Short (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990). Boccaccini, in a scholarly discussion demarcating a decade since the Uppsala Colloquium, briefly summarizes Italian scholarship on apocalyptic studies and suggests that we can speak of an apocalyptic tradition of thought apart from the apocalypses themselves. See Gabrielle Boccaccini, "The Contribution of Italian Scholarship," in Collins and Charlesworth, *Mysteries and Revelations*, 33–50. Following the lead of Paolo Sacchi, Italian scholars chart the apocalyptic tradition, which spans seven periods from the fifth century BCE to the second century CE, that is, from 1 Enoch (which constitutes the first five periods) to 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra (which constitute the seventh period in the second century CE). It is now commonly understood that these writings may span from the third century BCE to the second century CE instead.

18. Boccaccini, "Contribution of Italian Scholarship," 48. Boccaccini repeats this notion in a separate work. See Gabrielle Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 BCE to 200 CE* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991). There he links this tradition of thought to wisdom literature, namely, to Job and Qoheleth, and the question of divine knowledge and human freedom (or the lack thereof). A counterpart to this apocalyptic tradition, according to Boccaccini, can be found in the book of Ben Sira and Daniel, where there is a different ideological tradition. However, in a later essay, "The Covenantal Theology of the Apocalyptic Book of Daniel," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), he explains that the paradox is solved, and Daniel can be considered as apocalyptic. He bases this change of conviction on Collins's statement: "the Jewish apocalypses were not produced by a single apocalyptic movement but constituted a genre that could be utilized by different groups in various situations" (Collins, Apocalyptic Imagination, 280).

as Boccaccini suggests, "the documents belonging to the apocalyptic tradition are neither all nor only Apocalypses."[19] As such, insofar as it denotes an ideology, apocalyptic can occur in more than one genre. This allows Boccaccini and others to suggest that similar traditions of thought found in other genres can be described as apocalyptic as well. This transference of ideology from one genre to another may be the key reason why so many people have applied thoughts gleaned from apocalypses to other literary genres, like the gospels. However, an ideology can just as easily be speculative as identifying a social movement. The thought that apocalyptic can be found in other genres is an appealing idea, but why is it that the articulation of the problem of evil or eschatology in some apocalypses must be labeled apocalyptic in genres that are not actually apocalypses?

The International Colloquium at Uppsala in 1979 offered significant and critical insights for the study and definition of the apocalyptic phenomenon, as well as relevant terms.[20] We find in its proceedings astute challenges to Collins's generic definition.[21] One notable contribution is by Jean Carmignac, who articulates undeniable features of apocalyptic literature in his definition. Carmignac's essay seeks a definition broad enough to

19. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism*, 130.

20. David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989). This international meeting was held in Uppsala in 1979 on the topic of apocalypticism within the wider Mediterranean and Near Eastern context. The papers from this conference were published several years later in 1983. The committee for that conference turned down the attempts for a definition by a select group, and so the contributors each provided their own. The editor, David Hellholm, later commented that this was fortunate, as it may have been too early for an overall definition. See David Hellholm, "Methodological Reflections on the Problem of Definition of Generic Texts," in Collins and Charlesworth, *Mysteries and Revelations*, 135.

21. E. P. Sanders, who is most critical of Collins, finds the classification of an apocalypse and its characteristic elements problematic. For Sanders, those classified as apocalypses lack most of the listed traits, while those literary works containing the traits are not classified as apocalypses. See E. P. Sanders, "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 449. In adopting an essentialist approach, Sanders proposes that Jewish Palestinian apocalypses are more distinctive in their emphasis on the themes of revelation and reversal (Sanders, Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," 456). He identifies Palestinian Jewish works as including Dan 7–12, 1 Enoch, Jub. 23, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, Testament of Abraham, and Testament of Levi.

include all possible prospective literary works.[22] He designates *apocalyptic* as a term that describes the literary genre, and calls those works that utilize this genre *apocalypse*.[23] He defines apocalypse as "a literary genre that describes the celestial revelations through symbols."[24] Carmignac defines the genre based solely on its spatial content,[25] while emphasizing language found in apocalypses. Such a definition foregrounds literary descriptions of contents within apocalypses.[26] Unlike Collins and others, eschatology plays no necessary role in Carmignac's paradigm. Of crucial importance in this study is that, as for Carmignac so for Klaus Koch, symbolic language forms an integral part of apocalyptic studies.[27]

Although discerning the origins of apocalyptic is beyond the scope of this study, it is an overstatement to locate apocalypses in either prophetic or wisdom traditions;[28] however, expanding apocalyptic's roots beyond the confines of the Hebrew Bible would certainly help to avoid such simplification. Scholars have now generally accepted the roots of Jewish apocalypses as lying ultimately in traditions of Near Eastern and

22. Jean Carmignac, "Description du phenomene de l'Apocalyptique dans l'Ancient Testament," in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 163–70.

23. See P. Vielhauer, "Apocalypses and Related Subjects: Introduction," in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Lutterworth, 1965), 2:581–607, esp. 582. Vielhauer states: "By means of the word 'Apocalyptic' we designate first of all the literary genre of the Apocalypses, i.e., revelatory writings which disclose the secrets of the beyond and especially of the end of time, and then secondly, the realm of ideas from which this literature originates."

24. Carmignac, "Description," 165.

25. Christopher Rowland later emphasizes this spatial content, saying that "apocalyptic seems essentially to be about the revelation of the divine mysteries." See Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 70–72.

26. See also Koch, *Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, 18–33, and Lars Hartman, "Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre," in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 329–44.

27. One of Koch's defining characteristics of apocalyptic is "mythical images rich in symbolism."

28. E. P. Sanders represents a view that finds significance in both the prophetic and wisdom traditions in apocalypses. He strives to incorporate eschatology and the mediation of revelation on equal terms. This view is also shared by Ithamar Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism: Studies in Apocalypticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism* (New York: Lang, 1988), 76; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980). See also John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1986).

Mediterranean mythologies and literature.[29] Daniel Boyarin insists that "one does not need to search for the origins of 'apocalypticism,' for the connections with the Babylonian scribal wisdom are sufficient to explain the tradition."[30] Such roots affirm past arguments of Gerhard von Rad, Michael E. Stone, Jonathan Z. Smith, and Hans Dieter Betz in emphasizing the association of apocalypses with wisdom traditions of the ancient Near East and the wider Hellenistic world. These perspectives present a more promising path for appreciating the literary and intellectual creativity evident within apocalyptic literature.[31] Smith states that the apocalyptic

29. Richard J. Clifford, S.J., "The Roots of Apocalypticism in Near Eastern Myth," in *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*, ed. Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein (New York: Continuum, 2003), 3–29. See also Anders Hultgard, "Persian Apocalpyticism," 30–63, in the same volume. See also Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. John Bowden, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991).

30. Boyarin's expertise in the Babylonian Talmud and cultural affinities of Jewish-Christian relations in late antiquity is insightful. For example, see Daniel Boyarin, *A Traveling Homeland: The Babylonian Talmud as Diaspora* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2015); Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: New Press, 2012); Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994). The above quotation is taken from a chapter discussion on Jewish apocalypse by Boyarin, "Rethinking Apocalypse; or, Apocalypse Then" (unpublished manuscript). The ways in which I have taken up my views of apocalyptic in this study are indebted to his insights.

31. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Tradition*, trans. D. Stalker, vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965). Von Rad makes the argument that *Apokalyptik* springs not from Israelite prophecy but from Israelite wisdom. The close link he makes between *Apokalyptik* and wisdom leads him to link the literary conventions in apocalypses to "figurative discourses" or *meshalim* typical of wisdom traditions (2:306). For him, the interpretation of oracles and dreams is the task of the wise man; here he draws a parallel with the Joseph story (2:324–26). Among others, occurrences of paraenetical material in the apocalyptic writings, theodicy, and stylistic devices (i.e., the use of a question-and-answer method) are significant links with wisdom (2:326–27). See Michael E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God; Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Werner E. LeMarke, and Patrick D. Miller (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 426; Jonathan Z. Smith, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic," in *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity: Essays in Conversation with Geo Widengren*, ed. Birger A. Pearson (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 131–56. Smith argues for continuity between apocalyptists and ancient Babylonian scribalism, which is the beginning of the relationship between wisdom and apocalypses. See also Hans Dieter Betz, "On the Problem of the Religio-historical

phenomenon is "wisdom lacking a royal patron," a definition with which Smith rightly questions the "lachrymose theory" of apocalypticism. Smith insists that the phenomenon is not a response to religious persecution but an *expression* of it.[32] He further states that the apocalyptic phenomenon is "a learned rather than a popular religious phenomenon."

Defining the apocalyptic phenomenon in terms of form, content, and function has not held up to scrutiny. Apocalyptic as denoting worldview, social movement, and ideology raises more questions than it offers solutions. Recently, Lester L. Grabbe, Philip R. Davies, and Daniel Boyarin have suggested we redefine our approach.[33] These scholars place more emphasis upon seeing Jewish apocalypses as reflecting a mode of Jewish thinking and literary creativity in the midst of the Near Eastern world of ancient intellectuals than reflecting an ideology or a movement confined to groups of Jews located at the margins of society. Davies defines apocalypse as "a literary communication of esoteric knowledge, purportedly mediated by a heavenly figure to (usually so, but not in the book of Revelation) a renowned figure of the past."[34] He states,

> This definition … permits us to divide the subject-matter of the knowledge into political, historical futuristic, astronomical, halakhic, *listenwissenschaftlich*. It is also broad enough to contain both Jewish and non-Jewish apocalypses. The content of an apocalypse is therefore *esoteric* knowledge of a kind that could be acquired not by human

Understanding of Apocalypticism," *JTC* 6 (1969): 134–54; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, esp. 1:210–18.

32. Smith, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic," 149, 154–55. Smith sees this as an expression of "the trauma of the cessation of native kingship."

33. Phillip R. Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, Bible World (Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2008); Lester L. Grabbe, "Prophetic and Apocalyptic: Time for New Definitions—and New Thinking," in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak (New York: T&T Clark, 2003): 107–33. Grabbe sees both prophetic and apocalyptic literature as scribal products. To distinguish between the two is misplaced: "With regard to both prophecy and apocalyptic, however, the product before us is a scribal creation which may have little or nothing to do with an actual prophet or visionary" (132). See also G. G. Xeravits, "Wisdom Traits of the Eschatological Prophet," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. Garcia Martinez (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003): 183–92. Boyarin finds traces of the origins in Babylonian scribal wisdom. See n. 30 above.

34. Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 103.

> observation or reason but by revelation. The supernatural origin of the revelation and the pseudonymous attribution of the literary report to a venerable figure of the past imply to the recipient that the knowledge is both irrefutable and powerful. Certain additional features can indicate the purpose and background of a particular apocalypse; for example, many Jewish apocalypses contain exhortation and consolation. The purpose of the revealed knowledge in these cases is to give assurance in the face of crisis or calamity (e.g., Daniel, 4 Ezra). If the content of the apocalypse is halakhic or quasi-historical (e.g., Jubilees, despite its historiographical guise), we may suppose that it represents a claim to the cosmic correctness of a certain way of behaving.[35]

Here Davies identifies the content with esoteric knowledge that is broad but limited only to the esoteric nature defined by the genre, and that it is mediated by a heavenly being to a renowned figure of the past. The revelatory and communicative essence of this definition is certainly not unique to Davies and perhaps unobjectionable.[36] However, Davies's emphasis on the literary creativity of apocalyptic and his association of this literary phenomenon with Jewish scribes and sages is especially significant.[37] Davies

35. Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 103. See also Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 14: "To speak of apocalyptic, therefore, is to concentrate on the theme of the direct communication of the heavenly mysteries in all their diversity."

36. E.g., Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 21. In response to Rowland, Collins states, "Such a definition is unobjectionable as far as it goes" (*Apocalyptic Imagination*, 10).

37. Davies pinpoints Babylonian manticism as what likely influenced the scribes who wrote apocalypses. For example, Mesopotamian manticism includes "the perception of all human experience as forming an 'interlocking totality,' which makes the associations of phenomena significant and potentially predictive," and "irregularities" within an ordered world that hint at the involvement of gods in human history (Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 109). From this involvement, we can derive inferences for human virtue and ethics. The association between the doings of the gods and human behavior (ethical wisdom), as Davies suggests, is the very subject of mantic lore. He states, "Mantic lore is thus empirical, based on observation, as is instructional or 'ethical' wisdom, the one concerned with the doings and decisions of the gods, the other with human behavior" (Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 110). Indeed, manticism is not confined to Babylonian practices, as it is also found in Egyptian and Hellenistic literature, but Babylonian Jewry may have been instrumental (Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 28). Although Collins points out that manticism is found in Egyptian and Hellenistic literature, he does not deny influences of Babylonian dream interpretation in Jewish apocalypses. See, for example, John J. Collins, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 35. In fact, Collins finds the work of

notes that in Jewish apocalyptic literature such practices are attributed especially to the wise. He hesitates to label the contents as apocalyptic, not because they are not but because that label is unnecessary, for the revelation of heavenly secrets has been "a long-established and well-embedded scribal convention" that can be traced back to scribes of ancient Babylonia.[38]

1.2.1. A Working Definition of Apocalypse and Apocalyptic

In defining the genre apocalypse, therefore, the first part of Collins's definition cited above remains helpful: "Apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient." Davies defines the nature of this revelation and its contents further, seeing apocalypse as "a literary communication of esoteric knowledge." This knowledge is acquired only *through heavenly revelation* and not through human observation and reason. It may or may not include eschatology. Carmignac characterizes the contents in terms of the salient features of that heavenly communication, suggesting that the literary genre "describes the celestial revelations *through symbols*," which Davies suggests stem from wisdom traditions of both Jewish and the Near East—namely, Babylonian—origins.[39] Apocalyptic then *is the adjective that describes the literary communication of*

VanderKam and Kvanvig plausible, who argue for literary influences and connections between Babylonian material and Enoch and Daniel. See James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS 16 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984); Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988).

38. Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 112. He explains this hesitance by saying, "Anyone might write an apocalypse, just as anyone might write a biography, compose an oracle, write a letter, or make a speech. It is part of a repertoire of literary forms." But then he asks, "Why should we take that classification further, when we do not for any other genre?" (Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 101). Davies argues that classifying an apocalypse as a genre is one thing, but classifying the contents of that genre under the same definition is another.

39. Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 112. He states, "Certainly, the symbolic vision represents a mantic device, whereby something observed is imbued with an esoteric meaning. This may involve a simple wordplay … or a more developed perception, as in a dream … and can be stretched into a quite elaborate 'historical' review from the mouth of an angelic intermediary." Here I integrate definitions of Carmignac, "Description," 163–70, and Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 103.

esoteric knowledge through heavenly revelation and symbols, which may take the form of dreams, visions, or angelic pronouncements.[40] This definition sees apocalypses and apocalyptic primarily as a literary and scribal phenomenon.

Yet Collins rightly suggests that apocalyptic is not simply conceptual "but is generated by social and historical circumstances."[41] In this regard, Davies looks to the activities of Jewish scribes of wisdom traditions. These scribes were among the social elite. He states,

> The social background of "apocalyptic" writing thus furnished is more fully described and precisely documented by the activity of political "established" and cultural cosmopolitan scribes than of visionary "counter-establishment" conventicles.[42]

Indeed, on this basis, apocalyptic literature would not have been a product of a marginal, alienated, or oppressed group.[43] Boyarin agrees but suggests that the best way to flesh out this idea is to consider the distinct views in apocalyptic literature along a broader continuum of both space and time of intellectual exchanges among Jewish scribes.[44] This study takes seriously this insight as it attempts to chart possible influences from the Book of Dreams on the Gospel of Matthew and as it considers them as literary and scribal activities. As such, these influences and activities are inseparable from cultural knowledge (memories and traditions) and historical experiences.

Our working definition of apocalypse does not depart altogether from Collins's, which delineates the significant elements of apocalypses

40. Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 9–10.

41. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 22.

42. Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 112.

43. Contra Hanson, who states, as noted above, "Apocalyptic is commonly the mode of thought adopted by people who have grown deeply disillusioned with the realities of this world. They feel that the normal channels of power have passed them by. They feel cut off from their own societies, victimized and abandoned" (*Old Testament Apocalyptic*, 34).

44. Boyarin, "Rethinking Apocalypse; or, Apocalypse Then." On this point, Boyarin cites Annette Yoshiko Reed, "From Scribalism to Sectarianism: The Angelic Descent Myth and the Social Settings of Enochic Pseudepigraphy," chapter 2 in *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). In this chapter Reed responds positively to Davies's proposition and concludes that the scribes were among the elites rather than separatists (Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 69).

as being a revelation (message), a heavenly mediator, and a recipient. It is obviously a paradigm of communicating an esoteric message for which a divine being or an angelic interpreter is needed. The designation *apocalyptic* extends to the literary expressions and tools of that communication, that is, metaphors, allegory, intertextual allusions, motifs, themes, and so on. Therefore, one may also refer to the persuasive and argumentative features of the communication as apocalyptic rhetoric. This literary description of apocalyptic enables its exploration in other genres such as epistles and the gospels.[45]

This stance departs from Collins's and others' definition by perceiving eschatology as distinct from apocalyptic, though they are not mutually exclusive. Apocalyptic refers to the literary contents of Jewish apocalypses that communicate esoteric knowledge via heavenly beings. Eschatology refers to ideas and beliefs of the end time (i.e., the coming end, end-time judgment, eternal death, eternal life, etc.). These ideologies are found in some Jewish apocalyptic texts (e.g., Daniel, the Book of Dreams, 1 En. 83–90, the Epistle of Enoch 92–105, Revelation) but not all. In speaking of eschatology, Christopher Rowland identifies it as including

> the critical nature of human decisions, the fate of the individual believer's soul after death, the termination of this world order and a setting up of another, events like the last judgment and the resurrection of the dead, and a convenient way of *referring to future hopes about the coming of God's kingdom on earth, irrespective of whether in fact it involves an ending of the historical process*.[46]

45. The formal categories that Collins have adopted, following Hanson—apocalypse, apocalyptic eschatology, and apocalypticism—do not account for the many different possibilities of apocalyptic, some of which are found in the Pauline corpus, where inter alia, although apocalyptic features are evident, they are not considered apocalypses. See, for example, Greg Carey, *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (Saint Louis: Chalice, 2005), 6. To account for those instances, Carey introduces the addition of "apocalyptic discourse." See also Greg Carey, "Introduction," in *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse*, ed. Greg Carey and L. Gregory Bloomquist (Saint Louis: Chalice, 1999), 1–15. The addition of "apocalyptic discourse" to the formal categories would account for those discourses that do not have the generic framework of an apocalypse. This is where the generic definition seems to break down.

46. Christopher Rowland, "The Eschatology of the New Testament Church," in *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*, ed. Jerry L. Walls, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56 (italics mine).

It is the last part (in italics) that Rowland, and thus this study, adopts as a working definition for eschatology, since it is, as he states, "an important feature of many texts from the Second Temple period."

Features of eschatology are simply features within apocalypses that are not part of the genre's definition.[47] Davies's clarification about the relationship between eschatology and apocalyptic is worth remembering at this point: "If we need to explain the introduction of eschatology between ben Sira and Daniel (a gap of forty years), the events in Judah are sufficient. The Antiochean crisis did provoke the creation of the book of Daniel, and of one or two of the Enochic apocalypses. But it [did] not create 'apocalyptic.'"[48] It would also be an error to overemphasize eschatological judgment or the last judgment as a governing theme, within the apocalyptic discourses of Matthew, that projects fear. Such theological reading is a thing of the past that has taken the back seat to readings that resonate more of God's mercy and righteousness, as within more recent theological inquiry.[49] Following this stance, this study will highlight God's mercy and righteousness rather than focus on fear of the last judgment. This reading, as I will argue, is more in line with textual evidence within the apocalyptic discourses of the Gospel of Matthew.

1.3. Matthew and Apocalyptic

Scholarship on the Gospel of Matthew and apocalyptic has not been extensive in the last fifty years. For much of that time, the treatment of apocalyptic in scholarship about the Gospel of Matthew has been predominantly in terms of eschatological ideology to the extent that apocalyptic becomes its primary force.[50] For many, apocalyptic in the Gospel of Matthew under-

47. Christopher Rowland and John Barton, eds., "Introduction," in *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 3.

48. Davies, *On the Origins of Judaism*, 114.

49. For example, see the discussion in Olaf Rölver, *Christliche Existenz zwischen den Gerichten Gottes* (V&R unipress, 2010), 15–16. This study admits that it would do better if it would have engaged more fully with current European scholarship on theological trends that pertain to apocalypticism and the New Testament. It would find that the acquisition of theological perception is more historically and scientifically grounded and less lofty and radical, as witnessed in past theological endeavors of the twentieth century. For a work on a more scientific reading of Jesus and judgment in the gospels, see Christian Riniker, *Die Gerichtsverkündigung Jesus* (Bern: Lang, 1999).

50. Leopold Sabourin, "Apocalyptic Traits in Matthew's Gospel," *Religious Studies Bulletin* 3 (1983): 19–36; D. A. Hagner, "Apocalyptic Motifs in the Gospel of Matthew:

scores the idea behind thoughts of the end of days or strong notions of the parousia (second coming) of the Son of Man and final judgment. As such, they conflate apocalyptic with an ideology or religious perspective of eschatology born out of an alienated group.[51] From the discussion above, the works of P. Hanson and P. Sacchi linger behind these conflations. As a result, the literary and intellectual creativity of using and reusing cultural traditions evident in the expressions of the heaven and earth connection is neglected. Studies on the treatment of apocalyptic in Matthew since 2000 have made strides in realizing and identifying this distinction. These studies, though few, examine metaphorical language and closer literary connections to Jewish apocalyptic literature. I will survey them briefly here.

1.3.1. Matthew and Apocalyptic in the Past

Without a doubt, the Gospel of Matthew contains features commonly found in Jewish apocalypses. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

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Continuity and Discontinuity," *HBT* 7 (1985): 53–82; Hagner, "Imminence and Parousia in the Gospel of Matthew," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts*, ed. Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 77–92; O. L. Cope, "'To the Close of the Age': The Role of Apocalyptic Thought in the Gospel of Matthew," in Marcus and Soards, *Apocalyptic and the New Testament*, 113–24; Graham N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), esp. chapter 9: "Once More: Matthew 25:31–46"; David C. Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

51. This is best expressed by Paul D. Hanson, who sees apocalyptic eschatology as the dominating feature of Jewish apocalypses. For him, apocalyptic eschatology was a religious perspective, which "focuses on the disclosure (usually esoteric in nature) to the elect of the cosmic vision of Yhwh's sovereignty" that emerges from a pessimistic view of reality in postexilic conditions. See Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 10. In his essay in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, he repeats his definition of the word *apocalyptic* as designating a phenomenon of disclosure, namely, that of "heavenly secrets in visionary form to a seer for the benefit of a religious community experiencing suffering or perceiving itself victimized by some form of deprivation" (See Hanson, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism," *ABD* 1:279–82). Elsewhere, Hanson describes further this pessimistic view of reality. He states, "Apocalyptic is commonly the mode of thought adopted by people who have grown deeply disillusioned with the realities of this world. They feel that the normal channels of power have passed them by. They feel cut off from their own societies, victimized and abandoned" (See Hanson, "Apocalypticism," *IDBSup*, 30).