

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN AND PALESTINIAN JEWISH APOCALYPTIC

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Abstract

After discussing both the similarities and differences between the Apocalypse of John and Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses (4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and 1 Enoch 37-71), and the problems involved in categorizing the one as “Christian” and the others as “Jewish,” the author discusses a series of shared apocalyptic motifs, including (1) the terror of humanity before the throne of judgment, (2) the Messiah seated on the throne of God and judging the wicked, (3) the cry for vengeance and the *numerus iustorum*, (4) the kings from the east are supernaturally instigated to march on the holy city, and (5) the Leviathan-Behemoth myth. Finally, the author focuses on the particular importance of the motif of the New Jerusalem found in Palestinian Jewish apocalypses, but also in a series of fragments from Qumran collectively designated as the “Description of the New Jerusalem.” These shared motifs suggest that the author was a Palestinian Jewish apocalypticist before immigrating to Roman Asia.

1. Introduction

In several respects, the Apocalypse of John is an anomaly. First of all, the Apocalypse of John is clearly a *Christian* apocalypse which bears more generic similarities to early *Jewish* apocalypses than to other (admittedly later) Christian apocalypses such as the Shepherd of Hermas and the Apocalypses of Peter and Paul. There are, in fact, instances in which Christian traditions are conspicuous by their absence (Rev 12:1-6; 19:11-21). Second, unlike all other Jewish and Christian apocalypses—with the single exception of the Shepherd of Hermas—the Apocalypse of John is not pseudepigraphical but was rather written in the name of its actual author. Third, the Apocalypse of John was composed in the Roman province of Asia, though the Jewish apocalypses with which it has the closest generic affinities were all almost certainly written in Palestine. No Jewish apocalypse appears to have originated in the Jewish Diaspora.

These three strikingly anomalous features of the Apocalypse of John require explanation. It is the purpose of this paper to explore these

problematic issues within the context of an examination of some of the many motifs which the Apocalypse of John shares with Palestinian Jewish apocalyptic and apocalypses.

2. The Apocalypse of John and Jewish Apocalypses

It is well known that the generic term “apocalypse” was derived from the first sentence of the Apocalypse of John Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the revelation of Jesus Christ” (Rev 1:1).¹ In this context, however, ἀποκάλυψις (which occurs only twice in the entire book; here and in the inscription) is not a *generic* designation, but rather a description of the *contents* of the work. The inscription, Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου, “the Apocalypse of John” (presumably a second century formulation originally placed at the end of the book but then moved to the beginning with the transition from roll to codex), is simply a shortened form of the title or first sentence of the book with descriptive rather than generic intentions. However, whether through the influence of the Apocalypse of John or other documents which have not survived, the designation ἀποκάλυψις came to be used relatively quickly in a quasi-generic sense of works with a revelatory character, though such works rarely conform to the modern generic conception of “apocalypse.”² While the modern designations “apocalypse” and “apocalyptic”, then, really represent modern conceptions applied to ancient texts and ideologies, i.e., they are *etic* rather than *emic* designations,³ that does not mean that these designations are unhelpful.

There is some consensus among modern scholars that the literary category “apocalypse” at least includes Dan 7-12, *1 Enoch* (a composite text containing five originally separate apocalypses), *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch* and the Apocalypse of John (Collins 1979, 3). Though there are many other works which should be included in this category (e.g., *2 En.*, *3 En.*, *Apoc. Ab.*, *T.*

1 Lücke (1852) was the first scholar to use the term “apocalypse” in Rev 1:1 as a generic designation for works similar to Revelation such as Daniel, *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*; see Kvanvig (1988, 40, 56).

2 In an otherwise excellent article by Smith (1983, 9-20), the author does not discuss the particular problems of the term ἀποκάλυψις in the inscription and title of Revelation.

3 Malina (1995, 12) argues that both “apocalypse” and “eschatological apocalyptic” are “theological jargon of the past century that fossilize perception and misdirect interpretation.”

Levi 2-5, 3 Bar., Apoc. Zeph.), we will restrict the first major part of our discussion (III. Shared Apocalyptic Motifs) to the first group of texts.

It is striking that three of the early Jewish works generally considered to be apocalypses by modern scholars—the *Similitudes of Enoch* (1 En. 37-71), *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*—were composed in the first century, the last two almost certainly after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, and are roughly contemporary with the final composition of the Apocalypse of John, written ca. 90 CE. Two authors of recent commentaries on *4 Ezra*, Myers (1974, 129-131) and Stone (1990, 10), in company with most other scholars, place the composition of *4 Ezra* after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, during latter part of the reign of Domitian (81-96 CE). Bogaert (1969a, 270-95), the author of a detailed commentary on *2 Baruch*, reflects scholarly consensus in arguing that *2 Baruch* was written in response to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. The dating of the *Similitudes of Enoch* is more problematic. Knibb (1979), whom I follow, tentatively dates the *Similitudes of Enoch* toward the end of the first century CE, though he readily admits that the date is disputed and can be placed within the wider boundaries of 63 BCE and 135 CE.⁴ The late first century CE date is supported by the fact that fragments of four of the five apocalypses comprising *1 Enoch* have been found at Qumran with the exception of the *Similitudes of Enoch* (VanderKam 1994, 37-39). While this is not a decisive argument for dating the *Similitudes* late in the first century CE, it is part of a cumulative argument supporting such a dating. While most scholars date the composition of the Apocalypse of John to the latter part of the reign of the Roman emperor Domitian, i.e., ca. 95 CE (see the extensive discussion in Aune 1997a, lvi-lxx), some propose a date a bit later during the reign of Trajan (98-117 CE), while others argue that it was written earlier, soon after the death of Nero in 68 CE. Since all these datings fall into a relatively close range in the late first or early second century, the issue need not be argued in detail.

The distinction between the traditions reflected in the Apocalypse of John and those found in Palestinian Jewish apocalypses is somewhat more

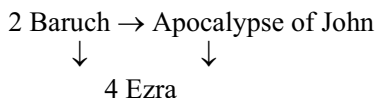
4 Black (1992) argues for a date earlier than the composition of the synoptic gospels (i.e., presumably well before 70 CE), since in his view the NT conception of the session of the Son of Man at the right hand of God (Mark 14:62; Matt 19:38; 25:31) is based on the Elect Son of Man messianism of the *Similitudes of Enoch*. Black's date is based on the questionable assumption that the synoptic gospels exhibit literary dependence on the *Similitudes of Enoch*.

blurred than many suppose. First, the distinction between “Jewish” and “Christian” is largely anachronistic for the first century AD, before hard and fast boundaries were drawn between Judaism and Christianity (Pilch 1998, 3). The so-called “parting of the ways” between Judaism and Christianity which supposedly occurred ca. 85 CE, was not a single event but rather the result of a series of unconnected conflicts which occurred over a relatively wide geographical area and which unfolded from ca. 90-130 CE (Stanton 1985). There is no evidence in the Apocalypse of John, at any rate, that the author made a rigid distinction between Jews and Christians, despite his diatribe against “those who call themselves Jews but are not” and “those of the synagogue of Satan” (Rev 2:9; 3:9). Second, all of the Palestinian Jewish apocalypses which have come down to us were in fact preserved by Christians who must have considered them essentially compatible with Christianity since they introduced remarkably few revisions or interpolations into the texts they transmitted (de Jonge 1997). A major exception is *4 Ezra*, with a core Jewish apocalypse in *4 Ezra* 3-14 transmitted in a Latin version framed by two Christian compositions, *4 Ezra* 1-2 = *5 Ezra* and *4 Ezra* 15-16 = *6 Ezra*. Third, source criticism has frequently been used to account for the striking Jewish character of the Apocalypse of John. Some scholars, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, proposed that the Apocalypse of John was made up of one or more Jewish apocalypses which were Christianized and supplemented to various extents. Others have proposed more plausibly that the author made use of sources which originated in Judaism but which were shorter and more fragmentary (Bauckham 1993). Even though it is theoretically possible to identify and analyze the sources used in a document such as the Apocalypse of John (and I plead guilty to have tried to do so), the task of reconstruction is extraordinarily difficult and inevitably subjective.

3. Shared Apocalyptic Motifs

There are a number of apocalyptic motifs which the Apocalypse of John shares with Palestinian Jewish apocalypses, which for the purposes of this section of the paper are limited to the *Similitudes of Enoch* (1 En. 37-71), *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. Some of the motifs shared by the Apocalypse of John and Jewish apocalypses have been examined by Bauckham (1993), who is one of the few who have explored this important but neglected area of study. While it is evident that some kind of “intimate relationship” (the phrase of

Stone) exists between *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, there is no agreement on the precise nature of this relationship (Stone 1990, 39). Charles (1896) and Violet (1910, 1) argued that *2 Baruch* used *4 Ezra* as a source, while Bogaert (1979a, 26-27; 113-14; 284-88) argued the opposite, even suggesting that *4 Ezra* in turn “appears to know” the Apocalypse of John, which was itself dependent on *2 Baruch* (Bogaert 1980, 54-6; 67). Bogaert’s theory of the relationship between these three compositions can be diagrammed as follows:



Charles (1920a, lxxv, lxxxii-lxxxiii) argued that the author of the Apocalypse was literarily dependent on several Jewish apocalyptic texts, including the *Testament of Levi*, *1 Enoch* and the *Assumption* (or *Testament of Moses*).⁵ His relatively early dating of the *Similitudes of Enoch* (either 94-79 BCE or 70-64 BCE), made it easy for him to suppose that the author of the Apocalypse of John could have been literarily dependent on the *Similitudes*. Most scholars, however, have not thought it likely that the Apocalypse was dependent on the texts of the *Similitudes*, *4 Ezra* or *2 Baruch*. Swete’s (1908, clviii) critique of Charles’ claims is still valid: “Here it is enough to say that they [i.e., the parallels] show the writer of the Christian Apocalypse to have been familiar with the apocalyptic ideas of his age, they afford little or no clear evidence of his dependence on Jewish sources other than the books of the OT”.

These shared motifs can logically be explained in one of three ways: (1) the Apocalypse of John is literarily dependent on a particular Jewish apocalypse, (2) a particular Jewish apocalypse is dependent on the Apocalypse of John, or (3) similar motifs shared by the Apocalypse of John and other Jewish apocalypses are based on a common written or oral apocalyptic tradition. In the past, scholars have been quick to propose various theories of literary dependence. More recently, as a result of more

5 The ten passages in *1 Enoch* on which he claims that the Apocalypse of John is dependent are the following: *1 En.* 9:4; 14:15; 18:13; 46:1; 47:3-4; 48:9; 51:1; 62:3, 5; 86:1; 99:7

stringent standards for judging quotations and allusions, relationships other than direct literary dependence have been more seriously entertained.

The passages in the Apocalypse of John which Charles and others have thought dependent on Jewish apocalypses provide the opportunity for evaluating the source of such parallel passages. Our concern will be limited to those three apocalypses which are nearly contemporary with the Apocalypse of John, namely *1 En.* 37-71, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*.

(1) *The Terror of Humanity before the Throne of Judgment (Rev 6:15-16; 1 En. 62:3-5).*

Rev 6:15-16: The kings of the earth and the important people and the generals and the wealthy and the powerful and every slave and free person hid themselves in the caves and in the mountain rocks. They said to the mountains and the cliffs, "Fall on us and hide us from the One who sits on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb, because the great day of his wrath has come, and who is able to withstand it?"

1 En. 62:3-5 (trans. Knibb): And on that day all the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who possess the earth, will stand up; and they will see and recognize how he sits on the throne of his glory . . . and pain will come upon them as (upon) a woman in labour for whom giving birth is difficult . . . And one half of them will look at the other, and they will be terrified, and will cast down their faces, and pain will take hold of them when they see that Son of a Woman sitting on the throne of this glory.

These two passages have clear similarities and differences.⁶ Similarities: (1) They share the common apocalyptic motif of the terror of all humankind before the throne of judgment. (2) In *1 En.* 37-71, the phrase "the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who dwell on the earth" (*1 En.* 62:3) is a stereotypical phrase referring to everyone (62:1, 3, 6, 9; 63:1, 12; 67:8). A very similar phrase occurs in *Rev 6:15*: "The kings of the earth and the important people and the generals and the wealthy and the powerful and every slave and free person" (similar lists occur twice elsewhere in the

6 These passages are discussed by Knibb (1979, 356).

Apocalypse of John with essentially the same meaning: 13:16; 19:18). These phrases may allude to the LXX text of Isa 34:12 where the phrase “the kings and rulers and great ones” (with nothing corresponding to it in the Massoretic text) is found in a context of judgment. (3) In Rev 6:15-16, God occupies the throne of judgment, though the Lamb is somehow also involved in judgment (see the next section below). In *1 En.* 62:3-5, God is initially seated on the throne of judgment (62:2-3), while the Son of Man is suddenly referred to as “sitting on the throne of his glory.” There is one major difference between these passages: Different OT passages are alluded to: Rev 6:15-16 is based on allusions to Isa 2:19-21 and Hos 10:6, while *1 En.* 62:3-5 alludes to the image of the woman in labour in Isa 13:8.

The allusions to different OT passages in these two texts discourages the hypothesis of a direct literary relationship between them. However, the three impressive similarities suggest that both texts are dependent on a relatively fixed oral or written source. Since the existence of an *oral* apocalyptic tradition cannot easily be substantiated, it appears more likely that both the Apocalypse of John and the *Similitudes of Enoch* are dependent on a common *written* source, which each author partially reformulated in a distinctive way.

(2) *The Messiah Seated on the Throne of God Judging the Wicked* (Rev 3:21; 6:16; 22:1, 3; *1 En.* 45:3; 51:1; 55:4; 61:8).

Rev 3:21: As for the one who conquers, I will allow him to sit with me on my throne, just as I also conquered and sat with my Father on his throne.

Rev 6:16: They said to the mountains and the cliffs, “Fall on us and hide us from the One who sits on the throne and from the wrath of the lamb, 17 because the great day of their wrath has come, and who is able to withstand it?”

Rev 22:1: He showed me a river of living water, sparkling like crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb.

Rev 22:3: The throne of God and of the Lamb will be in the city, and his servants will worship him.

[*Matt 19:28* (NRSV): Jesus said to them, “Truly I tell you, at the renewal of all things, when the Son of Man is seated on the throne of his glory, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”]

[*Matt 25:31-32* (NRSV): When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory. 32 All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.]

1 En. 45:3 (trans. Knibb): On that day the Chosen One will sit on the throne of glory, and will choose their works, and their resting-placed will be without number; and their spirits within them will grow strong when they see my Chosen One and those who appeal to my holy and glorious name.

1 En. 51:1 (trans. Knibb): And in those days the Chosen One will sit on his throne, and all the secrets of wisdom will flow out from the counsel of his mouth, for the Lord of Spirits has appointed him and glorified him.

1 En. 55:4 (trans. Knibb): “You powerful kings, who dwell upon the dry ground, will be obliged to watch my Chosen One sit down on the throne of my glory, and judge, in the name of the Lord of Spirits, Azazel and all his associates and all his hosts.”

1 En. 61:8 (trans. Knibb): And the Lord of Spirits set the Chosen One on the throne of his glory, and he will judge all the works of the holy ones in heaven above, and in the balance he will weigh their deeds.

1 En. 62:2, 5 (trans. Knibb): 2 And the Lord of Spirits sat on the throne of his glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out on him, and the word of his mouth kills all the sinners and all the lawless, and they

are destroyed before him . . . 5 And one half of them will look at the other, and they will be terrified, and will cast down their faces, and pain will take hold of them, when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of glory.

1 En. 69:26-29 (trans. Knibb): And they had great joy, and they blessed and praised and exalted because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed to them. 27 And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the whole judgment was given to the Son of Man, and he will cause the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from the face of the earth. 28 And those who led astray the world will be bound in chains, and will be shut up in the assembly-place of their destruction, and all their works will pass away from the face of the earth. 29 And from then on there will be nothing corruptible, for that Son of man has appeared and has sat on the throne of his glory, and everything evil will pass away and go from before him; and the word of that Son of Man will be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

The traditional eschatological motif of God (the Lord of Spirits) as the enthroned judge is mentioned three times in the *Similitudes* (*1 En.* 47:3; 60:2; 62:2). However, the motif of the Chosen One or the Son of Man, seated on the “throne of glory,” i.e., the throne of God occurs seven times in the *Similitudes* (45:3; 51:1; 55:4; 61:8; 62:5; 69:27, 29). In four of these passages the enthronement of the Chosen One or the Son of Man is combined with the theme of judgment (55:4; 61:8; 62:5; 69:27-29). In the OT, reference is occasionally made to the king sitting on the throne of Yahweh, and in early Judaism the Messiah is frequently depicted as an eschatological judge (e.g., *T. Jud.* 24:4-6; *4 Ezra* 12:32; *2 Bar* 40:1-3). A particularly significant reference is found in *1 En.* 61:8, where it is said that the Lord of Spirits set the Elect One on his [i.e., God’s] throne of glory. This unique *theologoumenon* can be traced with some likelihood to the Messianic interpretation of Ps 110:1, which combines the themes of enthronement and judgment: “The Lord says to my Lord: ‘Sit on my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool’” (Theisohn 1975, 93-98). The same *theologoumenon* occurs also in the NT in Matt 19:28 and 24:31-32, where it is explicitly predicted that the Son of Man will sit on the throne of his glory. While the possessive pronoun “his” could refer to the Son of Man, i.e., it is

his throne, it is also possible that “his” refers to God and means that the Son of Man will sit on God’s throne of glory. While the possessive pronoun is ambiguous, it appears that in the *Similitudes of Enoch* the Chosen One or Son of Man is also understood as sitting on God’s throne of glory (Black 1992, 154-55). Matthew Black has used this evidence to argue that the *Similitudes of Enoch* are earlier than the Synoptic Gospels and that the distinctiveness of this *theologoumenon* suggests that the Synoptics were literarily dependent on the *Similitudes*. Of the four passages in the Apocalypse of John cited above, one refers to the enthronement of Christ with God on his throne (3:21), while the other three refer either directly (22:1, 3) or indirectly (6:16) to the Lamb seated on the throne with God. Only in Rev 6:16, however, is the motif of judgment present. We have already proposed that Rev 6:15-16 is dependent on a written source used also *1 En.* 62:3-5. The other passages referring to co-enthronement in the Apocalypse do not use the motif of judgment, nor is the figure enthroned with God identified as the Son of Man.

- (3) *The Cry for Vengeance and the Numerus Iustorum (Rev 6:9-11; 1 En. 47:1-4; 4 Ezra 4:35-37; 2 Bar 23:4-5a).*⁷

Rev 6:9-11: When he broke the fifth seal, I saw underneath the altar the souls of those slain because of the word of God and because of the witness which they bore. They cried out loudly saying, “O Master, holy and true, how long will it be until you judge and avenge our deaths caused by those who dwell on the earth?” Then each of them was given a white robe, and they were told that they should rest a while longer until the number of their fellow servants, that is, their brothers who were to be killed as they were, would be complete.

1 En. 47:1-4 (trans. Knibb): And in those days the prayer of the righteous and the blood of the righteous will have ascended from earth before the Lord of Spirits. 2 In these days the holy ones who dwell in the heavens above will unite with one voice, and supplicate, and pray, and praise, and give thanks, and bless in the name of the Lord of Spirits, because of the blood of the righteous which has been poured out, and (because of) the

7 Bauckham (1993, 48-56); Aune (1998b, 406-413).

prayer of the righteous, that it may not cease before the Lord of Spirits, that justice may be done to them, and (that) their patience may not have to last for ever. . . . 4 And the hearts of the holy ones were full of joy that the number of righteousness had been reached, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous had been required before the Lord of Spirits.

4 Ezra 4:33, 35-37 (NRSV): 33 Then I answered and said, “How long? When will these things be?” Why are our years few and evil?” . . . 35 Did not the souls of the righteous in their chambers ask about these matters, saying, “How long are we to remain here? And when will the harvest of our reward come?” 36 And the archangel Jeremiel answered and said, “When the number of those like yourselves is completed.”

2 Bar. 23:4-5 (Charlesworth, 1983-85a, 629): For when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who were to be born, the multitude of those who would be born was numbered. And for that number a place was prepared where the living ones might live and where the dead might be preserved. No creature will live again unless the number that has been appointed is completed. For my spirit creates the living, and the realm of death receives the dead. And further, it is given to you too hear that which will come after these times. For truly, my salvation which comes has drawn near and is not as far away as before.

A quick survey of these four passages indicates that they are linked by the motifs of the reward of the righteous dead and the death of the predestined number of the righteous as an event which must occur before Good will act. In *Rev* 6:9-11, *1 En.* 47:1-4 and *4 Ezra* 4:33-37, the righteous dead ask about their vindication or reward and are given an answer involving the future completion of the complete number of the righteous dead (Bauckham 1993, 52).

In *Rev* 6:9-11 and *1 En.* 47:1-4 the dead are the righteous who have been killed by their enemies and pray for vindication and are answered with the *numerus iustorum* formula. In *4 Ezra* 4:33-37 they are the righteous dead, while in *2 Bar.* 23:4-5 they are simply all the dead. *Rev* 6:9-11 has a special formal link with *4 Ezra* 4:33-37 by an entreaty attributed to the righteous dead in direct discourse introduced by the phrase “How long?”, commonly

used in impatient prayer in the OT (Pss 6:3-4; 13:1-2; 35:17; 74:9-10; 79:5; 80:4; 89:6; 1 Macc 6:22), and also used in apocalyptic contexts about when the end will arrive (Dan 8:13; 12:6; 2 Bar. 21:19; 81:3 [MS c only]; 4 Ezra 6:59). Stone (1990, 96-7) considers 4 Ezra 4:35-36a to reflect the author's use of a source, and the author may have therefore have structured 4:33 on the "how long?" pattern of 4:35, a proposal which is unnecessary. Bauckham suggests the possibility of the following literary relationship between these texts: *1 En.* 37-71 → Revelation → 4 Ezra → 2 Baruch, he thinks that the relationship between these four texts is not the result of direct literary dependence but rather as a result of dependence on a common tradition which had already taken particular forms in the sources used by each apocalypse (Bauckham 1993, 54).

- (4) *The kings from the east are supernaturally instigated to march on the holy city (Rev 16:12-16; 19:19-21; 20:7-10; 1 En. 56:5-7).*

Rev 16:12-16: The sixth angel poured his bowl on the great river Euphrates, and its water was dried up in order to prepare the way for the kings from the east. 13 And I saw three foul spirits like frogs coming from the mouth of the dragon, from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet. 14 These are demonic spirits, performing signs, which go abroad to the kings of the whole world, to assemble them for the battle on the great day of God the Almighty. . . . 16 And they assembled them at the place that in Hebrew is called Harmagedon.

Rev 19:19-21: "Then I saw the beast and the kings of the earth and their armies assembled to wage war with the one mounted on the steed and with his army. The beast was captured and with him the false prophet who performed signs on his authority, which he deceived those who received the brand of the beast and who worshiped his cultic image; they were both hurled alive into the lake of fire burning with sulfur. The rest were slain with the sword projecting from the mouth of the one mounted on the steed, and all the birds feasted on their carrion.

Rev 20:7-10: When the thousand years are completed, Satan will be released from his prison 8 and will go out to deceive the nations that are

at the four corners of the earth, God and Magog, to assemble them for battle. Their number is like the sand of the sea. 9 They marched up across the breadth of the earth and surrounded the encampment of the people of God, the beloved city. Then fire came down from heaven and devoured them. 10 And the devil who deceived them was cast down into the lake of fire and brimstone where the beast and the false prophet were, so that they were tormented day and night for ever.

1 En. 56:5-7 (trans. Knibb): And in those days the angels will gather together, and will throw themselves towards the east upon the Parthians and Medes; they will stir up the kings, so that a disturbing spirit will come upon them, and they will drive them from their thrones; and they will come out like lions from their lairs, and like hungry wolves in the middle of their flocks. 6 And they will go up and trample upon the land of my chosen ones, and the land of my chosen ones will become before them a tramping-ground and a beaten track. 7 But the city of my righteous ones will be a hindrance to their horses, and they will stir up slaughter among themselves, and their (own) right hand will be strong against them; and a man will not admit to knowing his neighbour or his brother, nor a son his father or his mother, until through their death there are corpses enough, and their punishment—it will not be in vain. 8 And in those days Sheol will open its mouth and they will sink into it; and their destruction—Sheol will swallow up the sinners before the face of the chosen.

Of the three passages in the Apocalypse cited above, the first two constitute a single source which has been interrupted in order to accommodate an extensive section on Babylon in Rev 17-18. The first fragment in Rev 16:12-16 ends without narrating the actual assembly of the king and the ensuing eschatological battle, while the second fragment in Rev 19:19-21 provides both. Together these passages constitute a doublet of Rev 20:7-10; the bold phrases are probably the additions to the source used by the author of the Apocalypse. The same eschatological scenario characterizes the two passages: a malevolent supernatural being or beings instigates the kings of the east to assemble and march to the holy city where they are supernaturally defeated by God and/or his Messiah. This same scenario characterizes *1 En.* 56:5-7, which designates the enemy specifically

as the Parthians and the Medes. This identification has been the basis of attempts to date the *Similitudes*. Sjöberg (1946, 39) argued that this text was written shortly after the capture of Jerusalem by the Parthians in 40-37 BCE, while Hindley (1968-1969, 551-565), argued that it reflected Trajan's campaign against the Parthians in 113-17 CE. These are just two of many proposals, none of which has proven decisive. *1 En.* 56:5-7 also reflects the defeat of the enemy before the holy city, and therefore appears to be based on Sennacherib's abortive campaign against Jerusalem in 701 BCE (Isa 36:1-37:38 = 2 Kings 18:13-19:37). The motif of "trampling" on the holy land, is applied to the holy city in Zech 12:3 ("and Jerusalem will be trampled on by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled"), a passage which is alluded to in both Luke 21:24 and Rev 11:2. In *1 En.* 56:5-7, the holy city is inviolate. The fate of the enemy host is depicted through a combination of two traditions, one emphasizing the self-destruction of the enemy forces, while in the other tradition Sheol opens up and swallows them.

A comparison of the use of this motif in the *Similitudes* and the Apocalypse of John suggests that no mutual literary dependence is probable, but rather both texts have used this motif in distinctive ways.

(5) *The Leviathan-Behemoth Myth* (Rev 13:1-18; *1 En.* 60:7-11, 24; 4 *Ezra* 6:49-52; 2 *Bar* 29:4).

Rev 13:1-18: I saw a beast rising up out of the sea, with ten horns and seven heads, and on its horns were ten diadems and on its heads were blasphemous names. . . . 11 Then I saw another beast ascending from the earth, and it had two horns like a ram, but it sounded like a dragon.

1 En. 60:7-11, 24 (trans. Knibb): And on that day two monsters will be separated from one another: a female monster, whose name (is) Leviathan, to dwell in the depths of the sea above the springs of the waters; 8 and the name of the male (is) Behemoth, who occupies with his breast an immense desert, named Dendayn, on the east of the garden where the chosen and righteous dwell, where my great-grandfather was received, who was the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits made. 9 And I asked that other angel to show me the power of those monsters, how they were separated on one day and thrown, one

into the depths of the sea, and the other on to the dry ground of the desert. . . . 24 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: “These two monsters, prepared in accordance with the greatness of the Lord, will be fed that the punishment of the Lord . . . in vain.”

4 Ezra 6:49-52 (NRSV): Then you kept in existence two living creatures; the one you called Behemoth and the name of the other Leviathan. 50 And you separated one from the other, for the seventh part where the water had been gathered together could not hold them both. 51 And you gave Behemoth one of the parts that had been dried up on the third day, to live in it, where there are a thousand mountains; 52 but to Leviathan you gave the seventh part, the water part; and you have kept them to be eaten by whom you wish, and when you wish.

2 Bar. 29:2-4 (trans. Charlesworth, 1983-85a, 630): For at that time I shall only protect those found in this land at that time. 3 And it will happen that when all that which should come to pass in these parts has been accomplished, the Anointed One will begin to be revealed. 4 And Behemoth will reveal itself from its place, and Leviathan will come from the sea, the two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation and which I shall have kept until that time. And they will be nourishment for all who are left.

The beast from the sea and the beast from the land of Rev 13 clearly reflect the Jewish myth of Leviathan, the female monster from the sea, and Behemoth, the male monster from the desert, even though the beasts are not given their traditional names in the text. Further, the myth of the beast from the sea and the beast from the land are combined with other motifs associated with the eschatological antagonist, so that the beast from the sea is depicted as a goddess, tyrannical ruler, while the beast from the land is presented as a lying prophet. It is striking that the Leviathan-Behemoth myth is referred to in only three Palestinian Jewish apocalypses, *1 En. 37-71*, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, where they are explicitly named and rudiments of the myth are mentioned. The Leviathan-Behemoth myth has both protological features (i.e., they were created on the fifth day of creation) and eschatological features (they will serve as food for the righteous in the eschaton). More complete forms of this myth, inspired by Gen 1:21 are

found in the Talmud and Midrashim and have been synthesized by Ginsberg. According to Gen 1:21, the great sea monsters were created on the fifth day, when God separated the pair, appointing Leviathan to inhabit the sea (Job 41:1-34; Ps 104:25-26; *Apoc. Abr.* 21:4; *Ladder of Jacob* 6:13), and Behemoth the land (Job 40:15-24; *4 Ezra* 6:51). Missing from Revelation, but present in our three focal Jewish apocalypses as well as in rabbinic versions of the story, is the expectation that Leviathan and Behemoth will ultimately serve as food for the righteous in the eschaton (*1 En.* 60:24; *4 Ezra* 6:52; *2 Bar.* 29:4; cf. *b. B. Bat.* 75a).

While literary dependence could be proposed for the passages focusing on the Leviathan-Behemoth myth in the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, the vague and general reference to the myth in Rev 13 indicates only that the author or his sources were aware of the traditional features of the myth.

4. The New Jerusalem

In this section I will depart from a tight focus on the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* and extend the inquiry to include the traditions of the eschatological Jerusalem found in the Qumran documents called “Description of the New Jerusalem” and the Temple Scroll. Though both *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* (not the *Similitudes of Enoch*) mention the eschatological Jerusalem, the similarities between the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse of John, the Description of the New Jerusalem and the Temple scroll are more detailed and striking and raise the problem of the relationship between these three texts.

First let me provide an overview of the relevant sections of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*:

4 Ezra 7:26 (NRSV): For indeed the time will come, when the signs that I have foretold to you will come to pass, that the city that now is not seen shall appear [Latin, Syriac: that the bride shall appear], and the land that now is hidden shall be disclosed.

4 Ezra 8:52 (NRSV): Because it is for you that paradise is opened, the tree of life is planted, the age to come is prepared, plenty is provided, a city is built, rest is appointed, goodness is established and wisdom perfected beforehand.

4 Ezra 10:25-27a (NRSV): While I was talking to her, her face suddenly began to shine exceedingly; her countenance flashed like lightning, so that I was too frightened to approach her, and my heart was terrified. While I was wondering what this meant, 26 she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the earth shook at the sound. 27 When I looked up, the woman was no longer visible to me, but a city was being built, and a place of high foundations showed itself.

4 Ezra 10:44 (NRSV): The woman whom you saw is Zion, which you now behold as a city being built [Latin: as an established city].

4 Ezra 13:36 (NRSV): And Zion shall come and be made manifest to all people, prepared and built, as you saw the mountain carved out without hands

2 Bar. 4:1-7 (Charlesworth, 1983-85a, 622): And the Lord said to me: “This city will be delivered up for a time, And the people will be chastened for a time, And the world will not be forgotten. 2 Or do you think that this is the city of which I said: *On the palms of my hands I have carved you?* 3 It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned. But when he transgressed the commandment, it was taken away from him—as also Paradise. 4 After these things I showed it to my servant Abraham in the night between the portions of the victims. 5 And again I showed it also to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. 6 Behold, now it is preserved with me—as also Paradise. 7 Now go away and do as I command you.

The heavenly Jerusalem is mentioned briefly six times in *4 Ezra* (7:26; 8:52; 10:25-27, 42, 44; 13:36); it is pre-existent, has a special holiness, is linked with the Messianic kingdom and will appear at the end (Stone 1989, 101-2). The single reference to the heavenly Jerusalem in *2 Bar* 4:1-7 makes a careful distinction between the earthly Jerusalem and the pre-existent city which God prepared when he created Paradise. Together, the passages in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* reveal the prevalence of the conception of the heavenly

Jerusalem which is used to relativize the fate of the earthly Jerusalem. In *4 Ezra* and the Apocalypse of John, the New Jerusalem appears on earth, presumably a motif that presupposes the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem.

Some of the more illuminating literary parallels between the Apocalypse of John and the Qumran scrolls are found in the six groups of fragments of a work written in Aramaic entitled “Description of the New Jerusalem”⁸ (henceforth DNJ), which together with the *Temple Scroll*⁹ (henceforth TS), are part of a tradition linking the description of the eschatological temple and city in Ezek 40-48 with the description of the New Jerusalem in Rev 21:9-22:9. Here are a few selections from some of the relevant portions of each document, though each document is so extensive that these selections can only convey something of the flavor of the complete texts:

Rev 21:9-16 (NRSV): Then one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls full of the seven last plagues came and said to me, “Come, I will show you the bride, the wife of the Lamb.” 10 And in the spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. 11 It has the glory of God and a radiance like a very rare jewel, like jasper, clear as crystal. 12 It has a great, high wall with twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and on the gates are inscribed the names of the twelve tribes of the Israelites; 13 on the east three gates, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates. 14 And the wall of the city has twelve foundations, and on them are the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. 15 The angel who talked to me had a measuring

8 There are six fragmentary Aramaic copies of the Description of the New Jerusalem: (1) 1Q32; text: Barthélemy and Milik (1955, 134-35). (2) 2Q24 = 2QNew Jerusalem; text: Baillet (1955, 225-45); Baillet, Milik and de Vaux (1962, 84-89, plate XV); English translation: García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997-98, 1. 219-21). (3) 4Q554 = 4QNew Jerusalema and 4Q554a = 4QNew Jerusalema text: Starky (1977, 38-40); Beyer (1994, 95-104); Aramaic text and English translation: García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997-98b, 1107-1113); (4) 4Q555 = 4QNew Jerusalemb; Aramaic text and English translation: García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997-98b, 1112-13); (5) 5Q15 = 5QNew Jerusalem; Aramaic text and English translation: García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997-98b, 1137-41); Vermes, 1987, 271-73. (6) 11Q18 = 11QNew Jerusalem; English translation: García Martínez (1994, 133-35). In addition, 4Q232 is a Hebrew fragment which has some relationship to the Aramaic work; Milik (1976, 59).

9 On 11QTemple, see F. García Martínez 1992b, 393-403.

rod of gold to measure the city and its gates and walls. 16 The city lies foursquare, its length the same as its width; and he measured the city with his rod, twelve thousand stadia; its length and width and height are equal.

Ezek 40:30-35 (NRSV): These shall be the exits of the city: On the north side, which is to be four thousand five hundred cubits by measure, 31 three gates, the gate of Reuben, the gate of Judah, and the gate of Levi, the gates of the city being named after the tribes of Israel. 32 On the east side, which is to be four thousand five hundred cubits, three gates, the gate of Joseph, the gate of Benjamin, and the gate of Dan. 33 On the west side, which is to be four thousand five hundred cubits, three gates, the gate of Gad, the gate of Asher, and the gate of Naphtali. 35 The circumference of the city shall be eighteen thousand cubits. And the name of the city from that time on shall be, The Lord is There.

11Q19 = 11QTemple 39.11-16; 40:11-13 (trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 1997-98b, 1259; all English translations of Dead Sea Scroll text are taken from this work): And the names of the gates of this [courtyard] are according to the name[s] 12 of the children of Is[r]ael: Simeon, Levi and Judah to the East; [Reu]ben, Joseph and Benjamin to 13 the South; Issachar, Zebulun and Gad to the West; Dan, Naphtali and Asher to the North. And between one gate and another 14 the measurement is: from the North-east corner up to the gate of Simeon ninety-nine cubits; and the gate, 15 twenty-eight cubits; and from this gate up to the gate of {...} Levi, ninety-nine 16 cubits; and the gate, twenty-eight cubits; and from the gate of Levi up to the gate of Judah . . . 40.11 In [it] there will be three gates to the East, and three to the South, and three 12 to the West, and three to the North. And the width of the gates will be fifty cubits and their height seventy 13 cubits.

5Q15 = 5QNew Jerusalem, frag. 1, col. 1, lines 2-5: Also [he showed me the mea]surements of [all the] blo[cks. Between one block and another there is the street,] six rods wide, forty-two cubits. 3 [And] the main [street]s [which] from East [to West; the] wid[th of the street, of two] of them is ten rods, sev[enty cubits;] and the third, 4 [the one which passes

to the left of [the] temple he measured; eight[en] rods wide, one hundred and twenty-six cubits.

4Q554 (4QNJ^a ar—4QNew Jerusalem, frag. 1, col. 1, lines 9-22: In the South 10 [...] . . . and they are all different from 11 [another . . . from the] East [corner] which is too the North 12 [...] thirty-five stadia. And 13 [this door is called the door of] Simeon; and from this door up [to] the central door 14 [he measured thirty-five stadia; and] this door is which is called the door of 15 [Levi. And he measured from this door up to the] South [door:] thirty-five stadia; 16 [and this door is called the door of Judah. And from] this door he measured up to the [southwestern] corner: 17 [thirty-five stadia. And] from *Blank* this corner to the West 18 [he measured to the door 25 stadia; and this door] is called the door of Joseph. 19[...And from this door he measured to the central door:] 25 [stadi]a; and 20 [this door is called the door of Benjamin. And from] this [do]r he measured up to the door 21 [25 stadia; and this door is called] the door of Reuben and [from] this [do]r 22 [he measured up to the West corner: 25 stadia. And] from this corner he measured up to

The fragments of the DNJ have recently been subject to a detailed reconstruction and analysis by Chyutin (1997), who has integrated the fragments into a single composition. Given the number and diversity of the fragments, this is obviously a highly speculative procedure, yet the results are persuasive. Thus far scholars have utilized the DNJ in only limited and suggestive ways in their analyses of Rev 21:9-22:9.¹⁰ While neither the terms “Jerusalem” nor “new Jerusalem” actually occur in the fragments of DNJ, there is little doubt that the work focuses on the eschatological city of Jerusalem and its temple. It is of course also true that the name “Jerusalem” occurs neither in Ezek 40-48 (which substitutes the name יהוה שמה, “Yahweh is There” in Ezek 48:35), nor in the TS. The connection between the DNJ and the TS is debated, though neither document appears to have a product of the Qumran sectarians.¹¹ Wachholder(1983, 96) argues that the DNJ is

10 See Reichelt, 1994, 203-6); Sim (1996, 64-67). In the most recent full-scale commentary on Revelation to appear in Germany, no mention is made of the DNJ texts: Giesen (1997).

11 Though most scholars, following Yigael Yadin, maintain that the Temple Scroll was produced by the Qumran sectarians, arguments for excluding the Temple Scroll from the sectarian literature are proposed by Schiffman (1980, 143-58; Stegemann (1988, 235-56);

dependent on 11QTemple, while Wise (1990, 61-86) followed by Broshi (1995, 10-11) argue that 11QTemple is dependent on the DNJ. Licht (1979, 45-59) and García Martínez (1992, 180-85) on the other hand, maintain that there is neither a literary nor programmatic relationship between the two works. Three observations can be made about this debate. First, contrary to Wachholder, it appears that DNJ was compiled earlier than 11Q Temple.¹² Second, while literary dependence of 11QTemple on DNJ is doubtful, both works are clearly dependent on Ezek 40-48. Third, both works reflect an opposition to the existing temple cultus and share common traditions relating to an ideal or eschatological city and temple. The DNJ was an extremely popular text at Qumran given the fact that six Aramaic copies of parts of this work have been found in caves 1, 2, 4, 5 and 11. This apparently pre-Qumran text is the closest thing to an apocalypse among the Dead Sea Scrolls, apart from such previously known texts as *1 Enoch*.¹³

In the largest fragmentary text, 5Q15 (Vermes, DSS, 271-73; Fitzmyer and Harrington, *Aramaic Texts*, 54-61) an unnamed visionary (perhaps Ezekiel) is escorted around the city which will stand on Zion by an unidentified guide (perhaps an angel), who carries a measuring rod which is seven cubits long, i.e., 10.5 feet. The narrative is written in the first-person singular of the visionary and the guided tour begins outside the city. The guide measures the rectangular wall enclosing the city which is 140 *res* (singular רס or ריס, plural [רסין/רסין])¹⁴ along the eastern and western sides, and 100 *res* long on the northern and southern sides. Since the exact length of the *res* is uncertain, scholars have had to resort to informed speculation. M. Broshi (1995, 12) uses a rounded figure of 1 cubit = 50 centimeters, close to the average of the long and short cubits, and estimates that the city wall of 140 x 100 *res* is ca. 30 km x 21 km = 630 square km, while F. García Martínez (1992, 192-93) calculates that 1 *res* = 63 reeds = 441 cubits = 229 meters, so that the length and width of the rectangular wall surrounding the

Stegemann (1989, 123-89); Wise (1990, 201-3). Yadin (1984, 32-49) argued that 11QTemple was a sectarian document.

- 12 The dating of DNJ is partially dependent on its perceived relationship to the Temple scroll. Wise (1990, 86) dates its composition to the third or early second century BCE.
- 13 García Martínez (1992, xi, xiii) refers to both 4Q246 and the Description of the New Jerusalem fragments as apocalypses.
- 14 The *res* in DNJ is divided into 352 royal or long cubits (Chyutin 1997, 75), though the exact length of these cubits is not known.

New Jerusalem would be 32 km x 23 km = 736 square km. The wall has twelve gates (each is 21 cubits wide), three on each side (cf. Ezek 48:33-34; 11QTemple 39.12-13; 40.11-14; 4Q554), and 480 posterns (each is 14 cubits wide), one postern for each stadion. Each gate is flanked by two towers, each of which is 35 cubits square.

The inside of the city is constructed like a chessboard, with 192 insulae or blocks, each 357 cubits square, and consisting of a square row of houses enclosing an inner court, and each with a second floor. Each housing block has a tower with a spiral staircase and each had four gates, one in the middle of each side. The city is orthogonal, i.e., the streets intersect at right angles, a design virtually impossible in Palestine, but with origins in ancient Egypt and with more immediate antecedents in the Hellenistic town planning introduced by Hippodamus (Chyutin 1994, 71-97). A system of orthogonal narrow streets 42 cubits in width separate the insulae. The main street runs east-west and is 126 cubits wide, while the somewhat narrower main street which runs north-south is 92 cubits wide. In addition there are two more east-west streets which are 70 cubits wide and two north-south streets which are 67 cubits wide. This network of streets divides the city into 16 large blocks, each 35x25 *ris* or stadia, each consisting of 12 insulae, with a total of 192 insulae.

In Rev 21:9-22:9, the figure of an *angelus interpres* appears for the second time in the narrative. However, in this context, unlike his first appearance in 17:1-18, the *angelus interpres* has very little to explain to the seer, none of which can actually be considered interpretive. In fact, the only statement attributed to this angel is an invitation to the seer in 21:9: "Come and I will show you the bride, the wife of the lamb." Thus the angel's principal task is to "show" the visionary certain things and this is emphasized by the phrase καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι ("then he showed me") which occurs twice (21:10a; 22:1a). The *angelus interpres* in Rev 21:9-22:9 functions in three ways: (1) he measures the architecture, (2) he makes occasional comments, and (3) he leads the seer from place to place. These same three functions characterize the mysterious "man" of Ezek 40-48 and the unidentified guide in DNJ. The various Qumran fragments of the "Description of the New Jerusalem" have many parallels to Rev 21:15-21,

not least of which are the frequent occurrences of variations on the phrase וְאַתָּה יָרָא, “then he showed me.”¹⁵

In Rev 21:12, the New Jerusalem is described as having a wide and high wall with twelve gates, each inscribed with the names of “the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel.” The mention of the twelve tribes implies that the New Jerusalem is not simply a city but rather the focal point for the entire land. This arrangement corresponds to Ezekiel’s vision of the square outer walls of the eschatological Jerusalem (4,500 cubits on each side) with three gates on each side (Ezek 48:16-17, 30-35), purportedly named after the tribes of Israel (Ezek 48:31), though in fact named after the sons of Jacob (i.e., Joseph and Levi are mentioned rather than Ephraim and Manasseh).

The DNJ, like the TS is inspired by Ezek 40-48, though the sequence of the names of the gates in Ezek 48:30-35 is very different from DNJ 4Q554. In the latter text, the city has twelve gates, each named after one of the sons of Jacob named in the following order (the names of seven of the twelve gates survive in the text): South: Simeon, [Levi], Judah; West: Joseph, [Benjamin], Reuben; North: [Issachar, Zebulon, Gad]; East: Dan, Naphtali, Asher (4Q554 2.12-3.9). This order conforms generally to that of 11Q Temple 39.12-13; 40.11-14.

The ideal or eschatological city and/or temple complex detailed in Ezek 40-48, the DNJ, the TS and Rev 21 are all gigantic, though in the case of DNJ and the TS it is not possible to determine the exact metric equivalent of the cubit.¹⁶ (1) *Ezekiel 40-48*. In Ezekiel, the outer court of the temple was surrounded by a square wall, 500 cubits on each side (40:5; 42:15-20; 45:2). The walls of the city itself forms a gigantic square 4,500 cubits on each side, with three gates on each side named after the twelve tribes of Israel (48:30-35). (2) *Description of the New Jerusalem*. The city in DNJ is a rectangle, measuring 140 *ris* or stadia on the east and west and 100 *ris* or stadia on the north and south, making a rectangle with a perimeter of almost 100,000 cubits, 18.67 miles by 13.33 miles (Wise 1990, 82). (3) *Temple Scroll*. In the TS, the sanctuary complex consists of three concentric squares: (1) the inner court, or court of priests measures 300 cubits on a side, (2) the middle court, or the court of men, measures 500 cubits on a side, and (3) the outer court,

15 2Q24 frag. 1, line 3; 4Q554 frag. 1, col. 2, line 15; col. 3 line 20; 4Q555 frag. 1, line 3; 5Q15 frag. 1, col. 1, lines 2, 15; col. 2, line 6; 11Q18 frag. 16, line 6; frag. 18, line 1.

16 Five different metrical equivalents to the cubit in the *Temple Scroll*, which vary from .42 meters to .56 meters, are considered by Maier, (1989, 24-25).

or the court of Israel, measures 1700 cubits on a side, with a total perimeter of 6,800 cubits (Maier 1985, 63-64; 144 (diagramme); 1987, 50), a structure which would equal the size of the Hasmonean city of Jerusalem (Broshi 1987, 36-7; Wise 1990, 82).

In all of these texts which focus on the ideal or eschatological temple, there is a striking emphasis on the twelve tribes of Israel. The association of the names of the twelve tribes of Israel with the gates of the New Jerusalem in each of these texts (Ezek 48:30-35; 4Q554 frag. 1, I.9-II.11; 11QTemple 39.12-13; 40.11-14), anticipates the final realization of one of the central concerns of Jewish eschatology, the restoration of all Israel, which is repeatedly mentioned in post-exilic OT and early Jewish literature.¹⁷

The New Jerusalem of Rev 21 and the city of the DNJ texts also share an emphasis on the precious stones and metals which are part of the building material used in the construction of these eschatological structures. The earliest references to precious stones used in the rebuilding of Jerusalem are found in Isa 54:11-12 and Tob 13:16. Gold overlay was used on parts of the Herodian temple (Josephus *War* 5.201, 205, 207-8; *m. Mid.* 2.3), a feature picked up in 11QTemple (36.11; 39.3; 41.15). The city in DNJ is described as having buildings of sapphire, ruby and gold (4Q554 frag. 2, II.15), and the streets are paved with white stone, alabaster and onyx (5Q15 frag. 1, II.6-7). In Revelation, the New Jerusalem is described as a whole as having the appearance of jasper, clear as crystal (21:11), or as gold, clear as glass (21:18). Similarly, the twelve foundations of the city were each constructed of a variety of precious and semi-precious stones (21:19-20). This may be an embellishment of OT texts which refer to the use of huge costly stones for the foundation of the temple of Solomon (1 Kgs 5:17; 7:10). Utopian cities constructed of precious stones and metals are not found only in Israelite-Jewish tradition, however, for Lucian speaks of a city of gold surrounded

17 Deut 30:3-4; Neh 1:9; Isa 11:12; 27:12-13; 49:5-6; 56:1-8; 60:3-7; 66:18-24; Jer 31:8, 10 [LXX 38:8, 10]; 32:37 [LXX 39:37]; Ezek 11:17; 20:34, 41-42; 34:11-16; 36:24; 37:11-14, 21-28; Hos 11:10-11; Ps 106:47; 147:2; Tob 13:5, 13; 14:6-7; 2 Macc 1:27-29; 2:7, 18; *Jub.* 1:15-17; *T. Benj.* 9:2; 10:11; *1 En.* 57; 90:33; Philo *De praem. et poen.* 94-97, 162-72; *Bar* 4:37; 5:5; *Sir* 36:11; 48:10; *Pss. Sol.* 11; 17:28-31, 50; *4 Ezra* 13:12-13, 39-47; *2 Bar.* 78:5-7; *T. Jos.* 19:4; *Shemoneh Esreh* 10; *m. Sanh.* 10:3; 1QM 1.2-3, 7-8; 11QTemple 18.14-16; 4Q504 [= 4QWords of the Luminaries^a] frags. 1-2, VI.10-13; Matt 23:37; cf. Mark 13:27 (a Christian adaptation of this motif); see Sanders 1985, 95-98.

with an emerald wall with seven gates each constructed of a single plank of cinnamon with a river of myrrh running through it (*Verae historiae* 2.11).

The particular group of Essenes who formed the Qumran community had separated themselves from the temple in Jerusalem because of what they considered a laxity in ritual purity and the use of an unlawful ritual calendar (CD 20.22-23; 4QMMT)(Martinez and Barrera 1995, 32-35), though they accepted the basic validity of the temple cult and anticipated its eschatological renewal. In the interim there was a tendency to describe the community as a temple (Gärtner 1965; McKelvey 1969, 46-53; Klinzing 1971, 50-93). Just as the temple was the center of purity for second temple Judaism generally, so the assembly of sectarians itself formed a substitute center of ritual purity for the sectarians. In 1QS in particular, the notion of the community as an eschatological temple comes to expression a number of times (5.4-7; 8.4-10; 9.3-6), with Israel (= laymen) as the holy place and Aaron (= priests) as the holy of holies. The anti-temple attitude expresses itself in different ways in these texts. In Ezek 40-48, the fact that the temple has been destroyed provides the context for the prophet's vision of an ideal or eschatological temple. Both the DNJ and the TS are formulated in opposition to the existing temple cult, which they correct by visualizing an ideal or eschatological temple. The implicit opposition to the existing city and temple reflected in both the DNT and the TS suggests why these texts found a sympathetic reading in the Qumran community. In Rev 21:9-22:9, the emphasis is exclusively on the city and the author calls attention to the absence of a temple from the midst of the city (Rev 21:22).¹⁸ In both Ezekiel and the TS, the major emphasis is on the temple complex itself, while in DNJ the emphasis is on the city.

In the *Temple Scroll*, the ritual status of temple and the holy city is such that they form a temple-city unit so that the purity requirements which

18 A very different view of Rev 21:22 is proposed by Flusser (1988), who argues that Rev 21:22-23 is not based on opposition to the temple, but is based on the combination of two midrashic units, the second based on Ps 132:17 in which the phrase "I have prepared a lamp for my Messiah" occurs, and the first on Isa 60:19 which refers to the Lord as the everlasting light of Jerusalem. Flusser argues that these two midrashic units are fused in a midrash on Ex 27:20 (as they also are in Rev 21:22-23): "The Holy One said to Israel: 'In this world you needed the light of the Temple, but in the world to become because of the merit of the above mentioned lamp (Ex. 27:20) I will bring you the King Messiah, who is compared to a lamp, as it is written: "There I will make a horn to sprout for David, I have prepared a lamp for my Messiah" (Ps. 132:17).'"

normally apply to the temple are extended to apply to the entire city (Martinez 1995a). Thus according to the *halakhah* in 11QTemple 45.7-18 the following conditions cause impurity and exclude people from the temple-city: (1) nocturnal emissions, (2) sexual intercourse,¹⁹ (3) blindness,²⁰ (4) bodily discharges, (5) contact with the dead, and (6) leprosy.²¹ A regimen of ablutions is prescribed for those who incur any of these forms of impurity and who are in consequence consigned to a special area reserved for them east of the temple-city (11QTemple 46.16-18). While in Lev 15:16-18 the period of impurity for those who have nocturnal emissions or have sexual intercourse is one day, the temple-city requires a three-day purification ritual (11QTemple 45.7-12).²²

In Revelation, the New Jerusalem, though explicitly lacking a temple (21:22),²³ nevertheless clearly functions as a temple-city with “the glory of God as its light and its lamp is the Lamb” (21:23)(Harrington 1993, 218; Giesen 1997, 135). Impurity is also barred from this city, according to 21:27: “But nothing unclean [*πᾶν κοινόν*] shall enter it, nor any one who

19 There is a close parallel in CD 12.1-2 (trans. Baumgarten and Schwartz): “Let no man lie with a woman in the city of the sanctuary [בְּעִיר הַמִּקְדָּשׁ] to defile the city of the sanctuary with their pollution.”

20 In the Bible this regulation is limited to priests (Lev 21:17-20; cf. 1QM 7.4-5; 1QSa 2.3-11), suggesting the tendency to extent the regulations for priestly purity to the people generally; see García Martínez (1995a, 146-47).

21 Two forms of ritual uncleanness not mentioned are menstruation and parturition in the case of a woman (see TDOT V, 336-37).

22 Milgrom (1978, 512-13) cites Yadin to the effect that the three-day purification is modelled after the purification commands relating to the encampment of Israel at Sinai (Exod 19:10-15).

23 In Judaism, the eschatological expectation of a New Jerusalem generally implied a New Temple. The explicit denial of a temple in the New Jerusalem in Rev 21:22 is therefore surprising and has been frequently understood to reflect an anti-temple stance of strands of early Christianity. The traditions of Jesus’ “cleansing” of the Temple and predictions of the destruction of the Temple are frequently thought to reflect an anti-temple stance. Yet Jesus’ act of “cleansing” the temple makes more sense if it is understood as a symbolic action anticipating its destruction (though not impugning its purity and legitimacy), as well as implying its eschatological restoration (Mark 11:15-19 = Matt 21:12-13 = Luke 19:45-48; see Dunn 1977, 324. It is striking that saying of Jesus predicting the destruction of the existing temple and its replacement by an eschatological temple are widespread in the tradition (Mark 13:2 = Matt 24:2 = Luke 21:6; Mark 14:58 = Matt 26:61; Mark 15:29 = Matt 27:40; John 2:18-22; Acts 6:14). Following Sanders, it is likely that the action and the saying formed an original unity, that is, the saying interpreted the action (see Sanders 1985, 61-76).

practices abomination or falsehood.” At the conclusion of Revelation there is a short list of those who are excluded from the city (22:15): “Outside are the dogs and sorcerers and fornicators and murderers and idolaters, and every one who loves and practices falsehood.” Despite the brevity of these two lists,²⁴ they exhibit a strikingly common pattern. Both lists begin with what appears to be an exclusively *ritual* category (“nothing unclean,” and “dogs”), which is then followed by a list of *moral* transgressors. Given the unlikelihood that a Christian author would regard ritual and moral impurity as equally defiling, we are left with two possibilities: (1) the author understands the ritual prescriptions metaphorically in moral terms,²⁵ or (2) the author incorporates a source in which ritual impurity and moral transgression are regarded as equally defiling.²⁶ It is not easy to choose between these two possibilities, for both might be true.

While the generic category of *κοινός* might be expected to subsume various other categories of ritual impurity, the author appears to shift gears and provides rather a list of those people who are excluded from the city because of their immoral behavior. Closely parallel to Rev 21:27, with its exclusion of anything impure from the eschatological Jerusalem, is the pronouncement in 11QTemple 47.3-6 (trans. García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 168):

The city which I will sanctify, installing my name and my temple [within it] shall be holy and shall be clean from all types of impurity [כול טמאה] which defile it. Everything that there is in it shall be pure and everything that goes into it shall be pure.

The phrase כול טמאה is virtually identical with *πᾶν κοινόν* in Rev 21:27, and even the contexts are similar since both imply the perfect purity of the eschatological Jerusalem. Jan Fekkes has argued convincingly on the basis of diction and context, that Rev 21:27 alludes to Isa 52:1b (Fekkes 1994, 273-4): כִּי לֹא יוֹסִיף יבֹּא בְךָ עוֹד עֶרְל וְטִמְאָה (RSV: “For there shall no more come into you [Jerusalem] the uncircumcised and the unclean”). However, like Rev 21:27, Isa 52:1b is formulated negatively, it includes a verb meaning “to come,” the goal of which is the holy city, and specifically prohibits the

24 The only common feature of these two short lists is the phrase “the one who practices falsehood (ὁ ποιῶν ψεῦδος).”

25 In the Hebrew Bible, טמא is used metaphorically of idolatry and sin (TDOT V, 337-41).

26 This suggests that the source was incorporated without thoroughgoing redaction.

entrance of the unclean person or thing.²⁷ The prediction that unclean persons or things will not enter the eschatological Jerusalem occurs only in Isa 52:1 (and Isa 35:8) in the entire OT. Both Isa 52:1 and 35:8 represent an extension of the kind of postexilic prohibition found in Ezek 44:9, where participation in temple ritual is forbidden the foreigner (i.e., the non-proselyte who is “uncircumcised in heart and flesh,” cf. Isa 56:3-8).²⁸ Isa 52:1 is also quoted in 4Q176 = 4QTanhumin 8.3, an anthology of texts largely from Deutero-Isaiah on the topic of comfort. While Rev 21:27 probably alludes to Isa 52:1, no such allusion is present in the close parallel in 11QTemple 47:3-6,²⁹ suggesting that the exclusion of the unclean from the eschatological Jerusalem was a conception not restricted to the exegesis of Isa 52:1 and 35:8. Psalms of Solomon 8:8-13 condemns priests whose immorality and impurity profaned the temple and the sacrifices, a charge closely paralleled by CD 5.6-8.

Without question the Description of the New Jerusalem, the Temple Scroll and the Apocalypse of John exhibit some striking similarities, many of which are explicable by common dependence on Ezek 40-48. All three texts contain descriptions of the future Jerusalem in which the city is presented as an enormous square temple-city complex with twelve gates named after the twelve tribes of Israel or the twelve sons of Jacob. While the Apocalypse of John simply states that the three gates on each of the four sides of the city are named after “the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel” (Rev 21:12), an unusual phrase which is also found in Rev 7:4, where it is followed by a unique list of eleven sons of Israel and one tribe (Manasseh). The names of the twelve city gates of the Description of the New Jerusalem are identical with those of the *Temple Scroll*, but both differ from the names in Ezekiel. This suggests a literary relationship between the DNJ and the TS. Only the DNJ and the Apocalypse of John feature an angelic guide with a

27 The adjective $\kappa\alpha\iota$, used as a noun, can mean “impure one” or “impure thing” in Isa 52:1, just as the phrase $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ κοινόν in Rev 21:27 is neuter and therefore means “every impure thing.”

28 Parallel to Ezek 44:9 is 4QFlorilegium = 4Q174 1.3-4 (trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997-98a, 353): “This (refers to) the house in which shall never enter [...] either the Ammonite, or the Moabite, or the Bastard, or the foreigner, or the proselyte, never, because there [he will reveal] to the holy ones.”

29 The identification of the sources of 11QTemple, particularly the Hebrew Bible, has been investigated in detail by Wise (1990, 205-242), who categorizes 11QTemple 47.3-18 as free composition.

measuring rod, probably based on the model of Ezek 40-48. In the TS it is God who narrates the measurements of various parts of the Temple-City complex. While these texts share many common features, there is no clear indication of a direct literary relationship, except perhaps between the DNJ and the TS. The heavenly existence of the holy city is emphasized in *2 Baruch* as in the Apocalypse of John, while its appearance on earth is a motif shared by *4 Ezra* and the Apocalypse of John. Thus the Apocalypse has combined emphases in *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* with those of Ezek 40-48, the Description of the New Jerusalem and the Temple Scroll.

5. Conclusion

The apocalyptic motifs which the Apocalypse of John shares with the three first century CE Palestinian Jewish apocalypses on the one hand, and with the Description of the New Jerusalem and Temple Scroll on the other (the latter two documents almost certainly date from the first and more probably the second century BCE), are generally to be accounted for, not through literary dependence, but as independently drawn from a written or oral stream of Palestinian Jewish apocalyptic traditions. An analogy to this somewhat vague proposal is the Fourth Gospel, which obviously shares particular traditions with the synoptic gospels, though direct literary dependence appears highly unlikely. Though the Apocalypse is written in the province of Roman Asia, it is permeated with the motifs and literary conventions of Palestinian Jewish apocalyptic. This investigation supports the suggestion that the author was not only an immigrant from Palestine, perhaps in the wake of the second Jewish revolt, but that he was a card-carrying Jewish apocalypticist. Since a close analysis of the Apocalypse of John betrays an intimate knowledge of many apocalyptic sources and traditions, it appears likely that the author read, and perhaps even owned a modest library of Palestinian apocalyptic literature. Whether he began his career as a Christian apocalypticist or whether he began as a Jewish apocalypticist who only later became a follower of Jesus of Nazareth, can never be known with certainty, though in my view the latter seems more inherently probable. At any rate, no other Christian author (so far as we know) ever attempted to produce an apocalypse so generically similar to the generally recognized corpus of Palestinian Jewish apocalypses as the Apocalypse of John.

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