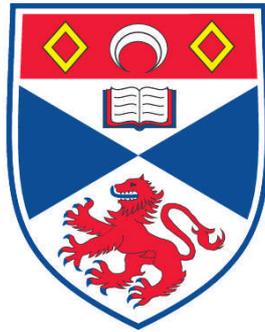


**THE NEW JERUSALEM IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION : A
STUDY OF REVELATION 21-22 IN THE LIGHT OF ITS
BACKGROUND IN JEWISH TRADITION**

Pilchan Lee

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



1999

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University of St. Andrews

**The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation:
A Study of Revelation 21-22
in the Light of its Background in Jewish Tradition**

**A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

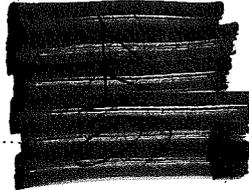
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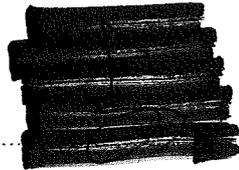
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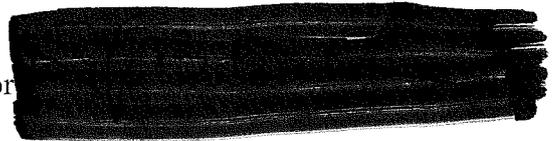
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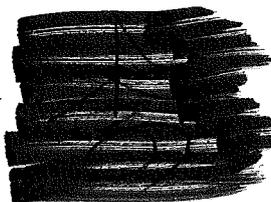


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CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PREFACE

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ABSTRACT

PILCHAN LEE

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

THESIS: THE NEW JERUSALEM IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION: A STUDY OF REVELATION 21-22 IN THE LIGHT OF ITS BACKGROUND IN JEWISH TRADITION.

This thesis explores the meaning of the New Jerusalem in Rev. 21-22. It is divided into four major parts. The first one is the OT background study from Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Zechariah. This section observes the prophetic messages of restoration, centering around the Temple/Jerusalem motif, which is one of the main concerns of the early Jewish writers and Revelation. The second one is the study of early Jewish tradition. This part investigates how the New Jerusalem theme develops during the second Temple period and post-70. This observation shows that some (not all) of the early Jewish tradition understands the rebuilding of the New Temple as the transference of the Heavenly Temple. For this reason, the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem is emphasized. The third part is the NT background study. Here two facts demonstrated: Christ as the New Temple and the church as the New Temple. This conclusion provides a suitable foundation for developing our argument in Revelation. Finally, the fourth part is the study of the New Jerusalem in Revelation, particularly Rev. 21-22. John uses much of the Jewish tradition in his writing. His main argument is that the church (which is symbolized by several images) is placed in heaven now (chs. 4-20) and the church (which is symbolized by the New Jerusalem) will descend to the earth from heaven (21:2) in the future. This assumption is closely related to the early Jewish idea. However, he does not follow the current Jewish idea without any modification but he differentiates his understanding from it by christologically interpreting the OT messages. This is well shown in his following announcement: "I saw no Temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (21:22).

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS FOR EARLY JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>	<i>ARN</i>	<i>Abot de Rabbi Nathan</i>
<i>b.</i>	<i>Babylonian Talmud</i>	<i>Edu.</i>	<i>Eduyyot</i>
<i>Git.</i>	<i>Giṭtin</i>	<i>Gen. R.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabba</i>
<i>Hal.</i>	<i>Hallah</i>	<i>Lam. R.</i>	<i>Lamentations Rabbah</i>
<i>m.</i>	<i>Mishna</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menahot</i>
MT	Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible		
<i>PRE</i>	<i>Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer</i>	<i>Ros. Hash.</i>	<i>Rosh Hashshanah</i>
<i>Shab.</i>	<i>Shabbat</i>	<i>Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Sheq.</i>	<i>Sheqalim</i>	<i>Sifre Deut.</i>	<i>Midrash on Numbers and</i>
	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	<i>Song. R.</i>	<i>Song of Songs Rabba</i>
<i>Suk.</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>	<i>t.</i>	<i>Tosefta</i>
<i>Tanḥ.</i>	<i>Tanḥuma Lekh Lekha</i>	<i>Tem.</i>	<i>Temurah</i>
<i>Ter.</i>	<i>Terumot</i>	<i>Ta'an.</i>	<i>Ta'anit</i>
<i>Tam.</i>	<i>Tamid</i>	<i>Tg.</i>	<i>Targum</i>
<i>Vay. R.</i>	<i>Vayyigra Midrash (Midrash Rabbah on Leviticus)</i>	<i>Yad.</i>	<i>Yadayim</i>
<i>Yom.</i>	<i>Yoma</i>		

1QpHab	<i>Pesher on Habakkuk from Qumran Cave 1</i>
1QH	<i>Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) from Qumran Cave 1</i>
1QM	<i>Milhamah (War Scroll) from Cave 1</i>
4QpIsa ^d	<i>Pesher on Isaiah from Qumran Cave 4</i>
1QS	<i>Community Rule/Manual of Discipline</i>
1QSa	<i>Messianic Rule from Qumran Cave 1</i>
CD	<i>Damascus Rule</i>
4QMMT	<i>Halakhic Letter from Qumran Cave 4</i>
11QTemple	<i>Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11</i>

OT	Old Testament	NT	New Testament
1 Chron.	1 Chronicles	2 Chron.	2 Chronicles
1 Pet.	1 Peter	1 Cor.	1 Corinthians
1 Kgs	1 Kings	2 Kgs	2 Kings
1 Macc.	1 Maccabees	2 Macc.	2 Maccabees
1 Sam.	1 Samuel	2 Sam.	2 Samuel
1 Tim.	1 Timothy	2 Tim.	2 Timothy
Col.	Colossians	Dan.	Daniel
Deut.	Deuteronomy	Eph.	Ephesians
Exod.	Exodus	Ezek.	Ezekiel
Gal.	Galatians	Gen.	Genesis
Heb.	Hebrews	Hos.	Hosea
Isa.	Isaiah	Jer.	Jeremiah
Jn	John	1 Kgs.	1 Kings
Lam.	Lamentations	Lev.	Leviticus
Mk	Mark	Nah	Nahum
Neh.	Nehemiah	Num.	Numbers
Prov.	Proverbs	Ps(s).	Psalms

Rev.	Revelation	Rom.	Romans
Tit.	Titus	Zech.	Zechariah
Zeph.	Zephaniah		

ABBREVIATIONS FOR SERIAL AND NON-SERIAL PUBLICATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	Haase, W., and H. Temporini, ed. <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1972.
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAIAS	<i>Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society</i>
BARSS	British Archaeological Reports Supplementary Series
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> Berlin: New York, 1979 -.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHK	R. Kittel ed., <i>Biblia hebraica</i> . Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1937.
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur <i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
BZAW	Beihefter zur <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series</i>
CHB	P. R. Ackroyd et al. ed., <i>The Cambridge History of the Bible</i> . 3 vols. Cambridge, 1963-1970.
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> , as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch, revised ... by A. E. Cowley, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
IB	G. A. Buttrick et al. ed., <i>The Interpreter's Bible</i> . 12 vols.; New York: Abingdon Press, 1956.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
ITC	International Theological Commentary
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>

- JE* Singer, I., et al. ed., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 12 vols. New York: London, 1901-1906.
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JQR* *Jewish Quarterly Review*
- JSHRZ* Kümmel, W.G. et al. *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973 --
- JSNT* *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
- JSNTSS* *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series*
- JSOTSS* *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series*
- JSPSS* *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
- JSS* *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- JTS* *Journal of Theological Studies*
- LXX* Septuagint
- NAB* New American Bible
- NCB* New Century Bible Commentary
- NEB* New English Bible
- NIV* New International Bible
- NJB* New Jerusalem Bible
- NIGTC* New International Greek Testament Commentary
- NovT* *Novum Testamentum*
- NREB* New Revised English Bible
- NRSV* New Revised Standard Version
- NRT* *La Nouvelle revue théologique*
- OTL* Old Testament Library
- OTP* Charlesworth, J. H. ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. New York, London, Toronto: Doubleday, 1983.
- SBL* Society of Biblical Literature
- SBLSP* *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
- SC* Sources Chrétiennes
- SPS* Sacra Pagina Series
- TDNT* Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Fridrich ed., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 10 vols. trans. G. W. Bromiley. Grans Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964 --
- TNTC* Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
- VT* *Vetus Testamentum*
- VTSup* Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*
- WS* World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest
- ZAW* *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- ZB* Zürcher Bibelkommentare
- ZNW* *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH AIM

This thesis is an investigation of *the New Jerusalem* in Revelation, centering around chs. 21-22, in the light of its background in Jewish tradition. The New Jerusalem is one of the most important themes in Revelation in that the church, which the New Jerusalem symbolizes, is not only demonstrated throughout the whole book, but the New Jerusalem itself is also described in detail at the end of the book as the consummation of God's plan. Moreover, the New Jerusalem or the New Temple was a very popular issue among the Jews during the Second Temple period and after the destruction of the Temple.

PROBLEMS

There are two problems to be noted here. In the first place, the problem in this study mainly lies in the relationship between the OT restorational messages and the fulfillment in Revelation in terms of the New Jerusalem. In other words, the restorational messages in the former do not fully comply with the latter,¹ even though the latter's theology is fundamentally based on the OT. For example, in Revelation, the New Jerusalem is portrayed as descending from heaven. The idea of the descent of the New Jerusalem from heaven means that the New Jerusalem is pre-existent. If the New Jerusalem in heaven can be rightly called the Heavenly Jerusalem, then the dynamic interconnection between the Heavenly Jerusalem and the New Jerusalem is strongly established. Unfortunately, however, this dynamic relation between them can be rarely found in the OT. While there are some references to the interconnection between them, they are shown in a very weak manner. In Isa. 6:3, there is an encounter between the earthly Temple and the Heavenly Temple. In Zech. 3:6-7, Joshua is given the right of access to the heavenly council in the Heavenly Temple with relation to the restoration of the New Temple. Moreover, in 4:9-14, Joshua and Zerubbabel who are symbolized by the two branches of the olive trees are described as participating in the Heavenly Temple. Furthermore, Ezek. 40-48 projects simply the rebuilding of the New Temple and the New Jerusalem. God's glory returns to the New Temple after her establishment (43:3). Here it is illustrated that there is a development (rather than difference) between Revelation and the OT. If this is so, where does the idea of the dynamic interconnection between the Heavenly Jerusalem and the New Jerusalem in Revelation come from?

Secondly, the reference to no Temple in the New Jerusalem (Rev. 21:22) is remarkable. Not only the OT (e.g. Ezek. 40-48) but also most of the early Jewish tradition excluding 3

¹ For the extended discussion of this issue, refer to J. H. Charlesworth, "What has the Old Testament to Do with the New?" in J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver eds., *The Old and the New Testaments: Their Relationship and the "Intertestamental" Literature* (Valley Forge, PA.: Trinity Press International, 1993), 39-87.

Baruch projects the rebuilding of the New Temple in the New Jerusalem, whether by God or by human hands. If this is so, what brought John to propose the absence of the Temple building in the New Jerusalem? What differentiates John from other Jewish exegetes?

METHODOLOGY

Concerning the first problem, what kind of methods can be adopted in order to find some solutions? Generally, the book of Revelation is often simply called the Apocalypse. Not only because of the name of the book but also because of parallels (or antithetical parallels) to other Jewish apocalyptic literature, particularly in terms of the Jerusalem/ Temple motif, John can be regarded as an “heir to a long tradition of Jewish apocalyptic literature.”² Along the same line, R. Bauckham points out that “... Revelation, is an apocalypse, whose primary literary context is the tradition of Jewish and Christian apocalypses. Both in form and in content it is heavily indebted to this tradition.”³ Therefore, it can be presumed that John shared hermeneutical principles with his other Jewish contemporaries in interpreting the OT restorational messages. This assumption provides a certain clue for resolving the above problem. In other words, the early Jewish (apocalyptic) literature⁴ may function as a bridge by revealing a process of the development of traditions between the OT restorational messages and Revelation. If this is so, it is essential to investigate the early Jewish sources in studying the New Jerusalem in Revelation.⁵ In this respect, this study can be characteristically labeled as ‘a historical interpretation’.

As far as the second problem is concerned, it is noteworthy that this tenor of Revelation does not mean that John is purely a Jewish commentator, because his exegetical standpoint is Christological. This is the point in which he differs from his Jewish colleagues. In this sense, it would be possible to say that “... John often uses common apocalyptic traditions in highly creative ways and develops the conventions of the literary genre for his own purposes and by means of his own literary genius.”⁶ Therefore, his hermeneutical principle drawn from the early Jewish literature should be examined in terms of the Christological viewpoints.

MATERIAL AND CONTENTS

According to J. J. Collins, “Much of Jewish apocalyptic literature was inspired by three major crises that befell Jerusalem and its temple”: 1) the destruction of the city and temple in

² J. J. Collins, “Jerusalem and the Temple in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature of the Second Temple Period,” *International Rennert Guest Lecture Series* 1 (1998), 3.

³ R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), xi.

⁴ Not all the Jewish material discussed is necessarily apocalyptic, but the Yavnean movement and Bar Kokhba Revolt, which are related with the issue of the rebuilding of the New Temple, are relevant to this study, though they are not apocalyptic.

⁵ R. Bauckham emphasizes “firsthand study” of Jewish sources for the right understanding of Revelation (idem, *The Climax of the Prophecy*, xii).

⁶ Ibid.

the Babylonian era; 2) the crisis of the Maccabean era; 3) the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in AD 70.⁷ In the first case, the literature, which belongs to the OT, is prophetic rather than apocalyptic. Nevertheless, the literature already accommodates many of the themes and motifs that appear again in the apocalyptic literature of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁸ In this study, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Zechariah are selected as the literature of this period.⁹ They are categorized as the OT background study in chapter 1.

Moreover, in the second case, the crisis of the Maccabean era is caused by the defilement and corruption of the Temple from “the Hellenizing High Priests and then the Syrian soldiers of Antiochus Epiphanes.”¹⁰ In this period, 1 and 2 Enoch, sectarian works at Qumran and Tobit are chosen as the relevant material for this study. Finally, the third case is the same period as Revelation. This case lists the following works: 4 Ezra, 1 Baruch, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, Apocalypse of Abraham, Pseudo-Philo and the Sibylline Oracles, book 5. In addition, as the religious movement after AD 70, the Yavnean movement and Bar Kokhba Revolt are selected. The foregoing material belongs to the early Jewish studies in chapter 2. This chapter is an important part of this study because it provides important clues for tackling the preceding problems. Therefore, each source will be carefully examined.

Furthermore, in the NT writings, it is necessary to look for background to the idea of the New Jerusalem in Revelation. This task is aimed at demonstrating Christ and His church as the New Temple, and the church’s being (in) the Heavenly Jerusalem. Here, Jn 2:19-21; 7:37-39, 1 Cor. 3:16-17, 1 Pet. 2:4, Heb. 12:22-24 and Gal. 4:21-27 will be used for this purpose. This forms the NT background study in chapter 3. Finally, the investigation of the New Jerusalem in Revelation, which is the main study, will be placed in chapter 4.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In the above, the limitations of the study can be already recognized. However, it is necessary to point them out in greater detail. Two cases can be introduced. First, references to the New Jerusalem/Temple idea in the OT are given abundantly. Nevertheless, only four prophetic books such as Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Zechariah are selected. There are two reasons for this selection. First, the OT study aims to aid understanding the background of the New Jerusalem/Temple in Revelation rather than investigating all data concerning the New Jerusalem/Temple in the OT. Therefore, the above four representative books serve to meet the purpose. Second, the OT study needs to be carried out in relation to the early Jewish study in

⁷ J. J. Collins, “Jerusalem and the Temple,” 4.

⁸ Ibid. J. J. Carey has found ‘the classic Old Testament apocalyptic passages’ in Isa. 56-66, Zech. 12-14 and Daniel 7-12 (cf. Isa. 24-27; Joel 2:28-31) (idem, “Apocalypticism as a Bridge Between the Testaments,” in J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver eds., *The Old and the New Testaments*, 90).

⁹ These four books were not necessarily written after the first Temple destruction, but they are closely related with the event. In this respect, they can be classified as belonging to this part.

¹⁰ J. J. Collins, “Jerusalem and the Temple,” 4.

order to notice some developments of tradition by comparing the one with the other. If this is so, the restorational messages in the OT are useful for this purpose. The above four books contain the main restorational messages in the OT.

Second, in examining the NT background, only several references have been selected, which were mentioned above. As in the OT, the NT also has many sources about the Temple idea. However, because this thesis is not a study of the Temple idea in the NT in general¹¹ but a study of the New Jerusalem in Revelation *in the light of its background in Jewish tradition*, it is necessary to simplify the NT background study. Therefore, the NT background study will be aimed only at showing distinctive Christian ideas, namely Christ and the church being the New Temple, and the church being (in) the Heavenly Jerusalem in order to support the idea of the New Jerusalem in Revelation. For this purpose, Jn 2:19-21; 7:37-39, 1 Cor. 3:16-17, 1 Pet. 2:4, Gal. 4:21-27 and Heb. 12:22-24, will be used.

TERMINOLOGICAL ISSUE

Finally, it is worth noting that the Temple normally implies the presence of Jerusalem and *vice versa* in the OT and the early Jewish tradition because Jerusalem without the Temple and the Temple without Jerusalem cannot be imagined. In this respect, both terms are sometimes (not always) used without distinction in the OT and the early Jewish literature. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize this relationship between Jerusalem and the Temple.

¹¹ For more information about the general idea of Jerusalem/Temple in the NT, see P. W. L. Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City: New Testament Perspective on Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996); R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (Oxford: OUP, 1969). Moreover, A. T. Lincoln provides a Pauline idea of the Heavenly Temple in his book, *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to His Eschatology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).

1. The Jerusalem/Temple Idea in the Old Testament

1.1 Introduction

The study of the Jerusalem/Temple idea in the OT is interactively carried out with the early Jewish writings. This methodological principle clarifies the aim and the research procedure of this section. The aim here is not simply to define the idea of the Temple nor to summarize its general idea in the OT but to research how restoration was expected in the prophetic messages, in relation to the Temple or Jerusalem motif around the exilic period. This includes both the pre-exilic as well as post-exilic times because the Temple/Jerusalem motif is demonstrated as being closely related with the expectation of restoration in the early Jewish literature. On the other hand, this section is not interested in the historical-critical issues raised by modern OT scholars because early Jewish writers did not apply the critical methods of modern historical study, but read the texts synchronistically and harmonistically as authoritative writings, usually accepting their traditional attributions and apparent dates while expecting consistency of content.¹ Accordingly, this study like early Jewish writings will consider the OT texts as being given in its final present form. Moreover, it is not necessary to deal seriously with the date of composition. It was meaningless to early Jewish writers to classify the prophetic messages as pre-exilic, exilic or post-exilic because most of prophetic messages were regarded as what was being announced in the past as a whole. Finally, intense observation will be given to the four prophetic books, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Zechariah since these books mainly propose the restorational idea in relation to the Temple motif. Of the four books, the first two will be treated in greater attention since they were more often used in the early Jewish literature.

¹ In this respect, K. E. Pomykala's comment is appropriate: "Early Jewish interpreters did not analyze these passages according to modern critical methods, but perceived them synchronically as traditional writings within sacred scriptures. In other words, they perceived the Bible as a "flat text" (idem, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature [Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1995], 11).

1.2 The Book of Ezekiel

In the Book of Ezekiel, the Temple motif is portrayed throughout the whole book. Therefore, it is important to consider the context of the whole book in order to understand the Temple theme.

1.2.1 Opening Vision (1:1-28)

This book in vs. 1 starts by announcing that while ‘the heavens’ were opened Ezekiel saw visions of God. This demonstrates that the heavenly scenes were revealed to Ezekiel. Study of the heavenly things is worthwhile in that it provides the background for the restoration. The first scene of the vision in vs. 4 begins with the glorious surroundings of heaven, where the glory of heaven is further strengthened by fire and brightness (cf. 1:13).

Next, the heavenly things are described. First, four living creatures are mysteriously shown, as having a human form, though they have different faces (human being, lion, ox and eagle) along with having four wings (1:5-6).¹ The faces of the four living creatures represent the most lordly creatures, which denote the bearers of the Lord of Lords.² Second, Ezekiel saw ‘a wheel on the earth beside the living creatures, one for each of the four of them’ (1:15).³ This vision is significant because ‘a wheel’ is described as being placed on the earth. In this case, it is suggested that the heavenly dimension is connected to the earthly dimension. Moreover, the four wheels also function to carry the glory of God since each of them is taken by each of the four creatures, which are the bearers of the glory of God.

Third, ‘over the heads of the living creatures there was something like a dome, shining like crystal, spread out above their heads’. (1:22) Here, it is noteworthy that ‘dome’ (רִקִיעַ) is related to heaven since ‘dome’ was used to describe the firmament in heaven.⁴ Fourth, ‘something like

¹ In Ezekiel’s vision, the number four is dominant. This must be connected with the division of the world into four parts or the circle of the horizon into four directions. In this respect, “it symbolizes the divine capacity to control the whole world” (M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 22 [New York: Doubleday, 1983], 57).

² M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 56. He explains that the lion is proverbially the fiercest of beasts (Num. 23:24; 24:9; Judg. 14:18; 2 Sam. 1:23; 17:10, , etc.); the eagle the most imposing (swift, high-flying) of birds (Deut. 28:49; 2 Sam. 1:23; Jer. 48:40; Lam. 4:19; Job 39:27, etc.); the bull is the most valued of domestic animals (for plowing and breeding: Prov. 14:4; Job 21:10; cf. Exod. 21:37); Men ruled them all (Gen. 1:28; Ps. 8:7). He also introduces the midrash to Exod. 5:1 as a fine interpretation of the four creatures: “Four kinds of proud beings were created in the world: the proudest of all--man; of birds--the eagle; of domestic animals--the ox; of wild animals--the lion; all of them are stationed beneath the chariot of the Holy One ...” (*Exodus Rabba* 22:13) (ibid.).

³ M. Greenberg suggests that “four wheels belong to a cart (cf. the bases of the temple lavers, I Kgs 7:27-37, with four wheels and decorated by figures of cherubs, lions, and cattle!) or a primitive type of chariot.” According to him, four wheels in Ezekiel’s vision are the combined form of the two modes of locomotion (ibid., 57).

⁴ This idea is well shown in Ps. 19:2:

הַשָּׁמַיִם מִסְפָּרִים כְּבוֹד־אֵל

וּבַמַּעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו מְגִיד הַרְקִיעַ:

By the parallelism, the heaven and the firmament indicate the same entity (cf. Gen. 1:7 Ezek. 1:23; 10:1 Dan. 12:3). M. Greenberg proposes the ‘dome’ as “the platform on which the divine throne stood” (ibid., 48).

a throne in appearance like sapphire' (1:26) was shown above the dome over their heads, and 'something that seemed like a human form' is depicted as seated above the throne. 'The human figure' who is sitting on the heavenly throne is interpreted as the manifestation of the 'Majesty of YHWH' in 1:28.⁵

1.2.2 Departure of the Glory of God from the Solomonic Temple (chs. 2-11)

Following the description of the heavenly things, accusations about the rebelliousness of the people of Israel and predictions of judgment against the rebelliousness are narrated in chs. 2-8. This serves to justify God's action of the withdrawal of His glory from Jerusalem/Temple in chs. 9-11. The process of the withdrawal is gradually carried out through three steps. The first step of the withdrawal of the glory occurs in 9:3. This text shows that when the glory of God moved from the cherub in the Temple to the threshold of the Temple, God executed his judgment against the rebellious people through the agent who is called 'the man in linen' (הָאִישׁ לְבָשׁ-הַבְּדִים).⁶ God also protected the godly people by placing a mark on the foreheads of those who were sighing and groaning over all the abominations that were committed (9:4). This immediate action of 'the man in linen' indicates that the removal of God's glory from the Temple necessitated the judgment against Israel (cf. 10:2-9).

In 10:18-19 the process of the removal is once again advanced. In particular, the phrase, 'the cherubim rose up from earth' in 10:19 clearly represents the departure of the glory of God from the earthly Temple. At last, the cherubim stopped at the entrance of the east gate of the house and the glory of the God of Israel was there also. 11:22-23 demonstrates the final stage of the process of removal.⁷ The foregoing text shows that the glory of God is not completely removed from the city of Jerusalem but only from the earthly Jerusalem Temple. The glory remains on the mountain east of the city. This position leaves open the possibility of restoration as well as judgment against the rebellious people. These twin aspects establish a pattern for the following chapters until the full detail of the restoration is given in chs. 36-48.⁸ In combining restoration with judgment, the judgment functions to reform the Israelite people in their rebelliousness in order that they might be fit for the restorational state shown in 20:37-38.⁹

⁵ Ibid., 51.

⁶ To be dressed in linen is reminiscent of the ordinary priests (Exod. 28:29-42) and angels (Dan. 10:5; 12:6f) who have this common ministry to God. In this case, the linen garments signify their purity (M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 176).

⁷ According to L. C. Allen, "The final stop at the Mount of Olives (cf. Zech 14:4), after flying over the Kidron Valley, accentuates Yahweh's leaving the temple and the holy city" (idem, *Ezekiel 1-19*, WBC 28 [Dallas: Word Books, 1994], 166).

⁸ Cf. 1) 12:1-16:58 and 16:59-63; 2) 17:1-21 and 17:22-24; 3) 18:1-20:32 and 20:33-49; 4) 21:1-28:24 and 28:25-26; 5) 29:1-34:10 and 34:11-30; 6) 35:1-15 and chs. 36-48.

⁹ The judgments against neighboring nations (Tyre in chs. 26-28; Egypt in 29-32) which taunted Israel are necessarily required in order to effectuate the perfect restoration of Israel as well (cf. 36:1-7).

1.2.3 Expectation for Restoration (11:17-20 and chs. 12-39)

In 11:17-20, the promises of restoration are provided as follows: 1) returning/gathering from exile to the land of Israel (11:17); 2) removal of the detestable heart and endowment of a new heart and a new spirit within them (11:18-20a); 3) renewal of the covenant (11:20b). Therefore, God being the Temple for Israel in the exile promotes a sense of expectation for restoration.

Moreover, chs. 12-35 demonstrate the following messages of restoration. The first one is the establishment of an everlasting covenant by the remembrance and the renewal of God's covenant with Israel in the past (16:59-63). The second is the gathering of the people of Israel out of the countries where they are scattered with the elimination of the rebels among them (20:33-44). The third is the peaceful, safe, and bountiful life upon their return to Jerusalem from exile: safety in life, building of houses, and planting of vineyards (28:25-26). The fourth is the New Creation: banishment of wild animals from the land; sending of seasoning showers as God's blessing; the trees' yielding fruits and the productiveness of the land; acknowledgment of God; no more plunder for the nations; no more animals of the land to devour them; life in safety; provision of splendid vegetation with no more hunger in the land; an end to suffering from the insults of the nations; Israel belonging to God as His sheep in His pasture (34:25-30).

Chs. 36-48, which are the final section in the Book of Ezekiel, comprehensively and decisively report the message of restoration. Though the judgment message is given to Gog, this message is characterized by restoration because Gog's invasion is initiated by God in order to prove His ability to restore the New Jerusalem.¹⁰ The elements of restoration in 36-48 closely parallel those in chs. 1-35. However, the former is much more ultimate and specific than the latter.

Chs. 36-48 may be divided into two parts: chs. 36-39 and chs. 40-48. The latter is the elaborate explanation of the former, particularly, focusing on the rebuilding of the New Temple. The former (chs. 36-39) can be divided into two parts again: chs. 36-37 and chs. 38-39. Above all, it is necessary to observe the elements of the restoration in the first part. First, the restoration starts with the gathering of Israel from the nations (36:12a, 24; 39:28). Second, the most remarkable feature of the restoration narrative is the rebuilding of the New Temple (37:26b-28). It is noteworthy that in 37:26b-28, the rebuilding of the New Temple is closely related with the renewal of the covenant which is given in the covenant formula in 37:27.

Third, the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem and the New Temple certainly will bring the restoration of the land which is the New Creation (36:8-9, 29-30, 35a). In the preceding texts, the references to the restoration of the land are reminiscent of the condition of the Garden of

¹⁰ This issue will be discussed below.

Eden. The last passage confirms this idea by the direct description of the Garden of Eden. It means the appearance of the New Creation. Fourth, the restoration includes the transformation of the people of Israel into the new people who are faithful in following and observing God's ways in 36:25-27. This reference demonstrates the total change of the Israelite people from the rebellious mind (vs. 25b) to obedience (vs. 27) with a new heart and a new spirit (vs. 26) which is given by God's spirit (vs. 27). They elucidate the transformation of the rebellious people of Israel into God's new people who will be fit for the state of restoration. Interestingly, the first phrase (וַיִּחַי רֹחַי בְּכֶם) of vs. 27 is parallel to וַיִּחַי רֹחַי בְּכֶם in 37:14, which belongs to interpretation (37:11-14) of the vision in 37:1-10 (cf. 11:19). In this case, it can be thought that the above text is related with ch. 37 by its parallel.¹¹

The main point of the story in 37:1-10 is that a great number of dry bones in the valley become alive and then they become a vast multitude through the inbreathing of the prophetic message. 37:11-14 interprets the symbolic vision.¹² In the interpretation, 'dry bones' are explained as the state of exile in which the hope of Israel was totally lost (37:11). Moreover, the opening of the graves of dry bones while bringing them up from the graves, and their reviving by God's spirit indicate 'bringing Israel back to the land of Israel (37:12-14).¹³ Here, God's guidance in bringing back Israel to the land of Israel does not simply indicate the relocation of the people from Babylon to the land of Israel but it gives a totally new status to the people of Israel who were completely demolished in that the returning is likened to the symbol of the 'dry bones' transformation into human beings. The return of Israel has four implications: (1) admittance to the New Jerusalem; (2) involvement in the New Temple service; (3) experience of the blessings by the New Covenant; (4) a peaceful life in the New Creation. In this respect, the symbolic vision does not represent "the thought of a resurrection of individuals from the dead" but "the event of the restoration and the regathering of the politically defeated all-Israel."¹⁴

The fifth feature shown in 37:21-22 and 37:24-25 is the reunification of the nation and the revival of the Davidic kingdom. The two preceding passages are closely related to each other because David is shown as the only representative and guarantor of the unified nation, like the single shepherd in 34:23.¹⁵ As Zimmerli remarks, Ezekiel must have been aware of the divine promise to the house of David, and could have not seen the consummation of Israel's salvation

¹¹ W. Zimmerli suggests the correlation between 36:16-37 and ch. 37, when he argues that "the oracle (37:13f.) comes close to what was said in 36:16 ff." (idem, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25-48*, Hermenia, trans. J. D. Martin [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], 263).

¹² W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 264; cf. 257.

¹³ R. M. Hals detects the Exodus motif in the phrase, 'bring up' and 'bring back' in 37:12 with the three verbs in 36:24 (idem, *Ezekiel*, FOTL 19 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 270).

¹⁴ W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 264.

¹⁵ R. M. Hals, *Ezekiel*, 275.

without a divine affirmation of the royal house of David (cf. ch. 17; 34:24).¹⁶ In this case, it is noteworthy that the promise of the rebuilding of the New Temple (37:26b-27) is contextualized by the coming of the Davidic ruler.

Finally, the restoration message represents life in safety in the land of Israel. 36:12b-15 demonstrates that there will be no war in the New Jerusalem and even in war, there will no longer be any defeat or casualties for Israel. This idea is illustrated in the story of Gog in chs. 38:1-39:20. This story depicts the scene of the plundering operation against the New Jerusalem after restoration. God put Himself on test by promoting Gog to invade Israel in 38:8 and 38:11-12.

In the first text (38:8), the land of Israel is described by God as follows: 1) a land restored from war; 2) a land where people were gathered from many nations on the mountains of Israel which had long been laid waste; 3) everyone living in safety. In the second text (38:11-12), the Israelites are described as being: 1) quiet people who live in safety without walls, bar or gates; 2) people who are gathered from the nations; 3) people who acquire cattle and goods; 4) people who live at the center of the earth. In the second text, Gog is predicted to invade and plunder the restored land of Israel.¹⁷ In this respect, this episode is distinguished from the normal judgment messages against the nations.¹⁸

Gog's military power is enormous, and many people will join Gog's military operation against the restored land of Israel (38:9).¹⁹ This shows that Gog's attack is decisive. Moreover, Gog's attack against the restored land is initiated by God in order to make God's holiness known to the nations (38:16; 38:23). In this case, the execution of God's judgment is unavoidable. The judgment message is much stronger here than any others, as shown in 38:21-22. The judgmental devices such as pestilence, bloodshed, torrential rains, hailstones and sulphur are used. Eventually, Gog's operation will end in failure by the successful defense of Israel (38:9-10). In addition, Gog is buried just as the Egyptians were sunk into the Red sea in order that Israel might cleanse the land (39:11-14).²⁰ The severity of burial is emphasized by its

¹⁶ W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 278. According to J. D. Levenson, "The Zion-traditions are inseparable from the institution of monarchy" (idem, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48*, HSM 10 [Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976], 18-19).

¹⁷ Therefore, D. I. Block raises a following question: "why would Yahweh bring Gog against His own people after the covenant relationships had been fully restored?" (idem, "Gog and Magog in Ezekiel's Eschatological Vision," in K. E. Brower and M. W. Elliott eds., *The Reader Must Understand: Eschatology in Bible and theology* [Leicester: Apollos, 1997], 103).

¹⁸ D. I. Block detects the differences in style and structure between the Gog oracle and Ezekiel's other judgment speeches (idem, "Gog and Magog," 95-96).

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, 99-100.

²⁰ In the above, the narrative of Gog's unsuccessful attack against Israel is reminiscent of the story of the Egyptians' unsuccessful operation against Israel which came out from the Egypt by God's initiative to be glorified. This was demonstrated by the hardening of Pharaoh's heart; their drowning into sea; the elements of judgment such as hailstones, pestilence and bloodshed in 38:22.

quantity and the period of the burial (39:11-12). It means the total removal of the enemy from the earth.²¹

What is the function of this message? Why is this message placed in the midst of the restoration messages, particularly, just before the description of the New Jerusalem/Temple? In order to find the answer to this question, it is necessary to remember that Gog's operation is against the restored land of Israel, as shown in 38:8, 11-12. While the broad purpose of this message is to display Yahweh's holiness (הַתְּנַיִם), his greatness (הַתְּקָרָה) and his person (נֹדַעְתִּי) toward the nations and Israel (38:23),²² the specific purpose is to demonstrate the perfect restoration of the New Jerusalem, namely, her indestructibility or imperishability.²³ Here, both purposes are closely connected, in that the latter maximizes the former. In this respect, this message is related to the promise of safety in the New Jerusalem in 36:12b-15.

39:21-29 functions as an epilogue to chs. 36-39, particularly, 38:1-39:20,²⁴ which emphasize the glorification of God's name among the nations through both the restoration of Israel and the safety in the New Jerusalem which implies the perfection of the restoration. Here, the demonstration of God's glory among the nations is the important effect produced through the example of Gog (39:21). Moreover, the total defeat of Gog proves God's ability to restore the New Jerusalem as a safe place to live in: no more shame, no more treachery, safety and fearlessness (39:26-27). Therefore, the perfect restoration of the New Jerusalem by the representation of the invincibility of the city from any powerful nations under Gog in chs. 38:1-39:25 is again summarized in the epilogue of the restoration message in chs. 36-39.

²¹ In addition, D. I. Block suggests the meaning of the burial as indicating a permanent memorial to the destruction of the enemies of Yahweh, cultic purification and public glorification of Yahweh (idem, "Gog and Magog," 109).

²² Ibid., 106.

²³ Therefore, "Gog's invasion of the land represent a part of the calculated plan of Yahweh for His people" (ibid., 101) and "... Gog becomes the agent through whom Yahweh declares concretely that the tragedy of 586 BC will never be repeated" (ibid., 116).

²⁴ Most commentators argue that 39:25 (or 23)-29 is not related with the message about Gog. For example, J. Blenkinsopp suggests that 39:25-29 "has nothing to do with Gog" but "summarizes the message of Ezekiel after the fall of Jerusalem" (idem, *Ezekiel, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching*, [Louisville: John Knox Press, 1990], 190). Moreover, Zimmerli suggests that "vv. 21-22 still look back to the Gog pericope, while vv 23-29 leave that behind and once again reflect, comprehensively, on the prophet's total message" (idem, *Ezekiel 2*, 319). The above arguments are valuable, but it seems that they do not pay attention to the real aim of the Gog pericope to confirm the security in the life of the New Jerusalem. If this is right, 39:26 is close to the message about Gog. If so, 39:21-29 is the summary of the previous promises of restoration, including the message about Gog in 38:1-39:20. Moreover, there is no definite delimitation mark in 39:21-29 because vs. 22 and vs. 23 are connected by the so-called Recognition Formula, and vs. 24 and vs. 25 are connected by the conjunction, לְכֵן (cf. D. I. Block, "Gog and Magog," 112-115).

1.2.4 Closing Vision: The New Temple/Jerusalem (chs. 40-48)²⁵

Following the general descriptions of the restoration in chs. 36-39, the restoration message focuses on the New Temple and the New Jerusalem in chs. 40-48 since they are at the heart of the restoration. Undoubtedly, most parts in chs. 40-48 are characterized by the architectural elements of the Temple and the ordinances of the New Temple.²⁶ This fact proves that the New Temple will be rebuilt materially. In other words, as J. D. Levenson indicates, “the highly specific nature of the description of the Temple, its liturgy and community bespeaks a practical program, not a vision of pure grace.”²⁷

In 43:3 it is reported that Ezekiel saw God’s glory of Israel coming from the east, which departed the earthly Solomonic Temple, as shown by the river Chebar (43:3). This scene is the reverse of the departure of the glory of God from the Temple in chs. 9-11²⁸ and more precisely it follows from 11:23, where the glory stops at the east of Jerusalem. In other words, the New Temple will be filled with the glory of God which departed the old earthly Temple.²⁹ In this case, it is clear that the New Temple in chs. 40-48 is not simply the Heavenly Temple. Otherwise, the process of the coming of the glory would be unnecessary. But also the New Temple is totally different from the rebuilding of the earthly Solomonic Temple because she is characteristically eschatological.³⁰ After the glory of the Lord filled the New Temple (43:5),

²⁵ This section is the continuation of the previous part (chs. 36-39). However, in order to expose the remarkable relationship between the Eschatological Temple in chs. 40-48 and the Heavenly Temple in ch. 1, this part is separated from the previous one. At any rate, it is necessary to remember that this section belongs to the previous part in its structure and content.

²⁶ S. Niditch traces the tradition of the architectural plan in chs. 40-48 back to Genesis 1-11: “An overview of Ezekiel’s so-called architectural plan reveals the very cosmogonic, ordering, categorizing emphases found in Genesis 1-11: Hierarchy and work roles; geographic loci and boundaries; the divisions between peoples and places which make for a map of reality” (idem, “Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context,” *CBQ* 48:2 [1986] 217).

²⁷ J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration*, 45. In his argument, Levenson disputes against M. Schmidt, W. Zimmerli and W. Eichrodt, etc., who argues that chs. 40-48 are purely divine (M. Schmidt, *Prophet und Tempel* [Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1948], 161; W. Zimmerli, “Planungen für den Wiederaufbau nach der Katastrophe von 587,” *VT* 18 [1968], 234; W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel, A Commentary*, trans. Cosslett Quinn, OTL [London: SCM Press, 1970], 542). Concerning the issue of the divine plan and the human endeavor, Levenson suggests that the relationship is partly complementary in the Old Testament, as shown in Psa. 90:17, while also being partly antithetical. In the complementary relationship, a human can be regarded as the agent of a divine plan (J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration*, 47). Therefore, Levenson also suggests the divine aspect of the rebuilding plan of the New Temple in 40-48: “Since they are designed by God himself, the work of his hands and a non-verbal expression of some truth about him, it is essential that they be described with rigorous precision” (ibid., 17).

²⁸ According to Levenson, 43:1-12 is “the counterpart of chs. 8-11” and the return of the glory of God is “the climax of the restoration vision of 40-48” (ibid., 10).

²⁹ Along the same line, Levenson states that “just as Israel could not take the Land so long as the Lord was not among them (Deut. 1:42-44), so was the Temple incomplete until his presence filled it” (idem, *Theology of the Program of Restoration*, 11).

³⁰ In this respect, P. D. Hanson’s view that “the ultimate goal of Ezekiel’s prophecy seems to be the promulgation of a program of restoration which is dedicated to the preservation of the institutions of the immediate past ...” is suspicious (idem, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979], 238). Concerning this issue, M. Himmelfarb points out that “the relationship between details of his (Ezekiel) plan ... and the preexilic reality is far from

God announces that the New Jerusalem/Temple is His throne and He also proclaims His eternal dwelling in the New Temple (43:7). There will be no more defilement in the New Temple by anything which previously polluted the purity of the Temple. These features propose the finality of the New Temple.

This eschatological element of the New Temple is further corroborated in ch. 47:1-12.³¹ Ezekiel saw the water flowing from below the south end of the threshold of the Temple, south of the altar toward the east (47:1-2). The water was only ankle-deep. But the water became high enough to swim in, a river that could not be crossed (47:3-6a). Surprisingly, the water mysteriously serves to give life to everything (47:9). The river also causes all kinds of trees to flourish for food as well. The fruits of the trees will not wither nor their leaves fail, but they will produce fresh fruit every month because the New Temple provides water for them. Significantly, their fruit will be consumed as food, and their leaves for healing. It is necessary to note that these functions as both food and means of healing are given by the water from the New Temple. Such an effect by the water from the New Temple is reminiscent not only of the Garden of Eden³² but also the New Creation. Therefore, it can be said that the New Temple produces the New Creation by restoring the consummate state of Paradise. Concerning this idea, R. M. Hals' comment corroborates this idea.

But with the language of v. 9 about the swarming living creatures, we notice that we are being deliberately reminded of Genesis 1, thereby being told that Ezek. 47:1-12 depicts nothing less than a kind of new creation, a motif encountered before in chs. 36-37.³³

This function of water is also similar to that of the spirit of God toward the dry bones in that they both revive dead things. The former acts toward the nature, where the latter toward human beings. Both elements (water [2:10-14] and God's spirit to make Adam from dust [2:7]) also existed in the Garden of Eden.

On the other hand, it is necessary to refer to the Paradise motif in 28:11-19. This passage is a lamentation over the king of Tyre. This can be divided into two parts: 28:11-15 and 16-19. The first part expresses the prosperous situation in the past by the allusion of the king of Tyre to that of the Garden of Eden motif. The second part is an accusation against the king who

straightforward," while she agrees that Ezekiel's plan calls for rebuilding "according to the traditional patterns" (idem, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypse* [New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 26; cf. M. Greenberg, "The design and Theme of Ezekiel's Program of Restoration," *Interpretation* 38 [1984], 208).

³¹ J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration*, 67; cf. *ibid.*, 33.

³² In this case, as R. Bauckham states, "the eschatological emphasis is connected with a protological emphasis" (idem, "Kenaz: From the Local Hero to the Eschatological Prototype," unpublished article, 15).

³³ R. M. Hals, *Ezekiel*, 339. S. Niditch also proposes the same idea as follows: "Like the accounts of Genesis 1-2, the river emphasizes the potential goodness and bounty of the world when God and man are at peace. The river imagery has Edenesque qualities--all is provided in an ultimate fulfillment of the deuteronomic blessings" (idem, *Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context*, 217).

becomes arrogant because of his wealth. The whole surrounding of the former part is the Garden of Eden. The king of Tyre is alluded to as being in the Garden of Eden and as wearing the garment³⁴ decorated with many kinds of precious stones such as sapphire, jasper and emerald, etc. The precious stones are parallel to the precious stones such as gold, bellium and onyx stone in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:11-12). Moreover, the king is portrayed as having a cherub appointed as his guardian, being on 'the holy mountain of God'³⁵ and walking among the stones of fire. In the above, it is noticed that the descriptions about the king of Tyre consistently allude to the Garden of Eden,³⁶ though allusion to his being in 'the holy mountain of God' is slightly ambiguous.

Importantly, some allusions in the above overlap with the Temple motif. First of all, the precious stone motif is also reminiscent of the gems which decorate the clothing of the high priest in Exod. 28. The stones in Ezekiel comprise 9 out of the 12 stones found in Exod. 28 (LXX adds the other 3). Moreover, the holy mountain of God alludes to Zion in Ezekiel 20:40. The overlapping of these elements indicates that the Garden of Eden is understood as the Temple. Accordingly, it is no accident that the appearance of the New Temple in chs. 40-48 accompanies the Garden of Eden.³⁷

Finally, chs. 47-48 describe the new boundaries of the land and the tribal portions in the New Jerusalem. In particular, 48:30-35 describes the shape of the New Jerusalem, which is a square measuring 4,500 cubits on each side. Each side has three gates. Thus, the city consists of twelve gates according to the twelve tribal names. The last statement of the book of Ezekiel is as follows: "And the name of the city from that time on shall be, The Lord is There (:יהוה שָׁמָּה)" (48:35). This final message in the Book of Ezekiel shows the total restoration of the New Jerusalem from the shameful condition which the old Jerusalem had suffered through the departure of the glory of God. Niditch's comment elucidates this framework of the Book of Ezekiel very well:

It is interesting that Ezekiel's work as now constituted opens with a vision of the heavenly throne and closes with a vision of the temple, God's earthly dwelling; it opens with a message about God's departure from the old temple and closes with the image of his glory's returning to the new one.³⁸

³⁴ This is Zimmerli's translation for the word, מסכך (idem, *Ezekiel* 2, 92). NRSV translates this word as 'covering'.

³⁵ In Ezekiel, Zion is alluded to as 'my holy mountain' (20:40).

³⁶ Only tree motif in the Garden of Eden is omitted in Ezek. 28. But this motif appears in 31:1-8.

³⁷ Concerning the question as to the reason why the Garden of Eden motif is represented in the midst of the proclamation of judgment against Tyre see C. A. Newsom, "A Maker of Metaphors--Ezekiel's Oracles Against Tyre," *Interpretation* 38 (1984), 161.

³⁸ S. Niditch, "Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context," 215.

1.2.5 Conclusion

In sum, the above observation shows that the Book of Ezekiel is well organized centering around the Temple motif: demonstration of the heavenly scene → departure of God's glory from the Temple → promises of restoration → rebuilding of the New Temple → returning of God's glory into the New Temple. First of all, ch. 1 and chs. 40-48 are parallel to each other, in that God's throne in ch. 1 reappears in chs. 40-48. In particular, in 43:3, Ezekiel's vision of the same glory of God as shown by the river Chebar in ch. 1 corroborates the parallel between the two parts. This parallel implies that from the beginning, the book of Ezekiel projects the vision of the rebuilding of the New Temple where God eternally dwells. Moreover, the process of the departure of God's glory also functions to strengthen the expectation of the rebuilding of the New Temple where God's glory returns and dwell eternally.

The restorational messages are progressively given on three occasions. The first message is proclaimed in 11:17-20 and ironically, just after the message is given, the final step of the departure of the glory of God takes place. The elements of the restoration are 1) return from exile; 2) endowment of a new heart and a new spirit; 3) renewal of the covenant. The second restorational message is sporadically described from ch. 16 to ch. 34: 1) renewal of God's covenant (16:59-53); 2) the appearance of a messianic figure (17:22-24); 3) the gathering of Israel from exile to the New Jerusalem; 4) peaceful, safe and bountiful life in the restored land of Israel (28:25-26); 5) New Creation (34:25-30).

The final message is given in chs. 36-48. These chapters consistently display the plan of the restoration without any intervening of judgment messages, and they consist of five discreet elements: 1) gathering of Israel from the nations; 2) the rebuilding of the New Temple and the New Jerusalem; 3) New Creation; 4) transformation of Israel; 5) life in safety in the New Jerusalem. Of these elements, the last three are emphasized by prolonged symbolic narratives. In particular, the second element is extensively explained in chs. 40-48.

In these chapters, the New Temple/Jerusalem is characterized by several features. First, the New Temple/Jerusalem is not simply a purely symbolic vision but a practical program to be accomplished. Second, the New Temple/Jerusalem coexist with the Garden of Eden in 47:1-12, particularly, the mysterious power of water from the Temple. Third, the dwelling of the glory of God in the New Temple/Jerusalem is eternal and final, and thus the New Temple/Jerusalem completely reverses the departure of the glory of God from the old Temple.

1.3 The Book of Isaiah

The Book of Isaiah is full of the restorational messages. They are largely but conclusively confined to chs. 40-66. Among chs. 40-66, 65:16-25 is the most systematized passage about the restoration of the New Jerusalem. In this respect, this study aims first to provide a thorough exegesis of that passage. Moreover, motifs in 65:16-25 appear to be similar to those in 66:1-24. By this similarity, the latter complement supplements the former. Therefore, the second section aims to see how they are related to each other by comparative observation. Finally, many related motifs of the New Jerusalem appear in the rest of the Book of Isaiah. They will be thematically observed by collecting relevant passages according to topical parallels. These three sections will attempt to grasp the whole picture of the restorational message in the Book of Isaiah.

1.3.1 Exegetical Observations (65:16-25)

This pericope is contextualized by 63:7-64:12 and 65:1-15. The former passage displays lamentation, which is divided into 63:7-14 and 63:15-64:12. In the first section, Isaiah narrates God's faithfulness and His great power shown in the event of the Exodus. Therefore, the lamentation in 63:15-64:12 is given on the basis of God's faithfulness and greatness in the past. What is Isaiah lamenting? He laments the destruction of God's sanctuary (63:18) and Jerusalem (64:10-11), where God gave rest to His holy people. Therefore, it can be said that 65:16-25 is proclaimed as a response to this lamentation.

Moreover, the second context, 65:1-15 can be divided into three parts: vss. 1-7, vss. 8-10 and vss. 11-15. The first part refers to judgments against the rebellious (A); the second part, blessings for God's servants (His chosen): inheritance of the New Zion (B); the third, judgments against the rebellious by the contrast of the rebellious with God's servants (A'). The second part (B) which describes Israel as being the inheritor of God's mountains can be regarded as the condensed form of 65:16-25. In this case, 65:16-25 is added to the above three parts as (B'). If this is so, the structure can be established as A-B-A'-B'.

In sum so far, Isa. 65:16-25 is given not only as the response to Isaiah's lamentation but also as a restorational message in contrast with the judgment message. Isa. 65:16-25 is divided into two parts: the New Creation and the New Jerusalem (vss. 16-18) and Life in the New Jerusalem/the New Creation (vss. 19-25).

1.3.1.1 New Creation and New Jerusalem (Isa. 65:16-18)

- 16 a) Then whoever invokes a blessing in the land shall bless by the God of faithfulness,
 b) and whoever takes an oath in the land shall swear by the God of faithfulness;
 c) because (יָ) the former troubles are forgotten and
 d) (because, יָ) are hidden from my sight.
 17 a) For (יָ) I am about to create new heavens and a new earth;
 b) the former things shall not be remembered
 c) or come to mind.
 18 a) But be glad b) and rejoice forever
 c) in what I am creating;
 d) for I am about to create Jerusalem as a joy,
 and its people as a delight.

In the above text, it is necessary to note that 16cd17a and 17bc18d parallel each other. Specifically, the synonymously paralleled bicola of 16cd forms an external synonymous parallelism with the synonymously paralleled bicola of 17bc,¹ and 17a is also externally parallel to 18d with slight changes.

Both 16cd and 17bc emphasize the removal from the memory of ‘the former (הַרְאֲשֹׁנֹת) troubles (or things in 17bc)’ which means ‘the Babylonian exile’. The syntactical structure shows that the New Creation in 17a and the New Jerusalem in 18d are given as the compensation for the past shameful history, namely the Babylonian exile in 16cd and 17bc.² The New Creation and the New Jerusalem are so powerfully introduced to the Israelites that they may be able to erase the period of the Babylonian exile. Moreover, 18c illustrates God’s creative work spoken of the New Jerusalem in 18d as well as the New Creation in 17a. In this case, the summons to joyfulness in 18abc stresses the greatness of the New Jerusalem by its insertion just before the reference to the New Jerusalem.³

In the above argument, it is shown that the New Jerusalem is closely related with the New Creation. The association between them is further corroborated by 18abc. Here, one of the most important tasks is to examine how the New Creation and the New Jerusalem are related to each other. Some commentators propose that the New Creation is inharmonious with the New Jerusalem and that both are disconnected to each other. They claim that the New Creation does not suit the description of a new salvation for Jerusalem,⁴ because while the New Jerusalem is

¹ In 17bc, the conduction יָ is not used because the context in 17bc does not need the causal clause.

² 17a and 18d begin with יָ clause which means that both clauses provide the reason for the removal of the past memory in 16cd and 17bc.

³ The imperative mood introduced by 2nd person plural in 18a and b is unusual in this context. Therefore, there are attempts to resolve this problem by changing the subject into the 3rd person plural (BHK) or relocation of 18abc before vs. 16 (C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, [Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969], 408). However, it functions to emphasize the culmination of the joyfulness and gladness by the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem. The urgent summons to joyfulness expressed by the imperative mood enhances the effect of this culmination. Such a summons has been suppressed up to this point in order to maximize the effect of the joyfulness. Now the author invokes audiences/readers to rejoice and be glad over God’s great creative works: the New Creation and the New Jerusalem, particularly focusing on the latter.

⁴ C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, 408.

historical and domestic, the New Creation is eschatological and universal. However, this argument does not do justice to the significance of the New Jerusalem and the New Creation.

At least three considerations militate against the argument for dissociation. First, as was demonstrated in the stylistic analysis above, the text confirms their intimate connection by means of external parallelism. The parallelism devised by the author does not allow readers to think of such an inconsistency. Second, the restoration of Jerusalem entails the restoration of creation just as vss. 19-25 will show below. Third, in terms of their contents, both are related to the Babylonian exile, which the term *הַצָּרוּרָה* (הַרְאֵשְׁנוּת) signifies. With the coming of the New Creation and/or the New Jerusalem, the Babylonian exile ends. In this sense, on the one hand, the New Creation is not merely universalistic and eschatological, but also domestic and historical like the New Jerusalem. On the other hand, as in Isa. 2:2-4, the New Jerusalem does not necessarily indicate a local and domestic fulfillment but rather a universal and eschatological fulfillment, in that the promise in Isa. 2:2-4 was not fully fulfilled in the return from the Babylonian exile. The New Jerusalem described in Isa. 2:2-4 represents the eschatological and universal characteristics more strongly than the historical and domestic. Therefore, the New Creation and the New Jerusalem together include the universal/eschatological as well as the domestic/historical characteristics at the same time.

Consequently, the New Jerusalem is not inharmonious with the New Creation, and, therefore, it is wrong to say that because the New Creation is universalistic and eschatological, it does not suit the salvation of the New Jerusalem, as Westermann argues. But this does not mean that both topics are the same. If they are not the same, the question must be asked, what is the difference between them. The answer to this question provides the crucial clue for understanding vss. 16-18. Structurally and rhetorically, the New Jerusalem is emphasized more than the New Creation within this context. First, structurally speaking, reference to the New Creation appears first in 16cd17a, and then reference to the New Jerusalem in 17bc18d. Subsequently, the description of the New Jerusalem continues from vs. 19 on. That is, vs. 19 shows that the following description is centered around the New Jerusalem. This means that the New Jerusalem is the center of the renewal. The renewal will happen, centering around the New Jerusalem. Accordingly, it is possible to conclude that the New Creation provides the setting of the renewal and the New Jerusalem is given as the center of the renewal. Second, the New Jerusalem in 18d is rhetorically emphasized by 18abc in which the summons to the suppressed joyfulness is suddenly burst out by the New Jerusalem. The prophet's summons to joyfulness for the renewal of Jerusalem indicates that the New Jerusalem deserves rejoicing more than anything else.

Moreover, generally speaking, Jerusalem or Zion is the center of God's rule in the history of Israel (cf. Jer. 3:17, Ezek. 5:5). Considering this, Isa. 2:3 represents precisely such a feature

of Jerusalem: 'the law will go out of Zion, the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' In this verse 'the law' and 'the word of the Lord' are the instrument for God's rule. While God rules the whole universe, He focuses his rule on the nation, Israel. While he rules the whole land of Israel, he reveals his ruling power through the city, Jerusalem. Therefore, Jerusalem is the place which illustrates the fact that God rules the whole universe. People see God's glory through the city.

Therefore, it is possible to say that the New Jerusalem is the center of the New Creation.⁵ In the New Creation, the New Jerusalem is the place which reveals God's sovereignty more gloriously than any place else, though the New Creation itself also reveals it. Therefore, without the New Jerusalem, the New Creation is meaningless. Accordingly, the restoration of Jerusalem results in the restoration of God's sovereignty, and the restoration of God's sovereignty results in the restoration of creation.

1.3.1.2 Blessings in the New Jerusalem/the New Creation (Isa. 65:19-25)

The blessings in the New Jerusalem/the New Creation are largely described as the reverse of the covenantal curses found in Deut. 28. Accordingly, it is necessary to study this section in relationship to Deut. 28. First, longevity is given as a blessing (65:19-20).

19 a) I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and delight in my people; b) no more shall the sound of weeping be heard in it, or the cry of distress. 20 a) No more shall there be in it an infant that lives but a few days, or an old person who does not live out a lifetime; b) for one who dies at a hundred years will be considered a youth, and one who falls short of a hundred will be considered accursed.

19a summarizes the contents of the previous section by the verbal connection of *וְשִׂשְׁתִּי בְּעַמִּי* in 19a with *וְגִלְתִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם* in vs. 18, and introduces the following section. Particularly, the expressions *וְגִלְתִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם* and *בְּעַמִּי* indicate that the following section refers to the New Jerusalem. In this verse Jerusalem is shown as being identical with, or closely related to God's people by the parallelism of *בִירוּשָׁלַם* with *בְּעַמִּי*.⁶ Another feature of 19a displays immediacy in accomplishing God's plan by the expressions, *וְשִׂשְׁתִּי* and *וְגִלְתִּי*. This expression appears also in vs. 17a and 18d.

In 19b-20, longevity and the withdrawal of the sounds of weeping and crying are portrayed as the first blessing in the New Jerusalem. Concerning longevity, diverse age groups appear: infant, old person, and youth. Thus every age group is promised to experience longevity in the New Creation. 20b is a causal clause which explains the previous promises for longevity. In this clause, the former part is thematically and verbally parallel to the latter part. In both sentences, the phrase *בְּיָמֵי אֶחָד שָׁנָה* appears at the same time. This age is usually considered as

⁵ In this sense, most of features of the New Creation belong to the New Jerusalem.

⁶ If both are identical, the New Jerusalem indicates people. However, if both are only closely related to each other, the New Jerusalem indicates place.

very old age in this world (Ps. 90:10). But 20b emphasizes that in the New Jerusalem, this age is young, and thus to die at 100 is to die young; to die before 100 is to be cursed. In the New Creation, such short life will never happen. On the other hand, in many cases, ‘weeping and crying’ in 19b appear to be confined to a particular reason: a life cut short by sudden accidents, diseases and war, which are given by God’s judgment against the sinful life of Israel and her disobedience to God as shown in Deut. 28:20-29. Therefore, ‘weeping and crying’ can stop if the covenantal curse by God’s judgment is removed. Consequently, longevity is identical with the cessation of weeping and crying as the covenantal blessing.

The second blessing is ‘just reward for work’ in 65:21-22.

21 They shall build houses and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and eat their fruit. 22 a) They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat; b) for like the days of a tree shall the days of my people be, and my chosen shall long enjoy the work of their hands.

In the above text, vs. 21 and 22a contain the same idea. The latter corroborates the former by approaching the same idea in a negative aspect. Vss. 21-22a emphasize that in the New Jerusalem, God’s people will be given the right compensation for their work. This feature of the life in the New Jerusalem is likened to vitality of a tree in vs. 22b. The final clause of vs. 22b summarizes this idea: to enjoy the work of their hands (cf. 28:15, 30, 33, 39).

The third blessing is ‘productivity in childbearing and labor’ (65:23).

23 a) They shall not labor in vain, b) and⁷ bear children for calamity; c) for they shall be offspring blessed by the LORD d) -- and their descendants as well

23a refers to the productivity in work and 23b (cf. Isa. 40:31) to productivity in childbearing. In this case, 23ab is closely related to the previous two strophes (vss. 19b-20 and 21-22). On the one hand, the longevity in 19b-20 is related with the productivity in childbearing in 23b. Particularly, 20a (no more shall there be in it an infant that lives but a few days) is parallel to 23b (not to bear children for calamity).⁸ On the other hand, the right reward in vss. 21-22 is related to the productivity in labor in 23a. From these associations, it can be seen that 23ab recapitulates chs. 19-22, and the chiasmic structure is established between them: α (19c-20) -- β (21-22) // (23a) β' -- (23b) α' . This chiasmic structure strengthens the importance of both elements: productivity in childbearing and work in the New Jerusalem. The labor in vain in vs. 23a (α') happens “when an enemy invasion or a bad harvest dashed the hope of the grower.”⁹

⁷ NRSV translates this conjunction as ‘or’. However, this may cause confusion over the relation between 23a and 23b. Both 23a and 23b are clearly distinguished from each other. The former indicates the productivity in work; the latter indicates the productivity in childbearing. The verbs יִבְנוּ in 23a and יִלְדוּ in 23b have different meanings. Therefore, ‘and’ is better than ‘or’ in this translation.

⁸ The phrase, ‘for calamity’ in 23a can be translated as ‘to see them killed’ (J. Ridderbos, *Isaiah*, trans. J. Vriend [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985], 572). In other words, they do not see them killed by war, disease and sudden accident (J. Calvin, *Commentary on Isaiah*, trans. W. Prince [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948], 403). In this sense, 23a is related with the longevity in 19c-20.

⁹ J. Ridderbos, *Isaiah*, 572.

The reason for both blessings is given in 23cd: because they and their descendants will be the offspring blessed by the Lord (cf. Deut. 28:32, 41; Hos. 9:12, 16).

The fourth blessing is 'the perfect response of God to His people's lamentation' (65:24). In 64:12, God was asked: O LORD, will you hold yourself back? Will you keep silent and punish us beyond measure? This question shows that "the climax of Israel's sorrow" in 63:1-64:12 had been "the Lord's unresponsiveness."¹⁰ As a result of Israel's disobedience, God does not respond to Israel and the covenantal curses are introduced.¹¹ During God's unresponsiveness, even God's chosen servants experience the covenantal curses along with the rebellious people. Thus they lament to God as shown in Isa. 64:12. At last God breaks his silence through his answer to his people's plea. Now ch. 65 is described as the response to this lamentation. The present pericope (65:16-25) especially emphasizes the restoration from covenantal curses by means of God's response, and vs. 24 confirms this fact more specifically. Therefore, this verse provides additional evidence that ch. 65 contains both God's answer to the lamentation of His people in 63:7-64:12, and the reverse of the covenantal curses.

The fifth blessing is 'nature in harmony' (65:25). This verse is regarded as "a condensed version" of 11:6-9.¹² In the New Jerusalem, nature will be restored into the original peaceful condition of the Garden of Eden where wild animals will not prey on the domestic animals (cf. 43:20).¹³ This peace in the animal world provides safety and security for people in the New Jerusalem. This is also the reverse of the covenantal curses in Deut. 28:26 (cf. Isa. 13:20-21).

1.3.1.3 Summary (65:16-25)

65:16-25 focuses on the New Creation and particularly, the New Jerusalem.¹⁴ The New Jerusalem is the center of the New Creation; the New Creation is the setting of the New Jerusalem. Life in the New Jerusalem means life in the New Creation, which consists of the just reward of labor, and longevity, which are summarized as productivity in work and childbearing, perfect communication with God and restoration of peace in the Garden of Eden by harmony and safety in the natural world. It is noteworthy that the above blessings in the New Jerusalem/the New Creation are given as the reverse of the covenantal curses which are recorded in Deut 28. This means that there will be a perfect renewal of the covenant in the New Jerusalem.

¹⁰ J. Mulenburgh, "The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-60: Introduction and Exegesis," in *IB* 5:757.

¹¹ Solomon's prayer for the covenantal blessing in 1 Kgs 8:22-66 shows that the restoration is completely dependent on God's responsiveness. Inversely, this also means that the curses are completely caused by God's unresponsiveness.

¹² R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, NCB (London: Oliphants; Marshal, Morgan & Scott, 1975), 278.

¹³ J. A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (Downers Grove: IVP Press, 1993), 531.

¹⁴ The whole passage ends by referring to 'my holy mountain' (Zion), confirming that the text is about the New Jerusalem.

1.3.2 Comparative Observations (66:1-24)

The aim of this section is to compare the exegesis of 65:16-25 with 66:1-24. The observation of 66:1-24 is helpful for understanding the idea of the New Jerusalem in 65:16-25 because there are many similar motifs in both sections. One exception is the gathering of the nations. Therefore, methodologically, this section will focus on the comparison of 66:1-24 with 65:16-25, and not on a thorough exegetical analysis.

First, 66:1-3 emphasizes that God's dwelling place is the whole universe, including heaven and earth. This means that God is not confined to the Temple building. However, 66:20 refers to the New Temple. This reference supplements ch. 65:16-25 where there is no reference to the rebuilding of the New Temple.

Second, 66:7-9 expresses the miraculous birth of the New Zion and the New Israel followed by the return of Israel from exile.¹⁵ The preceding text shows that the making of the New Jerusalem and the New Israel is by an intervention, not of human beings but totally, of God's supernatural power. Therefore, this event has never happened in this world. This unique way of creating the New Jerusalem is reminiscent of God's intention to make the New Jerusalem and the New Creation mentioned in 65:17-18.

Third, ch. 66 represents joyfulness (vss. 10-11), prosperity (vs. 12) and comfort (vs. 13) in the New Jerusalem which is the response to the wonderful birth of the New Jerusalem in 66:7-9.¹⁶ In 66:10-13, there are elements which are characteristic of the New Jerusalem in 65:16-25 because the summons to rejoice and be glad in 66:10 is parallel to that in 65:18.

Fourth, ch. 66 describes the gathering of the nations to the New Jerusalem (vss. 18-21). These verses are divided into two parts (66:18-19 and 66:20-21). The first part introduces how the nations are gathered to the New Jerusalem: by sending survivors to the nations in order to make them know God's glory.¹⁷ The second one shows how the nations are affiliated to Israel as God's chosen people. They bring all those who are scattered around the nations to the New Jerusalem as an offering. The gathering of the nations and that of all Israelites from the Diaspora occur at the same time (vs. 20). There will be no Israelites outside the New Jerusalem at that time. Moreover, the nations are privileged to sacrifice in the Temple.¹⁸ Some of them are even to be qualified as priests and Levites. This means that the nations will have the same access to God's presence as Israel. This is a radical change from the traditional view in Israel. This motif is not shown in the New Jerusalem in 65:16-25.

¹⁵ J. Muilenburg, *IB* 5:765.

¹⁶ C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, 420.

¹⁷ It is not true to say that all nations will become God's people. Presumably, it depends on their acceptance and acknowledgment of God's glory whether they will become God's people or not (cf. 66:24).

¹⁸ In the Book of Isaiah, the rebuilding of the New Temple is not explicitly mentioned but in this text, the rebuilding of the New Temple in the New Jerusalem is implicitly implied.

Finally, the eternal perseverance of God's people on the basis of the New Creation is described in 66:22-23. In fact, this part is connected to the previous verses (vss. 18-21) in that in vs. 23, the coming of all flesh to worship God is parallel to the gathering of the nations to the New Jerusalem to bring offerings in vs. 20. The phrase, עֹמְדִים לְפָנַי, in vs. 22 (cf. Deut. 4:10; Zech. 3:1; Jer. 35:19) demonstrates that as the New Creation is restored to the holy place from its former polluted condition, the following generations of Israel will be restored to a right relationship with God.¹⁹ Here it is significant to see the right relationship between God and His chosen people in terms of the New Creation. It shows that the whole universe, including humanity and the rest of nature, will be comprehensively restored.

From the above discussion, the imagery or vocabulary or phraseology of ch. 66 harks back to those of ch. 65: cultic malpractice with swine in 65:3-4 is found in 66:3, 17; 66:4 repeats 65:12. God's judgment in 65:6-7, 12 reflects God's recompense in 66:5-6; the theme of the New Jerusalem (65:17-18) appears as the theme of the New Zion (66:7-9); summon to joyfulness in 65:13, 18-19 appears again in 66:10; the contrast between the rebelliousness and the faithfulness in Israel; new heaven and earth in 66:22 is reminiscent of the New Creation in 65:17; peaceful life of the New Jerusalem in 65:20-24 is expressed as the peaceful life of the New Zion in 66:12-13.

The preceding lists show that there is a close link between ch. 65 and ch. 66, and both chapters share similarity of content. It must not be overlooked that these two chapters have different emphases which cannot be separated from each other. The former focuses on the New Jerusalem and the New Creation as the eschatological restoration. However, there is no reference to the calling of the nations in it. In this respect, the latter supplements the former by describing the calling of the nations.

1.3.3 Thematic Observations

1.3.3.1 Heavenly Temple (Isa. 6:1-3)

Ch. 6 describes the rendezvous of God who is sitting on the throne in the Heavenly Temple with Isaiah in the earthly Jerusalem Temple. Therefore, one can see in this text the encounter of the Heavenly Temple with the earthly Temple. In vs. 1, Isaiah saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty.²⁰ Here, Isaiah saw God sitting on the heavenly throne in the Heavenly Temple. The presence of God in the Temple is emphasized by the description of

¹⁹ According to R. H. O'Connell, 'the standing before God' indicates the eternity of YHWH's covenant with Israel and nations as eternity of new heaven and new earth (idem, *Concentricity and Continuity*, JSOTSS 188 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994], 231). E. C. Webster states that "66:22b summarizes 65:18-25" (idem, *The Rhetoric of 63-65*, JSOTSS 47 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1986], 103).

²⁰ Here it cannot be said that Isaiah saw the ark in the earthly Temple, even though they correspond to each other (J. M. Ward, *Amos & Isaiah: Prophets of the Word of God* [Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press, 1969], 152).

'hem of His robe to fill the Temple' and 'the seraphim'. Isaiah remains in the Temple on earth. In this case, it is possible to see that the heavenly throne descends to the earthly Temple as the earthly counterpart of the Heavenly Temple. This is further corroborated by the contents of the angelic song: "the whole earth is full of his glory" (6:3b). This could be the result of God's descent to the earth. This encounter between the Heavenly Temple and the earthly Temple provides a model for the state of restoration in which the Heavenly Temple and the New Temple are perfectly combined on earth.

1.3.3.2 Rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple (Isa. 4:5-6; 26:1; 28:16; 33:16, 20; 44:24-28; 58:12; 54:2-3, 4-6, 11-12)

First of all, reference to the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem is found in 28:16, the context of which describes the dominance of the power of Sheol or death over Jerusalem (28:14-15). Against this background, God pronounced that He would place in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation (28:16), which would signify the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem.²¹

Moreover, 44:24-28 indicates the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple. This passage clearly refers to the restoration of Jerusalem, the cities of Judah and the Temple. The restoration of Jerusalem is characterized by its habitation instead of the word 'rebuilding'. This inhabitation idea is very significant because it represents not only the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem but also the returning of the Israelites.²² Moreover, concerning the Temple, it is predicted that its foundation will be laid. It means that the whole building of the Temple will be rebuilt because the foundation is organically unified to the rest of the Temple.

The next passage (58:12) introduces a relatively specific plan of the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem. Here the old Jerusalem is described as being the ancient ruins. In particular, the raising of the foundations, the repairing of the breach and the restoring of streets are specified as restorational activities. The phrase, 'the foundations of many generations' indicates "a building standing on a foundation, which will last for generations."²³ Moreover, the restoring of streets is essential for the New Jerusalem which is inhabited in a crowd of people because "the roads had been desolate for a long time, and they were not in a good condition, nor safe from the usual dangers of a lonely way."

In addition, in 54:11-12 the architectural elements of the New Jerusalem such as stones, foundations, pinnacles, gates and the wall are made by gems. The jewelry is listed as antimony, sapphires, rubies, jewels and precious stones. This jewelry in the New Jerusalem should be

²¹ Because of the stone motif, this passage is parallel to Isa. 54:11-12. Therefore, refer to Isa. 54:11-12 for more information.

²² In 49:19, the crowded population in the New Jerusalem is given as a restorational blessing to Israel.

²³ Ibn Ezra, *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, edited by M. Friedländer from mss. and trans. with notes, introductions, and indexes (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1873), 1:269.

viewed in the context of 54:4-6. Vs. 6 describes what Zion was like when she was destroyed by Babylon: like a wife forsaken and grieved in spirit; like the wife of a man's youth when she is cast off. In vs. 4, God proclaims the end of such a widowhood for the New Jerusalem (vs. 4b), which is referring to the shameful period when Zion was forsaken by God (vs. 6). There is only one reason for this: the New Jerusalem will be called God's wife and God is again called her husband (vs. 5). With this background, the decoration of the New Jerusalem with several kinds of gems along in its display of dazzling beauty (cf. Ezek. 28:11-15) signifies the glorification of the New Jerusalem as God's wife.²⁴

The widowhood of Zion in the past and her restoration are depicted again in 54:1-3 in a different manner. Particularly, in 54:1, the old Zion is described as 'the desolate woman'. Surprisingly, the desolate woman as Zion will have more than the children belonging to any other woman who is normally married. It means that the number of the returning Israelites is so numerous.²⁵ For this reason, the expansion of the New Zion is necessary as shown in 54:2-3. The expansion of the inhabitants in the New Jerusalem is described in vs. 2. Moreover, in vs. 3, the expansion is described more explicitly: to spread out, to possess the nations and to settle the desolate towns. In 54:1-3, the restoration of Zion as the desolate woman is expressed by the expansion message while the restoration of Zion in her widowhood is expressed by her reunification with God as her husband in 54:4-6.

The New Jerusalem is the most comfortable place as a refuge and shelter from the heat, the storm and the rain in 4:5-6. In the New Jerusalem, God will create a cloud which serves as 'a canopy' or 'a pavilion'. The function of this cloud is reminiscent of God's guidance and protection during the journey of the Israelites in the wilderness (Exod. 13:21, 22; 14:20; 40:38; Num. 9:16, 21; 14:14; Deut. 1:33; Neh. 9:12, 19; Pss. 78:14; 105:39). However, the function of the cloud in this text is slightly different from that in the wilderness: the former focuses on the function as 'a shade', 'a refuge' and 'a shelter'; the latter focuses on 'guidance'. This shift is understandable because the New Jerusalem is no longer on a journey.

The New Jerusalem as a refuge and shelter is shown in different ways in the three passages. The first passage (26:1) demonstrates that the Israelites have a strong city with a strong wall built for defense and protection. This invincible city ensures certain victory in any battle. The second passage (33:16) describes the invincibility of the New Jerusalem more specifically. The New Jerusalem is placed on the heights as the fortress of rocks, and its food and water will be secured. The third text (33:20) describes the imperishability of the New Jerusalem as 'a quiet habitation, an immovable tent, whose stakes will never be pulled up and none of whose ropes will be broken'.

²⁴ R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 12, 188.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.

1.3.3.3 *Gathering of All Nations (2:2-4; 60:1-14; 14:1-2)*

There are three main passages to be dealt with here. First, the pilgrimage in 2:2-4 focuses on the nations' learning God's way taught in His word. This passage progresses in three steps. The first one shows both the establishment of the New Jerusalem on the highest mountain, and the streaming of all the nations to it in 2:2. In this verse, the singularity of the New Jerusalem is remarkable by expressions such as 'the highest of the mountains'²⁶ and 'shall be raised above the hills'.²⁷ This feature looks fit for the gathering of all the nations.²⁸ The second step describes that all the nations will be taught God's way, and they will follow it (2:3). Here, the New Jerusalem is characteristically predominated by God's instruction and His law. The final step is a political stability without any war or conflict between any of the nations (2:4). This is the intrinsic result from the second step in the New Jerusalem.

Second, 60:1-14 illustrates the comprehensive description of the gathering of all the nations motif as a pilgrimage.²⁹ In this text, there are four outstanding features of the pilgrimage. First, the pilgrimage is made because the nations saw by the glory of God in the midst of the thick darkness on the earth (vss. 2-3) the light and the brightness of the New Jerusalem. Second, the pilgrimage of the nations accompany the gathering of Israel in the Diaspora (cf. 66:18-21). This idea can be shown by the comparison of vs. 4 with vs. 9. The gathering of the Israelites in 60:4 is made by the gathering of the nations in 60:9. Of course, here Zion is proleptically hypothesized as the community of Jews which has already returned from exile and is now living in and around the New Jerusalem. Furthermore, "the promise is of the completion of this return: the restoration of all the people of God to their land."³⁰ Third, the nations will bring abundant wealth in their pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem. Vss. 5-7 show that huge wealth, such as the abundance of the sea, camels, gold, frankincense, and flocks, etc., will cause Israel to rejoice. The Israelites will greatly rejoice over the wealth. It is noteworthy that in vs. 7a, the flock of Kedar and the rams of Nebaioth are acceptable on God's altar. Moreover, the New Temple will be beautified and glorified by the cypress, the plane and the pines which will be brought in by the nations: 'The glory of Lebanon shall come to you, the cypress, the plane, and the pine, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will glorify where

²⁶ R. Scott understands this phrase as 'set first' (idem, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1-39: Introduction and Exegesis," in *IB* 5:181).

²⁷ According to Ibn Ezra, this exaltation of the New Jerusalem or the mount of the Temple is not a physical aspect. However, the New Jerusalem or the New Temple will be exalted "in such a way that people will hasten up to it from the four corners of the earth, as if it were higher than all hills" (idem, *Commentary on Isaiah*, 1:14).

²⁸ Cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja* 2 Band, ZB (Zürich, Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1967) 49; R. Scott, "The Book of Isaiah," 181.

²⁹ Vss. 1-2 present 'the brightness motif' with vss. 19-21. Therefore, these verses will be discussed separately below.

³⁰ R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 232.

my feet rest' (60:13; cf. 60:7b).³¹ The continual opening of the gates day and night in the New Jerusalem emphasizes the great inflow of such a glorious wealth into the Holy City: 'Your gates shall always be open; day and night they shall not be shut, so that nations shall bring you their wealth, with their kings led in procession' (60:11). This passage is translated by Ibn Ezra as follows: 'the gates will be opened continually, day and night, by those that will bring in the abundance of nations.'³² This means that the kings of the nations will be ceaselessly arriving to bring their wealth into the New Jerusalem and at no time will the gate be shut (cf. 26:2).³³ Fourth, "the theme of Jerusalem's exaltation as a centre for pilgrimages is combined in v. 14 with an acclamation of the supremacy of Israel's deity by the representatives of the alien nations (cf. Pss. 2:10-11; 46:10; 48:10)."³⁴

Finally, 14:1-2 (cf. 45:14) shows not only the function of the nations to bring Israelites to the New Jerusalem but also description of the nations as Israel's possessions or slaves to join Israel. While this is another aspect of judgment against some rebellious nations of all the nations, this is the blessing for Israel.³⁵ As O. Kaiser remarks, this is "an explicit affirmation of the reversal of the present relationship between Israel and the nations: those who hold Israel captive will then be taken captive by Israel, and the oppressors will be ruled by Israel."³⁶

From the above arguments, three points are noted. First, the first restorational message (2:2-4) and the last one (66:18-21) in Isaiah focus on the gathering of nations to the New Jerusalem. It indicates that the gathering of all nations is a very important motif among the restorational elements in Isaiah. Second, the restorational messages are given against the historical environment in which the nations exist even after the coming of the New Jerusalem. Third, the nations' gathering into the New Jerusalem does not always mean to be converted to be God's people.

What is the significance of this motif? Why can the gathering of all the nations to the New Jerusalem be regarded as the restorational promise which will be given eschatologically? First, the gathering of the nations completes God's plan which is to redeem all the people in the world. This was designed to be the case through Israel. Second, the gathering of all the nations emphasizes the centrality of the New Jerusalem in the universe.

³¹ J. Muilenburg argues that "The glory of Yahweh manifesting itself in such external ways is not alien to the word; glory sometimes has the meaning of wealth or riches (Gen. 13:2; 45:13; cf. Ps. 49:17; Nah. 2:9) (idem, *IB* 5:700).

³² Ibn Ezra, *Commentary on Isaiah*, 1:278.

³³ Additionally, the constant opening of the gates even during the night is also "an indication of its complete security from the possibility of hostile attack (cf. 54:14-17)" (R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 234).

³⁴ R. E. Clements, "'Arise, Shine; For Your Light Has Come': A Basic Theme of the Isaianic Tradition," in C. C. Broyles and C. C. Evans eds., *Writing and Reading The Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, VTSup LXX-1 (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1997), 446.

³⁵ In this aspect, it is necessary to note that the bringing of the Israelites into the Diaspora by the nations is referred to in vs. 2a.

³⁶ O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39: A Commentary, OTL* (London: SCM Press, 1974), 26.

1.3.3.4 *Gathering of the Remnant from Exile (35:10; 49:19-20; 51:11)*

This motif is reiterated twice in 35:10 and 51:11. The former passage (35:10) describes the scene of the joyful return of those who were ransomed to the New Zion. The message in 35:10 is preceded by the reference to the highway only for God's people, which is called the Holy Way in 35:8. The Holy Way serves to accelerate the return of those who were ransomed by God. In 51:11, the message is preceded by the Exodus motif (51:10). This passage retrospectively recalls God's power to make a way for the redeemed when crossing the Red Sea in the Exodus event.³⁷ This power of God convinces audiences and readers to believe in the return of Israel from the Babylonian exile. The return of the ransomed from the exile not only creates great joy and gladness, but also banishes sorrow and sighing.

Moreover, the gathering from exile will crowd the New Jerusalem with many inhabitants, as shown in 49:19-20. This passage clearly shows that the New Jerusalem is not simply filled with pilgrims but with inhabitants. The swarming of the inhabitants is dramatically demonstrated by the contrasting description of the previous condition of the Jerusalem such as the waste and desolate places and the devastated land in vs. 19 with the joyful shouting in vs. 20. The phrase, 'the children born in the time of your bereavement' in vs. 20 shows that the inhabitants are the Israelites who are returning from exile.

1.3.3.5 *Garden of Eden (11:6-9; 51:3)*

It is not easy to determine whether the message in 11:6-9 refers to the Garden of Eden or not because the passage does not clearly allude to it. However, there is no historical record about the wild animals such as wolf, leopard, lion and bear dwelling peacefully together with human beings and livestock such as lamb, calf, cow and ox. Only in the Garden of Eden, was there a possibility of a peaceful coexistence between them because it can be supposed that such a state could have existed at least when Adam "gave names to all cattle, and to the birds of the air, and to every animal of the field" in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:20).³⁸ In the above text, the employment of the expressions such as 'the kid' and 'the nursing child' strengthens the peaceful condition. Therefore, in the New Jerusalem (all my holy mountain in vs. 9a), such a miraculous situation will be created by the establishment of the New Paradise along with the New Creation.³⁹ The last verse of the above passage (11:9) explains the reason of the peaceful environment: 'for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the

³⁷ Ibn Ezra, *Commentary on Isaiah*, 1:233; R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 159.

³⁸ G. Fohrer explains the peaceful conditions as follows: "Es herrscht Friede unter den Tieren, da die Raubtiere wieder zu Weidetieren werden, die sie nach der ersten Schöpfungszählung in der Urzeit gewesen sind (1 Mose 1, 30) ... Es herrscht ferner Friede zwischen Tier und Mensch" (idem, *Das Buch Jesaja* 1 Band, 169).

³⁹ G. Fohrer emphasizes the restoration of the Garden of Eden in the New Jerusalem by saying that "... vor allem die tödliche Feindschaft der Schlange (1 Mose 3, 15) hört im neuen Paradiese auf" (ibid.). Moreover, he argues that "Das messianische Reich (V. 6-9) ist die Wiederkehr des Paradieses" (ibid.).

sea.’ This idea is parallel to that in 2:2-4 which reports that there will be no more wars between the nations that are instructed in God’s way with His word.⁴⁰

51:3 describes more clearly the New Jerusalem as restored into the state of the Garden of Eden. God’s comfort to Israel does not end in the theoretical but turns into practical action to replace Zion’s waste desert-like places with the Garden of Eden or the Garden of the Lord.⁴¹ This is the subject of thanksgiving and joyful singing among Israel.⁴²

1.3.3.6 Water Motif (30:23-25; 35:5-7; 43:19-21; 58:11)

The water motif is used for multiple purposes. First of all, the water motif is given to warrant the returning from exile in 43:19-21. Though Israel’s journey through the desert was ushered in by many signs and wonders, “none was more memorable than the gift of water,” particularly, at Marah and Rephidim (Exod. 17:1-7).⁴³ Likewise, God promises His chosen people to give this water to drink in order to guarantee the successful return from the Babylonian exile to the New Jerusalem (43:21; cf. 49:10).

Second, Isaiah refers to wild animals such as the jackals and the ostriches in 43:20 honoring God because of the water provided for them in the wilderness, and once again this is reminiscent of the restoration of the Garden of Eden (cf. Isa. 11:6-9). In this respect, the water motif is related with the Paradisal surroundings.⁴⁴ In 58:11, the water motif and the Paradise motif are more closely described. Just as the Israelites were guided continually and satisfied fully for their needs in the desert during their journey, the Israelites will receive the same treatment in the New Jerusalem. In such a state the Israelites will look like ‘a watered garden’, which is an allusion to the prosperity⁴⁵ in the Garden of Eden where springs of water flowed without ceasing. Moreover, Isa. 30:23-25 also shows that the water motif can be related to the Garden of Eden without making reference to the Exodus event. In vs. 23, the water is given through the rain God provides for the seed sown in the ground. The rain makes the ground rich and plentiful. In addition to the plants, livestock such as oxen and donkeys will also benefit from the fertile ground (vs. 24). Furthermore, this rain will accumulate as brooks on every lofty mountain and every high hill. Fohrer proposes that “es ist ein Bauernleben in paradiesischer Füller.”⁴⁶ The above passage proves that the water motif such as ‘rain’ and ‘brooks running with water’ is the foundation for the paradisal abundance.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ The garden of the Lord is the equivalent expression with the Garden of Eden (R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 155).

⁴² 54:11-12 also proposes the Garden of Eden motif (cf. see the argument given on the passage).

⁴³ J. Muilenburg, *IB* 5:496.

⁴⁴ This relation also illustrates that “God’s activity in creation and in redemption are one” (C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-60: A Commentary*, 129).

⁴⁵ R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 217.

⁴⁶ G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 2 Band, 108. O. Kaiser also makes the similar statement: “... the land will come to enjoy a fruitfulness like that of paradise” (idem, *Isaiah 13-39: A Commentary*, 302).

Third, the water motif is associated with the outpouring of God's spirit to the Israelites in the New Jerusalem.

- 3) For (a) I will pour water on the thirsty land,
and streams on the dry ground;
(b) I will pour my spirit upon your descendants,
and my blessing on your offspring.
- 4) They shall spring up like a green tamarisk, like willows by flowing streams (44:3-4).

This passage should be carefully interpreted because some allusions are ambiguously used and parallels are intricately entangled. First of all, it is possible to see that the first part (a) and the second part (b) in vs. 3 are parallel to each other. If this assumption is right, it is also possible to propose that 'water'/'stream' in (a) are parallel to 'my spirit'/'my blessing' in (b), and 'the thirsty land'/'the dry ground' in (a) are parallel to 'your descendants'/'your offspring' in (b).⁴⁷ What do these parallels mean? By these parallels, it can be assumed that the former ones also allude to the latter ones. In other words, 'water'/'stream' and 'the thirsty land'/'the dry land' indicate 'spirit'/'blessings' and 'your descendants'/'your offspring', respectively. This understanding can be corroborated by vs. 4 in which the Israelites are compared with 'a green tamarisk' and 'willows' to spring up beside 'the flowing streams'. In this verse, 'a green tamarisk', 'willows' and 'the flowing streams' are used as similes. Therefore, the water motif is used to describe 'the pouring of God's spirit' on the Israelites. Accordingly, in the New Jerusalem, God's spirit will be poured upon the Israelites like water to be poured on the thirsty ground and the streams, on the dry ground. Concerning the pouring of God's spirit in the New Jerusalem, J. L. McKenzie explains that "in Israelite tradition the charisma of the spirit is given to leaders and not to the whole people. Now it is like the blessing, which was communicated to all Israelites."⁴⁸

Finally, the water motif is combined with the Healing motif in the New Jerusalem in 35:5-7. In this text, the Exodus motif is adopted by the descriptions such as 'waters in the wilderness' and 'streams in the desert', etc. Here, the water functions to heal the disabled people such as the blind, the deaf, the lame and the speechless (vs. 6). Moreover, by means of water in the New Jerusalem, the burning sand, the thirsty ground and the haunt of jackals will be changed into watery place such as 'a pool', 'springs of water' and 'a swamp' (vs. 7). In other words, in the New Jerusalem, the water will function to cause a perfect renewal from the current fatigued environment. This renewal is so effective as to bring healing power into the New Jerusalem.

⁴⁷ J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1968), 64; J. Muilenburg, *IB* 5:502. Along the same line, Ibn Ezra paraphrases these verses as "As I pour water over the place that is thirsty, so will I pour the spirit of my holiness, or of my salvation, etc." (idem, *Commentary on Isaiah*, 1:199).

⁴⁸ J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, 64.

In sum, the water in the New Jerusalem promotes the paradisaal surroundings. Moreover, the water motif alludes to the pouring out of God's spirit. Finally, the water motif is combined with the healing motif by causing the radical rejuvenation of the current fatigued condition.

1.3.3.7 Healing Motif (30:25-26; 33:24)

The healing in the New Jerusalem is carried out by three elements: forgiveness, water and light.⁴⁹ The inhabitants of the New Jerusalem are forgiven their iniquity. This experience of God's forgiveness frees them from any sickness in 33:24. In this text, vs. 24a and vs. 24b are parallel to each other. Therefore, by the parallel, no sickness means no iniquity. Moreover, 30:25-26 shows that the healing is described as one of the representative features which characterizes the New Jerusalem at the end of days.

1.3.3.8 Brightness Motif (30:26a; 60:1-2, 19-20)

The exceptional brightness in this verse is given as one of many blessings in 30:23-26, as shown above. Nevertheless, it is necessary to deal with this item separately,⁵⁰ because in the New Jerusalem, the sevenfold magnification in the strength of the light is outstandingly characterized: "... the light of the moon will be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be sevenfold, like the light of seven days" (30:26a). This brightness occurs when God "binds up the injuries of his people, and heals the wounds inflicted by his blow." Here, though it is unclear whether the healing will be given by the light, it is clear that the healing is connected with the exceptional light.⁵¹

The following passage (60:19-20) shows the brightness in the New Jerusalem in a different aspect: the glory of God.

- 19) (a) The sun shall no longer be your light by day,
 (b) nor for brightness shall the moon give light to you by night;
 (c) but the LORD will be your everlasting light,
 (d) and your God will be your glory.

- 20) (a) Your sun shall no more go down,
 (b) or your moon withdraw itself;
 (c) for the LORD will be your everlasting light,
 (d) and your days of mourning shall be ended.

As shown above, vs. 19 and vs. 20 are parallel to each other. It means that both verses demonstrate the same idea. In other words, in vss. 19-20, it is emphasized, through the relationship of the sun to the moon, that God is the everlasting light in the New Jerusalem. On

⁴⁹ Concerning the last two cases, see 1.3.3.6 and 1.3.3.8.

⁵⁰ This can be detected by the last phrase (--on a day ...) in vs. 25 which indicates a tentative conclusion. The similar phrase which begins with 'on a day (בַּיּוֹם)', is also repeated in the last part of vs. 26. This distinction of the brightness may be understood as emphasizing the exceptional brightness as a blessing in the New Jerusalem.

⁵¹ In this case, the healing occurs by water as well as by light.

the one hand, in vs. 19, the everlasting light will make the light of the sun or the moon useless (19ab) because the everlasting light functions day and night (19c) to replace the light of the sun and the moon. On the other hand, in vs. 20 the sun and the moon appear to remain in the sky (20ab) because the glory of the Lord as the everlasting light always shines on the New Jerusalem day and night (20c). Eventually, vs. 19 and vs. 20 express the same idea: the great function of the Lord's being everlasting light, which surpasses the capacity of the sun by day and the moon by night. Moreover, in 19d, the everlasting light can be interpreted as the glory of God by the parallel between 19c and 19d as follows:

וְהָיָה לְךָ יְהוָה לְאֹר עוֹלָם (19c)

וְאֵלֶיךָ לְחַפְּצֵיךָ: (19d)

In the above comparison, it is evident that *יְהוָה* and *וְאֵלֶיךָ*, and *לְאֹר עוֹלָם* and *לְחַפְּצֵיךָ* are parallel to each other, respectively with the eclipse of *וְהָיָה לְךָ* in 19d.

The everlasting light as the glory of God is also shown in 60:1-2.

- 1) (a) Arise, shine; for your light has come,
(b) and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you.
- 2) (c) For darkness shall cover the earth, and thick darkness the peoples;
(d) but the Lord will arise upon you,
(e) and his glory will appear over you (60:1-2).

It can be seen that the above text is chiastically formed: A([a], [b])--B ([c])--A'([d], [e]). However, there is a shift of tense between A and A'. This shift is caused by the description of the existence of the thick darkness in B. In other words, the futuristic description in A' implies the confirmation of God's promise of the total removal of the darkness on the earth and the peoples in B. This is possible by the existence of the light which has already arrived in A'. Moreover, (a), (b), (d) and (e) are parallel to one another again. By these parallel relations, the idea of the light can be richly grasped. The light is the glory of the Lord or the Lord Himself. The light as the glory of the Lord will extract the thick darkness which can not be removed by anything else. The light will dominate the New Jerusalem.

The light in vss. 1-2 is the same as the everlasting light in 60:19-20. In this case, the everlasting light serves to end the days of mourning (20d), which is also parallel to the thick darkness in vs. 2c. Accordingly, in summary, the (everlasting) light symbolizes the glory of God, and this glory in the New Jerusalem will sweep away the thick darkness and the days of mourning.

1.3.4 Conclusion

The exegetical observations of 65:16-25 have produced the following results: the New Jerusalem is the center of the New Creation; the New Creation is the setting of the New Jerusalem; the blessings in the New Jerusalem or the New Creation are just reward, longevity, productivity in childbearing and labor, perfect communication with God and restoration of the peaceful condition of the Garden of Eden. The above results of the observation in 65:16-25 are supplemented by that in ch. 66. In particular, ch. 66 emphasizes the gathering of the nations to the New Jerusalem. Moreover, the thematic observation demonstrates that there are several themes with regard to the restoration: the Heavenly Temple, the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/ Temple, the gathering of all nations to the New Jerusalem, the gathering of the remnant from exile, the Garden of Eden, a spring of water, healing, and brightness.

1.4 The Book of Jeremiah

Jeremiah lived during the period of upheaval in both northern Israel and southern Judah. Most of his message appears to contain judgment against sinful Israel. However, the messages of restoration are included within the dreadful judgment messages. In other words, the messages of restoration are fragmentarily scattered throughout the book without an apparent coherent structure and presentation (e.g. 3:15-18; 16:14-15; 17:24-26; 23:5-6, 7-8; 29:10-14; 42:7-12, etc.),¹ where the pronouncements of judgment are predominant. This location implies that God's judgment will eventually lead to restoration and guarantees to reverse the curses caused by God's judgment. However, these messages, in the midst of dominantly judgmental oracles, are fully formalized in chs. 30-31, which is so called a book of consolation, and they are corroborated and supplemented in chs. 32-33. Methodologically, therefore, the message of restoration in chs. 30-31 will be mainly dealt with in this study, while some relevant passages in chs. 32-33 will be used in order to corroborate the main text. The messages of restoration are overlapped and repeated in many places in those chapters. Therefore, the thematic observation of the text would be more helpful for understanding the idea of restoration.

1.4.1 Returning from Exile

In Jeremiah, one of important issues is the return of the Israelites from exile. The restorational messages are closely related to this event because without the return of the Israelites, it is impossible to think of restoration, which is regarded as the reverse of God's judgment of the Babylonian exile. In 16:14-15, the Exodus model is used to confirm God's promise to return Israel from the exile. However, the event of the return from the exile surpasses that of the Exodus and thus after the event of the return, there will be no further comment on the Exodus but only on the event of the return from the exile. This is given by the form of oath² which implies God's determination for the restoration of Israel.

This issue is first mentioned in 30:1-3 in the book of consolation. Jeremiah is commanded to write down the word that God has spoken to him because the days of restoration are surely coming. Here two elements in the restoration are represented, both of which are closely related to each other: 1) I will restore the fortunes of my people, Israel and Judah, says the LORD, and 2) I will bring them back to the land that I gave to their ancestors and they shall take possession of it (30:3). These two elements fundamentally dominate the restoration idea in the following oracles. These general elements lead to two more specific elements: rebuilding and repopulation.³

¹ R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1986), 568.

² *Ibid.*, 344.

³ According to R. P. Carroll, "any restoration of the fortunes of the people would have to focus on programs of rebuilding and repopulation" (*ibid.*, 583).

God proclaims the return of Israel again in 30:10-11: ‘for I am going to save you from far away, and your offspring from the land of their captivity’ (10b). This promise is given of the reverse to the terrible day of Jacob’s distress in the past in vss. 5-7.⁴ There are two important features in this promise of the return. First, the promised return serves to provide the great hope to dismayed Israel because the promise is accompanied by the expressions which promote encouragement: ‘But as for you, have no fear, my servant Jacob, says the LORD, and do not be dismayed, O Israel’ (10a). Second, the promise for the return guarantees the peaceful and quiet life and the disappearance of any threat from the nations because all the nations will suffer extinction (10c-11a).⁵

In 30:12-17, the theme of exile and return is here considered afresh through a different metaphor, that of sickness and healing.⁶ This oracle is divided into two parts: vss. 12-15 and 16-17. The first one emphasizes the incurable hurt and grievous wound which Israel suffers. From vs. 16, the mood of the oracle is reversed from the past judgment in the past to the restoration in the future.⁷ The restorational message follows the judgment against the nations which devour, plunder and prey on Israel. They will receive the same treatments which they carried out against Israel. Then, God’s willingness to cure the wound of Israel is introduced: ‘For I will restore health to you, and your wounds I will heal says the Lord’ (17a).

Moreover, God also proclaims the return of the Israelites from foreign nations in 31:8a.⁸ Moreover, among them there are the blind and the lame, those with child and those in labor, together. There will be a great company. All of them shall return here (8b). This returning provides great consolations to Israel: “With weeping they shall come, and with consolations I will lead them back” (9a). Moreover, the returning leads to more blessings: “I will let them walk by brooks of water, in a straight path in which they shall not stumble” (9b). All of the preceding blessings are based on the steadfast relationship between God and Israel: “for I have become a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn” (9c). In particular, in vs. 10, Jeremiah portrays the return in terms of the relationship between a shepherd and his flock. Here, the phrase, “He who scattered Israel will gather him” indicates the paradigm of judgment and restoration.

⁴ Ibid., 579. According to him, “Often it announces the assuring word of confidence after a lament has stated the individual or communal complaint about present circumstances” (ibid.).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ W. Brueggemann, *To Build, to Plant: A Commentary on Jeremiah 26-52*, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1991), 51.

⁷ Vs. 16 begins with the conjunction, ‘therefore’ (וְכֵן). W. Brueggemann considers the usage of this word to be a ‘verbal trick’ because “the term prepares us for one more message of judgment, but in fact the following lines offer exactly the opposite message--a word of God’s powerful, healing intervention” (ibid., 52).

⁸ Concerning ‘a stereotyped formula of gathering and return,’ refer to J. Lust, “Gathering and Return in Jeremiah and Ezekiel,” in P.-M. Bogaert, *Le Livre De Jérémie: Le Prophète et Son Milieu Les Oracles et Leur Transmission* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 119-142.

Furthermore, in 31:15-17, God dramatically proclaims His willingness to bring Israel back through the figures of Rachel's weeping and Ephraim's pleading. This oracle starts with a description of the lamentation and bitter weeping of Rachel (vs. 15). Rachel's serious grief for her children implies the depressed situation of the Israelites in exile.⁹ In this case, it can be assumed that Rachel's weeping for her children alludes to Mother Zion's weeping for the loss of her children, the Israelites. In the next verse, God's answer to the lamentation is given. God requests to refrain Rachel's voice from weeping because the source of the weeping will be removed by a reward for her work¹⁰ and the return from the land of her enemy (16b and 17b). In short, the hope of the future is the reason why Rachel should stop crying in 17a.

Finally, the issue of Israel's return is referred to in 31:21-22. There is a problem in the interpretation of the text because it is not clear whether the 'road markers' in vs. 21 mean the instruction to return by the road which they (or their fathers) once took into exile¹¹ or the instruction for those who are about to go into exile.¹² However, whatever they mean, vss. 21-22 need to be figuratively understood as follows: "the exiles should remember the difficulties of the road to exile, that they may have the greater ambition to repent and return."¹³ Therefore, the main point of these passages is to emphasize the reassurance of returning from exile, whether they are the northern kingdom or Judah.

1.4.2 Rebuilding of the New Jerusalem

The next crucial issue is the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem. The New Jerusalem will be rebuilt (30:18b) as the explicit manifestation of the restoration of the fortunes of the tents of Jacob (30:18a; cf. 30:3).¹⁴ 31:38-40 also reports the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem. These verses introduce the topological details of the New Jerusalem,¹⁵ which emphasize the specific plan of the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem. From the topological descriptions, two features in the New Jerusalem can be detected. First, the New Jerusalem functions to turn being cursed

⁹ Cf. J. P. Hyatt, "The Book of Jeremiah: Introduction and Exegesis," in *IB* 5:1032.

¹⁰ W. McKane detects the apparent incompatibility of the figure of receiving wages with Rachel's case. Concerning this problem, he explains that "... its inchoateness is relieved by the second thought that hope for the more distant future will be reawakened" (idem, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* vol. 2, ICC [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996], 798).

¹¹ Many commentators propose this view. W. McKane lists the scholars: Giesebrecht, Duhm, Cornill, Streane, Peake, Volz, Rudolph, Weiser, Bright, and Carroll (idem, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, 804).

¹² NEB takes this latter position by translating as follows: Make sure of the road, the path which you will tread.

¹³ J. P. Hyatt, *IB* 5:1034.

¹⁴ 'Jacob' does not indicate the northern kingdom but it stands for God's holy people (D. R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, NCB [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973], 382).

¹⁵ R. P. Carroll suggests that "The rebuilding of the New Jerusalem is given an oracular justification which may have been intended to provide backing for a particular building project (cf. Zech. 14:10-11; Ezek. 40-48)" (idem, *Jeremiah*, 618).

into being blessed¹⁶ because the New Jerusalem topologically includes the Kidron brook¹⁷ and the whole valley of the dead bodies and the ashes, which may be regarded as the valley of Hinnom where child sacrifice had been sacrificed (7:31-32; 19:2, 6; 32:35; II Kings 23:10; II Chr. 28:3; 33:6).¹⁸ In the New Jerusalem, the places will be sacred to the Lord. It can be known that the selection of these among many topological places is intentional in order to show the restorative power of the New Jerusalem. Second, the New Jerusalem is eternal. It shall never again be uprooted or overthrown. This image of the New Jerusalem is the reversal to that of 7:30-8:3.

In 3:17-18, the New Jerusalem is further described as follows: “the New Jerusalem shall be called the throne of the Lord” (3:17a; cf. Zech. 14:20-21; 33:16b). This means that the presence of God is not limited to the ark of the covenant in the Temple,¹⁹ which was the symbol of God’s presence,²⁰ and the New Jerusalem will be filled with the existence of God’s glory. Rather ‘the ark of the covenant of the Lord’ shall not come to mind, or be remembered, or missed (3:16b). This blessing emphasizes the fullness of the glory of God among Israel. Then, all nations shall gather to the presence of the Lord in the New Jerusalem (3:17b).

It is also noteworthy that the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem is identified with the rebuilding of the New Community (Israel) (31:2-4). This confirmation of God’s faithfulness and everlasting love is followed by the proclamation of the rebuilding of the New Community: “Again I will build you, and you shall be built, O virgin Israel!” (vs. 4a)²¹ The expression of this line is reminiscent of the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem in 30:18b because the verb with the same root, בָּנָה is used in both passages. This verbal technique may intend to show that the rebuilding of the New Community is closely related with the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem. Moreover, the expressions of joyfulness with regard to the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem and the New Community are particularly similar to each other: thanksgiving and the sound of merrymakers in 30:19a, and taking of the tambourines and the dance of merrymakers in 31:4. By this parallel, it may be assumed that the New Jerusalem in 30:18b is regarded as being equivalent to the New Community (or virgin Israel) in 31:4. The latter verse profoundly contains the blessings caused by the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem and the New Community: the fruitfulness in the New Jerusalem. The restoration is climaxed in an encouragement of

¹⁶ D. R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, 404.

¹⁷ Concerning the Kidron brook, refer to D. R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, 404.

¹⁸ J. P. Hyatt, *IB* 5:1041; D. R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, 403. However, R. P. Carroll suggests that the phrase may simply refer to an area where terrible slaughter once took place (idem, *Jeremiah*, 617).

¹⁹ R. E. Clements, *God and Temple: The Idea of the Divine Presence in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 29; R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 150.

²⁰ D. R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, 103. R. E. Clements, *God and Temple*, 28-29.

²¹ The descriptions of the restoration are dominated by the threefold usage of ‘again’. These threefold usage of ‘again’ implies ‘a decisive break in well-being’ (W. Brueggemann, *Jeremiah* 26-52, 60).

pilgrimage to Zion in the following verse (31:6).²² In this passage, the invitation of pilgrimage to Zion also signifies the rebuilding of the Temple.²³

1.4.3 Blessings in the New Jerusalem

The New Jerusalem is characterized by joyfulness (30:19a; 31:4, 7, 13), fruitfulness (31:4), multiplication of population (30:19b), honor (30:19b), security (30:21) and abundance in every necessity of life such as grain, wine, oil, young of the flock, the herd which leads to life like a watered garden (31:12) and the proper sacrifice in the Temple as well as the prosperity of the land (31:14).²⁴ In addition, the re-establishment of the Davidic kingdom (30:8-11; 33:17), and the religious restoration (33:17-18) appear to be the important blessings in the New Jerusalem.

The restoration of Zion and the Temple also brings about the transformation of the life in Israel (31:24-26)²⁵ such as the resettlement of Judah, the cultivation of its fields and the shepherding of flocks of sheep, the satisfaction of the weary, the replenishment of the faint.²⁶ These elements of restoration sufficiently serve to reverse the harsh experiences of the present and the past era.²⁷ Peace and prosperity in the land with Yahweh's presence on the sacred temple mount in 31:23-25 is recognized in 31:26 as causing a most pleasant sleep.²⁸

Moreover, in 31:27-30, there are two elements of blessing in the restoration. The first one is God's careful supervision for the repopulation.²⁹ In the first verse (31:27), God is depicted as "the virile progenitor who will sow the two houses with people and animals."³⁰ This demonstrates that the repopulation of Israel is the process to be initiated and supervised by God Himself. This idea is further corroborated by the two verbs, 'build' and 'plant' in vs. 28 (cf. 42:9-10). The second one shows God fully breaking "the inherited guilt and punishment" (vss. 29-30) from the old generation, away from God's people in the New Jerusalem.³¹ According to J. Bright, "the feeling was widespread that the nation was being punished for sins committed by previous generations (e.g. Lam. v. 7; Ezek. xviii 1) and that Yahweh, therefore, was unjust (cf. Ezek xviii 25)."³² Therefore, "here it is merely said that in the future people will have no occasion to make such a complaint."³³

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Here, the 'fatness' implies the rush of the sacrifice in the Temple. In this case, the verse puts the emphasis on the restoration of worship in the Temple as well. Accordingly, this verse shows the restoration of worship caused by the prosperity of the land (D. R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, 391).

²⁵ W. McKane, *Jeremiah*, 809.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 606.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ J. P. Hyatt, *IB* 5:1036.

³⁰ R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 608.

³¹ Ibid., 609.

³² J. Bright, *Jeremiah: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, AB 21 (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 283.

³³ Ibid.

The New Covenant is referred to in 31:31-37 (cf. 30:22; 33:20-21). The blessings of the New Covenant are as follows: 1) uniqueness: “It will not be like the covenant that I made with their ancestors” (vs. 32); 2) interiorization of the divine law³⁴ through the renewal of the hearts of Israel: “I will put my law within them, and I will write it on their hearts” (33a)³⁵; 3) the firm re-establishment of the relationship between God and Israel by the covenant formula: “I will be their God, and they shall be my people” (33b); 4) perfect acknowledgment of God (34a): “No longer shall they teach one another, or say to each other, “Know the Lord,” for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest” (34a)³⁶; 5) perfect forgiveness: “for I will forgive their iniquity, and remember their sin no more” (34b)³⁷; 6), the permanence of Israel’s offspring by the allusion of the firmness and mysteriousness of the cosmic order (31:35-37): God is the One “who gives the sun for light by day and the fixed order of the moon and the stars for light by night and who stirs up the sea so that its waves roar” (vs. 35). Therefore, none except God can disrupt the cosmic order nor perceive the mysteriousness of the universe. Likewise, nothing in the world can prevent Israel’s offspring from being God’s nation (vss. 36-37).

³⁴ The word, ‘interiorization’ comes from R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 611.

³⁵ According to W. Brueggemann, this interiorization of the divine law results in the obedience to God in the normal whole life (idem, *Jeremiah*, 71).

³⁶ This element is closely related with the interiorization of the divine law in the second feature of this part.

³⁷ W. Brueggemann explains this element as follows: “God has broken the vicious cycle of sin and punishment; it is this broken cycle that permits Israel to begin again at different place with new possibility” (idem, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 72).

1.5 The Book of Zechariah

Most commentators divide the book of Zechariah into chs. 1-8 and chs. 9-14. However, both parts are consistently prophesying the futuristic restoration. In particular, there are several remarkable parallels between them in the futuristic hope.¹ For this reason, it may be said that there is unity between them. Therefore, while acknowledging the current trend to divide the book into first Zechariah and second Zechariah, this study will thematically deal with the book as a whole. This method may be sustained because the aim of this study is not to critically investigate the background of the literary sources but to search for evidences concerning the restoration along in its features from the given texts in the Book of Zechariah.

1.5.1 Rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple

First of all, the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem is the core of the restoration of Israel in Zechariah. Without the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple, the restoration is inconceivable and meaningless. This is certified by repeated references to the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem. In the first vision (1:7-17), the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple is announced in different ways. The rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem is guaranteed by God's determination to return to Jerusalem with compassion (1:16a; cf. 8:3, 9), and more specifically, the rebuilding of the New Temple (1:16b) is verbally proclaimed and the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem is implied by the measuring of the New Jerusalem (1:16c): "... my house shall be built in it, ... and the measuring line to be stretched over Jerusalem."² This determination to accomplish his plan to restore the New Jerusalem is well shown in 2:13 (the third vision): "Be silent, all people, before the Lord; for he has roused himself from his holy dwelling." The identification of 'from his holy dwelling (מִמְעוֹן קִדְשׁוֹ)' is important. The phrase may indicate the Heavenly Temple rather than the earthly Temple.³ Several reasons can be suggested. First, the earthly Jerusalem Temple was (or is going to be) destroyed and the earthly New Temple is not established yet but only expected to be rebuilt in the future. Second, the phrase, מִמְעוֹן קִדְשׁוֹ (his holy dwelling) is consistently used to indicate the heavenly dwelling place, which means the Heavenly Temple in Deut. 26:15; 2 Chron. 30:27; Jer. 25:30.⁴ Third, the meaning of vs. 13 becomes clearer when the phrase is understood as 'the Heavenly Temple'

¹ Concerning the parallels between two parts, see B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979; and London: SCM Press, 1983), 482-83.

² D. L. Petersen argues that the measuring line may indicate either "the destructive sense" or "the constructive sense" in the biblical sources (idem, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8, Haggai & Zechariah: A Commentary*, OTL [London: SCM Press, 1985], 156-157).

³ D. L. Petersen proposes this phrase as indicating the earthly Temple without giving any solid reasons (idem, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8*, 185).

⁴ In Ps. 26:8 and 2 Chron. 36:15, the word, מִמְעוֹן was employed by indicating the meaning of the earthly Temple without the word, קִדְשׁוֹ unlike Deut. 26:15; 2 Chron. 30:27 and Jer. 25:30 in which מִמְעוֹן קִדְשׁוֹ has the meaning of the Heavenly Temple.

which is also regarded as the Heavenly council to execute the divine decision. God is going to accomplish His divine plan to restore the New Jerusalem by decisively rousing Himself from His heavenly dwelling in the Heavenly Temple. In front of this determined enthusiasm to do His plan, all people (כָּל-בְּשָׂר) are requested to be silent.⁵

The fourth vision (3:1-10) signifies the rebuilding by the restoration of the high priesthood and the royal status. On the one hand, the first part (3:1-5) reveals the restoration of the high priesthood of Joshua by the process of the unclothing and the re-clothing. In particular, it would be necessary to consider the unclothing/re-clothing motif in terms of the high priestly raiment in Exod. 28.⁶ Throughout the whole chapter in Exod. 28, the high priestly clothes are described as glorious and sacred by precious stones attached to the clothes and the turban of the high priest which is associated with an important function to remove the guilt (וְיָצֵא) of the Israelites incurred in the holy offering by 'a rosette of pure gold' on the front of the turban in Exod. 28:36-38 (cf. Num. 18:1).⁷ Accordingly, maintaining the sanctity of the high priest's garment and his turban as a part of the garment is important for carrying out the priestly duty to remove the guilt of others. The filthy clothes are critically detrimental to the proper achievement of the high priesthood.⁸ Therefore, the unclothing of the filthy clothes and the re-clothing of the festal apparel clearly suggest the restoration of the high priesthood. This restoration of the priesthood surely presupposes the restoration of the New Temple. On the other hand, the second part (3:6-7) shows that by the identification as the royal status,⁹ Joshua is given the rule of the Temple, the charge of God's court,¹⁰ and most importantly, the right of access to the heavenly council (Heavenly Temple). The preceding three elements are closely associated with the restoration of the New Temple.

The fourth vision provides another piece of evidence for the building of the New Temple. It is noteworthy that the stone with seven facets set before Joshua in vs. 9a is depicted as a single stone. C. Meyers and E. Meyers suggest that the reference to 'a single stone' aims to emphasize 'the singularity' of the stone against 'the plurality of stones' such as two stones in the ephod shoulder pieces or twelve stones on the breastplate in the high priestly garment in

⁵ The silence motif is used with relation to two elements: 1) the execution of His plan (Zeph. 1:7); 2) His dwelling in His holy Temple, whether the Heavenly Temple or the earthly Temple (Hab. 2:20). Both cases are agreeable with that in Zech. 2:13.

⁶ R. J. Coggins, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 45.

⁷ D. L. Petersen, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8*, 195.

⁸ Therefore, the accuser challenges the eligibility of the high priesthood of Joshua in his accusation against Joshua.

⁹ The word, מַלְכִי, indicates royal status as can be seen in Isa. 62:3 in which "Zion's future elevated status" is described (D. L. Petersen, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8*, 198).

¹⁰ This means "the priestly administration of temple affairs, which included not only maintenance of the sacrificial system but responsibility for collection of revenues as well" (C. Meyers and E. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, AB 25B [New York: Double Day, 1987], 195).

Exod. 28.¹¹ The singularity may be understood in double aspects: “the unity of the community” or “the whole building” of the Temple.¹² Moreover, the single stone has seven facets (עֵינִים). The Hebrew word, עֵינִים can be translated into three meanings: facets, eyes and springs. There are two kinds of understandings with regard to this word. On the one hand, the case of interpreting this word as facets can be combined with that of interpreting the word as eyes. R. L. Smith explains this combination between two meanings as “God’s care for the completion of the temple.”¹³ Therefore, the single stone motif also demonstrates the rebuilding of the New Temple. On the other hand, E. Lipinski relates this stone motif with the rock in the wilderness by interpreting the seven facets (עֵינִים) as ‘fountains’ or ‘spring’. Therefore, according to him, the stone is parallel to the rock in the wilderness, from which the water flowed when Moses struck it.¹⁴

The rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple is also emphasized in the fifth vision (4:1-14) by the encouragement of Zerubbabel: ‘The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also complete it. Then you will know that the LORD of hosts has sent me to you’ (4:9). The work is not by his might, nor by his power, but only by God’s Spirit (vs. 6). The Temple rebuilding is accomplished by divine power. Therefore, no matter how great any mountains are, they will be a plain before Zerubbabel who is going to rebuild the New Jerusalem and the New Temple. Here, the word of the Lord about Zerubbabel serves to guarantee the rebuilding of the New Temple very firmly.¹⁵ The location of this oracle in the midst of the vision and its interpretation signifies that the vision emphasizes the rebuilding of the New Temple. Moreover, Joshua and Zerubbabel symbolized by two branches of the olive trees (4:14)¹⁶ are described as being used for the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple and their maintenance (4:12). In the above, on the one hand, a Davidic king such as Zerubbabel is assigned as the agent of the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem. On the other hand, Joshua, the high priest is used to remove the guilt of Israel which caused the destruction of the first Jerusalem/Temple. Both figures appear to overlap in the person of Joshua because of the crowning of Joshua in 6:9-13. In 6:9, God proclaims the returning of the exiles, crowning of

¹¹ C. Meyers and E. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 208.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC 32 (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1984), 201.

¹⁴ E. Lipinski, “Recherches sur le livre de Zacharie,” *VT* 20 (1970) 26.

¹⁵ R. L. Smith points out the same idea by saying that this part stresses “the divine power by which all opposition to the rebuilding of the temple will be removed and the rejoicing which will come at its completion” (idem, *Micah-Malachi*, 204).

¹⁶ Most commentators agree that the two branches of the olive trees indicate Joshua and Zerubbabel. In particular, D. L. Petersen points out that in the case of understanding the two anointed sons as Joshua and Zerubbabel, “one must also remember that language of sonship has been used earlier in Israel to describe the relationship of the community’s leader to the community’s deity” (cf. Ps. 2:7; 2 Sam. 7:14; 1 Chron. 28:6; Ps. 89:26). (idem, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8*, 233).

Joshua, the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the rebuilding of the New Temple.¹⁷ The crown to be set on the head of Joshua is made with the silver and gold which could be collected from the exiles -- Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah (vss. 9-11).¹⁸ The crowning of Joshua is a sign for the coming Branch which symbolizes the Davidic king.¹⁹ The Davidic king will coexist with the high priest by “the peaceful understanding between the two of them” (vs. 13b). He will come and build the New Temple (vss. 12-13).

In addition, it is important to note that 14:20-21 remarkably characterize the whole part of the New Jerusalem as the holy place: “and every cooking pot in Jerusalem and Judah shall be sacred to the Lord of hosts, so that all who sacrifice may come and use them to boil the flesh of the sacrifice” (14:21). Here, every ordinary cooking pot in the household is regarded as being equivalent to that found in the Temple,²⁰ because the former is as holy as the latter. It means that “all food, and thus sustenance and life itself, will have the status of a sacrificial meal that people share with their deity.”²¹ It is notable that the barrier between the New Jerusalem and the New Temple disappears. This is the common idea in the OT prophetic message, and this idea is specifically emphasized in this text.

1.5.2 Blessings in the New Jerusalem/Temple

Next, the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple is accompanied by abundant blessings. First, the returning of Israel from exile is signified by the presence of God’s spirit in the north country (6:8) where “the exiles will return (e.g. Jer. 3:18; 23:8).”²² Moreover, four chariots with four kinds of horses from the heavenly throne or council in the Heavenly Temple (6:5)²³ serve to confirm God’s willingness to accomplish his plan of bringing His people out from the north country. The returning of Israel from exile leads to the restoration of their status to the royal and priestly nation. This idea is well shown in the phrase, ‘the jewels of a crown’ in 9:16. This phrase consists of two important motifs by the two words, jewels and crown. On the one hand, jewels are reminiscent of the gemstones of the clothing of the high priest in Exod. 28 and

¹⁷ The preceding part (vss. 1-8) ends with reference to the returning from the exile; this part starts with reference to the returning from the exile as well. In this sense, the two parts are connected to each other. The latter part is more specifically extended. R. L. Smith detects this connection between them, though he does not suggest any direct structural tie (idem, *Micah-Malachi*, 217).

¹⁸ Concerning the identification of these figures, refer to C. Meyers and E. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 340 ff.

¹⁹ This figure is regarded as Zerubbabel in ch. 4 (D. L. Petersen, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8*, 276).

²⁰ C. Meyers and E. Meyers suggest that “The notion of all mundane pots becoming holy can be linked with some relevant archaeological remains” (idem, *Zechariah 9-14*, AB 25C [New York: Double Day, 1993], 486).

²¹ Ibid., 487. C. Meyers and E. Meyers further comment that “... as the final sentence of this verse makes clear, such pervasive holiness will extend beyond the community represented by Judah and Jerusalem, in that ‘all who sacrifice’ ... will partake of the mundane pots that will now have sacral status” (ibid.).

²² C. Meyers and E. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 317.

²³ Ibid., 319. Two mountains in vs. 1 also show that the four chariots came out the Heavenly Temple in that the phrase indicates the dwelling place of God (R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 268) or alludes to ‘the gates of heaven’ or ‘doors of heaven’ (D. L. Petersen, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8*, 268).

the stone set before Joshua in Zech. 3. On the other hand, 'crown' echoes 'a clean turban' in Zech. 3:5. Therefore, both words portray "a cultic or priestly image as well as a royal one, the latter suiting the presence of a royal figure ..."²⁴ If this is so, Israel will be endowed a status not only as a royal nation but also as a priestly nation.²⁵ Moreover, the phrase 'the jewels of a crown' is also associated with the beauty of the New Jerusalem in vs. 17a because the beauty of the New Jerusalem may have originated from the embellishment by 'the jewels of a crown'. Furthermore, the beauty and goodness are also related to the prosperity of the New Jerusalem in 17b. In other words, the young men and the young women will be vibrant by the grain and new wine in the New Jerusalem.

Second, the blessing of the return of the exiles is magnified by the promise of the enormous population in the New Jerusalem in 2:1-5 (cf. 12:6b). This is well illustrated by the uselessness of measuring the width and the length of the New Jerusalem. The New Jerusalem is alluded to 'villages without walls' because of the multitude of people and animals in it (2:4).²⁶ God Himself will be a wall of fire all around it (2:5), which means the existence of the glory of God. Here, third, the existence of God's glory in the New Jerusalem also indicates the perfect safety of the holy city. This security/invincibility of the New Jerusalem is also indicated by the complete destruction of the nations (1:21; cf. 1:14-15; 9:1-8, 13-15; 14:1-5, 10-11) (to be alluded to by the four horns in 1:20) which scattered Israel totally.²⁷ Such strength of the New Jerusalem is clearly described in vss. 8-9. The first element of strength is that Lord's protection will make the feeblest among them like David. David was one of the most courageous warriors who God helped to win many victories in the battle. That the feeblest one will be like David implies how strong the New Jerusalem will be. The second element is that the house of David shall be like God, like the angel of the Lord. This reference demonstrates that the house of David shall regain a strong leadership (cf. 14:9).²⁸ The restoration of the strong leadership of the house of David implies the imperishability of the New Jerusalem. Moreover, this security

²⁴ C. Meyers and E. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 158. Moreover, according to them, "Because Israel has now become the object of Yahweh's saving actions, its ultimate deliverance is appropriately expressed in language that has both royal and priestly nuances" (ibid.).

²⁵ In this case, it can be said that Zerubbabel as a king and Joshua as a priest represent Israel who characterize both kingship and priesthood.

²⁶ D. L. Petersen suggests that the phrase 'people and animals' is "a stereotypic phrase used to describe all living things (so Zeph. 1:3)" (idem, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8*, 170). Along the same line with this, he proposes that "the phrase is used to describe the repopulation of the land after its conquest (Ezek. 36:11 and Jer. 31:27)" (ibid.).

²⁷ The meaning of the blacksmiths in 1:21 in this context is "the artisan (or creators) of destruction" which is similar to that of *הַרְשִׁיבֵי מַשְׁחִיתֵיהֶם* (those skillful to destroy) in Ezek. 21:36 rather than *הַמְסַבְרֵי* in 2 Kings 24:16, which means the normal metalworker (D. L. Petersen, *Haggai & Zechariah 1-8*, 164). Here, the four blacksmiths (*הַרְשִׁיבֵי*) have come to terrify and strike down the horns of the nations that lifted up their horns against the land of Judah to scatter its people (1:21).

²⁸ R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 275.

or invincibility or the perfect safety is closely related to the peaceful or joyful life caused by the longevity and safe childbearing in 8:3-5 (cf. 8:18-20; 9:10).²⁹

Third, the New Jerusalem will overflow with prosperity in 1:17. As C. Stuhlmüller states, Jerusalem's prosperity ... depends ..., principally upon the rebuilding of the temple."³⁰ The prosperity in the New Jerusalem is also described as the outcome of the removal of the iniquity from the New Jerusalem in terms of the plant motif such as the vine and the fig tree in 3:10. The prosperity motif is also emphasized by the living water which flows at any time in the New Jerusalem (14:8).

Fourth, in the New Jerusalem, God will renew the covenantal relationship with his people. In 9:7-8, the re-establishment of the covenantal relationship between God and His people is pronounced. Moreover, God will remember His covenant with Israel in order to restore her doubly (9:11-12). In 13:9, The refinement of Israel by fire functions to establish a intimate covenantal relationship between God and His people. In particular, in the New Jerusalem, the perfect weather condition without cold nor frost is referred to in 14:6. This is reminiscent of the ultimate fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant. Moreover, in 14:7, there shall be continuous day, not day and not night because of the light which exists even during evening times in the New Jerusalem. This does not mean the abolition of the cosmological order, which will be perfectly managed by the ultimate fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant, but the continual existence of the light during day and night which indicates the constant pouring out of God's glory upon the New Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 60:19-20).

Fifth, 12:10-14 describes God's pouring out of His spirit of compassion and supplication on the house of David and the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem. The pouring out of God's spirit of compassion and supplication leads to mourning for repentance. The first part refers to the external event in the New Jerusalem; the second part, to the internal condition of the people in the New Jerusalem.³¹ This is a kind of a work of regeneration and renewal effected by the Spirit of God, which echoes Ezek. 36 where repentance is regarded "as a consequence of Yahweh's regenerating work" (cf. Joel 2:28-29; 3:1-2).³² 13:1-6 reiterates the topic which was announced in 12:10-14 from a slightly different perspective. Phrases such as 'the house of David' and 'the inhabitants of Jerusalem' in 13:1 connect the former to the latter. This connection may mean that the renewal work of the Spirit of God continues in ch. 13 as well. However, the agent of the renewal is described as 'a fountain' instead of 'God's Spirit'. Moreover, the emphasis is placed on the removal of idols, false prophets and an unclean spirit.

²⁹ The Hebrew words for boys and girls is יְלָדִים and יְלָדִים, the root form of which is יָלַד. The word does not necessarily indicate the mature boys and girls but just born babies, as shown in Exod. 17-18, etc.

³⁰ C. Stuhlmüller, *Haggai & Zechariah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Edinburgh: The Handsel Press. 1988), 66.

³¹ R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 277.

³² Ibid., 277-278. R. Mason, "The Relation of Zech. 9-14 to Proto-Zechariah," *ZAW* 88 (1976), 232-233.

Sixth, the pilgrimage of the nations can be categorized as another blessing of the New Jerusalem. In 8:20-22, the New Jerusalem is described as the central place over the world because God dwells there. The preceding passage demonstrates that the nations, however strong they are, will be desperate to secure God's favor in the New Jerusalem. This desperation is shown more clearly in 8:23:

Thus says the Lord of hosts: In those days ten men from nations of every language shall take hold of a Jew, grasping his garment and saying, "Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you."

In this text, the reason for the desperation to go to the New Jerusalem is simple: "we have heard that God is with you." From this, the New Jerusalem as God's dwelling place is emphasized. Moreover, the pilgrimage of the nations is emphasized by the bringing of the wealth of all the surrounding nations and great abundance such as collected-gold, silver, and garments into the New Jerusalem (14:14).

Seventh, the connection between the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem and the Heavenly Temple is limitedly shown by Joshua, the high priest in the Book of Zechariah. He is not only entitled to be in charge of ruling the New Temple and her court but also to get access to the divine council in the Heavenly Temple (3:6-7). Moreover, Zerubbabel is sent to rebuild the New Temple and he is also entitled to get access to the Heavenly Temple along with Joshua (4:9-14). God shows His determination to accomplish His plan to rebuild the New Jerusalem/Temple by rousing Himself from His heavenly dwelling place in the Heavenly Temple in the third vision (2:13).

Finally, the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple establishes the double result for the nations: judgment (5:1-4; 5:5-11; 12:1-5; 14:12-13) and conversion (2:10-11; 8:20-23; 14:16-17)

1.6 Conclusion: Summary

The most important conclusion is that the OT anticipates the (physical) rebuilding of the New Temple (Ezek. 40-48; Isa. 65:16-18; Jer. 30:18-22; 31:38-40; 33:10-13; Zech. 3:1-10; 4:1-4). The Heavenly Temple is limitedly connected with the rebuilding of the New Temple. In Zechariah, the connection between them is also shown by the high priest, Joshua and Zerubbabel, who get access to the divine council in the Heavenly Temple (3:6-7; 4:9-14; cf. 2:13). Isa. 6 slightly shows this connection.

The rebuilding of the New Temple is closely related to the eschatological blessings. Most importantly, the New Creation is given as the setting of the New Jerusalem; the New Jerusalem is the center of the New Creation (Isa. 65:16-25). Therefore, the New Jerusalem always includes the elements of the New Creation. Moreover, the Garden of Eden is placed with (in) the New Jerusalem (Ezek. 47:1-12; Isa. 11:6-9; 51:3; 65:25). It means that the New Jerusalem is the restoration of the first Creation. Therefore, the New Jerusalem/Temple, Garden of Eden, and the New Creation are the triple pillars of the message of restoration in the OT.

Moreover, the eschatological blessings can be specified as follows: 1) in Ezekiel, return from exile, endowment of a new heart and a new spirit; renewal of the covenant, renewal of God's covenant (16:59-63), the appearance of a messianic figure (17:22-24), the gathering of Israel from exile to the New Jerusalem, peaceful, safe and bountiful life in the New Jerusalem (28:25-26), New Creation (34:25-30); 2) in Isaiah, longevity (65:19-20), just reward for work (65:21-22), productivity in childbearing and labor (65:23), perfect response of God to His people's lamentation (65:24), nature in harmony (65:25), gathering of all nations (2:2-4; 26:2; 60:1-14), gathering of the remnant from exile, Garden of Eden (11:6-9; 51:3), full of water (30:23-25; 43:19-21; 58:11), healing (30:25-26; 33:24), brightness (30:26a; 60:1-2, 19-20); 3) in Jeremiah the return of Israelites from the Babylonian exile (30:10-11, 12-17; 31:8-9), joyfulness (30:19a; 31:4), fruitfulness (31:4), multiplication of population (30:19b), honor (30:19b), security (30:21) and fullness of God's presence (3:17-18), the re-establishment of the Davidic kingdom (30:8-11; 33:17), the New Covenant (31:31-34), and the New Temple (33:17-18; 33:20-21); 4) in Zechariah, covenantal and spiritual renewal (the second part of ch. 12 and the first part of ch. 13), prosperity, security/ invincibility, overflowing of population or pilgrimage and gladness/joyfulness (the 1st vision, the first part of the second vision, the 8th vision, ch. 8, ch. 9, ch. 10, the second part of ch. 12 and ch. 14) and the prosperity by the plant motif which is caused by the removal of guilt (3:1-10).

2. The Jerusalem/Temple Idea in the Early Jewish Literature

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to observe how the early Jewish writers demonstrated their expectations for the New/Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem. More specifically, in studying the early Jewish literature, there can also be two kinds of purpose in relation to the NT writings, particularly Revelation. Such purposes are related to the fact that these works have continuity as well as discontinuity with Revelation. On the one hand, as far as continuity is concerned, the Jewish literature provides an illuminating background for Revelation. In this respect, the first objective is to find the parallels relevant to the New/Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem theme in Revelation. On the other hand, as far as discontinuity is concerned, the examination of the Jewish literature serves to illustrate its differences from Revelation. Therefore, the second objective is to find some differences between them. These different elements raise the following question: why are references to the theme of the New/Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem in Revelation different from references to that in the Jewish literature? These two objectives will be completed in chapter 4. In addition, there is only one purpose in relation to the OT: to make manifest whether or not the Jewish writers follow the OT tradition faithfully. In this case, in the final part of this chapter (Conclusion), brief comparisons between them will be provided.

The expectation for the New Jerusalem centered around the Temple because the axis of Jerusalem/Zion is the Temple. Therefore, observation about the background for the New Jerusalem will be given in terms of the Temple idea. And even when reference is made to the New Jerusalem, it is the Temple idea which is primarily considered. The investigation of Jewish works will be chronologically presented, if possible.

2.2 1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch

Enoch Literature consists of 1, 2 and 3 Enoch. In this study, only 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch will be dealt with because the third one is irrelevant to this study by virtue of its being composed too late (the 5-6th century AD), while 1 Enoch is thought to have been composed between the 2nd century BC and 1st century AD, and 2 Enoch, in the late 1st century AD. The Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch consists of five books which are separately composed in different times: the Book of the Watchers (1-36); the Book of the Similitudes (or Parables)¹ (37-71); the Book of Astronomical Writings (72-82); the Book of Dream Visions (83-90); and the Book of the Epistle of Enoch (91-107). In this study, the Book of Watchers, the Book of Similitudes and the Book of Dream Visions will be considered because only they include the relevant passages. As far as the original language of 1 Enoch is concerned, there have been two views: Hebrew or Aramaic.² However, recently, several manuscripts of all parts except the Parables are now known in Aramaic from Qumran. Therefore, the Aramaic original becomes prevalent.

2.2.1 Textual Considerations³

In this section, the Book of Watchers (10:16b-22; 14:8-25; 18:6-10; chs. 24-26; chs. 28-36), the Book of Parables (chs. 38-41; chs. 45-57; ch. 71) and the Book of Dreams (chs. 83-90) will be considered.

¹ The Parables have been argued to be 'extensive Christian interpolation' into original Enochic literature. Recently, this position has been further developed by J. T. Milik who proposes its insertion during the Christian era (around AD 400) instead of elimination of the Book of Giants among the 'Pentateuchal collection,' which was found in the Qumran cave (idem, ed., with the Collaboration of M. Black, *The Book of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1977], 4). However, Milik's proposition fails to convince, and has been severely challenged by many scholars such as E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP* 1:7; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in 1 Enoch" in J. J. Collins & J. H. Charlesworth eds., *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*, JSPSS 9 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 51-64; M. E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes" in M. E. Stone ed., *Selected Studies in Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 198-212; M. Black, "The Throne Theophany Prophetic Commission and the 'Son of Man'," in Robert Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs eds., *Jews, Greeks And Christians* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 57-73, etc. The common view of the above scholars is that the Parables are not works or interpolation of (Jewish) Christians but Semitic or Jewish works.

² According to E. Isaac, some scholars propose the Hebrew original; others, the Aramaic original; still others argue that the book, like Daniel, was composed partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. Recently, there have been attempts either to counter (M. Black, "The Fragments of the Aramaic Enoch from Qumran," in W. C. van Unnik, ed., *La littérature juive entre Tenach et Mishna* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974], 15-28) or to substantiate entirely the Aramaic origin of the Ethiopic (E. Ullendorff, "An Aramaic 'Vorlage' of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch," *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici* [Rome, 1960], 259-67) (E. Isaac, *OTP* 1:6, n. 9-11).

³ In this work, M. Black's translation in his book, (*The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985], 25-102) will be normally used, unless otherwise mentioned.

2.2.1.1 *The Book of the Watchers (chs. 1-36)*

According to Milik, only chs. 1-5 and 26-36 of the Book of the Watchers are the works of the original author. Particularly, chs. 6-19 are regarded as ‘an early written source to be incorporated without any great changes’ into the original work.⁴ M. E. Stone agrees with the view by saying that “*The Book of Watchers* does not stem from a single pen.”⁵ However, the existence of these diverse sources in this work does not weaken the unity of the book of the Watchers because as Stone proposes, the work was “composed by a writer who utilized diverse source-documents.”⁶ Therefore, in this study, it is taken for granted that the book of the Watchers establishes a unity in spite of the existence of various independent sources.

2.2.1.1.1 New Creation and (Eschatological) Temple (10:16b-22)

This section (10:16b-22) belongs to the third unit (chs. 6-11) of the book of the Watchers.⁷ The context of this passage is God’s final judgment against the corruption of the whole earth by Asael’s teaching (10:2; 10:8). The contents of the corruption are well described in 9:8 in which the event in Gen. 6:1-4 is contextualized for the purpose of describing the origin of the corruption of the whole earth. Therefore, this message makes reference to Noah and his successors, the post-diluvial Israel; this message may also be applied to the remnant, post-exilic Israel.⁸ In this case, ‘the Deluge’ is naturally portrayed as the final judgment in 10:2 (cf. 10:6-13).

In the midst of the announcements about the binding and the final judgment in 10:2-13, there is reference to the New Creation in 10:7. This passage refers to the New Creation which means the renewal of the creation by the message about ‘the healing of the earth’. The New Creation is necessarily required on account of the devastation of the whole earth by the works of the teaching of Asael (10:8). This message about the New Creation is more extended from vs. 16 just after the message of the final judgment is extended to everyone who is consumed by lust and is corrupted, and finalized in vss. 9-16a. This ordering is because the New Creation is possible when the origin of evil is totally removed.

The New Creation in vss. 16b-22 is characterized as follows: 1) plantation of righteousness⁹--deeds of righteousness with joy (vs. 16b); 2) safety, productivity in offspring and longevity (vs. 17); 3) fruitfulness of the whole earth with trees (luxuriant trees, vines and

⁴ J. T. Milik ed., *The Book of Enoch*, 25.

⁵ M. E. Stone, “The Books of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century BCE” *CBQ* 40 (1978), 484.

⁶ Ibid.; M. Himmelfarb, “From Prophecy to Apocalypse: *The Book of the Watchers* and Tours of Heaven,” in Arthur Green ed., *Jewish Spirituality* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 148; cf. C. A. Newsom, “The Development of 1 Enoch 6-19: Cosmology and Judgment” *CBQ* 42 (1980), 328-329.

⁷ M. E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century BCE,” 486.

⁸ M. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 133.

⁹ According to R. H. Charles, this phrase indicates ‘Israel, which springs from a seed that is ‘is shown’ by God (62:8; cf. 84:6; 93:5, 10) (idem ed., with introduction, notes, appendices, and indices, *The Book of Enoch*, trans. from A. Dillmann’s Ethiopic Text [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893], 76).

olives) and blessings (vss. 18-19)¹⁰; 4) cleanness of the whole earth and being free from defilement and uncleanness, fullness with righteousness and the conversion of the Gentiles (vss. 20-22; as for the conversion of the Gentiles, refer to 90:30). It is noteworthy that these elements are parallel to the blessings of the Noahic Covenant: 1) safety, productivity in offspring and longevity (Gen. 8:17; 9:1, 7); 2) fruitfulness of the whole earth with trees and blessings (9:3); 3) cleanness of the whole earth (the deluge itself functions to clear the earth). This parallel implies that the New Creation is the eschatological fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant.¹¹

Particularly, the features of the New Creation can be shown as related to “the glorification of the victorious universal King” in 10:21.¹² That is to say, the New Creation provides surroundings for God’s glorification by ‘a thorough purging of defilement’.¹³ In this respect, moreover, 10:21 alludes to the Temple motif because the Temple is often related to God’s glorification by being identified as “the place where all the peoples will come to worship”¹⁴ (cf. Isa. 66:23). Therefore, the eschatological Temple can be traced in this context.

In sum, the New Creation is needed in order to remove the origin of evil caused by the teaching of Asael; the New Creation is the eschatological fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant; the New Creation provides surroundings for God’s glorification by a thorough purging of defilement; the New Creation is associated with the Temple motif by God’s glorification: the New Creation is necessarily accompanied by the Temple.

2.2.1.1.2 Heavenly Temple (14:8-25)¹⁵

This passage about the Heavenly Temple can be divided into three parts: (1) description of the first house of the Temple (14:8-14); (2) description of the second house of the Temple (14:15-17); (3) description of the throne in the second house (14:18-23). In particular, the first part (14:8-12) expresses the Heavenly Temple motif by descriptions such as ‘a wall’, ‘a great house’ and ‘fiery cherubim’. The outstanding feature of the Heavenly Temple is that it and its architectural elements such as ‘wall’ and ‘gate’ were built of precious stones such as white marble or crystal, and they are surrounded with fire or tongues of fire (cf. 14:13-14).

Moreover, another house which is greater than the first one is described in the second part (14:15-17). This passage emphasizes that every part of the second house, including its floor

¹⁰ This is in accordance with the OT prophecies such as Amos 9:13; Hos. 2:22, 23; Jer. 31:5; Isa. 25:6; Ezek. 28:26; 34:26, 27 (ibid.).

¹¹ P. D. Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11,” *JBL* 96 (1977), 202.

¹² Ibid., 201.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ R. A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment*, SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 176.

¹⁵ In this section, E. Isaac’s translation (*OTP* 1:20-21) will be used.

and ceiling, was built with fire (vss. 15 and 17). Presumably, this fire motif is related to the indescribable glory and greatness of the second house (vs. 16). The third part (14:18-23) more clearly shows the glory of God's lofty throne which is located in this second house.¹⁶ Here, the most particular feature of God's throne is its gloriousness and brightness. God Himself is called 'the Great Glory'. His throne is lofty and like crystal and surrounded with flaming fire; its wheels are like the shining sun; God's gown is shining more brightly than the sun and whiter than any snow. Here the exceptional whiteness of God's garment is one of ways describing the brightness which is characteristic of everything in the heavenly world, while other ways of indicating this heavenly brightness are comparisons with fire, shining precious stones, lightning, sun, stars, etc. In other words, God's garment is white because it is heavenly.¹⁷ Accordingly, the whiteness of God's garment hints at the author's intention to project heaven, where God's throne is placed, as the Temple.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that 'the tens of millions' (M. Black's translation, 'ten thousand times ten thousand') stood before God (vss. 22-23; cf. 15:2). This phrase is parallel to Dan. 7:10, which describes the angelic service in God's heavenly throne.¹⁹ This parallel shows that the throng is the angelic group which worships and serves God with the priestly function.²⁰

Finally, the second house with God's throne is reminiscent of the Holy of Holies in the earthly Temple in terms of the relationship between the first house and the second house because the second house is described as more glorious than the first one.

2.2.1.1.3 The Mountain Throne in the Garden of Eden as the Antitype of the Heavenly Temple and the Source of the Eschatological Temple (18:6-10; chs. 24-27).

18:6-10 belongs to a part of Enoch's first journey to the ends of the earth (chs. 17-20), which depicts God's throne in another perspective: *God's mountain throne which consists of precious stones*. Verse 6 shows that Enoch was brought to the flaming/burning place where seven mountains of precious stones were located. Three of the seven mountains lay toward the east, another three of the seven toward the south, and one mountain in the middle, reaching up

¹⁶ According to R. H. Charles, the passage is described after Isa. 6; Ezek. 1:10; Dan. 7:9-10 (idem, *The Book of Enoch*, 81).

¹⁷ M. Himmelfarb's view that the exceptional white garment of God is compatible with "the plain linen garment that the high priest wore when he entered the Holy of Holies, the earthly counterpart of the spot where God sits enthroned in the Heavenly Temple" may be wrong, (idem, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypse*, [New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 18). because the plain linen for the priest is totally different from the white garment for God. Plain linen is not white. White was an extremely rare colour in the ancient world, because really white clothes were very difficult to make, and in nature it is rare--snow being the obvious case.

¹⁸ M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 18. Angels in Ezek. 9:2-3, 11; 10:2; Dan. 10:5, 12:6-7 wear garments of linen (ibid.).

¹⁹ M. Black, *The Book of 1 Enoch*, 150.

²⁰ The priestly function of the angelic group is hinted by the word, ἐγγίζω, "which is used in the Bible of priests serving in the sanctuary" (M. Black, *The Book of 1 Enoch*, 150).

to the heavens 'like the throne of God'.²¹ Although God's throne is located only on the one mountain, seven mountains are selected in total to emphasize the completeness of the throne. The first three mountains toward the east were of 'stones of varied hues', 'pearls' and 'stones of the colour of antimony' (vs. 7a); the second three mountain toward the south were of carnelians (vs. 7b); the last one in the middle which is up to the heavens was of emeralds, whose upper part was of sapphire (vs. 8). Most importantly, the idea that God's mountain throne is composed of precious stones finds its origin in biblical references such as Ezek. 1:26 and 28: 13-14.²²

Concerning the Heavenly Temple and the mountain throne, it is necessary to observe 24:1-5 together with 18:6-10. The throne description in 24:1-3 can be said to be the repetition of that in 18:6-10. First, these two parts are parallel to each other by the precious stone motif. However, the latter more precisely describes precious stones as the components of the mountains, such as varied hues, pearls and stones of the colour of antimony, carnelians, emeralds and sapphires than the former, where the stones are described as 'priceless, valuable and glorious. Second, more importantly, the two parts are also parallel to each other by 'fire motif': in the first one, Enoch was guided to see 'a burning place night and day where there were seven mountains' (18:6); in the latter, Enoch sees 'mountains of fire' which burned day and night (24:1).

Possibly, this fire motif may become an important clue to connect the mountain throne and the heavenly throne in the Heavenly Temple because the Heavenly Temple in ch. 14 is shown as full of fire: '... a wall, built of hailstones, with tongues of fire surrounding it on all sides' (14:9); 'a flaming fire was around *all* its walls' and 'its doors were ablaze with fire' (14:12); 'it (the second house) was all constructed of tongues of fire' (14:15); '... its floor was of fire, and its upper chambers were lightnings and fire-balls, and its roof was of blazing fire' (14:17); 'from underneath the throne came forth streams of blazing fire ...' (14:19); 'A blazing fire encircled him, and a great fire stood in front of him' (14:22). The fire in the Heavenly Temple in the above is parallel to that in the burning place with the seven mountains (18:6) or the mountains of fire (24:1), each of which is also described as 'like the throne of God' (18:8) and 'like the seat of a throne' (24:3), respectively. By this parallel, the mountain throne may be regarded as God's earthly throne, which corresponds to the heavenly throne in the Heavenly Temple. In addition, 25:3 further confirms this relationship between the heavenly throne and the mountain throne, where the mountain throne is described as the place where God sits "when he descends to visit the earth in blessing."

²¹ M. Black commentates this phrase as follows: "In both Heb. and Aram. דמוּת (כ) = ὁμοίωσις, kama, but דמוּת is a noun in its own right meaning 'likeness, shape'." Thus, he suggests the possibility that this phrase is related to the expression from Ezek. 1:26 דמוּת כסא 'the shape of a throne' (NEB) (ibid., 159).

²² Ibid.

On the other hand, in 24:4-5, the mountain throne is characterized by features of the Garden of Eden (cf. Ezek. 28:13-14). In this text, the focus is placed on a tree with a fragrance. The tree is exceptional to other surrounding trees by its smell, flourishing, the sweetest fragrance, never-ending leaves/flowers/wood and beautiful fruits, etc. The facts of this tree are further explained in 25:4-5 as follows: 1) No one is allowed to touch it until the end of times (4a); 2) it will be given as a recompense for all (4b); 3) it will be provided to the righteous and pious for food (5a); 4) it shall be transplanted to a sacred place beside the Temple of the Lord (5b), which means the eschatological Temple. Here, it is not difficult to conclude that the tree indicates the tree of life. If this is so, the tree of life is closely related with the Temple motif.²³

Moreover, verse 25:6 indicates the eschatological life to be benefited from the tree of life, which God has prepared for the righteous/the elect. This passage is given as the consequence of the preceding action in 25:5 in which the tree of life will be transplanted to a sacred place beside the temple in order to be eaten. The first part of this passage demonstrates the reformation of the Temple life with exceeding gladness in entering the holy place and the bringing of offerings. The second part indicates the life of the New Creation at the end of days by the references such as 'longer life', 'no tortures', 'no pain' and 'no labors'. In this case, the blessings and function of the Garden of Eden as the mountain throne are transferred into the eschatological New Temple by the relocation of the tree of life from the Garden of Eden to the New Temple site.²⁴ Accordingly, it may be presumed that the tree of life which represents the Garden of Eden prompts the milieu of the New Temple/the New Creation at the end of times.

The above proves that the mountain throne in the Garden of Eden is not only the earthly throne as being parallel to the heavenly throne in the Heavenly Temple, but also the source of the eschatological New Temple. The first case is mainly represented by the fire motif; the second case, by the tree of life. Here, it is possible to establish the relation between the Heavenly Temple and the New Temple through the mountain throne in the Garden of Eden at least in this context.

Chs. 26-27 also add an valuable point to the previous arguments. In the first half (ch. 26), what Enoch saw is simply prospective Jerusalem rather than the completed Jerusalem. In the latter part (ch. 27) it is partly hinted what the Jerusalem will be like eschatologically. In the last days, the Jerusalem will be inhabited by the righteous or the pious in the last days and they will take a look at the judgment of the rebellious people at the deep valley. Therefore, chs. 26-27 propose only two aspects of Jerusalem: primordial Jerusalem and eschatological Jerusalem. There is no reference to the historical Jerusalem. This is natural because the author or redactor

²³ R. A. Argall, *I Enoch and Sirach*, 177.

²⁴ In this respect, R. A. Argall's comment is proper: "Enoch understands that the mountain throne of God and the Tree of Life have been explained to him in a way that shows how the creation is ready for the descent of the Divine Warrior and the gift of eschatological salvation to the righteous" (ibid., 177).

projects Jerusalem in terms of Enoch's perspective, who does not experience the historical Jerusalem. What he could see is the primordial Jerusalem and the eschatological Jerusalem. In particular, it can be assumed by the features such as 'the middle of the earth' and 'a blessed place' (26:1) that ch. 26 describes the topography of Jerusalem as the potential Temple site.²⁵

The Jerusalem is characterized as 'full of trees, with saplings surviving and burgeoning from a felled tree' (26:1; 27:1),²⁶ 'a sacred mount' (in center, 26:2), 'another higher mount' (eastward, 26:3) 'another mount' (westward, vs. 4), 'a stream' (26:2, 3). Interestingly, these topographical features of primordial Jerusalem are reminiscent of those in the Garden of Eden (cf. 24:3-5; 25-5-6). From this, it can be said that there is association between the mountain throne in the Garden of Eden and a primordial Jerusalem. This association is significant because both will be merged into the eschatological New Temple/Jerusalem at the end of days. This is the reason why the life in the New Temple in 25:5-6 is correspondent to that in the eschatological Jerusalem in 27:3b-4. The former focuses on the blessed life by the transplantation of the tree of life for food to the elect in the Garden of Eden; the latter focuses on the blessed life of the pious who bless the Lord by God's mercy imparted to them and the righteous judgment against the rebellious people.

2.2.1.2 *The Book of the Parables (chs. 37-71)*

This book consists of three Parables (38-44, 45-57 and 58-71), each of which forms a unit. Therefore, it is important to deal with each parable individually as one unit.

2.2.1.2.1 The First Parable: Heavenly/New Temple/Jerusalem (chs. 38-41)

In observing the first Parable (chs. 38-41), it is necessary to note that these chapters are shaping one unit by being subsequently connected to one another. 38:1-2 as an introduction hints at how the following contents will be developed. Here, the beginning of the last days is described not only as the appearance of the righteous in vs. 1 but also as the appearance of the Righteous One on earth from heaven.²⁷ It means that the righteous and the Righteous One will appear at the same time at the end of times. Moreover, the events at the end of days in vs. 1 and vs. 2 are antithetically parallel to each other. The first one describes the eschatological judgment toward sinners: banishment from the face of the earth. The second one describes the eschatological blessing toward the righteous and the elect: dwelling on the earth. This antithetical parallelism in this passage shows that the difference between the eschatological

²⁵ It is possible to see 'a blessed place' as Jerusalem as the center of the earth (M. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 172; R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 99).

²⁶ M. Black understands the description as the emphasis of the extraordinary fertility of this place: "even shoots from a dead tree that had been cut down will live and spring to fresh life" (idem, *The Book of Enoch*, 172).

²⁷ Ch. 39 shows the heavenly dwelling places of the righteous with the Elect One.

blessings and the eschatological judgment relates to whether the dwelling/resting place on earth is given or not (cf. 41:2). This issue functions as the basic frame in the following description.

Moreover, the phrase, 'when the congregation of the righteous shall appear' in vs. 1a indicates that there will be a transfer of God's people from heavenly dwelling place to the earthly dwelling place in the last days. They will come to earth with the Righteous One because the event will happen at the same time when the Righteous One shall appear before the righteous and the elect. These two appearances will necessarily result in the banishment of the sinners from the earth.

Chs. 39-40 describe what the heavenly dwelling place of the righteous is like. First of all, 39:4-10 describes the heavenly dwelling places. On the one hand, it is noteworthy that in vs. 4-5a, the righteous and the elect are placed with angels (or the holy ones) in the dwellings/resting-places in heaven and now (cf. 70:1-4).²⁸ On the other hand, in 38:2, the earth is also described as the dwelling place of the righteous.²⁹ It may be possible to see the earthly dwelling place as eschatological because none of sinners will exist on the earth through judgment, as shown in 38:1, 2b. Ch. 38 and ch. 39 are closely associated with each other: the former shows the eschatological appearance of the righteous (38:1, 2a); the latter demonstrates the heavenly origin of the righteous (39:4). Therefore, the eschatological appearance of the righteous in 38:1-2 originates from heaven, as shown in 39:4. Consequently, it can be said that the heavenly dwelling place of the righteous is transferred to the eschatological earthly dwelling place of the righteous at the end of times.³⁰

Moreover, the righteous and the elect are shown to have a priestly function by the phrase: "And they were petitioning and supplicating and interceding on behalf of the children of men" (39:5; cf. 39:9-10). It means that the heavenly dwelling places are associated with the cultic place. Verses 7 and 12-13 corroborate the significance of the heavenly dwelling places as the cultic place. In these passages, the cultic languages and practices are shown in accordance with the Temple description in Isa. 6:1-4. In particular, vs. 12b is parallel to Isa. 6:3:

'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of spirits: he fills the earth with spirits' (1 Enoch 39:12b)

'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory' (Isa. 6:3).

The first one is the praise of those who do not sleep³¹ but stand, bless, praise and extol (39:12); the second one is reported to be the praise of Seraphs.

²⁸ M. Casey, "The Use of Term 'Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch," *JSJ* 7 (1976), 28. He uses the term, 'pre-existence' for staying of the righteous in heaven. For more information, refer to his book, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979), 99-111.

²⁹ It has been already shown that the earthly dwelling places eschatologically appear from heaven.

³⁰ In M. Black's translation, it is noteworthy that this is 'another vision of the dwellings of the righteous.' By this translation, Black seems to acknowledge the connection of the heavenly dwellings to the earthly dwellings as the eschatological appearance of the former.

³¹ 'Those who does not sleep' indicate the angelic group such as Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophanim to guard the throne of his glory as shown in 71:7 (cf. 39:13; 40:2; 61:12).

In sum, the first Parable mostly demonstrates that their dwelling place of the righteous in heaven will be transferred to the earthly dwelling place as the eschatological blessings. On the other hand, sinners will be banished from the face of the dwelling place on earth as well as in heaven.

2.2.1.2.2 The Second Parable: New Creation and Messianic Figure (Son of Men, the Elect One) (chs. 45-57)

First of all, ch. 45 emphasizes that while sinners will be banished from heaven and earth at the end of times (vss. 2-3), the elect will not only inherit the new heaven and earth (New Creation) as their dwelling place, but also they will be the Elect One's dwelling place,³² and God's presence (God's throne) will be their dwelling place (vss. 4-5).³³ These three blessings for the elect are closely connected to one another in terms of the dwelling place. The New Creation will be the place which God's Elect One, who will dwell among the elect, will dwell because the New Creation will be the dwelling place of the elect.

Moreover, the dwelling of the Messianic figure among the elect hints at the role of the figure in providing and governing the dwelling place. This is well explained in the next chapter (ch. 46). In ch. 46, the Messianic figure is named as 'Son of Man'. How does the Messianic figure contribute to the establishment of the elect's dwelling place? This is well shown in vss. 4-5. In this passage, the main point is that the 'Son of Man' shall destroy all the powerful kingdoms who govern the earth without any humble gratitude (cf. ch. 52). This dethronement of the earthly kings from their throne means the transference of ownership of the earth to the Messianic figure, who is supposed to provide the earth to the elect as the dwelling place.

In ch. 47:2a, the Messianic judgmental action is executed as a response to the lamentation of the righteous. In the prayer of the righteous, one thing is striking: the angelic group (the holy ones who dwell above in the heaven) will join together with the prayer of the righteous (cf. 14:23; 15:2-3; 39:5; 40:3-7). The joint prayer between the angelic group and the righteous includes praising, giving thanks and blessing the name of the Lord of the spirits. It means that their prayer is not simply supplication for vengeance but the priestly cultic activities. Therefore, the proper oblation by the blood of the elect ('on account of the blood of the righteous which has been shed and that their prayer may not be in vain ...') guarantees God's response to the prayer ('that judgment may be executed on their behalf ...' vs. 2b).

In chs. 48-49, the Son of Man is described as preserving the portion of the righteous (48:7), as liberating the elect and the righteous from the kings of the earth (48:9) and as providing them with rest on earth (48:9). This ministry of the Messianic figure makes it

³² M. Black argues that the Elect One indicates a Messianic figure, which comes from Isa. 41:8, 9; 42:1 (ibid., 197). Moreover, he suggests that "The attributes of his 'Elect One' are clearly inspired by the vision of ... Isaiah's 'shoot from the stock of Jesse' (NEB), the Davidide (Isa. 11.1f) ..." (ibid.).

³³ The third one is close to the Temple motif, if the phrase, 'before God', indicates God's throne.

possible for the elect to be fit for the life at the New Creation/New Jerusalem/New Temple. Chs. 50-51 show how a change shall take place for the elect/holy. The main point is that the elect/holy/righteous will appear to be angels in heaven as written in 51:4 because the light of days shall remain upon them; glory and honour shall return to the holy; their faces will shine with joy (cf. 58:3-6). The elect/holy/righteous, like angels in heaven, will take the dwelling place on earth and shall rejoice with the appearance of the Elect One. This implies that heaven and earth will not be distinguished from each other at the end of days.

In sum, the same basic framework as in the first Parable is applied to the second Parable: the banishment of sinners from the face of the earth and the endorsement of the dwelling place on the earth for the righteous and the elect at the End of Days. However, in the second Parable, it is emphasized that a Messianic figure functions to execute both the eschatological judgment toward the sinners such as kings and the eschatological blessings toward the elect and the righteous. In particular, it is notable that the ministry of the Messianic figure called the 'Son of Man' is carried out as a response to the lamentation of the prayer with the blood.

2.2.1.2.3 The Third Parable: Heavenly Temple and Transfiguration of Enoch (ch. 71)

In this Parable, only ch. 71 mentions the subject, namely, the Heavenly Temple relevant to this study. In this chapter, Enoch ascends to the heavens and the heaven of heavens. The former (the heavens) is "all the storehouses of the stars, and all the luminaries, whence they proceed in the presence of the holy ones" (vs. 4). The latter (the heaven of heavens) is likely to be the Heavenly Temple. From vs. 5 on, the Heavenly Temple is described with the introduction: "And he translated my spirit, and I, Enoch, was in the heaven of heavens". First of all, Enoch saw, "in the midst of those luminaries, *a house as it were* built of hailstones" among which there are 'tongues of fire of the *living creatures*'.³⁴ Moreover, there is the girdle which was encircling the house with fire and on its four sides were streams filled with the fire of the *living creatures* and they girt that house (vs. 6). Furthermore, there are several classes of angelic groups around the Heavenly Temple: 1) Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophanim who sleep not and guard the throne of his glory; 2) uncountable angels who are encircling the house; 3) Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Phanuel (vss. 7-9). Finally, in the Heavenly Temple, God exists: "And with them the Chief of Days, His head was white and pure as wool, And his raiment indescribable" (vs. 10).

After this vision, Enoch experienced transformation of his spirit, and he cried with a loud voice with the spirit of power, blessing, glorifying, and extolling (vs. 11). As soon as Enoch's blessings finished, the Chief of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, and thousands and myriads of angels without number (vs. 13) because "these blessings which

³⁴ E. Isaac translates this phrase as 'living fire'. However, it is more difficult to understand the meaning of 'the living fire' than 'the fire of the living creatures'.

went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before the Chief of Days" (vs. 12). Interestingly, after this experience of Enoch, he is assigned to be the Son of Man by Michael.³⁵

‘You are the Son of Man who is born for righteousness,
And righteousness abides upon you,
And the righteousness of the Chief of Days forsakes you not’.

How is it possible that Enoch is called ‘the Son of Man’, indicating the Messianic figure?³⁶ Apparently, this is because of Enoch’s acceptable blessings and his confrontation with the Chief of Days who accompanied archangels and uncountable angels as the response of Enoch’s acceptable blessings. Moreover, 71:15-17 explain the reasons for the question more clearly. The careful observation of the preceding passage exposes the fact that Enoch himself is not considered as a Messianic figure, but rather he is given the same function as the Messianic figure by his being appointed as Son of Man. In other words, in this text, there are no references to features ascribed to the real Son of Man as shown in ch. 46. Why then does the author/redactor identify Enoch with the Son of Man? As for this problem, Lagrange suggests a corporate theory that the exaltation of Enoch to the position of Son of Man implies that a conception of the ‘Son of Man’ (or the Elect) includes headship of the elect ones.³⁷ In this sense, Enoch as the Son of Man simply represents the real Son of Man and thus is utilized as a mediator³⁸ for the purpose of delivering blessings from the real Son of Man. This idea is clearly shown in vs. 16, which emphasizes the unity of God’s people with Enoch, particularly in sharing God’s heavenly/eschatological blessings such as ‘dwelling places’ and ‘inheritance’.

In sum, The Heavenly Temple is built of hailstones with tongues of fire of the living creatures (vs. 6) and it is surrounded by several classes of angelic groups: Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophanim who sleep not and guard the throne of his glory; uncountable angels who are encircling the house; Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel (vss. 7-9). Finally, the

³⁵ Enoch has been also called as the Son of man in 60:10.

³⁶ The word, ‘righteousness’ indicates Davidic ‘Messianic’ feature attached to the person of Enoch (M. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 252). In this context, the name is different usage from that in Ezekiel in which the phrase is used to show the weakness of Ezekiel.

³⁷ M. J. Lagrange, *Le judaïsme avant Jésus Christ* (Paris, 1931), 253 ff.; this information comes from M. Black, “The Eschatology of The Similitudes of Enoch,” *JTS* n.s. 3 (1952), 4; T. W. Manson, “The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels,” *BJRL* 32 (1949-50), 189. M. Black is agreeable with Manson’s view by saying that “T. W. Manson, moreover, may well be right in his contention that in *1 Enoch* ... there is an ‘oscillation’ between the One (the Son of Man Messiah, the Elect One) and the Many (this may also be true of the individualising of the Son of Man in Enoch himself: Enoch represents or is the immortalised Israel)” (idem, “The Throne Theophany Prophetic Commission,” 71; cf. idem, “Eschatology of the Similitudes of Enoch,” 7, esp. n. 2). However, this corporate theory is not a general view. In particular, more recently, this view is heavily criticized by M. Casey who maintains “Manson’s hypothesis is quite alien to the thought-world of the Similitudes” (idem, “The Use of Term ‘Son of Man’ in the Similitudes of Enoch,” 12; see also his book, *Son of Man*, 191-192). In particular, he criticizes Manson’s view that the Son of Man in the Similitudes is not a pre-existent heavenly being but a divine idea (ibid.).

³⁸ According to Black, “the rôle of Enoch in this eschatological apocalypse is that of divine-human mediator or celestial witness” (idem, “The Throne Theophany Prophetic Commission,” 70).

heavenly/eschatological blessings are corporately shared with the rest of God's people by Enoch as a representative (vss. 11-16)

2.2.1.3 *The Book of Dream (chs. 83-90)*

This book is divided into two parts: a vision of the coming flood (chs. 83-84) and the Animal Apocalypse (chs. 85-90).³⁹ The latter is more relevant to this study because it deals with 'the Judgment and the New Jerusalem and the New Eden'⁴⁰ at the end of times (90:20-42) just after the biblical history from Adam and Eve to Maccabean times (cf. 90:13-19) such as the Flood, the Exodus, building of the first Temple, destruction of the Temple and returning from the exile, etc.⁴¹ Therefore, in this section, 90:20-42 will be handled with 87:3-4 which refers to the Heavenly Temple. According to Vanderkam, the date of composition is considered in the late 160's BC on the basis of "the recognizable historical allusions at the end of the apocalypse."⁴²

After the judgment against the defiled angels and the evil shepherds in 90:20-27, the old house was removed (vs. 28) but a new house was brought (vs. 29). Here the important thing is that the house was not repaired nor remodeled by 'the replacement of certain of its fixtures', but that the old house was entirely replaced by the new house. As Black understands, "the 'old house' and the 'new house'⁴³ are symbols of the old and the New Jerusalem based on scriptural sources such as Ezek. 40-48, Isa. 54:11-12, Hag. 2:7-9, Zech. 2:6-13."⁴⁴ Black continues to argue that "no explicit mention is made here of the Temple but it is no doubt included."⁴⁵ However, the Temple idea is implied by the word 'throne' in vs. 20, which was erected for the judgment. Moreover, in vs. 20, the New Creation was hinted by the phrase, 'the pleasant land'. In the pleasant land, a judgment throne of God was erected. This means that the process of the judgment (vss. 20-28) is necessarily required in order to bring the New Creation, and the new house which means the New Jerusalem/Temple.

The features of the new house (the New Jerusalem) are as follows. First, this is greater and loftier than the first, being raised up in place of the first which had been removed (vs. 29a).

³⁹ J. C. Vanderkam (20 March 1997), *The Enoch Literature* in the OTP Module (Online Divinity School Course Modules at the University of St. Andrews in the Spring Semester of 1997). Available: http://www.st-and.ac.uk/~www_sd/otpseud97.html

⁴⁰ These three titles are M. Black's in his book, *The Book of Enoch*, 81.

⁴¹ J. C. VanderKam, *The Enoch Literature* in the OTP Module. According to P. Tiller, in the Animal Apocalypse, time on earth consists of three stages: the remote past, the present, and the ideal future. Each stage begins with a single patriarch represented by a white bull: the first begins with Adam, the second with Noah, and the third with 'an unknown eschatological patriarch' (idem, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch* [Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993], 3).

⁴² J. C. Vanderkam, *The Enoch Literature* in the OTP Module. P. Tiller also suggests that the date of composition is between 165 BC and 160 BC (idem, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 78).

⁴³ It is notable that while the house in 14:8-12 indicates the Heavenly Temple, here it means the New Jerusalem.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 278.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Second, all its columns are new, and its ornaments are new and larger than those of the first (vs. 29b). Third, the Lord of the sheep is in the midst of the house (vs. 29c). Fourth, all the birds of heaven (the great nations: Gentiles) fall and bow down and make petition and obey the sheep (Israel) in the new house (vs. 30). By the Gentiles' submitting to Israel, they are supposed to be able to share in the eschatological blessings of Israel.⁴⁶ This means that "ebenso werden die Reste aller Heiden endlich förmlich der Gemeinde einverleibt ..." (vs. 33).⁴⁷ Fifth, the sheep are all white, and their wool is abundant and clean, symbolizing no condemnation (vs. 32). The whiteness and the cleanness signify the moral and religious purity. Moreover, the abundance of wool may indicate 'productivity'.⁴⁸ This incident is related with the statement in vs. 35 where the eyes of the sheep, which means the Israelite people, were open. Tiller explains the opening of the eyes as "the definitive statement of the righteousness of surviving Jews and Gentiles."⁴⁹ This is because blindness in 89:21 and 32 appears to be equated with falling away from the way shown by Moses.⁵⁰ Sixth, all that had been destroyed and dispersed assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoice with great joy in their return to *his house* (vs. 33). This feature indicates the ingathering of Israel into the New Jerusalem. The phrase, 'all that had been destroyed ... assembled' may be regarded as a reference to the resurrection of the dead.⁵¹ If this is right, the ingathering of Israel into the New Jerusalem is made in two ways: resurrection from the death and return from the dispersed place. Seventh, the sheep laid down the sword which had been given to them, and it was sealed,⁵² because there will be no war or fighting in that house any more (vs. 34). This feature is a symbol of the peace that Israel eschatologically enjoys now.⁵³ Eighth, the large house is full of God's people (vs. 36). This feature is described in a different way in vs. 34: "but it did not contain them."⁵⁴ In Isa. 49:19-21 and Zech 2:4; 10:10, it is predicted that Jerusalem will overflow with inhabitants.

⁴⁶ The Gentiles are those who did not oppress Israel, because in 90:19, the sheep have killed all the beasts and birds (P. Tiller, *An Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*, 377).

⁴⁷ A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch: Uebersetzt und erklärt* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853), 286. Of course, the author's primary concern is not the incorporation of the Gentiles into the eschatological blessings but the restoration of Israel (P. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*, 381).

⁴⁸ Ibid., 380.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 382.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 380. Though Tiller agrees with J. A. Goldstein's view that "The word he [Charles] translated by 'destroyed' probably means 'perishing' or 'lost' (idem, *I Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 41 [Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976], 42, n. 13), he defends his view in terms of the fact that "it is also the passive of "destroy" and 'ahg'alu ("they destroyed") is very frequently used in the Apocalypse of Animal to describe the actions of the shepherds against the sheep (89:60-70)." In this case, according to him, "it is natural to take the verb here as a true passive, "they were destroyed,' parallel with the following verb *tazarzaru* ("they were scattered")" (P. Tiller, *An Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*, 380, n. 26).

⁵² P. Tiller criticizes M. Black's and Charles who translates this verse as 'it was sealed'. He argues that the phrase should be translated as 'they sealed it' (ibid., 381).

⁵³ P. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*, 381.

⁵⁴ This is Tiller's translation.

Consequently, both descriptions of the ingathering of God's people into the New Jerusalem emphasizes "the vast numbers of people flowing into Jerusalem."⁵⁵

Moreover, within the *Animal Apocalypse*, 'tower' is consistently used to indicate the Temple as in 89:50 and 89:73 (cf. Sibylline Oracles 5:423).⁵⁶ The tower is placed above the earth and it is shown to Enoch who is raised up to a lofty place in 87:3. In this case, the tower is rightly regarded as the Heavenly Temple.

On the other hand, references to the New Jerusalem are followed by the other closely related references. All the species (of all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air) were transformed into white bulls over which the Lord of the sheep rejoiced (vss. 37-38).⁵⁷ 'A white bull' should not be regarded as 'a Messianic figure'⁵⁸ but the patriarch of a restored Adamic/Sethite humanity.⁵⁹ There is a co-relation between 'the white bull' in 90:37 and 'all white bulls' in 90:38.⁶⁰ In this relationship between the two, the white bull functions as "a sort of catalyst for the transformation of all humanity."⁶¹ By the transformation of all the animals into white bulls just like the white bull, the two most significant negative aspects are reversed: 1) the birth of cattle of various colors (85:3; 89:9) among which black may represent the evil and violence done by the Gentiles, and red may also represent the violence done to Abel, causing his blood to flow; 2) the birth of various kinds of animals, which represents all the nations to cause the serious ongoing violence against Israel.⁶² The reversal of the first one by all the animals' being white cattle indicates that "evil and violence are not to be expected from this

⁵⁵ According to P. Tiller, all of the people do not necessary indicate permanent inhabitants but may include pilgrims (idem, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*, 382).

⁵⁶ Ibid., 313; M. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 261.

⁵⁷ According to P. Tiller, the eschaton takes place in two stages. In other words, "as history was divided into two ages, the primordial age of the cattle and the present age of the sheep (Adam to Noah and Noah to the end), so the restoration takes place in two stages": 1) the geographic restoration to Jerusalem, the national restoration of Israel, and 2) a moral restoration of all peoples, which goes substantially beyond the initial state so that Jerusalem is now home to all nations (idem, *Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*, 374). The first one takes place within history; the second one is characteristic of the beginning of the ideal future. 90:29-36 are about the first eschaton; 90:37-38 are about the second eschaton (ibid.). But this division between 29-36 and 37-38 looks artificial, because the text does not give any hints at the division but suggests both as belonging to the same category. Therefore, there is unclear distinction between 'within history' and 'ideal future age', because the New Jerusalem are definitely belonging to the future age beyond history in that the ingathering of Israel into the New Jerusalem is made partly by the resurrection of the dead as shown in the above, and absolute newness of all the material (all columns and all ornaments) of the New Jerusalem is emphasized. Therefore, both parts describe the same period as one unit, which belongs to the age to come.

⁵⁸ M. A. Knibb argues that "possibly we have in these verses a belief in two Messiahs--a priestly leader (the white [*sic*] bull of v. 37) and a military leader (the wild-ox of vs. 38)" (idem, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978], 2:216.)

⁵⁹ Tiller suggests two reasons why this is not a Messianic figure: 1) he is a human individual, contrary to Daniel's figure; 2) he has no function in judgment and salvation, as might be expected of a Messiah (ibid., 384; cf. J. T. Milik ed., *The Books of Enoch*, 45.)

⁶⁰ J. T. Milik ed., *The Books of Enoch*, 45.

⁶¹ P. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*, 385.

⁶² Ibid.

restored race of humanity.”⁶³ The reversal of the second one indicates that “in the restored race of humanity there will be neither Jew nor Gentile, but one Adamic race.”⁶⁴ This universal transformation of all animals to white bulls symbolizes the restoration of all humanity to the conditions of Eden, with the exception that there are no animals that correspond to the non-Sethite lines.⁶⁵ How is this transformation of humanity related to the New Jerusalem? It is not difficult to find the relationship between them. Eventually, the transformation of all humanity, including Jews and Gentiles, is required as qualification to be residents of the New Jerusalem.

In sum, the New Temple/Jerusalem in the midst of the New Creation is characterized by new structures such as new columns and new ornaments. It means that the materialistic New Temple/Jerusalem is expected to be built as the eschatological appearance of the Heavenly Temple. Moreover, the New Temple/Jerusalem is full of God’s presence and God’s people, including Gentiles. Finally all humanity will be transformed under one New Adamic race, and restored to the conditions of Eden in order to be fit for the life in the New Jerusalem. Both the transformation and the restoration are effective enough to reverse negative developments to influence human history.

2.2.2 Conclusion

The above arguments reveal what Enoch observes through his heavenly journey as follows.

2.2.2.1 *The Book of the Watchers (chs. 1-36)*

First, the New Creation is needed in order to remove the origin of the evil caused by the teaching of Asael; the New Creation is the eschatological fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant; the New Creation provides surroundings for God’s glorification by a thorough purging of defilement; the New Creation is associated with the Temple motif by God’s glorification: the New Creation is necessarily accompanied by the eschatological Temple (10:16b-22).

Second, the Heavenly Temple in heaven is characterized by descriptions of some materialistic structures such as ‘a wall which was built of white marble’ (E. Isaac’s translation), ‘house which was built of white marble’, ‘ceiling’, ‘gates’ and ‘floor’ (14:8-12), as well as ‘gloriousness and brightness’ by flaming fire and numerous angels with priestly role (14:15-23).

Third, God’s mountain throne in the Garden of Eden which consists of precious stones (18:6-10) is not only God’s earthly throne as parallel to the heavenly throne in the Heavenly Temple but also the source of the eschatological New Temple (24:3-5; 25:5-6).

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 383.

Fourth, chs. 24-26 propose two aspects of Jerusalem: primordial Jerusalem and eschatological Jerusalem. The primordial Jerusalem (26:1-3; 27:1) is associated with the Garden of Eden (25:5-6), both of which will be merged in the eschatological New Temple /Jerusalem.

2.2.2.2 *The Book of the Parables (chs. 37-71)*

Fifth, the Heavenly/New Temple/Jerusalem is given to the elect and the righteous as the eschatological blessings or reward, while sinners will be banished from the face of the earth (chs. 38-41; 45-57). In particular, in 38:1-2 and 39:4-5, the Heavenly Jerusalem as the present dwelling place of the righteous is transferred to the New Jerusalem as the eschatological dwelling place of the righteous at the end of times. Moreover, a Messianic figure functions to execute both the eschatological judgment toward the sinners, and the eschatological blessings toward the elect and the righteous (chs. 45-57). This means that the Messianic figure importantly functions to endorse the Heavenly/New Temple/Jerusalem to the elect and the righteous (71:10).

Sixth, the Heavenly Temple is surrounded by several classes of angelic groups: Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophanim who do not sleep but guard the throne of his glory; uncountable angels who are encircling the house; Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel (71:7-9).

Seventh, the heavenly/eschatological blessings are corporately shared with the rest of God's people by Enoch as a representative (71:11-16).

2.2.2.3 *The Book of Dreams (chs. 83-90)*

Eighth, the New Temple/Jerusalem is full of God's presence and God's people who are transformed into the proper status in the New Temple/Jerusalem (90:36). In other words, in the eternal state, all the humanity will be transformed and restored to the state of Eden before the fall, under one Adamic race.

The previous lists properly demonstrate the several Enochic authors' response to the current situation, in which "restoration is no longer possible" and "only an entirely new beginning under God's supervision can succeed" (cf. 89:72-73).⁶⁶ The origin of the current situation may be traced to the period just before the First Temple destruction, when the corruption and idolatry in the Temple were intensively prophetically condemned by Ezekiel.⁶⁷ This situation reached its climax through the experience of the Temple destruction. Moreover,

⁶⁶ M. Himmelfarb, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The *Book of the Watchers* and Tours of Heaven," in Arthur Green ed., *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible through the Middle Ages*, WS 13 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 151.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Therefore, Ezekiel proclaims the departure of the glory of God away from the Jerusalem Temple before it is yielded to the Babylonians for destruction (chs. 8-11) and "returns it to the eschatological temple in the elaborate vision of the restored Jerusalem at the end of the book" (chs. 40-48; return of the glory, 43:1-4) (ibid.).

the rebuilt Second Temple soon disappointed people by its human imperfections. “Thus, the First Temple in its last days and the Second Temple almost from the start come to be seen as mere copies of the Heavenly Temple, the true Temple.”⁶⁸

Therefore, the ascent to heaven in 1 Enoch indicates an attempt to propose the entirely New Temple in heaven and to reach God in the Heavenly Temple, who withdraws his presence from the Jerusalem temple.⁶⁹ The presentation of the Heavenly Temple is not simply imaginative but the practical expectation of the eschatological Temple on earth with the New Creation and Paradise at the end of times. This process should have been effective enough to cope with the current crisis of the Temple as the centre of the religious life.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 161.

2.3 2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch

In dealing with 2 Enoch, it is important to remember what F. I. Andersen points out in the introduction of his translation:

In every respect 2 Enoch remains an enigma. So long as the date and location remain unknown, no use can be made of it for historical purpose.¹

Particularly, the existence of two recensions of the Slavonic version--shorter one (A) and longer one (J)--verifies this statement² in that this issue as to which one is more reliable can not be conclusive. In this matter, therefore, openness is necessary for solving this matter. In other words, neither recension can be in every case superior. The longer one may extend some parts to the original; the shorter one may abbreviate some parts from the original one.³ Consequently, it is required that one be aware of this uncertainty in dealing with texts of 2 Enoch. Being aware of this uncertainty, the longer recension will be normally used in this text with comparison to the shorter one, if necessary.

Moreover, the uncertainty is no exception to the question of what kind of original language was used for the composition of 2 Enoch because an attempt to discover its original language is regarded as problematic. 2 Enoch exists only in Slavonic version. Three possible languages have been suggested as the original language: Greek,⁴ Hebrew or Aramaic.⁵ F. I. Andersen is reluctant to give total credit to any of them. However, it is claimed as highly possible that the Slavonic version was translated from Greek, just as "most of the early religious literature in Slavonic was translated from Greek."⁶ Nevertheless, it can not be denied that many expressions still maintain traces of Hebrew forms.⁷

Finally, the author, the date and the recipient are also disputable. Concerning this issue, F. I. Andersen suggests as follows: "The present writer is inclined to place the book--or at least its original nucleus--early rather than late; and in a Jewish rather than a Christian community ..."⁸

¹ F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP* 1:97.

² Concerning the history of research of this matter, refer to P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History*, trans. W. J. Short, JSPSS 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 235-238.

³ *Ibid.*, 94. Along the same line, C. Böttrich states this issue as follows: "...it has been possible to show that the shorter recension of the text is the result of reworking and cutting in the Slavonic sphere...with its incorporation into a chronographical context it became shortened and censored. When it was imbedded into the moral-judicial codex 'Merilo Pravednoe' the text was rearranged and fragmented. In this form the text was spread widely. The longer manuscripts contain several interpolations which provide information about the transmission of the book" (idem, "Recent Studies in the *Slavonic Book of Enoch*" *JSP* 9 [1991], 35-42).

⁴ According to P. Sacchi, "When the A text was considered the older, the language proposed for the original was Greek" (idem, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, 241).

⁵ F. I. Andersen, *OTP* 1:94. Andersen introduces two representative proponents of both views: R. H. Charles proposes the longer texts as nearest to the original (idem, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* [Oxford, 1896]); N. Schmidt, the shorter one as the original (idem, "The Two Recensions of Slavonic Enoch," *JAOS* 41 [1921] 307-312).

⁶ F. I. Andersen, *OTP* 1:93-94.

⁷ P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, 241.

⁸ I. F. Andersen, *OTP* 1:97.

More specifically, P. Sacci proposes the date of composition of 2 Enoch as the first century AD⁹ by an educated first-century Jew in conflict with the Jerusalem Temple,¹⁰ which indicates the Jewish recipients. In addition to this, F. I. Andersen very cautiously does not exclude possibility that “its users could have been gentile converts to moral monotheism based on belief in the antediluvian God of the Bible as Creator, but not as the God of Abraham or Moses”.¹¹

2.3.1 Textual Considerations¹²

2.3.1.1 Enoch's Heavenly Journey

Heaven in 2 Enoch consists of 10 heavens. In the following observation, the third, seventh and tenth heavens which abundantly describe the Heavenly Temple will be examined in detail.

2.3.1.1.1 Third Heaven: Heavenly Paradise (chs. 8-9)

The third heaven focuses on description about Paradise. The first feature of the Paradise in the third Heaven is that it is the ‘inconceivably pleasant place’ (8:1). Second, in the midst of the Paradise, the tree of life exists, at the place where the Lord takes a rest when he goes into the Paradise (8:3).¹³ This hints at the closeness of ‘the tree of life’ (broadly speaking, Paradise) with God’s throne. In 8:3-4, the tree of life dominates the environment of the Paradise by the phrases such as ‘it covers the whole of Paradise’ and ‘... its root is in Paradise at the exit that leads to the earth,’ etc. Third, the Paradise, which is placed between the corruptible and the incorruptible,¹⁴ is abundantly fertile (8:5, 6). The recensions J and A are different from each

⁹ P. Sacci, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, 241. Sacci suggests the year 30 BC as a *terminus post quem* “because the author knows books such as Sirach, Wisdom, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Ethiopic Enoch*”; he also suggests the year 70 as the *terminus ante quem*, “because the author writes when the temple is still standing.”

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 242. Though Himmelfarb agrees with the Jewish authorship (*idem*, *Ascent to Heaven*, 38), she proposes the provenance of 2 Enoch differently from P. Sacci not as Jerusalem but Alexandria by 1) the account of creation from the influence of popular Platonism, which fits well in Alexandria, and 2) the absence of criticism of earthly priests because of the remote distance from the temple (*ibid.*, 42-43).

¹¹ I. F. Andersen, *OTP* 1:97.

¹² In this section, I. F. Anderson’s translation (*OTP* 1:102-213) will be normally used.

¹³ The descending and the ascending motif between the Paradise and God’s throne is parallel to that in 1 Enoch 24-25, because the mountain throne in 25:3 which is characteristic of the Paradise is the place where God sits “when He descends to visit the earth in blessing” (25:3). In addition to this, the commonness between them can be found in the existence of the tree of life and productivity, which will be discussed below. However, the Paradise in 1 Enoch is earthly and that in 2 Enoch is heavenly.

¹⁴ This description also does not exist in the shorter (A) recension. Moreover, as for the interpretation of the position of the Paradise, there are two possibilities. First, it can be understood that the Paradise is in a zone between heaven (incorruptible) and earth (corruptible). Second, it may be conceived on the basis of “the ancient astronomy which distinguished between *kosmos* where order prevailed, and *ouranos*, where things were more irregular, or, at least, where change was possible.” Among them, the latter one is more convincing, because in the cosmology of 2 Enoch, heavens 1 and 2 are the region of change, and heavens 4-7 are changeless. Therefore, it is possible to say that the Paradise in the third heaven is placed between the changeable region and the changeless. In this case, it is necessary to remember that the division of the changeable region and the changeless is not a moral

other in expressing the richness of the Paradise. In other words, J describes the fertility of the Heavenly Paradise by means of two streams; A, an olive tree.¹⁵ Nevertheless, they share in emphasizing the fertility of the Heavenly Paradise. Moreover, both recensions add further description of the productivity of the Heavenly Paradise.¹⁶ They emphasize how fruitful the Heavenly Paradise is.

Fourth, in the Paradise, there are 300 very bright angels, who look after Paradise (8:8). It can be assumed that the phrase ‘looking after’ in 8a is better explained by the following phrase “with never ceasing voice and pleasant singing they worship the Lord every day and hour” (8:8b), which includes liturgical language. In this case, the angels in the Paradise are considered to have a priestly function. If this is so, it may be possible to say that the Heavenly Paradise is part of God’s throne or Temple.¹⁷ Fifth, the Paradise is prepared for God’s people as an eternal inheritance, who are the righteous (9:1). This fact is emphasized by *inclusio* which is the repetition of the statement at the beginning (“this place, Enoch, has been prepared for the righteous”) and the end (“even for them this place has been prepared as an eternal inheritance”) with some variances. What then does ‘the preparation of the Paradise for the righteous as an eternal inheritance’ mean? It means that the Paradise will be given as a dwelling place for the righteous.

In sum, in 2 Enoch, there is no reference to the earthly Paradise unlike 1 Enoch but only to the Heavenly Paradise; the Heavenly Paradise is ‘the inconceivably pleasant place’; the Heavenly Paradise is dominated by the tree of life beside the Lord’s resting place; the Heavenly Paradise is the most productive place; the Heavenly Paradise is God’s throne or Temple in which cultic practices are being performed by angels; the Heavenly Paradise is given to the righteous as an eternal inheritance and thus the dwelling place.

2.3.1.1.2 The Seventh/the Tenth Heaven: God’s throne in Heavenly Temple (chs. 20-22)

Enoch saw in the seventh heaven as follows: an exceptionally great light, all the fiery armies of the great archangels, the incorporeal forces, the dominions, the origins, the

issue as to whether good or bad, because there are references to fallen angels in both the second and the fifth heaven, and both good and bad human beings in the third heaven (I. F. Andersen, *OTP* 1:116, n. i).

¹⁵ Concerning the argument of the identity of this tree, refer to B. Otzen, “The Paradise Trees in Jewish Apocalyptic,” in A. Severini ed., *Apocrypha* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993), 148. He follows F. I. Andersen’s view of this verse: “It seems to be debris from J’s fuller account of the four rivers” (idem, *OTP* 1: 116, n. 8k). Nevertheless, the commonness to describe the fertility of the Heavenly Paradise is worth noting.

¹⁶ The shorter recension (A) is similar to the longer one (J) as follows:

(J) And there is no unfruitful tree there, and every tree is well fruited, and every place is blessed (8:7).

(A) And every tree is well fruited. There is not tree without fruit, and every place is blessed (8:7).

¹⁷ M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 38. According to her, “The influence of the idea of heaven as temple is felt first in the prominence of the angelic liturgy in the heavens” (ibid.).

authorities, the cherubim, the seraphim and the many-eyed thrones, regiments and the shining *otanim* stations (20:1). The existence of these kinds of heavenly beings is certainly magnificent enough to terrify Enoch. Thus Enoch was terrified and trembled with a great fear.

When Enoch was shocked by the scene displayed in front of him, he was encouraged by the Lord, from a distance, sitting on his exceedingly high throne, which is on the 10th heaven (20:2-3).¹⁸ In addition to this, Enoch also saw the heavenly armies who came and stood on the ten steps, corresponding to their ranks, and were obedient to God. These heavenly armies have the priestly function to present the liturgy to God gloriously (20:4).

At the edge of the seventh heaven, Enoch glanced at the glorious scene of the tenth heaven in 21:1.¹⁹ After brief journeys to the eighth heaven and the ninth, Enoch arrived at the tenth heaven, which he surveyed from the seventh heaven. First of all, Enoch sees the face of the Lord on the tenth heaven, which is like “iron made burning hot in a fire and brought out,” and “...emits sparks and is incandescent” and “is so marvelous and supremely awesome and supremely frightening” (22:1; in A recension, “His face was strong and very glorious and terrible.”). Next, Enoch hears God’s voice, which issues forth His commands (22:2a). Finally, Enoch sees *God’s supremely great throne not made by hands*, surrounded by the choir stalls, and the cherubim and the seraphim armies without their ever-silent singing (22:2b).²⁰

Moreover, Enoch experiences glorification to become like an angel by the process of unclothing → anointing with oil → reclothing (22:8).²¹ As a result of the process, “the appearance of that oil is greater than the greatest light, and its ointment is like sweet dew, and its fragrance myrrh; and it is like the rays of the glittering sun” (22:9).²² It is noteworthy that the above process can be regarded as ‘a heavenly version of priestly investiture,’²³ by the combination of the clothing motif with the anointing, which means that Enoch is equivalent to priestly angels in the third heaven.

In sum, the seventh heaven and the tenth heaven²⁴ (only the seventh heaven in the short recension A) represent the following features: an exceptionally great light, all the fiery armies

¹⁸ The shorter recension (A) also reports that Enoch was shown the Lord who was sitting on His throne. However, there is no indication to refer to the 10th heaven which exists in the longer recension (J).

¹⁹ Recension A does not have the last part of J recension.

²⁰ A also includes the same three elements in the 10th heaven as J in 21:1-2: God’s face; His voice; His throne not made by hands, though the word, ‘10th heaven’ is not found in A.

²¹ M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 38. According to her, “The idea that there are special garments for the righteous after death is widespread in this period ... donning such a garment can imply equality with angels (or better)” (ibid.). N. Forbes, also provides some references to this idea in “2 Enoch,” in *APOT* 2:443.

²² This incident reminds us of the heavenly scene in Zec. 3:3-9 in which angels change Joshua’s filthy clothes with ‘festal apparel’ and ‘a clean turban on his head’.

²³ M. Himmelfarb, “Ascent to Heaven,” 40.

²⁴ As shown in the above argument, the short recension (A) includes most of the contents of the long recension (J) about the tenth heaven, even though the short recension does not refer to the 10th heaven. In A, the contents of the 10th heaven in J is affiliated to the seventh heaven. Therefore, it is uncertain which one is original. A might reduce the 8th, 9th and 10th heavens to the seventh heaven in order to avoid unnecessary repetition between 7th and 10th heaven; J might add the three heavens (8th, 9th and 10th) to the original 7 heavens.

of the great archangels, the incorporeal forces, the dominions, the origins, the authorities, the cherubim, the seraphim and the many-eyed thrones, regiments and the shining *otanim* stations, etc.; in addition to these heavenly beings, Enoch can see the face of God, and he can hear His voice, and he can see God's supremely great throne not made by hands. Furthermore, Enoch experiences the glorification to become like an angel by the process of unclothing→re-clothing; this process is combined with anointing as the procedure to be assigned as a priest. Therefore, Enoch participates in the heavenly worship in the Heavenly Temple with the angelic group.

2.3.1.2 Enoch's Own Instructions to His Sons and Elders during His Journey on Earth (chs. 42, 55 and 65)

This part contains Enoch's admonitions to his sons on the basis of his marvelous travels. In this sense, this part introduces some of the previous experiences. Among them, the most spectacular one is the reference to Paradise in ch. 42, which is parallel to that in the third heaven (chs. 8-9). The most important common feature is that in both parts Paradise is prepared for the righteous and occupied by the righteous. The latter (ch. 42) part is more clearly emphasized by happiness, gladness and joyfulness in the blessed place. The descriptions about the righteous have been changed from the phrase, 'the righteous who ...' into 'happy is the person who ...'.²⁵ This means that the happiness in Paradise is intensively explained in the latter part.

Moreover, Enoch's admonition is also concentrated on the basis of his heavenly experience which was extraordinarily provoked. In particular, his message before his departure to heaven concludes his teaching on the basis of his heavenly journeys (55:1-3). In this message, Enoch declares that he shall go up to the highest heaven. Significantly, Enoch explains the highest heaven as his eternal inheritance (vs. 2).²⁶ For this reason, Enoch appeals to his children that they do "all that is well-pleasing before the face of the Lord" (vs. 3). In other words, the highest heaven as the eternal inheritance should be their motive for godly life.

Furthermore, in ch. 65, Enoch teaches 'Old Creation' and 'New Creation' to his sons. In the first part of ch. 65, Enoch explains about the first creation. In his explanation, he emphasizes that the first creation embraces things, visible and invisible, and the creation of human-being. In addition to these, in 65:4, the first creation itself contains an eschatological feature in that the dividing of the time in the first creation always reminds a person of the beginnings and the endings of any periods, and of his/her death. The first creation with this eschatological trait finally confront its ends as shown in 65:6-7. The preceding verses describe

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that both recensions share the similar contents. In this study, the long recension is normally used with the comparison of the short recension, being aware of this uncertainty.

²⁵ Five of these happiness series in ch. 42 are the same categories as those of the righteous in 9:1.

²⁶ In the longer recension (J), the highest heaven is described as the highest Jerusalem, which indicates the Heavenly Jerusalem.

the feature of the eternal state. There will be no more time division but only a single age. It means that there will be neither beginnings nor endings in that period. Therefore, there will be neither changes nor deaths. By the nullification of time division, the eternal state looks like the reversion to the condition before the first creation in which God established the age of creation (65:1).

Enoch continues to characterize the eternal state as follows. First, the righteous will be collected into the great age (65:8). Second, “there will be among them neither weariness nor suffering nor affliction nor expectation of violence nor the pain of the night nor darkness.” (65: 2). These features are reminiscent of those of the New Creation. Third, there will be the New Temple/Jerusalem and Paradise as the shelter of an eternal residence (65:10). Here, two recensions contain the same elements of the eternal state such as ‘a great light’, ‘great and incorruptible (only in J) paradise’ and ‘the shelter of an (the in J) eternal residences’. However, there is one clear difference between the two recensions: ‘a great indestructible light’ in J and ‘an indestructible wall’ in A. In order to clarify the discrepancy between the two recensions, it is helpful to investigate the recension A, first.

The shorter one (A) is shown as framed by the sophisticated parallelism as follows:

- A. But they will have α) a great light for eternity,
 α') <and> an indestructible wall,
- B. and they will have β) a great paradise,
 β') the shelter of an eternal residence²⁷.

If this structure is correct, then ‘a great light for eternity’ and ‘an indestructible wall’ indicate the same item by the parallel or the relation in apposition between α and α' . In this case, the phrase, ‘an indestructible wall’ may be seen as indicating the main structure of the eschatological New Temple/Jerusalem. If this is so, the phrase, ‘a great light’ may be reasonably considered as the rhetorical technique in order to express the indestructible wall with a shining light as the main architectural element of the New Temple/ Jerusalem, which consists of precious stones.

The phrase, ‘a great indestructible light’ in the longer recension (J) should be understood in terms of the above argument. In other words, ‘a great indestructible light’ is not different from ‘an indestructible wall’. Here the question as to why J adopts the phrase, ‘a great indestructible light’, other than the phrase ‘an indestructible wall’ in A, is raised. Concerning this question, it is necessary to note that the words, corruptible or incorruptible are used three times in J. It means that J in this context is dominated by the idea of purity. If this is true, the word, ‘light’ is more attractive for this purpose than the word, ‘wall’, which gives an

²⁷ In the longer recension, this phrase is used as ‘the eternal residences’.

impression of corruptibility.²⁸ Finally, the faces of the righteous in the great age will shine forth like the sun (65:11).²⁹ From this, it can be said that God's people will be transfigured at the end of days. This incident is reminiscent of Enoch's glorification in 22:8-9.

In sum, the most important thing in this section is the presentation of the eternal state: 1) nullification of time division; 2) gathering of the righteous; 3) coming of the New Creation without weariness or suffering or affliction or expectation of violence or the pain of the night or darkness; 4) rebuilding of the eschatological New Temple/Jerusalem and Paradise as the shelter of the eternal residence; 5) transfiguration of the righteous like angels.

2.3.2 Conclusion

In this conclusion, it would be significant to compare the heavenly dimension in the third and seventh (or tenth) heavens (the first section) with the eschatological dimension in the eternal state (the second section). The heavenly dimension includes 1) Heavenly Temple with God's throne, 2) Heavenly Paradise as the inheritance and the dwelling places for the righteous with the liturgical practices by angels and tree of life and 3) glorification and priestly appointment of Enoch himself like angels. The eschatological dimension includes 1) gathering of the righteous, 2) New Creation and New Temple/ Jerusalem, 3) Paradise as the shelter of the eternal residence, and 4) transfiguration of the righteous.

The above comparison shows the heavenly dimension is parallel to the eschatological dimension with some shift from the glorification of Enoch to the transfiguration of the righteous. It means that the heavenly dimension will be transferred to the eschatological dimension. The gathering of the righteous is added to the eschatological dimension. This element is broadly referred to as one of the eschatological blessings not only in Bible but also in Jewish literature during the Second Temple period.

How could these ideas help Jewish people to overcome the crisis of Temple in late 1st century AD? They might be encouraged by the hope of the eschatological appearance of the Heavenly Paradise and the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem in the highest heaven, with the New Creation and the collecting of the righteous into the great age.

²⁸ The result of this argument hints that the shorter recension (J) is nearer to the original.

²⁹ This is found only in the shorter recension (A).

2.4 Tobit

There has been a dispute as to whether the original language of Tobit is Greek or a Semitic language. However, the discovery at Qumran of a Hebrew Text of Tobit (4QTob^e) and four Aramaic ones (4QTob^{a-d}) ends the century-long debate in favor of the latter.¹ Here, it is still controversial whether the earliest form of the story was in Hebrew or Aramaic, although the latter becomes more acceptable.² Moreover, there are two Greek versions of Tobit in manuscripts of the Septuagint, one longer and one shorter.³ Of these two versions, the longer one is regarded as being preferable because the fragments found at Qumran correspond more closely to the longer one.⁴ Rabenau proposes the longer text as the best proof when he argues that the original language, Hebrew or Aramaic was translated into Greek for the first time.⁵ As for the date, it is considered that Tobit was written between 250 and 200 BC.⁶ The views of the provenance are divided as to Egypt, Persia, Media, Syria, Assyria/Babylonia and Palestine, each of which has its strong proponents as well as its equally strong opponents.⁷ While an Egyptian theory was preferable for the first half of the twentieth century, recently, an Eastern Diaspora theory is getting scholars' favor.⁸ Nevertheless, it is still doubtful whether the dispute has been settled.⁹

This story is about how two godly Jewish families overcome the crisis of the exile of the northern tribes and recover from it. There are only two parts which refer to the Jerusalem/Temple: at the beginning (ch. 1) and at the end (chs. 13-14). On the one hand, the first part describes the unfaithful attitude of Tobit's forefathers toward Jerusalem/Temple. 1:4-

¹ C. A. Moore, *Tobit*, AB 40A (New York, London: Doubleday, 1996), 34. According to M. Rabenau, the text of this work was handed over through "die Septuaginta, die Vetus Latina, die Vulgata, die syrische Peschitta and eine äthiopische Übersetzung, eine mittelalterliche aramäische sowie vier mittelalterliche hebräische Handschriften" (M. Rabenau, *Studien zum Buch Tobit*, BZAW 220 [Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994], 5).

² C. A. Moore, *Tobit*, 34. See also Moore's lists of proponents for each position in note 78, 79 and 80.

³ The longer text is preserved in a family of manuscripts of which the most important are the Greek Codex Sinaiticus; of manuscripts which preserve the short one, the most important one is Vaticanus, which has its own family (J. C. Dancy, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972], 11).

⁴ Ibid. Therefore, in this study, the longer one will be used, unless specifically stated otherwise.

⁵ M. Rabenau, *Studien zum Buch Tobit*, 7.

⁶ J. C. Dancy, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 10; W. O. E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (London: SPCK, 1953), 169. C. A. Moore also argues that "most scholars of the past two centuries have dated it to somewhere between 250 and 175 BCE ..." (idem, *Tobit*, 40). Moreover, J. Fitzmyer dates Tobit somewhere between the Book of Daniel and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (first century BC-first century AD) (idem, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Cave 4," *CBQ* 57 [1995], 657-665).

⁷ C. A. Moore, *Tobit*, 42.

⁸ Ibid., 43.

⁹ More recently, B. Bow and G. W. E. Nickelsburg state that "We cannot easily extract which elements belong to the author's world, and which ones the author contrived to reflect his (or her) conception of the time period in which the text is set" (idem, "Patriarchy with a Twist: Men and Women in Tobit," in Amy-Jill Levine ed., *Women Like This: New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World*, Early Judaism and Its Literature [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991], 1:143).

5 shows that the general environment of the Israelite society, at least the whole tribe of Naphtali was dominated by religious apostasy with regard to the Temple service. By contrast, only Tobit “went often to Jerusalem for the feasts, as it is ordained for all Israel by an everlasting decree” (1:6a). Interestingly, the above reference to the religious degradation followed the reference to the place where Tobit was living: the land of the Assyrians, Nineveh, which implies that Tobit and his brethren were exiled as captives. This framework suggests that the exile into Nineveh occurred on account of his forefathers’ idolatry. This also means that Tobit read Israel’s history according to Deuteronomy’s theology of Jerusalem and exile.

On the other hand, the description of the New Jerusalem/Temple in the other part (chs. 13-14) is given as the anticipation of the ultimate restoration from the destruction. The two parts (ch. 1 and chs. 12-13) function as an introduction and a conclusion respectively. In this case, the main part which includes the godly life of Tobit is supposed to provide a clue for the expectation of restoration in the conclusion. In other words, Tobit’s and others’ piety shown in the main parts (chs. 2-12) may be meant to be the foundation for the restoration from the disastrous situation.¹⁰

This work will focus on ch. 13:9-18 and 14:5-7, which are relevant to the present subject. First, the context of the first passage, 13:9-18 is Tobit’s exhortation to acknowledge (13:3, 6, 7, 8) and exalt (13:4, 6, 7) God who once afflicted the Israelites by scattering them among nations, but who will gather them from the places where they were scattered. In particular, 13:9-10 is addressed to ‘the holy city’ as shown in the phrase, ‘O Jerusalem, the holy city, he afflicted you.’ Jerusalem is called by the second person singular. Here the rebuilding of God’s tent (σκηνή), which is reminiscent of the Mosaic Tabernacle,¹¹ in Jerusalem appears to be closely related to the acknowledgment and blessing of the Lord by the ἵνα final-clause.¹² In this context, the rebuilding of the Temple is literally designed to indicate the Second Temple. But the real meaning of the rebuilding of the Temple is that the New Temple will be eschatologically rebuilt.

Moreover, 13:11 can be divided into two parts: 1) ingathering of many nations from far away to the New Jerusalem and 2) eternity of the chosen city, the New Jerusalem. These are the most essential elements of the eschatological promises in the OT, particularly, Isa. 40-66, and maximized by the promise of the coming of a redeemer as follows: “A bright light will shine to

¹⁰ Along the same line, it is possible to say that “Tobit’s certainty in chapter 13 that Jerusalem would have a glorious recovery was dependent upon the restoration of his sight and Tobias’ newly acquired wealth.” In other words, “If God had done *all that* for Tobit and his family, how much more, concludes Tobit, will God do for his people and his Holy City?” (C. A. Moore, *Tobit*, 284).

¹¹ According to C. A. Moore, “Following the Old Latin and Vulgate (*tabernaculum*), some modern translations use here ‘Tabernacle’ (so Zimmermann) or ‘tent’ (*NRSV*, *NAB*); others have ‘Temple’ (*NJB*) or ‘sanctuary’ (*NREB*). Although ‘Tabernacle’ and ‘Temple’ are often used as synonyms, the former is older than the latter and, more importantly, was located *within* the Temple” (his italics) (*idem*, *Tobit*, 280).

¹² This clause is given in the shorter version.

all the ends of the earth.”¹³ The ingathering of the nations is intended to exalt the holy name of God in that when they come, they will bring gifts in their hands for the King of heaven who possesses heaven and earth. Moreover, by the ingathering of nations, the New Jerusalem is much more signified as the worshipping center not just for the Israelite people but for all nations. 13:5 and 13:13 describe the gathering of the Israelite people from all the nations other than the gathering of nations in the preceding verse. The first one (vs. 5) expresses the Deuteronomical viewpoint concerning the gathering of the Israelites (covenantal restoration), in that it echoes Deut. 30:3.¹⁴

In the following passage, the New Jerusalem is described in detail. The description of the New Jerusalem starts with Tobit’s blessing the Lord for the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem as His house for all ages (13:15-16). Here, it is noteworthy that the New Jerusalem is described as God’s eternal house, and the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem is the reason for Tobit’s blessing the Lord. Moreover, Tobit expresses his happiness about a remnant of his descendants who will see God’s glory and acknowledge the King of heaven in the New Jerusalem as shown in 13:16a. The preceding passage describes what will happen in the New Jerusalem because this passage is located in the middle of the descriptions of the New Jerusalem in vs. 15 and vs. 16b. Tobit believes that the New Jerusalem will be filled with God’s glory and His acknowledgment and a remnant of his descendants will experience both of them. In this case, the fullness of both God’s glory and His acknowledgment can be regarded as the blessings of the New Jerusalem.

Subsequently, the description of the elements of the New Jerusalem are introduced in 13:16b. The architectural elements of the New Jerusalem consist of gates, walls, towers, battlements, streets and houses. The jewelry such as sapphire and emerald (gates), precious stones (walls), gold (towers), pure gold (battlements), ruby and stones of Ophir (streets) are used for decorating them. The precious stones of various kinds are reminiscent of those in Isa. 54:11f.¹⁵ This parallel implies that the New Jerusalem is the fulfillment of references to the eschatological Temple in Isa. 54:11f. Moreover, the singing of hymns of joy by gates and

¹³ M. Rabenau argues that this phrase indicates “eine deutlich messianischen Charakter” (idem, *Studien zum Buch Tobit*, 89). This assumption is based on the OT prophecies in Isa. 9:1, and 4:2 in ‘die LXX-Fassung’ where God will be the source of the light (Quelle des Lichts). Moreover, the ‘Auslegungstradition’ of Targum proves that the above two references (Isa. 9:1; LXX Isa. 4:2) unambiguously indicate Messianic sayings (cf. Ps. 2:8; 22:27; 72:8 in which the Messianic kingship will proclaimed to the end of the earth) (ibid.). In particular, it seems that the reference to the land of Naphtali in Isa. 9:1 may suggest why the author proposed Tobit’s tribe to be Naphtali. Surely the most obvious source of the image of light in Tobit 13:11 must be Isa. 60:1-3, though this is easily linked to 4:5 and 9:1 (ibid.).

¹⁴ According to G. Weitzman, “the contents of Tobit 12 and its relationship to 13 reflect a literary logic that can be fully decoded only when one recognizes that these chapters have been modeled upon, or are intended to evoke, Deuteronomy 31-32” (idem, “Allusion, Artifice, and Exile in the Hymn of Tobit,” *JBL* 115 [1996], 49-61; C. A. Moore, *Tobit*, 284-285).

¹⁵ R. C. Dentan, *Tobit*, 61; C. A. Moore, *Tobit*, 281.

houses of the New Jerusalem in vs. 17 emphasize the gladness in the New Jerusalem (cf. vs. 14).

On the other hand, in 14:5-7, the vision with the poetic form in 13:9-17 is recapitulated in prose.¹⁶ However, this part is slightly differently contextualized from 13:9-17 in that while 13:9-17 is connected with Tobit's thanksgiving for God's blessing to his family, 14:5-7 is placed in the middle of Tobit's testament to his son, Tobias (14:2-11),¹⁷ and it includes prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem in the southern kingdom in 14:4.

The recapitulation in 14:5-7 includes the same three elements of the eschatological promises which are referred to in 13:9-17: the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/Temple, the return of the Israelites, and ingathering of nations. Interestingly, while in 13:11, the New Temple/Jerusalem and ingathering of nations are paired, in 14:5 the New Temple/Jerusalem is paired with the return of Israel from exile. It means that the former stresses the feature of the New Temple/Jerusalem as the worshipping center for nations but the latter strengthens the feature of the New Temple/Jerusalem as the culmination of the restoration of Israel. In particular, it is noteworthy that 14:5a refers to the historical rebuilding of the Temple after the exile, while 14:5b looks to a further, future rebuilding. Significantly, it shows how the Second Temple was not seen as fulfillment of the Isaianic prophecies of glorious Jerusalem.

14:6-7 describe the third element of the eschatological promises: ingathering of nations to Jerusalem. This text makes the significance of the ingathering of nations to Jerusalem in 13:11 clearer: conversion, worshipping of God, abandoning of their idols and praising the eternal God. However, more concern is placed on the destiny of the Israelites. This is the reason why the reference to the Israelites' gathering together to Jerusalem is reiterated just after the reference to the ingathering of nations.

In conclusion, Tobit 13:9-18 and 14:5-7 are describing the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem with the ingathering of all nations on earth and the returning of the Israelites from exile as the eschatological blessing by God, while both passages are different in emphasizing the significance of the New Jerusalem: the first one focuses on the centrality of the New Jerusalem/Temple as the worshipping place of nations; the second one focuses on the centrality of the New Jerusalem/Temple as the worshipping place of the Israelites.

¹⁶ J. C. Dancy, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 65. In particular, concerning the Deuteronomic background of Tobit's Testament in 14:3-11, refer to A. A. Di Lella, "The Deuteronomic Background of the Farewell Discourse in Tob 14:3-11," *CBQ* 41 (1979), 380-89.

¹⁷ P. Deselaers, *Das Buch Tobit; Studien zu seiner Entstehung, Komposition und Theologie* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1982), 211.

2.5 Sectarian Works at Qumran

It has been agreed that the current Jerusalem Temple was regarded by the sectarian community at Qumran as corrupted. In this sense, the sectarian community would have to propose an alternative Temple, which is considered to be ideal. Here there are three kinds of Temple-ideas to be proposed by the sectarians: Community Temple, Heavenly Temple and eschatological New Temple. It is the goal of this work to observe what these ideas are like and how related they are, if any, to one another.

2.5.1 Preliminary Remarks: Methodological Consideration

Each of the preceding three ideas is not placed together in any particular text written at any particular time but is spread separately within several scrolls respectively. For example, the Community Temple idea is mostly represented by 1QS, 1QSa and 1QM, and partly by 4QFlorilgium (henceforth 4QFlor), *Sabbath Shirot* and *Hodayot*; the Heavenly Temple, mostly by *Sabbath Shirot* and *Hodayot*, and partly by 1QS and 1QSa; the New Temple, by 4QFlor Description of the New Jerusalem (henceforth *DNJ*) and 11QTemple (disputable), etc. The overlapping of the material which contains the three ideas indicates that the three ideas, which are dispersed in respectively related scrolls, can be combined. If this is the case, one question arises: Is it possible to use cross-reference between different scrolls? This question can be properly answered by showing that the above scrolls are sectarian.

Generally, it can be assumed that the above question is most critically raised by N. Golb who denies three of the fundamental assumptions of what can be called the prevailing consensus about the Dead Sea Scrolls: connection of the Dead Sea Scrolls with the reports of the Essenes given by Philo, Josephus, and Pliny; the connection between the site of Khirbet Qumran and the caves in which the scrolls were found; the scrolls as a community library, that is, an intentional collection of manuscripts belonging to a single community.¹ However, E. M. Cook evaluates Golb's view as overemphasizing the diversity of the sectarian scrolls and understating their unity.² Moreover, according to Dimant, his view that the scrolls were carried from the Jerusalem Temple archives in order to be concealed in the caves around the current Dead Sea sites is refuted by the character of the collection as well as its peculiar connection to

¹ C. A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran" in W. H. Propp, B. Halpern and D. N. Freedman eds., *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167; N. Golb, "Who Hid the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *Biblical Archaeologist* 48 (1985) 68-82. Most recently, Golb refines his view in terms of *Acts of Torah*, in other words, 4QMMT in his book, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?: The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney: Scribner, 1995), 176-216. He argues in this book that "without forced exegesis, the new manuscript fragments (*Act of Torah*) clearly illustrated the doctrinal diversity of the scrolls" (ibid., 190).

² E. M. Cook, *Solving The Mysteries of The Dead Sea Scrolls: New Light on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 118. Moreover, according to Cook, Golb's so-called 'Jerusalem hypothesis' has failed to gain supporters because it is based on weak arguments.

Qumran.³ Furthermore, in her article, disputing Golb's prepositions, Newsom proves that there were common grounds among scrolls, whether or not they are compositions of the sectarian community, such as 'a calendrical system' and 'an articulation of a light/darkness dualism with angelic and human beings'.⁴ In addition, she rightly defines 'sectarian'⁵ by the following three meanings:⁶ 1) to be written by a member of the sectarian community; 2) the way a particular text was read that made it a sectarian text, no matter who had written it;⁷ 3) the way of describing content or rhetorical stance, that is, those texts that speak specifically of the unique structures of the community and the history of its separation from a larger community, and/or that develop its distinctive tenets in a self-consciously polemical fashion.⁸ Therefore, if Newsom's definition is valid, then the range of diagnostic criteria to determine whether a scroll belongs to the sectarian is not limited simply to authorship but extends to 'readership' and 'commonness of theme or rhetoric'.

The above argument provides a positive clue to the previous questions regarding interconnection between the scrolls. Accordingly, it may be said that it is possible to cross-refer between the scrolls, if they are proved to be 'sectarian' in accord with Newsom's proposal that not only authorship, but also readership and the commonness of a 'distinctive thematic concept' or 'rhetorical technique' may be also used as the diagnostic criteria to distinguish between sectarian and non-sectarian. In other words, one may show that a scroll is sectarian by proving that its ideas were read and shared by sectarians and influenced their theological concepts--the scroll was intentionally collected, no matter where and by whom it was written.⁹

³ D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents And Significance," in D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman eds., *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995), 33, note 24. She also introduces two scholars who acutely criticize Golb's argument: F. García Martínez and A. S. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RQ* 14 [1990] 521-541.

⁴ C. Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," 169-170 and particularly, see 179 where she suggests a test case. For more criticism against Golb's Jerusalem hypothesis, refer to J. C. Vanderkam *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 95-97. According to him, "Golb does not handle the evidence from Pliny in a convincing way. Indeed, in dissociating it from Qumran, he has no way to explain it ..." (ibid., 97).

⁵ E. M. Cook prudently advises here that the 'Qumranic idea' or 'Qumranic authorship' as describing the sectarian scrolls should be used 'with reserve', until the unified theory is completely found, because any theory, whether the Jerusalem hypothesis or Essenes theory, does not look perfect as shown in Cook's survey in his book, *Solving The Mysteries*, 82-124.

⁶ Cf. D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts," 27-28.

⁷ Newsom states that "a text written by some one not a member of the sectarian community may nevertheless become a sectarian text through the type of reading it is given in a sectarian setting" (C. Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," 174).

⁸ Ibid., 173.

⁹ É. Puech, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology," in Eugene Ulich and James VanderKam eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 236. In particular, concerning the intentional collection, refer to C. Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," 167-187. Moreover, D. Dimant emphasizes 'the interrelationship' among the caves in order to prove that all Qumran scrolls were intentionally collected in a general respect (idem, "The Qumran Manuscripts," 32-33).

Among our relevant scrolls, 1QS, 1QSa, and 1QM are regarded as sectarian works because they clearly show a sectarian authorship in view of their terminology or the theological idea. 4QFlor and 4QIsaiah Peshar^d (4Q164) are also sectarian because they are pesharim, which is inherently characteristic of the Qumranic hermeneutical method.¹⁰ Although their Qumranic authorship is still disputable, it may be possible that *Sabbath Shirot*,¹¹ *Hodayot*,¹² and *DNJ*¹³ can be regarded as sectarian.¹⁴

What is most disputable is 11QTemple. Discussion about the sectarianism of 11QTemple is so complex that one should be cautious in determining whether it is sectarian or not. Since Yadin published the scroll, Yadin's view¹⁵ that the scroll was written by the sectarians has been seriously challenged by several Qumranologists such as Schiffman and Stegemann, etc. According to Stegemann,

whatever the status of the Temple Scroll at Qumran was, it was never something like 'the specific law of the sectarian community', nor is it possible any longer to place the composition of the Temple Scroll within that specific group.¹⁶

More recently, L. H. Schiffman insists that the 11QTemple does not represent "a Messianic structure" but "an ideal plan for a redesigned Temple to replace that which was in

¹⁰ Cf. C. Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," 175.

¹¹ C. Newsom suggests the Qumran origin of the *Sabbath Shirot* (idem, *Songs of The Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* [Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1985], 1-4). Recently, however, she updates her arguments in the above by showing that while *Sabbath Shirot* was not written by the sectarian at Qumran, it influenced some of sectarian works such as 4QBerakot which is evident in its sectarian authorship (idem, "Sectually Explicit," 170-185). On the other hand, N. Golb rejects *Sabbath Shirot*'s 'sectarian affinities' in spite of its multiple copies without any evidences (See his book, *Who Wrote The Dead Sea Scrolls?*, 209).

¹² According to B. Kittel, "the theology of the Hodayot appears to be generally the same as that of the other Qumran sectarian documents" (idem, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* [Chico: Scholars Press, 1981], 8-9). C. Newsom also identifies Hodayot as a sectarian product (idem, "Sectually Explicit," 169).

¹³ C. Newsom hesitates to venture a judgment on their authorship or relationship to the theology of the sectarian community (idem, "Sectually Explicit," 171). However, L. H. Schiffman accepts *DNJ*'s sectarianism by saying that "this text most probably belongs to the literary heritage known to the sect in its early years" (idem, *Reclaiming The Dead Sea Scrolls* [Philadelphia & Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994], 393). Moreover, F. García Martínez emphasizes that the *DNJ* belongs to the sectarian at Qumran (idem, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts From Qumran* [Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1992], 213). M. Broshi proposes "a pre-Qumranic composition" (idem, "Visionary Architecture and Town Planning in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman eds., *Time to Prepare The Way in the Wilderness*, 22; cf. M. J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*, JSPSS 11 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992], 275-276).

¹⁴ The number of their copies in the below diagram may corroborate their sectarianism.

Text	Cave 1	Cave 2	Cave 4	Cave 5	Cave 11	Total
Sabbath Shirot			8		1	9
Hodayot	1		6 (?)			7
New Jerusalem	1	1	1	1	1	5

¹⁵ Ben Zion Wacholder follows his basic ideas from Yadin (idem, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* [Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983], 33 ff.).

¹⁶ H. Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Scroll and Its Status at Qumran," in G. J. Brooke ed., *Temple Scroll Studies* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 128.

existence in Hasmonean times in Jerusalem.”¹⁷ Moreover, the references to the Temple (30-45:6) were placed between descriptions about several kinds of laws (1-29; 45:7-66),¹⁸ which are incompatible with the eschatological blessings.¹⁹ This fact more fully corroborates the view that the Temple in 11QTemple is not eschatological. Furthermore, Schiffman points out that the 11QTemple “concerns matters that are, for the most part, not treated elsewhere in the scrolls.”²⁰

However, the view of the opposite side is also as strong as much of the above. The parallels between 11QTemple and CD are also emphasized by M. O. Wise, who states that the laws of the 11QTemple and those of CD are clearly, even verbally, connected by a relation of antecedence and presupposition.²¹ For instance, “at two of those points (11QTemple 66:15b-17//CD 5:7-11 and 11QTemple 45:11//CD 12:1-2), the laws of CD are logically antecedent; the laws of the 11QTemple presuppose those of CD, or at least the logic of the laws of CD.”²² These parallels may imply that the 11QTemple shares the common perspective on the Temple with other main sectarian works. Moreover, M. O. Wise describes its purpose as “an eschatological Deuteronomy.”²³

The above argument shows that whether 11QTemple belongs to the sectarian scroll or not is an ongoing dispute without any conclusive view. Therefore, it is deemed risky to determine which of the above two interpretations is correct at this moment until more conclusive evidence

¹⁷ L. H. Schiffman, “The Furnishings of the Temple According to the Temple Scroll”, in J. Trebelle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner eds., *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1992), 2:621; cf. idem, “Architecture and Law: The Temple and its Courtyards in the Temple Scroll” in J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs and N. M. Sarna eds., *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism, Intellect in Quest of Understanding, Essays in Honor of Marvin Fox* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 1:267-84.

¹⁸ This division is based on J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation & Commentary*, JSOTSS 34 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 10-11.

¹⁹ There is no trace of revision of the biblical purity law in terms of the eschatological position, which indicates that there will no diseases (cf. 4Q427 7, ii: 4-6), because readers are required to be purified from several kinds of cursed diseases such as leprosy and gonorrhea in their society, which will disappear at the end of times (cf. 48:14-17).

²⁰ L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 258.

²¹ M. O. Wise, “The Eschatological Vision of the Temple Scroll,” *JNES* 49 (1990), 156. Moreover, the affinities between 11QTemple and CD is also referred by B. A. Levine, “The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character,” *BASOR* 232 (1978), 12; G. Vermes in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC-AD 135)*, revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar & M. Goodman (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), 1:412-13; P. Davies, “The Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document,” in G. J. Brooke ed., *Temple Scroll Studies*, JSPSS 7 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989). Furthermore, B. Thiering proposes some parallels between 11QTemple and other works with the sectarian authorship in Idem, “The Date of Composition of the Temple Scroll,” in G. J. Brook ed., *Temple Scroll Studies*, 102. However, his argument is not sound, because the items of parallels are mostly based on the biblical references.

²² M. O. Wise, “The Eschatological Vision of the Temple Scroll,” 156.

²³ *Ibid.*

is found.²⁴ Thus it is better to put the discussion about the Temple Scroll in a separate section (Excursus) rather than to use the scroll as a direct source for this study.

In conclusion, it has been approved that the above scrolls containing the Temple ideas belong to the sectarian works, and thus they can be used as cross-references for establishing the sectarian view with respect to the Temple.

EXCURSUS: THE TEMPLE SCROLL

The relationship of the Temple Scroll (or 11QTemple, henceforth TS) to the Qumran sect is a controversial topic,²⁵ but, since the Temple Scroll is nevertheless in any case a Jewish text of the Second Temple period,²⁶ it is appropriate to consider here its agenda with regard to the Temple for its own sake. We shall not here discuss its relationship to the Qumran sect's views about the Temple, which we have discussed in the preceding section, but will examine the TS's account of the Temple in its own right.

First of all, it is helpful to start with consideration of the introductory part because it may outline the contents of the scroll. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know the contents of the first column because it is severely damaged.²⁷ Nevertheless, one can recognize through Col. 2 what the introductory part of the TS focuses on. The preserved part of Col. 2 paraphrases Exod. 34:11b-16,²⁸ the context of which refers to the covenant between God and His people (34:10).²⁹ Exod. 34:11b-16 describes the covenantal obligations on the part of humans. They are aimed at maintaining the purity of the 'Promised Land'. Therefore, when he rewrites Exod 34:11b-16, presumably the author³⁰ adopts such a function of the covenantal duties for his own

²⁴ At any rate, the existence of 11QTemple in the Qumran library significantly indicates the possibility that the scroll attracted interest among some of the sectarians at least. Reference to the eschatological rebuilding of the Temple in 29:7-10 lends weight to this view.

²⁵ The Temple Scroll has produced plenty of disputable issues. This section does not aim to discuss them. Therefore, it is unnecessary to refer to them specifically.

²⁶ Y. Yadin suggests its composition date as being around 100 BC (idem, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985], 61). This agrees with L. H. Schiffman's dating: 110-90 BCE (idem, "The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period," in G. J. Brooke ed., *Temple Scroll Studies*, 243). However, H. Stegemann suggests differently as follows: "The earliest discussable date is the second half of the fifth century BCE, the latest possibility in the third century BCE" (idem, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll," 131). J. Maier dates it about 200 BCE (idem, "The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll," in G. J. Brooke ed., *Temple Scroll Studies*, 23).

²⁷ See Y. Yadin ed., *The Temple Scroll* (published jointly by the Israel Exploration Society; the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University; and the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1983), 3:16 (Plate 16).

²⁸ According to Y. Yadin, "The author characteristically combines all pentateuchal passages dealing with the same topic into a unified whole by harmonization or exegesis; here, too, he inserts passages mainly from Deut. vii:1f., the section paralleling that of the covenant in Exodus" (ibid., 2:1).

²⁹ It is noteworthy that Col. 2 omits 34:10. If this is deliberately excluded, then the author is attempting to emphasize the contents of 34:11-16.

³⁰ Strictly speaking, 'the final author or redactor' is a more accurate expression because there is a possibility of redactional process for a period of time (H. Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Scroll," 135).

purpose.³¹ This introductory part is followed by references to commands concerning laws on the festivals/sacrifices, the building of the Temple, the making of its furnishings and the Temple or cultic regulations, etc. This structure implies that the subject in Col. 2 (maintaining purity in the promised land) is “a most appropriate opening for the scroll.”³²

The preceding argument indicates that TS is contextualized by the scene of the covenant renewal at Sinai. In this case, the author draws his ideal model from a series of occurrences such as the renewal of the covenant at Sinai, endorsement of the Torah and establishment of the Tabernacle in the Mosaic period, which are eventually aimed at the religious life in the Canaanite land.³³ Yadin’s following statement summarizes this idea.

... the author’s purpose was to present a sort of expanded and fully supplemented Deuteronomy -- or *Mishneh Torah* -- that is, a complete written law of God, by which one is to conduct oneself in the conditions of life prevailing in the Promised Land.³⁴

This statement hints at the reason why the author presents the Mosaic period as his ideal model. This is because the author of TS holds out the prospect of “the future, when the Children of Israel enter the Promised Land, build the Temple in the place chosen by the Lord and dwell in cities and houses.”³⁵ He considers the Mosaic period as parallel to his ideal situation. In this respect, it seems that the author treats TS as “a veritable Torah of the Lord”³⁶ or “an ‘additional’ *Torah* (his italic) to the five books of the Mosaic *Torah*, our Pentateuch.”³⁷

If this is the case, more specifically, how does TS propose the Temple? This question may be properly answered in Col. 29 because this column, particularly the lower part (lines 7-10) is crucial “for understanding of the scroll in general, and in particular, for understanding the nature of the Temple as conceived by the author.”³⁸ This column can be divided into two parts. The first part (lines 1-6) refers to the cultic rulings.³⁹

³¹ The author attempts to maximize his purpose by adding Deut. 7 “with its command to destroy completely all the idols of the earlier inhabitants of this holy land ...” (H. Stegemann, “The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll,” 133).

³² Y. Yadin ed., *The Temple Scroll*, 2:1.

³³ This method may be called “analogical biblical exegesis” (L. H. Schiffman, “The Impurity of the Dead in the *Temple Scroll*,” in L. H. Schiffman ed., *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, JSPSS 8 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990], 152).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:87

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:392.

³⁷ H. Stegemann, “The Literary Composition of the Scroll,” 127. According to L. H. Schiffman, “One of the fundamental issues in Second Temple Judaism was that of how to incorporate extra-biblical traditions and teachings into the legal system, and how to justify them theologically” (idem, “The Systems of Jewish Law,” 240-241). In particular, he finds the background of this approach of the author of TS in Rabbinic Judaism which “elevated the oral *Torah* (his italic) to a sanctity and authority equal to that of the written” (ibid., 242).

³⁸ Y. Yadin ed., *The Temple Scroll*, 2:125. The importance of this column is also shown in the following remark: “Laws on the festivals and sacrifices end in this column, and after it come the laws concerning the Temple courts, their structure and related cultic rites” (ibid.).

³⁹ Y. Yadin’s translation in *ibid.* 2:127-129 will be normally used in this section, unless otherwise mentioned.

- 1 and [their] drink offering [for the bull, for the ram and for the male lambs and for the male goat, according to their ordinance.]
- 2 These [you shall offer to the Lord at your appointed feasts]
- 3 for your burnt offerings(?) and for your drink offerings(?) []
in the house upon which I shall [settle]
- 4 my name [] burnt offerings, [each] on its [proper] day,
according to the law of this ordinance,
- 5 continually from the children of Israel, besides their freewill offerings for all their offerings,
- 6 for all their drink offerings and all their gifts which they will bring to me that th[ey] may be accepted.

Here, two things are noteworthy. First, this part reflects Num. 29:39 and Lev. 23, which describe the cultic regulations in the Tabernacle.⁴⁰ This means that the author parallels the building of the Tabernacle to the establishment of the Temple. This is reminiscent of the parallel between the Mosaic period and the author's ideal condition in the introductory part. Second, the cultic rulings in the foregoing text are generally continuous with those in other columns. It means that this column has a continuity with others, and thus the following lines may be rightly considered in the context of the whole scroll. This assumption shows the legitimacy of Yadin's argument that the lower part of this column is crucial for understanding the scroll in general.

The second part describes the covenant formula, the man-made Temple and the God-made Temple.

- 7 And I will accept them(?), and they shall be(?) my people, and I will be theirs for ever, [and] I will dwell
- 8 with them for ever and ever. And I will consecrate my [t]emple by my glory, (the temple) on which I will settle
- 9 my glory, until the day of blessing (F. García Martínez: the day of creation) on which I will create my temple
- 10 and establish it for myself for all times, according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob at Bethel

First of all, it is necessary to note that the second part is closely connected to the first part by the use of the same word in line 6 (לרצוין) and line 7 (ורצייתים). This connection shows that the acceptance of the offering in the first part is possible on account of the covenant relationship between God and his people (the children of Israel) in the second part (lines 7b-8a). However, such an acceptance of the offering also requires a suitable sacrificial system, particularly the Temple building. Therefore, it is no wonder that God's announcement of His willingness to accept the offering (line 7a) and the covenant formula (lines 7b-8a) is followed by reference to the consecration (ואקדשה) of the man-made Temple in line 8b. This indicates that cultic rulings in TS are designed for this man-made Temple. In other words, "The scroll stresses that all the sacrifices discussed are to be offered in the Temple built by the Children of Israel, whereupon

⁴⁰ Ibid., 2:125.

the Lord will cause His name to dwell.”⁴¹ Therefore, the whole contents of TS display “realistic concepts, traditions and experiences” rather than “a mere product of phantasy.”⁴²

What then is the status of the man-made Temple? The man-made Temple is not Solomon’s Temple, nor the Second Temple nor Herod’s Temple nor even Ezekiel’s Temple. In this case, what is the point of describing a Temple in such detail if it does not exist now and will not exist at eschaton? Though a definite answer may not be given, a range of possibilities can be considered. The author of TS might expect the rebuilding of the man-made Temple in the near future. This expectation of the urgent rebuilding of a more ideal Temple, though it is not eschatological, could have been possible when the current Jerusalem Temple was thought to be corrupt. This is because the current issue might have forced the author to propose the rebuilding of the ideal Temple urgently rather than the God-made Temple at the end of times. Here, the rebuilding plan of TS does not necessarily mean the destruction of the Second Temple. However, it may be assumed that the plan could be ideally imagined in the author’s mind. He might not propose any practical plan to destroy the Second Temple in order to rebuild his Temple. He just kept this plan in his mind.⁴³ In this respect, the plan to rebuild the Temple in TS may be different from the sectarian plan to rebuild the New Temple by destroying the corrupt Jerusalem Temple.

Moreover, the man-made Temple will be replaced by the God-made Temple in line 9. This shows that the man-made Temple temporarily exists until the day of blessings (יום הברכה), which means “the End of days” (cf. Jubilees 1:16).⁴⁴ The following statement by Yadin illustrates this idea very well.

The author was definitely writing about the earthly man-made Temple that God commanded the Israelites to construct in the Promised Land. It was on this structure that God would settle his glory until the day of the new creation ...⁴⁵

Here, the man-made Temple is distinguished from the God-made Temple by the expressions which describe their erection. In the former case, only the verb *ואקדשה* is used, while in the latter case, *אברה* and *להכיני* are used. On the one hand, the word *ואקדשה* does not give any

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² J. Maier, “The Architectural History of the Temple Scroll,” 23.

⁴³ For example, while his country is ruled by a dictator and there is no possibility that the dictator’s rulership may be destroyed, someone can have an ideal democratic plan in his mind without any specific plan to overthrow it.

⁴⁴ Y. Yadin ed., *The Temple Scroll*, 2:129. However, J. J. Collins argues that “It seems to me, then, that only one temple in the *Temple Scroll*, the final one on the day of creation, can properly be called eschatological: the new temple which God will make on the day of creation ...” (idem, “Teacher and Messiah? The One Who Will Teach Righteousness at the End of Days,” in E. Ulich and J. VanderKam eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame, Indiana, 1994], 198.)

⁴⁵ Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 113.

impression of God's direct intervention in building the Temple. On the other hand, אַבְרָא and לְהַכִּינוּ strongly demonstrate God's direct action for building his Temple.

Furthermore, the God-made Temple is based on 'the covenant which I have made with Jacob at Bethel' (line 10b). What does 'the covenant which I have made with Jacob at Bethel' signify? First of all, in Genesis 28, Bethel functions as a climax of the whole story about Jacob's life by means of a ladder reaching to heaven and angels' ascending and descending (28:12), and God's promise to Jacob (28:13-15) which recapitulates that to Abraham and Isaac. Though there are no explicit references to the Temple in Gen. 28:13-15, the author of TS interprets the incident at Bethel as referring to the God-made Temple in terms of the interconnection between heaven and earth by a ladder reaching to heaven and angels' descent/ascent through it. This interpretation is shared by Jubilees in which Bethel is understood as 'the house of the Lord' (or God)⁴⁶ or 'the gate of heaven' (27:25), which intimates the God-made Temple⁴⁷ (cf. Testament of Levi 8:1-2 and 9:3).⁴⁸

Finally, the preceding argument illustrates that in the second part, the author emphasizes the God-made Temple more than the man-made Temple. This is shown by the use of two strong verbs (אַבְרָא and לְהַכִּינוּ) and God's covenant with Jacob at Bethel. However, it should be remembered that in general TS is more concerned about the man-made Temple than the God-made Temple in that the cultic rulings in TS are designed for the man-made Temple.

In sum, the author of TS finds his ideal model in a series of occurrences in the Mosaic period. Moreover, as far as the rebuilding of the Temple, two Temples are demonstrated. The first one is the man-made Temple, which is temporarily established until the day of blessings. The Temple laws in TS are given for this Temple.⁴⁹ The second one is the God-made Temple. The former will be replaced by the latter at the end of days. From this assumption, it can be known that the man-made Temple is not eschatological but the God-made Temple.

Here, one question arises: why does not TS propose the cultic regulations for the God-made Temple, if the God-made Temple is more important than the man-made Temple? Concerning this question, there are two possibilities, which are not exclusive to each other. First, the author may not think that the cultic regulations for the God-made Temple are urgently needed. Second, the God-made Temple may not need such cultic regulations. However, it is risky to discuss further about the God-made Temple because TS does not mention about it at all, apart from 29:9-10.

⁴⁶ The meaning of Bethel in Hebrew is also 'house of God'.

⁴⁷ In 32:23, God's preventing Jacob from building the Temple does not conflict with this understanding. The former is placed in the other context from the latter. The place where the promise of the building of the Temple is given is not necessarily the same as the place of the building of the Temple.

⁴⁸ In Testament of Levi 8:1-2 and 9:3, Bethel is described as the place where the establishment of priesthood as the core part of the Temple system has been promised in a vision.

⁴⁹ Cf. Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 114.

2.5.2 Textual Considerations⁵⁰

In this section, it will be more convenient to handle the sectarian idea of the Temple by dividing it into three kinds of theme: Community Temple, physical rebuilding of Temple and Heavenly Temple. Therefore, the textual considerations of these three will be thematically carried out.

2.5.2.1 Community Temple

Community Temple means that sectarians regarded themselves as Temple. This idea can be examined through “studying the concept of purity, which was traditionally related to the Temple cult.”⁵¹ According to M. Newton, the purity issue is raised in two main contexts: 1) “the requirements for and the consequences of admission to the community” and 2) “the maintenance of status once a member was in the community.”⁵²

The first case shows that those who wish to join must be true Israelites ‘born of Israel’ (IQH 6:20) in order to be qualified to participate in the Temple worship. Then there are further physical and age requirements in the following texts: A) CD 15:15-17, B) IQSa 2:5-9 and C) IQSa 1:8-9. In A) and B) of the above three texts, the purity issue is raised from a feature of the community such as the presence of ‘the holy angels’ (or ‘the angels of holiness’ or ‘holiness’), when qualifications for admission to this Community are described. In other words, the presence of the holy angels as the reason why the purity should be kept by those who wish to join the community represents the Temple idea.

This assumption can be further explained by the identification of the function of the angels. The angels who are described as being with the human group in the above texts, are also portrayed as obtaining priesthood to preside over the heavenly worship in the Heavenly Temple in *Hodayot* and *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*.⁵³ Accordingly, the belief that the angels dwell in the midst of the sectarian community “highlights the awareness the members had that they were sharing in the life of the heavenly realm, in harmony with the holy angels.”⁵⁴ This fact provides the indisputable reason why the community can be regarded as a Temple.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ This work will normally use the translation by F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scroll Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

⁵¹ M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 10. L. H. Schiffman deals with this purity issue in the perspective of ‘realized eschatology’ (idem, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1989], 35).

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Concerning this matter, there will be more discussion in the next section.

⁵⁴ M. J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 186.

⁵⁵ It is noteworthy that in 4Q400 2, 2-3a and 1QM 12:1-2, the sectarian community participates in the heavenly service with the angels in the Heavenly Temple. It will be discussed more below.

The previous result can be more corroborated by the following argument. The requirement of the absence of physical defects in A) and B) is parallel to that for priests in the Temple in Lev. 21:18, and the age limitation in C) is parallel to that in Num. 4:3 and 8:23-25.⁵⁶ Probably, these parallels demonstrate that some priestly qualifications for Temple service were transferred to the sectarians themselves. This means that the sectarians should have been equipped with some of the priestly elements in order to belong to the community because the sectarian community was regarded as a Temple.

On the other hand, references to purity for the maintenance of status in the sectarian membership also hint at the Community Temple theme. In this case, the purity issue is initiated, centering around washing and the community meal, both of which are connected to each other because "it is generally considered that washing with water at Qumran took place particularly before participation in the community meal, although this is nowhere explicitly stated in the texts."⁵⁷ However, the washing does not simply belong to a part of the process of the community meal but has its own independent function to show a self-conscious idea as a Community Temple. In other words, "the baths were but one element in the creation of a Temple Community which offered a holy precinct for the offering of praise undefiled by evil."⁵⁸

1QS 3:7-9 can be divided into two parts: lines 7-8a and lines 8b-9. The first part shows that all sins are atoned by 'the spirit of holiness' and 'the spirit of uprightness and humility'. It is interesting to see that the atonement is accomplished without the sacrificial process but by 'the spirit of holiness' and 'uprightness and humility'. The second part does not demonstrate any specific reference to the atonement from all sins, but only expresses the phrase, 'cleansing of one's flesh' by three elements such as, 'the compliance of his soul with all the laws of God' in line 8b and 'the sprinkling with cleansing waters' and 'being made holy with the waters of repentance' in line 9. The previous adverbial clauses, all of which modify the main verb, are parallel to one another, in that they produce the same result: one's flesh is cleansed. What does the phrase, 'flesh is cleansed' mean in this context? Does it indicate 'atonement' or 'the ritual purification'? It is hard to determine what the phrase indicates because on the one hand, by the cleansing waters, it may indicate the ritual purification process, on the other hand, by the waters of repentance, it may indicate the atonement process. However, in this case, there is possibility that the phrase may imply both the purification process and the atonement process.

⁵⁶ M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 33. According to Newton, the model was that of the Jerusalem Temple which was intended to be kept undefiled and where the priests who participated in the sacrifices kept themselves pure by bathing (Exod. 30:17-20; 40:30-2; Lev. 22:6; Testament of Levi 9:11; Jubilees. 21:16; *m. Tam.* 1:2, *m. Yom.* 3:2) (*ibid.*).

In other words, the ritual purification is given by the cleansing waters;⁵⁹ the atonement is given by the waters of repentance.⁶⁰ The author seemed to intend to contain both processes by no further comment on the phrase, 'his flesh is cleansed'. Consequently, the above argument shows that the cleansing act by water is given for the purpose of purification and atonement to the members of the community to maintain their status as a Temple.

In sum, the ritual washing with water in the sectarian community at Qumran was carried out in order to preserve the status as a sectarian member by meeting the level of purity of the community as a Temple.

The community meal was also eaten 'in complete purity' because the level of purity that was to be maintained within the community is correspondent to the purity required for the Temple in Jerusalem.⁶¹ In other words, the manner in which the meal was viewed was governed by the sectarians' understanding of themselves as a priestly group and as living in a time of preparation for the setting up of a new Temple.⁶² Observation about the purity issue with respect to the community meal will be given by two elements: the admission procedure of a new member⁶³ and the regaining procedure to full membership of the one who violates the community rules.

A process of being able to participate in the community meal is well described in 1QS 6:13b-24. The whole context shows that to participate in the community meal (to touch the pure food) is the final course among several courses of a new member being a full member. The following steps are given before the participation in the community meal: an applicant's enrolling in the council of the Community and the Instructor's testing him with regard to his insight and his deeds (1QS 6:13b-14a) → introducing him into 'the covenant' for his reverting to the truth and shunning all sin (6:14b-15a) → being questioned in front of the Many about his duties (6:15b-16a) → spending one more year in order to be examined about his spirit and deeds (6:17) → being questioned again about 'his duties', 'his insight' and 'his deeds in connection with the law' by the council of Many (6:18) → handing over his wealth and his belongings to "the hands of the Inspector of the belongings of the Many" as a sign of his belonging to the community (at this time, his name is included in the ledger) (6:19) →

⁵⁹ However, the cleansing waters do not automatically function to purify sectarians' sin but the purification by the cleansing waters should be accompanied by the faithful obedience to God's law from their heart. The following passages show this fact well (1QS 3:3-5).

⁶⁰ If this is true, it is interesting to see that the atonement is given by the (repentant) water, because the water in the Temple was not used to remove sins but to remove the ritual impurity. Why is it that the water is used for the purpose of atonement? It is because the sacrificial system did not exist at Qumran and thus the absence of sacrifice at Qumran led to the idea of water cleansing from sin. It is corroborated by the lines 7 and 8a in which the atonement can be granted by the spirit of holiness and the spirit of uprightness and humility.

⁶¹ M. Newton, *The Concept of the Purity*, 34.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ In this sense, the community meal is also related to the first case.

spending one more year among the men of the community (6:21a) → the final examination (6:21b). If he passes this scrutinization, then

22)... they shall enter him in the Rule **according to his rank** among his brothers **for the law, for the judgment, for purity and for the placing of his possessions in common**. And his advice will be 23) for the Community as will his judgment.

Surprisingly, there is no mention of the new member participating in the community meal in the reference to the final acceptance, but this passage lists several privileges for a full member instead. The sharing of the privileges implicitly hints at the participation in the community meal. This means that the community meal coexists with the privileges of a full member. The participation in the community meal is given as the highest standard of being a full member. In other words, opportunity to participate in the community meal is provided only to a full member.

On the other hand, even a full member can be excluded from the communal meal whenever he breaks the law (1QS 5:13; 6:25; 7:17-21, 21; 8:17, 24, etc.) because any breaker of the sectarian law for any reason is immediately regarded as ritually impure.⁶⁴ 1QS 7:17-21 states that the sectarian who violates any sectarian rules has to complete again “the full progression of initiatory stages” like a novice in order to restore his status as a full member.⁶⁵ This shows how spotlessly the sectarians intend to preserve the community meal.

Why then, is this procedure for the participation in the community meal of a new member so complex that it takes a long time? According to Schiffman, such a complex system is based on “the concept that those outside of the sect were ritually impure while the new member gradually became less and less impure through the initiation process until he was permitted contact with the victuals of the sect.”⁶⁶ This concept assumes to be consistent with the idea that the sectarians regard themselves as a Temple-Community. In order to fulfill the requirement of the level of purity as a Temple, the community meal is given only to those who are thoroughly scrutinized. Moreover, even the existing members should be more attentive to the pure life so as not to be excluded from the community meal and to maintain the status as a full member.

Consequently, the community meal functions to gauge the standard of the purity level of the Community. Therefore, the daily participation in the community meal indicates the sustaining of the purity level, and thus the continual maintenance of status of a full member of the Community Temple.

Though not directly related to the purity issue like the ritual washing and the community meal, the following three passages (A: 1QS 8:1-4a; B: 1QS 8:4b-7; C: IQS 9:3-6) suggest seeing the community as a Temple by indirectly raising the purity issue. First of all, it is

⁶⁴ L. H. Schiffman, *Sectarian law In the Dead Sea Scroll*, 199.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 216.

required to decide whether 'the Community council' in A) indicates an 'inner council' within the community or whether it alludes to 'the community as a whole'. There are two texts (1QS 3:2; 1QSa 1:26-28) which demonstrate the preceding two different views, respectively. The above two texts show that the phrase, 'Community council' indicates either the inner group⁶⁷ or the whole Community⁶⁸ in the Qumran scrolls.⁶⁹ It is not easy to determine which one is right. However, the most important clue to solve this problem can be given in 4QIsaiah Pesher^d which is parallel to 1QS 8:4-7 in that the Community council is described as 'foundations' (line 5) of the Temple in both texts. 4QIsaiah 54:11-12 Pesher^d expresses the Community council as a foundation of Temple which is an inner group which consists of priests and some valuable lay people like a sapphire in the midst of stones. From this, it may be possible to conclude that the Community council in 1QS 8 also indicates the inner group.

If this is the case, the inner group consists of twelve men and three priests (or twelve men)⁷⁰ and it functions to maintain the purity of the whole community by implementing "truth, justice, judgment, compassionate love and unassuming behaviour of each person to his fellow" (8:2; cf. 8:3-4a). The successful ministry of the Community council confirms its function as the foundation of Temple, as shown in the phrase, 'the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron' (8:5b-6a). Interestingly, however, the function of the Community council is not limited to that of the foundation of the Temple. Its function is extended to that of the Temple itself. This can be proved through several descriptions of the Community council in B such as 'an eternal plantation', 'a holy house for Israel', 'the most holy dwelling for Aaron' and 'a house of perfection and truth in Israel', which are used as Temple imagery. In other words, the Community council is described as the Temple itself by its identification with the Temple metaphors. In particular, 'an eternal plantation' which is normally used to symbolize God's redeemed people in the OT (Isa. 60:21) and the Second Temple period (1 Enoch 93:11-22),⁷¹ functions to connect the sectarian community to the Temple motif because the phrase not only

⁶⁷ H. E. del Medico, "La traduction d'un texte démarqué dans le Manuel de Discipline (DSD x 1-9)," *VT* 6 (1956), 34-39.

⁶⁸ G. Lambert, "Le manuel de Discipline de la grotte de Qumran," *NRT*, lxxiii (1951), 938-975. This information comes from P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957), 122. This view is supported by *Ibid.*, 122.

⁶⁹ This flexibility is caused by the organic relationship between the inner group and the whole community. Nevertheless, one is required to analyze the exact meaning of the phrase in some texts, because the clear difference is exposed.

⁷⁰ J. A. Draper argues 12 men including 3 priests (*idem*, "The twelve apostles as foundation stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the foundation of the sectarian community," *Neotestamentica* 22 [1988], 47-48).

⁷¹ J. R. Davila argues that 'the everlasting plantation' indicates 'redeemed Israel' (Isa. 60:21), 'the righteous' (Apocalypse of Week 93:11-22) 'the faithful remnant of Israel' (CD 1:1-8) and 'the sectarian community/Temple' (1QS 11:5b-11a) (*idem*, "The *Hodayot* Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise," *RQ* 17 [1996], 461-468).

indicates the sectarian community as God's chosen righteous people, but also is appositionally placed with the Temple metaphors.⁷²

How can this extension of the function of the Community council be possible? It can be possible because the foundation represents all parts of the Temple and thus it is organically connected to the other parts of Temple. Moreover, how then does the Community council reflect the Community Temple motif? There is a hint in the organic relationship between the inner group and the whole Community, which is correspondent to the organic relationship between the foundation and the Temple. That is to say, the Community council as a foundation of the Temple represents the whole community as the whole building of the Temple with an organic relationship between them, just as a foundation of Temple represents Temple itself. Therefore, it is possible to say that the Community council demonstrates the Community Temple motif.

The same principle can be applied to 'the precious cornerstone/a tested rampart' in 1QS 8:7 in which these two phrases indicate 'the Community council'. In Isa. 28:16, both are used as implying the rebuilding of the New Temple. Therefore, the author of 1QS understands that the promise of the Temple rebuilding in Isa. 28:16 has been fulfilled in the sectarian community, particularly, through 'the Community council'.

C (1QS 9:3-6) is parallel to A (1QS 8:1-4a) and B (1QS 8:4b-7), though there are also dissimilarities between them. In C, the context refers to application of some regulations "by which the men of perfect holiness shall conduct themselves, each with his fellow" (8:20). Therefore, the phrase 'when these exist in Israel in accordance with these rules' in the introductory clause indicates the existence in the community of the proper practices of the regulations in any cases. Here, the proper practices are reminiscent of operations by the inner group in A. The aim of these proper practices of the regulations is to "establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal, to atone for the fault of the transgression and for the guilt of sin...without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice" (9:3-4). By the attainment of this aim, "the men of the Community shall set themselves apart (like) *a holy house for Aaron, in order to enter the holy of holies*, and (like) *a house of the Community for Israel*" (9:5-6). Undoubtedly, the expressions, 'a holy house for Aaron, in order to enter the

⁷² According to J. R. Davila, in this text, the Community council or the sectarian community is identical with 'an everlasting plantation', and both are also identical to the Temple or the holy of holies in the Temple (ibid., 467). In his article, however, according to J. A. Draper, the phrase is an image of the Temple which stems from Ezek. 47:1-12, which is also parallel to Rev. 22: 1-2 (idem, "The twelve apostles as foundation stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the foundation of the sectarian community," 49; J. Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde: eine Parallel zu Matt 16:17-19 in den Qumranpsalmen," *ZNW* 48 [1957], 57 ff.; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965], 28). However, what is clear is that while the phrase primarily symbolizes God's redeemed people, particularly the sectarian community, it is identified with a Temple as well. This is another reason why the sectarian community is regarded as a Temple.

holy of holies' and 'a house of the Community for Israel' demonstrate the Temple motif. If it is right that the aim is intended to be fulfilled in this world, then C is also representing the Community Temple idea.

In addition to the above two categories regarding the purity issue, thirdly, the fact that the sectarian community is regarded as a Temple is also demonstrated in 1QpHab 12:3 which states that "... Lebanon is the Council of the Community ..." Here, the 'Lebanon' symbolizes the Temple in ancient Jewish tradition (e.g. in the Targum of Jonathan on this passage).⁷³ In this case, 'the Council of the Community' can be considered to be the Temple.

In sum, the above argument shows that the purity issue which is given in terms of the admittance into the community and the maintenance of the status by meal and washing as a community member demonstrates the Community Temple motif.

In drawing this conclusion, one interesting point is found. The texts concerning the Community Temple motif such as CD 15:15-17, 1QSa 2:5-9 and 1QM 7:6 show the unity of the community with the angelic group. Moreover, by this unity, it can be said that the community participates in the Heavenly Temple in that the angelic group is also the worshipping agents in the Heavenly Temple. The following passage more clearly reveals this fact:

He unites **their assembly** to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the **counsel of the Community** (לעצת יחד) and a **foundation of the building of holiness** to be an **everlasting plantation** throughout all future ages (IQS 11:8).

The above text shows that the unity of the 'assembly' with 'the sons of the heavens' is purposed for 1) the forming of 'the counsel of the Community'⁷⁴ and 'a foundation of the building of holiness,'⁷⁵ and 2) the assembly's being 'an everlasting plantation'.⁷⁶ Here, both 1) and 2) hint at the establishment of the Community Temple. On the one hand, it has been

⁷³ M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 245; G. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (London: SCM, 1977 & 1982), 181; idem, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961 & 1973), 26-39; H. Muszyński, *Fundament, Bild und Metapher in den Handschriften aus Qumran* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1975), 196.

⁷⁴ F. García Martínez differently translates the same phrase, לעצת יחד as that in 1QS 8:1, in which it was translated as 'the Community council'. It may be because he is conscious of the difference in context. However, it is better to translate the phrase as 'the Community council' like in 1QS 8:1, because this text and 1QS 8:1 have the same meaning.

⁷⁵ In 1QS 8:1-7 and 4QIsaiah Peshet^d, the foundation of the Temple building symbolizes 'the Community council'. If this is so, 'the counsel of the Community' and 'a foundation of the building of holiness' indicate the same entity as being in apposition in the above text.

⁷⁶ This understanding of the text is based on the syntactical relation of the original text:

... קדושים ועם בני שמים חבר סודם לעצת יחד וסוד מבניה קודש למשעת עולם.

In this text, 'למשעת עולם' and 'לעצת יחד וסוד מבניה קודש' are preceded by the preposition, ל, respectively. Therefore, it may be right to understand both phrases as 'final', which modify the main verb. G. Vermes' translation exposes the meaning of the original text better than F. García Martínez':

He has joined their assembly to the Sons of Heaven to be a Council of the Community, a foundation of the Building of Holiness, and eternal Plantation throughout all ages to come.

(G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* [London: Penguin Books, 1987], 79).

previously discussed that the foundation of the Temple is organically connected to the Temple itself, and thus the establishment of the foundation of the Temple means that of the Temple. Likewise, the forming of ‘the counsel of the Community’ as ‘a foundation of the building of holiness’ means the establishment of the Community Temple. On the other hand, ‘the everlasting plantation’ indicates God’s chosen righteous people which is closely connected with the ‘Temple’ motif as in 1QS 8:4-7. Therefore, the assembly’s being the everlasting plantation demonstrates the sectarian community as a Temple. Accordingly, it can be said that the unity of the assembly with the sons of the heavens eventually results in the establishment of the Community Temple. In this case, their unification with the angelic group is rightly regarded as their participation in the Heavenly Temple. If this is so, it is possible to think that the participation in the Heavenly Temple with the angelic group made it possible for the sectarians to be a Temple forever. Consequently, when the sectarian community regard themselves as Temple, they consider themselves to be experiencing the blessings in the Heavenly Temple belonging to the heavenly dimension. This point is one of the main subjects of the next section (the Heavenly Temple).

2.5.2.2 *The Heavenly Temple*

The sectarians, “whose critique of the Jerusalem Temple doubtless led them away earlier from any confusion between God’s dwelling in heaven and His dwelling in the Temple,” are presumed to be already here paying attention to “the heavenly sacrificial cult, the priestly quality of the angels and the structure of the Heavenly Temple.”⁷⁷ This is a similar occurrence to how some Apocalyptists in the post-70 period attempt to describe the heavenly surroundings such as the Heavenly Temple and heavenly throne as a substitute for the destroyed Jerusalem Temple. The *Hodayot* and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, etc., are relevant to this subject. The discussion in this section will be focused on how they show that the community already experienced the eschatological fulfillment through participation in the heavenly worship in the Heavenly Temple.

2.5.2.2.1 Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (or Sabbath Shirot: 4Q400-4Q405)

The *Sabbath Shirot* begins with ‘the establishment of the angelic priesthood’ and ends with ‘the sacrificial service’ and ‘the angelic high priestly vestments’. This structure shows an important feature of this work that the main subjects of these songs are not God but the angelic priesthood and the Heavenly Temple. Therefore, this feature functions to draw attention to “the angels who praise rather than to the God who is praised”.⁷⁸ This concern about the angelic

⁷⁷ J. Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy At Qumran-4Q “SEREK ŠĪRŌT ÔLAT HAŠŠABBĀT,” in G. W. Anderson, *et al.* eds., *Congress Volume: Oxford 1959*, VTSup 7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 335.

⁷⁸ C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 16.

group also produces the effect of the participation in the Heavenly Temple of the human group by means of the close relationship between the two groups. This is consistent with the purpose of the composition of this work to “clarify and reaffirm the sectarian community’s own identity” as “a disenfranchised priestly Community.”⁷⁹

The first song begins with ‘an account of the establishment of the angelic priesthood’: “[...Because he has established] the holy of holies among the eternal holy ones,⁸⁰ so that for him they can be priests...” (4Q400 1, 1:3-4). In 4Q 400 1, 1:14-16, the purity issue is raised in order to keep the Heavenly Temple perpetually holy. In particular, ‘precepts’ are imposed for the purpose of sanctification of angels who are in charge of service in the Heavenly Temple. It means that “it must be achieved, and in the same way that it is achieved on earth, through knowledge of and obedience to proper laws ...”⁸¹ For this reason, possibly, the purity issue in the Heavenly Temple is parallel to that which is given to the sectarian community as a Temple. By this parallel, one may assume that the angelic group with priestly function in the Heavenly Temple has a certain connection with the community as a Temple.

This connection between the angelic group and the human group appears to be more developed in 4Q400 2, 2-3a, which probably belongs to the second Sabbath song. This text represents two groups--angelic assemblies and human--in the Heavenly Temple by establishing a parallel between, ‘all the camps of the gods’ and ‘the councils of men’. This parallelism is more strengthened by the juxtaposition between ‘gods’ and ‘men’ in the last part.⁸² Though it is not clear whether the human group is in heaven only from this text, the parallel between the angelic group and the human group always demonstrates that the human group is placed in heaven and thus both groups establish one single worshipping assembly (cf. Hodayat 4Q427 7, 1:8-15). Accordingly, the text attests to the fact that the angelic group and the human group establish one worshipping assembly in the Heavenly Temple by showing that the human group

⁷⁹ Ibid., 72; C. Newsom, “Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shiroth,” *JJS* 38 (1987), 13.

⁸⁰ There are several different names which indicate ‘angel’ as follows: ‘priests of the inner sanctum’ (קוֹרְבָּנִי) and ‘the holy ones’ (קְדוּשִׁים) and ‘gods’ (אֱלֹהִים). García Martínez translates אֱלֹהִים as ‘gods’ but because Newsom understands it as ‘angels’, she translates it in ways that underscore its aura of divinity such as ‘godlike beings’ or ‘godlike ones,’ etc. (idem, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 97).

⁸¹ C. Newsom, “He Has Established for Himself Priests: Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shiroth,” in L. H. Schiffman ed., *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 116.

⁸² The word, פִּלְאָ (wonder) may be translated in two ways: adverbially and nominally. The above text takes the word nominally. In the first case, the translation can be given as follows: “And they are revered by the councils of men in a w(ondrous fashion).” When it is taken nominally, the parallelism of ‘gods’ and ‘men’ is heightened (C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 114).

is involved in the heavenly service in the Heavenly Temple with the angelic group⁸³ (cf. 1QM 12:1-2,⁸⁴ 8; 1QS 11:5b-8).⁸⁵

The third to the fifth Sabbath songs, of which little is preserved, are characteristic of 'the eschatological and predestinarian themes' as shown in the two texts below, respectively. The first text (4Q402 4, 7-10) refers to the eschatological war in heaven by angels.⁸⁶ There are two points to be observed here. First, the above text gives an impression that a war is taking place now in heaven.⁸⁷ Another war is also reported to be operated by the sectarians on the earth in 1QM 4:11; 9:5; 15:12; 1QH 3:35. These two wars are closely connected with each other.⁸⁸ Moreover, though in 1QM 17:5-8, it is not specified whether the location of the war is in heaven or on earth, this reticence hints that the war has taken place in heaven as well as on earth. Line 6 describes how the archangel Michael, as a representative agent of God in the war in heaven, provides 'the everlasting aid' from his location in heaven for the purpose of helping the redeemed on earth. In this respect, line 6 evidences the existence of the eschatological war to be carried out by the sectarian community on earth,⁸⁹ and that the war in heaven is closely linked to the eschatological war on the earth. Moreover, line 5 demonstrates that the eschatological war against 'the prince of the dominion of evil' has started⁹⁰ and the victory of the war is guaranteed.

Second, the eschatological occurrence is viewed through the heavenly vision because the eschatological war is described in the midst of references to the Heavenly Temple in 4Q402 4, 7-10. Conversely, in 1QM 17:5-8, the heavenly dimension is viewed through the eschatological vision in that the dispatching of Michael as a heavenly entity is recounted in the midst of the

⁸³ Along the same line, in the first two songs, the usage of "the only first and second person grammatical forms, as well as the only explicit reference to the human priesthood and worshippers" hints that the Shirof begins with "a stronger consciousness of the human worshipping community, a consciousness which increasingly becomes submerged in the concentration on the heavenly sanctuary in the latter part of the work" (ibid., 14).

⁸⁴ The first blank is filled with 'in the light' with reserve by J. J. Collins (idem, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, [London and New York: Routledge, 1997], 119). Collins uses this text as evidence for the fact that before death the sectarian community experiences "the fellowship with the angels that was reserved for the resurrected life in Daniel and Enoch." He continues to comment as follows: "But the eschatology of the War Rule, and of all the Qumran rule books, is different from that of the older apocalypses, because it involves a degree of participation in the angelic life even before death" which has two descriptions about the God's dwelling place: 'in heaven' and 'in your holy dwelling' (ibid.).

⁸⁵ Interestingly, CD 15:15-17, 1QSa 2:5-9 and 1QM 7:6 report that holy angels are in the midst of the sectarian community. These texts show the unity as one worshipping assembly between the angelic group and the human group in a different angle from the present texts.

⁸⁶ C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 158-159.

⁸⁷ J. R. Davila, "Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven," *SBLSP* 35 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1996), 263.

⁸⁸ Ibid. However, both of them are also distinguished from each other, in that there are no explicit evidences about the human role in the heavenly eschatological conflict.

⁸⁹ It may be said that the war in heaven is the proto-type of the eschatological war on earth.

⁹⁰ In this line, the eschatological war is now operating by 'this is the day ...'. This is because the sectarians were regarded as living on the verge of the eschatological fulfillment.

references to the eschatological war.⁹¹ In this case, this relationship between the heavenly dimension and the eschatological indicates that there is “no conflict between present and future elements or between spatial and temporal categories.”⁹²

Consequently, the two points above show that at least in the exegetical dimension of the text the sectarian community already experienced the futuristic eschatological fulfillment/blessing (particularly, in this context, the victory of the eschatological war) by means of the present participation in the heavenly dimension such as possibly the war in heaven or the heavenly service in the Heavenly Temple because the sectarian community is described as being in the heaven, particularly the Heavenly Temple with the angelic group (1QM 12:1-2; 4Q400 2, 2-3a, etc.).

The middle songs (the sixth to eighth) create a dramatic shift in mood by the modification in style and content such as the sevenfold sequences, which are expected to cause ‘the aesthetic/emotional effect’.⁹³ The sixth song contains celebrations/praise to God in the first part (4Q403 1:1-11) and the blessings by the seven chief princes, who are the elite angelic group or angelic priests,⁹⁴ in the second part (4Q403 1:12-29). The important issue in the latter part (4Q403 1:12-29) is whether the recipients of the blessings in the second part are angels or human--the sectarians. However, whether the recipients of the blessings are angels or human here is ambiguous. In this case, it may be assumed that the author intends to show by the use of the ambiguity that blessings may be given to both angels and the sectarian community at the same time. If it is true, it seems to be meaningless to distinguish between the angelic group and the human group as recipients, but rather it may be right to see that the recipients of the blessing in the sixth song include not only the angelic group but also the human community--the sectarian community. If this is so, it may be regarded that the sectarian community is placed with the angelic group in the Heavenly Temple in that they are blessed by the angelic priests. This is in accord with the idea of co-participation in the Heavenly Temple of both the human group and the angelic group in 4Q400 2, 2-8.⁹⁵ This fact is supported by the unity of the

⁹¹ Concerning this text, refer to the above explanation about it.

⁹² A. T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to His Eschatology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981), 178.

⁹³ C. Newsom comments on this as follows: “A list of numbered elements involves an almost involuntary participation by the audience, as the audience’s anticipation is matched by the execution of the sequence. Moreover, for an audience which considered the number seven to have an objective, transcendent, and holy quality, the intersection of the “internal” repetition of the number seven in the text with the “external” occurrence of the seventh Sabbath would have produced an intense effect on the religious emotions” (C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 15).

⁹⁴ M. J. Davidson designates this group as ‘angelic priests’, in his book, *Angels at Qumran*, 244.

⁹⁵ C. Newsom argues that if the third person suffix in *במקדש [קודש] לכול סודיה* is correctly read, then the phrase most probably refers to the angels; but if the first person suffix is read, it refers to the human community. Despite the ambiguity, she is inclined to regard the recipients of the blessings as the angels who worship in the Heavenly Temple by “the overwhelmingly angelological focus of the Sabbath Shiroth.” However, she does not also exclude the possibility that they indicate the human community, along with the angelic worshippers, just as the

community with the angelic group as one worshipping assembly in the Heavenly Temple, and *vice versa*. In this sense, the Heavenly Temple is *not simply an unreal or fanciful entity but an actualized and experienced reality to the Community* because the community regards itself as experiencing the heavenly blessings by belonging to the heavenly dimension.

Moreover, the seventh song introduces the structure of the Heavenly Temple in the form of celebration for the first time in the whole work of the *Sabbath Shirot*. 4Q403 1:41-46 describes the architectural elements of the Temple as praising God with the angels (line 41), and the object of praise with God because they are God's workmanship (line 42 ff.). The elements are as follows: all foundations of the holy of holies; the supporting pillars (columns) of the supremely lofty abode (the highest vault), and all the corners of his building; the splendidly shining firmament of [His] holy sanctuary. The architectural elements of the Heavenly Temple are continually described in the following column (4Q403 2:1-17) of the seventh song, centering around 'the celestial debir'. Importantly, this introduction of the architectural elements functions to provide the rhetorical basis for the Heavenly Temple tour in the next five songs, which mainly focus on the description of the structure of the Heavenly Temple.

Finally, the last five songs, in comparison with the first five songs, establish the dramatic thematic development by *exclusively* focusing on 'the structure, features, and beings of the heavenly sanctuary and angelic acts of worship'. In other words, they show the Heavenly Temple in a systematic fashion, moving in a type of 'Temple tour' from the description of the outer features of the Heavenly Temple to the holy of holies, merkabah/chariot-throne, cherubim, the heavenly throne and its attendant priestly angels.⁹⁶ The descriptions concerning the heavenly sanctuary depend heavily on those about the New Temple in Ezek. 40-48, as well as Ezek. 1 and 10.⁹⁷ In addition to the terminological dependence, Ezek. 40-48 also provides the structural outline particularly in terms of the thematic development of the Heavenly Temple in that the Sabbath songs follow the pattern of Ezekiel 40-48 in which the architectural structure of the Heavenly Temple is first introduced and then the tour of the Heavenly Temple with "the entry of the divine chariot throne into the Temple and the appearance of its glory" (Ezek. 43:1-5).⁹⁸

The above observation shows that the *Sabbath Shirot* represents a highly elaborated rhetorical system. Particularly, reference to the participation in the heavenly worship in the Heavenly Temple of the human group in the first part and the emphasis on the Heavenly Temple building in the latter part heighten the effect that the sectarians participate in the

human community joins with the angels in the praise of God in 4Q400 2, 6-8 (C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 196).

⁹⁶ Ibid., 16.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 42. For more information concerning parallels between Ezekiel and the *Sabbath Shirot*, refer to Ibid., 55-56.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 55.

Heavenly worship. This feature drives the worshipper who hears the songs recited toward “a sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of the angelic priests and worshippers.”⁹⁹ However, Newsom emphasizes that the purpose of the *Sabbath Shirot* is not simply to take advantage of the sacrificial cult of the Heavenly Temple as a substitute of the polluted Jerusalem Temple but is “the praxis of something like a communal mysticism.”¹⁰⁰

Moreover, the *Sabbath Shirot* remarkably expresses the architectural elements of the Heavenly Temple. It describes the Heavenly Temple as a building. The Heavenly Temple as a building strongly reflects its character as a proto-type of the earthly Temple in the OT (Exod. 25:9; cf. Psa. 11:4; 16:2, 7; Heb. 8:5 in the NT).¹⁰¹ By this organic relationship (proto-type/copy) between the Heavenly Temple and the earthly Temple, it may be presumed that the *Sabbath Shirot* projected the earthly rebuilding of the eschatological Temple as an ultimate abode through proposing the Heavenly Temple.

In summary, the above arguments of the *Sabbath Shirot* present the following two points: 1) The sectarian community regards itself as experiencing the futuristic eschatological occurrence/blessings through participation in the Heavenly Temple with the angelic group, which is vividly shown by means of the delicately designed structure of the songs; 2) The community projects its plan of the rebuilding of the eschatological Temple through the description of the architectural elements of the Heavenly Temple.

2.5.2.2.2 Hodayot

2.5.2.2.2.1 4Q427 (4QHodayot^a [4QH^a]) 7, 1:1-23 and 2:1-23

Among the 4QHodayot hymnic songs, the Fragment 7 of 4QHodayot^a is most relevant to this study. This hymn contains two columns which are assumed to be connected to each other.¹⁰² As a whole, this consists of three blocks of hymnic and doxological material with some alteration, which is also the most distinctive feature of this hymn: (1) 7, 1:6-13 ([1b] 7, 1:13-22); (2) 7, 2:2-7 ([2b] 7, 2:7-14); (3) 7, 2:14-22 ([3b] 7, 2:22-23).¹⁰³

First of all, for the purpose of grasping the character of the present hymn, it is necessary to identify some designations such as ‘divinities (אלים)’¹⁰⁴ (lines 8, 11), ‘the holy ones

⁹⁹ Ibid., 17.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 18, 19. C. Newsom explains the mysticism as follows: “The mysteries of the angelic priesthood are recounted, a hypnotic celebration of the sabbatical number seven produces an anticipatory climax at the center of the work, and the community is then gradually led through the spiritually animate Heavenly Temple until the worshippers experience the holiness of the merkabah and of the Sabbath sacrifice as it is conducted by the high priests of the angels” (ibid.).

¹⁰¹ R. E. Clement, *God and Temple*, 68.

¹⁰² E. Schuller, “A Hymn From A Cave Four HODAYOT Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i + ii,” *JBL* 112 (1993) 607.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 625.

¹⁰⁴ This word is translated as ‘heavenly beings’ by E. Schuller (ibid., 610).

(קדושים)¹⁰⁵ (line 10), ‘the eternal hosts (בצבא עולם)’ (line 15) and ‘favoured ones (ידידים)’ (line 13). It may be presumed that the first three refer to the angelic group¹⁰⁶ and that the last one refers to the human group--the sectarian community.¹⁰⁷ If this is so, this shows that the present text is presented to the ‘favoured ones’ (sectarians) and the sectarians are regarded as being in the Heavenly Temple with the angels. This is better shown in the following two citations: (A) 4Q427 7, 1:8-11 and (B) 4Q427 7, 1:13-15.

As a prelude to the whole hymn, the first text (A) introduces the feature of the following hymn. In (A), the hymnist depicts himself as being with the divinities in heaven in line 11 (cf. 1QH 11:19-23). Here, by the ‘I’ statements, he intends to represent the sectarian community at Qumran, and the rest of the sectarians as holding the same status as himself, namely, being with the divinities in heaven.¹⁰⁸ In (B), this purpose becomes clearer. The hymn (B) summons ‘favoured ones’, who are considered as the sectarians, to praise the one to be blessed. It is necessary to pay attention to the chiasmic pattern in lines 13-15 as follows: a) sing to the King of glory b) assembly of God¹⁰⁹ c) tents -- c’) residence b’) eternal hosts a’) sing to the King.¹¹⁰ From this pattern, it is shown that the tents and the assembly of God indicate residence and eternal hosts, respectively.

Moreover, verbs, such as ‘be happy’, ‘exult’, ‘praise’ and ‘exalt’ hint at the heavenly worship because they reflect the liturgical terminologies. If this is so, the present text shows that the sectarians are called to participate in the heavenly worship with the angelic group in the Heavenly Temple/Heavenly Jerusalem. This unification with the angelic group, which certifies the heavenliness of the sectarians, is further emphasized by the word, “together” (יחד) in line 15, which means ‘in oneness/in unison’.¹¹¹ The phrases such as ‘sanctify his name’ (line 16) and ‘bow down’ (line 18) indicate that this hymn leads readers or audience to worship God. The phrase ‘in unison’ in line 16 and ‘the united assembly’ in line 18 are presumed to indicate

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*, 612, n 13.

¹⁰⁶ Especially, the word ‘divinities’ is used as indicating the angelic group in the *Sabbath Shirot* (cf. 4Q402 4, 8; 4Q403 1:18, 35 and 38, etc.).

¹⁰⁷ This word is translated as ‘beloved ones’ by E. Schuller, “A Hymn From A Cave,” 610.

¹⁰⁸ B. Kittel comments on this matter as follows: “The ‘I’ of the psalms, and the intense religious fervor of these poems, being based on such scriptural language understood eschatologically, could be embraced by the whole community as their experience, too” (*idem*, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 10).

¹⁰⁹ E. Schuller comments that this phrase indicates ‘the heavenly council’ (cf. Ps 82:1 and its quotation in 11 QMelch 2:10; 4Q427 3, 1:5; 1QM 4:9), which is related with כה אלים [ע...] in 1QM 1:10; עדה בני שמים in 1QH 9:23; עדה קדושיכה in 1QH 15:5; עדה משרחי in 4Q405 23, 1:3 (*idem*, 614).

¹¹⁰ These items are heavenly, because the hymnist and the rest of the sectarians are regarded as being in heaven.

¹¹¹ E. Schuller, “A Hymn From A Cave,” 615. Cf. Job 38:7; Isa. 52:8; Ps 98:8; Isa 65:25. According to B. Nitzan, “the word is used in Qumran writings to designate the common praise uttered by angels and men, as in ה[נ]ה, “in the choir of rejoicing” (1QH 3:23; 9:14), as well as in the song sung in unison in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*” (*idem*, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. J. Chipman from Hebrew [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994], 278). 1QS 11:7-8 is another reference to show the unification of the sectarian community with the angelic group.

the whole gathering of the human group and the angelic group because the context of this text is in the midst of worship in the Heavenly Temple with the angelic group.¹¹²

References to the heavenly dimension continue to be described in the second column of Fragment 7. It is noteworthy that the present tense is dominant in this text. It corroborates the fact that the blessings are already being experienced in heaven. The heavenly blessings may be classified by 'the negative feature' and 'the positive feature'. As the negative features, the following elements are absent in heaven: oppression, deceit, wickedness (twice), sorrow, anguish, terror, plague, illness, evil, guilt. As the positive features, the following conditions are present in heaven: light, enjoyment, peace, the fount of perpetual blessing and of well-being, perpetual power, eternal enjoyment and perennial glory.

It is interesting to compare these heavenly blessings with the eschatological blessings in 4QWar Scroll^e (4Q285) or 11QBlessings (11Q14).¹¹³ According to the texts, the eschatological blessings are listed as follows: 1) the blessings given to the land, which the sectarians will eschatologically possess by a conquering operation, such as rains of blessing, dew and frost, late and early rains in their season in order to let bountiful/superb fruits, grains, wine and oil be produced (4Q285 1, 4-7a); 2) healthy condition without miscarriages or illness or disease or pestilence (4Q285 1, 7b-8a, 9); 3) moral purification with the vanishing of evil from the land (4Q285 1, 8b-9a) and without stealing of children (11QBlessings line 12); 4) a peaceful situation: "the sword will not pass through your land" (11QBlessings line 12). The preceding lists demonstrate that the eschatological blessings share a common idea with the heavenly blessings, though different in their terminology.

On the other hand, if the first column and the second column are the one single hymn, then it can be assumed that there is some relation between the participation of the sectarians in the heavenly worship in the first column and the heavenly blessings in the second column. The blessings are part of the praise of God. The favored ones are invited to praise the God who gives these blessings. Consequently, it may be concluded that the sectarian community is already experiencing the eschatological blessings through the heavenly blessings to be acquired by being involved in the heavenly worship in the Heavenly Temple. Ultimately, the heavenly blessings will be actualized into the eschatological blessings at the end of days.

¹¹² Cf. 4Q400 2, 2-3a: this text also shows the gathering of both the angelic group and the human group in the Heavenly Temple.

¹¹³ W. J. Lyons sees these two texts as the same one (idem, "Possessing the Land: The Qumran Sect and The Eschatological Victory," *DSD* 3 [1996], 134-35). According to him, this text is "an eschatological liturgy that was designed to be spoken over the Congregation of Israel, following the conquest (or perhaps resettlement) of the land of Israel, the contents of which were already being fulfilled among them" (ibid., 151).

2.5.2.2.2.2 1QH 14:1-36

1QH 14:1-36 expresses various themes, which are connected to one another, such as the Heavenly Temple, Paradise, New Jerusalem, and eschatological battle and final judgment. First of all, lines 8-10 describe the eschatological incorporating of 'a survivor' or 'a remnant' into God's council in the future (cf. Isa. 37:32; Jer. 6:9; 23:3; 31:7; Mic. 2:12). Next, lines 11-13a describe another eschatological blessing: the nations' acknowledgment of God's truth and his glory.¹¹⁴

The following lines (13b-14) show what the sectarian community (the men of God's council) is like. In the above passage, the sectarian community is described as sharing a common lot with the company of angels without any mediators in the present time (line 13) as well as in the future (line 14b). It may mean that the sectarian community is identified with the angelic status. This identification of the sectarian community with the angelic group suggests that the sectarian community belongs to the heavenly dimension in this text.

Moreover, lines 15-17 symbolically describe the sectarian community by means of the Eden motif. In line 15, the sectarian community is symbolized as 'a shoot' which will be growing in branches of the everlasting plantation (or into the boughs of an everlasting Plant: G. Vermes' translation). Vertically, the shoot reaches down to the abyss and reaches up to the skies; Horizontally, the shoot covers all the world with its shade. These descriptions of the shoot in line 16a and line 17 are juxtaposed around the Eden motif in line 16b, forming a A-B - A' structure. In this structure, A' presents a more developed idea than A by the addition of 'the glory of the wood'. At any rate, this structure emphasizes the great growth of the shoot in branches of the everlasting plantation by 'all the streams of Eden'.¹¹⁵ In short, the sectarian community as a Temple will eschatologically appear to be great and glorious just like the branches grown into the everlasting plantation which is watered by 'all the streams of Eden'.¹¹⁶

Finally, it is necessary to consider lines 18-36 as one unit because they establish the following structure: A (18-24) -- B (25-28) -- A' (29-34) -- B' (35-38). A and A' refer to the eschatological war and judgment. B and B' refer to the New Jerusalem motif.¹¹⁷ It is noteworthy that the New Jerusalem is described closely together with the eschatological war and judgment. The New Jerusalem is represented as 'a fortified city' (line 25) or 'a fortress'

¹¹⁴ This is also one of the eschatological blessings in the OT. The acknowledgment of God's glory and truth by nations does not necessarily mean their converting into His people. While they may become God's people (Isa. 2:2-4; Mic. 4:2; Zec. 2:11; 8:22), they can simply acknowledge God's glory even without belonging to God's people, because of the manifest appearance of God's glory (Isa. 12:4; 25:3; 43:9; Ezek. 37:28; Mal. 1:11, 14).

¹¹⁵ This phrase is reminiscent of rivers such as Pishon, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates, in Gen. 2:10-14. In the Eden motif, elements such as water and plantation are indispensable (cf. 1QH 14).

¹¹⁶ The phrase 'the everlasting Plantation', which is the Eden motif, also demonstrates the Temple image.

¹¹⁷ B' were badly damaged. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that B' are parallels to B by the phrases such as 'it will not invade the fortress', 'plaster', and 'the beams' in B'. Therefore, it can be said that B' also refers to the New Jerusalem like B.

(line 35) in the midst of the eschatological war and judgment. Double juxtapositions as shown in A-B and A'-B' emphasize the contrast between the severity of the eschatological judgment/war and the perfect safety of the New Jerusalem.

How should one understand the architectural descriptions in lines 25-28 (B) and 35-38 (B')? Do they indicate the New Jerusalem as a physical building or something else? There may be two interpretations: the literal and the symbolical. In the former case, they may be interpreted as references to the physical rebuilding of the New Jerusalem, as in *DNJ*. In the latter case, they may indicate the community as in 4QpIsa^d, 1QS 8:4-11, 9:3-7 and 11:7-8. However, B and B' do not explicitly distinguish between a symbolical meaning and the literal one. This may be because in a sense it seems insignificant to distinguish between them.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, the text may be shown as being closer to the symbolical meaning than the literal. This may be proved by the parallelism between line 25a and lines 22b-23 which reads, “[I am] like a sailor in a ship in the raging sea...” Obviously, the latter one is symbolical description. Moreover, lines 15-18 are also metaphorical. This says that the whole environment is dominated by the symbolical descriptions. It may be further proved by its parallels to 1QS 8:5-10 which symbolically describes the community by use of the architectural features of the Temple or Jerusalem.

In the comparison of 1QH 14:25 with 1QS 8:4, it may be assumed that the two texts are parallel to each other by use of the same words such as סוד¹¹⁹ (יסודותיהו), בחן and חומת, which function to show the Temple/Jerusalem idea. In 1QS 8:5, the Community council which represents the sectarian community is related to a ‘foundation’ (סוד) of the Temple, which is the same reference as the one (סוד) in 1QH 14:26.¹²⁰ Moreover, the Community council (or the community)¹²¹ is also connected to the ‘tested rampart’ in 1QS 8:7, which is the same architectural element as the ‘rampart’ or ‘tested stone’ in ‘a fortified city’, namely ‘new Jerusalem’ in 1QH 14:25-26. Accordingly, it is also possible to see that the architectural features such as ‘a fortified city’, ‘foundation’, ‘beams’, ‘the plumb line’ and ‘tested stone’ in 1QH 14:25-26 symbolize the Community council, or the whole sectarian community rather than to see them as referring to a physical building.

¹¹⁸ This meaninglessness will be clearer in the following argument (See, 104).

¹¹⁹ As H. Muszyński questioned, it is necessary to clarify “ob SWD (סוד) die Bedeutung von „Fundament“ hat und daher eine Metapher ist, oder ob dieser Ausdruck, wie O. Betz mit Nachdruck betone, die personale Bezeichnung eines „Kreises von Männern“ ist.” He denies O. Betz’ view that the word indicates “eine Entsprechung des ntl. ἐκκλησία” but he proposes the correct meaning to be ‘Fundament’ along with A. Dupont-Soomer, J. Carmignac, H. Bardtke, G. Molin, J. Licht, S. Holm-Nielsen, M. Mansoor, M. Delcor, J. Maier, G. Vermes, H. E. Del Medico, etc. (idem, *Fundament, Bild und Metapher*, 180).

¹²⁰ While 1QS 8 describes Temple, but 1QH 14 portrays Jerusalem city. It does not matter, because both of them are usually used as identified.

¹²¹ García Martínez adds the meaning of ‘it’ as ‘the Community’ in the blank but Vermes does not mention anything about the meaning of ‘it’ by implying that ‘it’ means the Community council. However, whether it means ‘the Community’ or ‘the Community council’ does not alter meaning of the text at all.

This idea is more clearly represented by 4QIsaiah Pesher^d. This pesher text interprets the architectural features of Temple in Isa. 54:11-12, which envisages the glorious Zion in the future, as indicating the hierarchical system at the sectarian community. In other words, according to the pesher text, the eschatological expectation of the glorious Zion in Isa. 54:11-12 has been fulfilled in the sectarian community itself.¹²² This text can be illustrated as follows:

Promises in Isa 54 architectural element : material	Fulfillment at Qumran
foundation - sapphires	the council of the Community: the priests and the people
battlement - rubies	twelve [?]
gates - glittering stones	the chiefs of the tribes of Israel

The above diagram clearly shows that the Isaiah Pesher text understands promises in Isa. 54:11-12 as having been fulfilled in the sectarian community. Here an important issue is whether the three entities in the right column indicate one group or three different groups. Translations by García Martínez and Vermes presuppose three different groups within the sectarian community: the council of the Community, twelve chiefs of priests and the chiefs of the tribes of Israel. However, Draper proposes the three entities as describing one single group from different perspectives.¹²³ First, the inner group in line 2, which consists of twelve men has a special status, “just as the sapphire stone, the most precious and durable of stones (BBB 75a; MidrTeh 87:1-3; PesR 32) has more value than other stones.”¹²⁴ Second, in lines 4-6, the inner group is described as using the Urim and the Thummim, which are “not only sources of judgment as in the OT, but also of brilliant light (e.g. *Lab* 26:13, 15; 2 *Baruch* 6:7 ff.; *Ant.* 3:8, 9, 215-218).”¹²⁵ The brilliant light is well described in the phrase, “like the sun in all its light” in line 6. According to Draper, “the Biblical lots Urim and Thummim had been thoroughly confused with the twelve gemstones in the breastplate of the High Priest, each inscribed with the name of a tribe.”¹²⁶ In this case, it may be possible to see the Urim and Thummim with the brilliant light like the sun as being identified with the twelve luminous gemstones in the

¹²² J. A. Draper, “The twelve apostles,” 54. According to Bauckham, “... at Qumran the members of the community and its leaders and officials were identified as various parts of the Temple structure. Of particular interest is the commentary on Isaiah 54:11-12 (4QpIsa^d)” (R. J. Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” in R. J. Bauckham ed., *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 443).

¹²³ J. A. Draper, “The twelve apostles,” 52-60; cf. M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 129.

¹²⁴ J. A. Draper, “The twelve apostles,” 55-56. In contrast with this, H. Muszyński follows Allego’s view that the ‘foundation’ refers to the whole congregation, when he proposes that the whole community is the foundation of a council of God in the world (H. Muszyński, *Fundament, Bild und Metapher*, 195-6; J. M. Allego, “More Isaiah Commentary from Qumran’s Fourth Cave,” *JBL* 77 [1958], 220-221).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* R. J. Bauckham agrees with this view when he says that “the reference to Urim and Thummim alerts us to the fact that, underlying the application to the council of twelve, there is an interpretation of these ‘luminaries’ of ‘agate’ as the twelve stones of the high priest’s breastplate, which shone brilliantly (*Ant.* 3:215-218) (idem, “Kenaz: From Local Hero to Messianic Prototype,” unpublished article, 9).

breastplate of the High Priest and eventually signifying twelve founding members.¹²⁷ Moreover, third, it is noteworthy that the inner group is described as ‘the chiefs of the tribes of Israel’. This group appears different to the former two groups. However, the key for the solution is given by the following line in which a reference to the lot (גורל) and function or rank (מעמד)¹²⁸ is given. Here, according to 1QS 5:2-3, the decision of the lot in the community is in charge of the Sons of Aaron and the “Great/Many” of the men of the Community, which may indicate the inner council of twelve, including priests and laity in 1QS 8:1.¹²⁹ This is the reason why ‘the chiefs of the tribes of Israel’ are the same body as the former two groups.

Consequently, the architectural features such as foundation, battlement and gates in promises are obviously applied to the personal group, twelve members, the inner group in the Community, in fulfillment. Just as foundation, battlement and gates are the core parts of the New Jerusalem/Temple building, the inner group is the core part of the whole Community. Just as the three architectural elements are not separated from the rest of the building but are connected with and represent the whole building, so the inner group represents the whole Community. Accordingly, 1QS 8 and 1QIsa Pesher^d prove that the New Jerusalem/Temple in 1QH 14: 25-26 symbolizes the sectarian community.

In sum, 1QH 14 contains the following ideas concerning the sectarian community. First, the sectarian community will be used eschatologically as the instrument for teaching and calling the nations to God, which belong to the eschatological blessings. Second, the sectarian community is now belonging to the heavenly dimension by identification/unification with the angelic group. Third, the sectarian community will be great and glorious like the everlasting plantation. Finally, the sectarian community is the eschatological fulfillment of the prophetic message in Isa. 54: 11-12 in which the glorious New Jerusalem was promised to be built in the future.

In the above analysis of the *Sabbath Shirot* and the *Hodayot*, the most important point is that the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem and the New Temple/Jerusalem are closely connected to each other. The sectarian community encounters the eschatological blessings through its taking part in the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem.

¹²⁷ Ibid. Particularly, Draper proposes the parallel of twelve Urim and Thumim to the twelve gemstones to characterize the apostles’ names which are inscribed on the twelve foundations in Rev. 21:14-19 ff.

¹²⁸ The former is García Martínez’s translation; the latter is Draper’s.

¹²⁹ J. A. Draper, “The twelve apostles,” 57.

2.5.2.3 *Rebuilding of the Eschatological Temple*

4QFlor and *DNJ* describe the idea of the rebuilding of the eschatological Temple. 11QTemple will not be fully discussed here because it has been discussed elsewhere regarding its place in the sectarian scrolls.¹³⁰

2.5.2.3.1 4QFlorilegium

This scroll consists of two columns, which form a unity.¹³¹ In this study, only lines 1-13 of the first column will be dealt with because of their particular relevance. They may be divided into four parts.

Part I (lines 1-2) describes the eschatological Temple. It can be discerned by descriptions such as ‘the house’ and ‘in the last days’. Descriptions such as ‘no trouble by an enemy’ and ‘no affliction by the son of iniquity’ in 2 Sam. 7:10 are applied to the eschatological Temple. It means that the eschatological Temple will not be defiled nor destroyed by anyone. These characterizations are somewhat polemical in that the author may keep in mind the destruction of the first Temple and the pollution of the existing Jerusalem Temple. The characterization of the eschatological Temple continues in Part II.

Part II (lines 3-7a) emphasizes God’s direct intervention in the rebuilding of the Temple by citing Exod. 15:17-18, which reads as follows: [Moses: *Exod 15:17-18* <<A Temple of the Lord] will you establish with your hands. YHWH shall reign for ever and ever>>]. This direct intervention creates the revelation of God’s holiness (line 4b)¹³² and appearance of his eternal glory (line 5a) in the eschatological Temple. Moreover, both the revelation of God’s holiness and the appearance of his eternal glory makes the eschatological Temple different from the historical Temple (the Temple of Israel in line 6), whether it is the first Temple or the second Temple.¹³³ This difference is explained through two steps: 1) the eschatological Temple will be polluted by neither the Ammonite nor the Moabite, nor the Bastard, nor the foreigner, nor the proselyte (line 4a): this is related to ‘the revelation of God’s holiness’ as the first result of God’s intervention (line 4b); 2) foreigners shall not again lay it waste as they laid waste the Temple, at the beginning (line 5b): this is related to the appearance of God’s eternal glory as the second result of God’s intervention (5a).

¹³⁰ For more information, refer to the section of methodology. Nevertheless, 11QTemple 29:7-10 is acknowledged as being related to the sectarian eschatological view of the Temple rebuilding. Scholars such as G. J. Brooke, M. O. Wise and J. J. Collins attempt to reconstruct the Qumranic eschatological scheme with relation to the rebuilding of the Temple through comparing 4QFlor with 11QTemple 29:7-10.

¹³¹ For the issue of this unity, refer to G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis At Qumran*, 129 ff.

¹³² This becomes clearer in M. O. Wise’ translation of line 4b: “his holiness will be revealed there” (idem, “4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam,” *RQ* 15 [1991], 105).

¹³³ D. Dimant discusses this matter in her writing, “4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple,” in A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel and J. Riaud eds., *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (Paris, 1986), 174-175.

This contrast between the eschatological Temple and the historical Temple is followed by the introduction of the third Temple, 'a Temple of man' (מקדש אדם). What is 'a Temple of man'? Is it identical with the eschatological Temple?¹³⁴ Or does it indicate the historical Temple?¹³⁵ Or is it a third Temple which is different from the eschatological Temple and the historical Temple? Dimant approaches this matter in an interesting way. She attempts to connect the clause (line 6b), '... ויִּואַמֵּר ... מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם ...' with the last part of the citation (2 Sam. 7), מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם (line 2a) by noticing that ויִּואַמֵּר in the latter and מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם in the former are "syntactically and morphologically identical and also similar in sense."¹³⁶ From this correspondence between two words, she assumes that the author is equating מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם in 2 Sam. 7:11 with מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם in 4QFlor.¹³⁷ Therefore, it is said to be possible to see מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם in 4QFlor as elucidating מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם in 2 Sam. 7:10.¹³⁸

Here it is necessary to observe how the author understands the original context in 2 Sam. 7:11 in order to verify such a proposed intention of the author regarding these correspondences between line 2a and line 6b. For this purpose, it would be helpful to compare the text with MT:

מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם	וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי שְׁפָטִים	(vs. 11)	וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה:	... (vs. 10)	2 Sam 7 MT
מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם	וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר (line 2)	צִוִּיתִי שְׁפָטִים	מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם	וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר (line 1)	4QFlor

In MT the relationship between vs. 10 and 11 looks more or less ambiguous but in 4QFlor the ambiguity has been cleared by juxtaposing בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה with וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם without punctuation. The author intends to see בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה and וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם as the same category which indicates the days of affliction by a son of wickedness. Therefore, Brooke and Dimant reflect this authorial intention when they translate the above part as follows: "... as formerly (Dimant, at first) and as from the day...". However, it is incorrect to see both eras as having the same quality within the same period, but as having different qualities in the different periods because the text in 4QFlor intends to emphasize the latter (וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם) by specifying it further as the 'days of Judges'.

¹³⁴ M. O. Wise holds this view (idem, "4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam", 121-122).

¹³⁵ This position is demonstrated by D. R. Schwartz, "The Three Temples of 4QFlorilegium," *RQ* 10 (1979), 83-91. In his view, Schwartz regards מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם as the Solomonic Temple which is distinguished from the defiled Second Temple. M. O. Wise criticizes this distinction as arbitrary, "since from the perspective of the author of 4QFlor they would both have been defiled" (M. O. Wise, "4QFlorilegium and The Temple of Adam," 119 [n. 56]).

¹³⁶ D. Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community," 176. Moreover, Dimant also suggests that *waw* in ויִּואַמֵּר can be understood "as an explicative *waw* which establishes a causal connection between the preceding statements on the future Temple and the Temple of Israel, and the following statement on the Temple of Men" (ibid., 177).

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ This position is seriously challenged by M. O. Wise who denies the detachment of וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם from בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה and, that line 6b (... מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם ... ויִּואַמֵּר) interprets מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם as וְלִמְנֵה־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי שְׁפָטִים (idem, "4QFlorilegium and The Temple of Adam", 121-122). Wise is also challenged by J. J. Collins who does not exclude the possibility that מִקְדַּשׁ אָדָם may refer to the sectarian community (idem, "Teacher and Messiah? The One Who Will Teach Righteousness at the End of Days," in Eugene Ulrich and James Vanderkam eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 197-198; his more recent view is shown in "Jerusalem and the Temple in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature of the Second Temple Period," *International Rennert Guest Lecture Series* 1 [1998], 22-23).

Biblical history shows that in the days of the Judges Israel was protected from neighbors more than before or 'at the beginning'. In this sense, the days of Judges should be distinguished from 'the period of the beginning'. Moreover, they cannot simply be an interim stage for the Davidic era but rather function as the mirror of the Davidic era in which Israel was given the perfect rest in terms of the OT framework. Therefore, though the days of Judges still belong to the period of affliction by a son of wickedness, truly the days of Judges also reflect the features of the Davidic era. This is the intention which the MT text attempts to show by separating *בְּרֵאשִׁוֹנָה* from *אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי שְׁפָטִים*.¹³⁹ However, the author of 4QFlor also must have been conscious of the original plot of the biblical text to be referred in the above, in spite of his syntactical connection between *בְּרֵאשִׁוֹנָה* and *אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי שְׁפָטִים*. Therefore, it may be assumed that the author distinguishes *בְּרֵאשִׁוֹנָה* from *אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי שְׁפָטִים* at least in his interpretation on the basis of the original context, even though they are syntactically connected. Accordingly, it can be said that the author has a double understanding about 'אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי שְׁפָטִים': it belongs to the Davidic era as well as the period of the affliction. It is highly likely that this understanding of the original context may be applied to the author's exegetical procedure, in which the phrase *מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָם* is used, particularly in 4QFlor line 6b. If this is right, the meaning of *מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָם* becomes clear.

First of all, *מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָם* consists of men because it is correspondent to *שְׁפָטִים* which probably means 'the sectarian officials'.¹⁴⁰ This case is vividly reminiscent of 4QIsaiah Peshar^d in which the sectarian (twelve) officials represent 'the community as Temple' which is the fulfillment of the promise in Isa. 54:11-12.¹⁴¹ Therefore, it can be said that *מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָם* indicates the Community Temple. Second, the *מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָם* is situated between the historical Temple and the eschatological Temple, just as the days of the Judges were placed between the former days and the Davidic era. This does not mean that *מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָם* is simply an interim period for the eschatological Temple,¹⁴² nor the temporary substitute for the defiled Temple, but a foretaste and a guarantee of the eschatological Temple, just as the days of Judges are a foretaste and a

¹³⁹ F. García Martínez's translation follows MT text rather than 4QFlor (... as at the beginning. From the day on which ...).

¹⁴⁰ D. Dimant proposes four possibilities as the meaning of 'שְׁפָטִים': 1) leaders like the historical judges of Israel (Judg. 2: 16, 18) 2) the sectarian officials named *שְׁפָטִים* after the ancient judges (cf. 1QSa 1:15, 24, 29; CD 9:10, 10:4; 14:13); 3) the actual court judges whose function was to judge according to the commandments of the Torah; 4) the sense of 'laws', 'rulings', 'commands', which can refer both to the commandments of the Torah and the self-imposed rules of the sect (ibid., "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community," 176-77).

¹⁴¹ D. Dimant attempts to define *מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָם* as "the 'congregation of priests' officiating in the holy enclosure of the Tabernacle or the Temple-city." In this definition, she argues that "a Temple-like community was intended not to recreate the Temple itself." (idem, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community," 188). However, it seems that Dimant oversimplifies the meaning of *מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָם* by ignoring the flexible usage of the phrase to include the recreation of 'Temple' itself as well as 'the priestly congregation', both of which are closely related to each other.

¹⁴² D. Dimant considers it to represent "an interim stage between the Temple of Israel of the past (and present?) and the eschatological Temple of the future" (ibid., 177).

guarantee of the Davidic era.¹⁴³ Therefore, third, *מקדש אדם* reflects the features of the eschatological Temple, while it still experiences the challenges by the evil power.

Part III (lines 7b-9) demonstrates another related theme to the previous one by a new citation, 2 Sam. 7:11b and a new peshet: the perfectly peaceful living circumstance at the ends of days. This is well combined with the invincibility of the eschatological Temple. From this, it can be known that the eschatological Temple is closely related to the eschatological sectarian life.¹⁴⁴ This relationship between them is in accord with the biblical idea that the perfect preservation of the Temple purity always results in the perfect peaceful life of God's people.

Finally, in Part IV (lines 10-13), the author applies the promise about the establishment of the Davidic kingdom to an eschatological leader of the sect, who is considered to be 'the Davidic Messiah'. This 'Davidic Messiah' is reported to appear with 'the Interpreter of the law', who is presumed to be 'the Priestly Messiah'.¹⁴⁵

In sum, 4QFlor is significant in that it illustrates the relationship between the Community Temple and the eschatological Temple. The scroll not only differentiates the one from the other, but also closely connects both to each other. This relationship can be described as follows: the Community Temple is a foretaste and a guarantee of the eschatological Temple. The Community Temple, which is represented by *מקדש אדם*, is not simply an interim stage nor a substitute for the polluted Temple before the coming of the eschatological Temple, but the community as Temple will be spontaneously transferred as the priestly (Temple) community to serve in the eschatological Temple at the end of the ages.

2.5.2.3.2 Description of the New Jerusalem (*DNJ*)¹⁴⁶

It has been argued in the methodological consideration that *DNJ* may be regarded as a sectarian work that was originally written in Aramaic and composed, following the literary scheme of the so-called Torah of Ezekiel (Ezekiel 40-48).¹⁴⁷ The aim of this section is not to reconstruct every architectural structure of the New Jerusalem but to investigate what the *DNJ*

¹⁴³ G. J. Brooke supports this view by saying that *באחרית הימים* has already been inaugurated particularly in the midst of and through the Community Temple (*מקדש אדם*). But J. J. Collins and M. O. Wise argues that *באחרית הימים* has not been inaugurated but still remains a future event (G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 176; M. O. Wise, "4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam," 103-132; J. J. Collins, "Teacher and Messiah?" 196).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 182-183. For more information about the sectarian Messianism, refer to J. VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 211-234.

¹⁴⁶ It is known that for the first time, the title, "The New Jerusalem" is named by J. T. Milik, in M. Baillet, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumran*, DJD 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 184-193. This information is from M. Chyutin, "The New Jerusalem: Ideal City," *DSD* 1 (1994), 71-97. Recently, this work is extended in M. Chyutin, *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran: A Comprehensive Reconstruction*, JSPSS 25 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

¹⁴⁷ For example, the number and the names of the gates in *DNJ* show its dependence on Ezek. 48: 31-34 (F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 193, 207, n 76; J. Licht, "An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran: The Description of the New Jerusalem," *IEJ* 29 [1979], 45-46).

represents about the New Jerusalem and what is their significance. Therefore, it is beyond this study to examine every aspect of the descriptions of the New Jerusalem in this scroll in order to ascertain the width, height and length of each part of the building. The area of study is limited to the observation of the main architectural elements of the New Jerusalem and their significance. For this purpose, it is necessary to observe the principal architectural features. Interestingly, different features can be found, according to the scrolls in each cave, while some are recurrent. However, such different features represent ideas about the New Jerusalem of the one single *DNJ* because the scrolls in each cave are copies of the original one.

First of all, in 2QNew Jerusalem (2Q24), while the interior of the city is introduced in Frag. 1, descriptions of the Temple and the Temple offering such as ‘a pleasant offering’ and communal meal are found in Frag. 4. This shows that the New Jerusalem will contain the Temple area in it. Frag. 1 shows that the block (פרייתא) is a square of 51 x 51 rods¹⁴⁸ (357 x 357 cubits).¹⁴⁹ In Frag. 3, the door is described as ‘the sapphire door’. Moreover, Frag. 8 refers to ‘the walls of white stones...’ in line 3.

Second, 4QNew Jerusalem (4Q554) includes the description about the twelve doors (or gate; cf. 5Q15 1, 1:10) according to the twelve patriarchs in 4Q554 1, 1:9-21 and 1:7-22, among which only five names remain because of textual fragmentation. Thereafter, the author was led to the interior of the city and was given the measurement of the city block: fifty-one rods by fifty-one, in a square. There is also reference to the Temple in line 18. Moreover, there are two references to the jewelry motif in the architectural elements in 4Q554 1, 2:22b and 4Q554 2, 2:15. 4Q554 1, 3:20b-21 demonstrates that the stairwell is the same size in its length and width, and the doors are the same sizes. 4Q554 2, 2 refers to foundations (line 13) and towers with the same size, the number of which is 1432 (line 15b-16a). Though obscure because of textual fragmentation, it may be assumed that two or three towers are affiliated to each door by the following phrase in lines 21-22: “[...] two, to the door [...] ... three, and the towers project.” Obviously, the remarkably numerous towers emphasize not only invincibility of the city¹⁵⁰ but also her distinctiveness as the highest mountain, which is reminiscent of the Temple city.¹⁵¹ Their height, which is the same as the secondary streets’ width (10 rods, 70 cubits) for the eastern and western side corroborates the function of the towers. Imagine the

¹⁴⁸ The ‘rods’ is translated as ‘reeds’ by M Chyutin and J. Licht, etc. Concerning various view of the measurement system, see F. García Martínez’s *Qumran and Apocalypse*, 193, n. 40.

¹⁴⁹ According to M. Chyutin’s reconstruction, the number of the block is 240 (12x20) (M. Chyutin, “The New Jerusalem,” 84). He accepts Licht’s reconstruction of the city as ‘an almost square city’ but in a different way from the form of 12x12=144 פרייתא by J. Licht (ibid., 80-81; cf. J. Licht, “An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran,” 50).

¹⁵⁰ F. García Martínez argues that “the wall...is protected by <<one thousand four hundred and thirty two towers>>, that is, <<three towers for each small stretch>> of wall formed by the distance separating the 480 posterns from each other” (idem, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 199).

¹⁵¹ In 1 Enoch, the word, ‘tower’ is allegorically used as indicating the most important part of Temple or Temple itself (89: 50; 89: 73; 1 Enoch 87:3).

city surrounded by 1430 towers, the height of which is 10 rods or 70 cubits (30-40 m). On the other hand, 4Q554 2, 3:14-21 shows the eschatological war of the sectarians with Kittim, Edom, Moab and the sons of Ammon and Babel. This means that the context of the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem is in the midst of the eschatological war (cf. 1QH 14:18-36).

Third, 5Q15 1, 1:3 also contains reference to the existence of the Temple which is parallel to that in 4Q554 1, 2:18. In this scroll, the streets are described in greater detail.¹⁵² From East to West and from South to North, there are three main streets, respectively. In their descriptions, it is interesting to see that the emphasis is placed on the street which passes to the left of the Temple among the main streets from East to West, and the street in the middle of two other streets which is in the centre of the city, among the main streets from the South to North (5Q15 1, 1:3-6; cf. 4Q554 1, 2:16-22). This may suggest that the streets were designed to center around the centre of the city and the Temple. Strikingly, it is reported that “all the *streets* of the city are paved with white *stone, alabaster* and *onyx*.”¹⁵³ Moreover, this scroll also shows *12 large gates* with each gate’s *two towers* on the right and left of the gate, the height and width of which are the same size (1, 1:10-14).¹⁵⁴ They are parallel to the large gates in 4Q554 1, 1:9-21 and 2:7-22.¹⁵⁵ The reference to the 12 large gates is followed by the detailed descriptions of the gates of blocks (פרזיחא) (1, 1:15-2:5). Furthermore, in 2:6-7, an angel brought the seer to the interior of the block and showed him that there are fifteen houses from one porch to another; eight from one side up to the corner. In the same column, lines 4 and 8, the *doors* (of blocks) and the *rooms* with the same sizes are also mentioned (cf. 4Q555 1, 1:4-5).

Finally, *DNJ* is also preserved in cave 11. The scroll in 11Q is badly damaged. Nevertheless, some striking elements regarding the New Jerusalem can be found. First of all, remarkably, the 11QNew Jerusalem emphasizes the function of the Temple in the New Jerusalem. Around 21 of 24 fragments refer to the Temple acts. It refers not only to the existence of the Temple within the New Jerusalem, but also the Temple acts such as the Passover sacrifices, the peace-offerings, thank offering, and priestly system in the Temple. In addition to this, there are references to communal meals, festivals and purity issues such as washing cups and bowls, and bull’s feet. It shows that *DNJ* regards the Temple and the Temple acts as being important to the New Jerusalem. From this, it may be said that in *DNJ* both the Temple and the New Jerusalem are closely related like two sides of a coin.

¹⁵² Cf. M. Chyutin, “The New Jerusalem,” 76.

¹⁵³ Here, alabaster and onyx are added to the list (white stone) in 4Q554 1, 2:22.

¹⁵⁴ M. Chyutin, “The New Jerusalem,” 84.

¹⁵⁵ Interestingly, the size of the towers on the 12 large gates (5 rods by 5 rods) is smaller than that of the towers (10 rods) on the small doors inside the city. It stresses the function of the latter as making the city mountain.

On the other hand, Frags. 23-24 represent something different, which is not found in other copies. Frag. 23 describes more clearly that the columns¹⁵⁶ exist between one gate and another gate¹⁵⁷ in the city-wall which is of pure gold. In addition, Frag. 24 should be noted. First of all, in line 2, it is noteworthy that “the wall is of pure gold.” It is parallel to the reference in Frag. 23, 4 which describes as follows: [...] is beautiful and all is of pure gold [...]. Next, the expression, ‘living waters’ is also notable in line 1. From line 4, the living waters are flowing from somewhere. While it is hard to know where it comes from, this is from the New Jerusalem, in a whole scale because the context is describing the city. More specifically, it may be assumed that the waters flow from the centre of the city, or Temple.

In sum, the above observation of the *DNJ* can be summarized as follows:

1) The city plan includes the rebuilding of Temple with the sacrificial system in the Temple.¹⁵⁸ This suggests that the city is divided into the residential area and the Temple area.

2) The main architectural elements in the city are twelve large gates, towers, streets, blocks, walls and columns. The twelve large gates are called according to the twelve patriarchs’ names; The number (1432+24=1456) and the height (the one on the large gates: 5 rods; the one on the inside: 10 rods) of the tower are spectacular; the streets are constructed centering around the city centre and the Temple; 12 large gates, walls and columns (foundations) are connected to one another.

3) All buildings, windows, walls, gates and streets in the city are covered with precious stones such as white stone, alabaster, onyx, sapphire, rubies and pure gold.

4) The general dimension of the whole city is a square. It is also noteworthy that the block which contains the houses is a square. Moreover, it is emphasized that the main architectural elements such as every house, room, gate and tower in the city are the same size, respectively.

5) The living water flows probably from the center of the New Jerusalem or Temple.

6) The context of this description is the eschatological war or judgment against the Kittim, Adom, Moab and sons of Ammon and Babel.

In conclusion, what do the above elements imply? First, generally speaking, as García Martínez comments, the *DNJ* was “not a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem or of the Celestial Temple in the sense of an ideal Jerusalem beyond the concept of time, <<Urbild und Abbild>>, but of the city, the Temple and the cult such as they will exist at the time of the final struggle against the Kittim, Babel, Edom, Moab and Ammon.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ It may be the same one as ‘foundations’ in 4Q554 2, 2:13.

¹⁵⁷ They are regarded as the same ones as the 12 large gates in 4Q554 1, 1: 9-21 and 5Q15 1, 1:10.

¹⁵⁸ The Temple in the *DNJ* as the eschatological Temple is identified with the Temple to be erected “at the end of times” by God in 11QTemple 28: 7-9 (F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 209). F. García Martínez argues that the Temple alluded to in 1QM 2:1-6 is also the same Temple and cult as described in *DNJ* by the allusion in *DNJ* to the final War with the participation of the “Kittim, Edom, Moab and the sons of Ammon”, which is a perfect parallel to the expressions used in 1QM 1:1-2 (*ibid.*, 210).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

Second, the geometrical balance is shown in the square shape of the city and the block, and the same size of towers, houses, gates, rooms and streets. From this, García Martínez concludes that the city is 'a divine work' by the dimensions of the city.¹⁶⁰

Third, the New Jerusalem in *DNJ* is the fulfillment of the eschatological city in Isa. 54:11-12, which shows that the main architectural elements in the eschatological city will be constructed with the precious jewelry. As mentioned in the summary No. 3, *DNJ* also describes that all buildings, windows, walls, gates and streets in the New Jerusalem are covered with precious stones such as white stone, alabaster, onyx, sapphire, rubies and pure gold. Why is this jewelry motif so emphasized in *DNJ*? This is because the author deliberately shows that the New Jerusalem in *DNJ* is the fulfillment of the prophecy of the eschatological city in Isa. 54:11-12. This is a very interesting point because 4QIsaiah Pesher^d also represents that the community is the fulfillment of the prophecy in Isa. 54:11-12. This means that in the sectarian community, there are two kinds of fulfillment of the prophecy of the eschatological Jerusalem in Isa. 54:11-12: the New Jerusalem/Temple as the community in 4QIsaiah Pesher^d and the New Jerusalem as the physical building in *DNJ*. This double fulfillment of Isa. 54:11-12 demonstrates that the Community Temple and the eschatological New Temple are equally significant to the sectarians.

Fourth, the New Jerusalem in *DNJ* is designed to be the fulfillment of Isa. 2:2-3. This is because the multiple towers will be established like high mountains to be purposed for the peculiar height. In the OT, the future Jerusalem must have been thought of as "a centre for pilgrimages, absorbing multitudes of peoples, especially on *Sukkoth* (Zech. 14:16)."¹⁶¹

Fifth, the names of the 12 large gates and the living water flowing from the city are the same descriptions as described in Ezek. 47 and 48:1-4. It also shows that the New Jerusalem/Temple in *DNJ* is the fulfillment of the eschatological city/Temple in Ezek. 40-48, though many contents are modified.¹⁶²

2.5.3 Conclusion

In the process of examining the meaning of the Community Temple, the Heavenly Temple and the eschatological New Temple, it becomes clear how they are related to one another. First, the forming of the sectarian community as Temple is facilitated by the unity of the community members with the angelic group, which may mean their participation in the Heavenly Temple. Second, the Heavenly Temple as a prototype provides the stepping stone for the birth of the New Temple as its copy; the sectarian community experiences the eschatological blessings

¹⁶⁰ This makes García Martínez characterize the genre of the *DNJ* be 'Apocalypse' (ibid.).

¹⁶¹ J. Licht, "An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran," 59. Licht stresses an abundance of the open space in the New Jerusalem as the fulfillment in the New Jerusalem in *DNJ* of this future Jerusalem, a centre for pilgrimages, to have been anticipated in the OT (ibid.).

¹⁶² Cf. C. Chyutin, *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran*, 110.

through involvement in the service in the Heavenly Temple. Third, the rebuilding of the New Temple is guaranteed and foretasted by the Community Temple because the Community Temple is effectuated by the belonging of the sectarians to the heavenly dimension in which the eschatological blessings are nourished. In the above summary, while three Temple ideas are interactive, the Heavenly Temple is shown to be the most important factor among the three temples. It allows the actualization of the Community Temple as the New Temple.

How did these three ideas of the temple of the sectarians help them to cope with their current situation? In order to answer this question properly, it is necessary to know what the current situation was. Most importantly, the sectarians thought that Jerusalem and her Temple were defiled by the invasions of pagan nations and the control of corrupt religious and political leaders. Thus, they were extremely reluctant to participate in worship in the Jerusalem Temple. In this situation, they needed an alternative to the contaminated Jerusalem Temple. As an alternative, they needed the transcendent Temple, which cannot be defiled by any external challenges. They proposed the Heavenly Temple by obtaining a hint from Ezek. 40-48, though Ezek. 40-48 does not indicate the Heavenly Temple. From this Heavenly Temple, they also proposed the Community Temple for the purpose of the immediate Temple service. However, the Community Temple was not to be a temporary substitute but rather provide a quality to the community members as an everlasting subject of the Temple service, whether the temple service in the Heavenly Temple or the New Temple. In addition to the Community Temple, they also expected to rebuild the New Temple on the basis of the Heavenly Temple. This relation between the Heavenly Temple and the New Temple comes from the OT pattern. But the New Temple exceeds the historical Jerusalem Temple in its ideal character. Accordingly, the three ideas of the Temple perfectly contribute to the sectarians' effective response to the current crisis by the Jerusalem Temple defilement.

2.6 The Fourth Book of Ezra

This book is also called II Esdras or the Apocalypse of Ezra. It is the consensus of most scholars that this book was composed around the end of the first century after the destruction of the Temple. The original language must be Semitic, but it is still debatable whether it is Hebrew or Aramaic.¹ The place of the writing and publication was considered as the land of Israel. This also still remains disputable. According to Stone, it was translated into Greek by about AD 190 for the first time, the whole text of which has not survived.² G. H. Box proposes the source theory that the book was put together by a redactor (or redactors).³ However, recently, his theory has been disregarded by scholars such as Stone and Myers who insist that the book was composed by one author.⁴ The primary social function of the book was to provide a means of managing or eliminating a powerful dissonance of the doctrine of election and a tormenting discrepancy between religious beliefs and actual experience, which the Temple destruction caused.⁵ Therefore, the structure of 4 Ezra as a literary composition can be shaped according to 'the pattern of consolation' in the form of theodicy.⁶ The New Jerusalem, which is the main concern of this section, should be understood in terms of this function and the structure of the book. Chs. 1-2 (the second century) and 14-15 (perhaps, the third century) were Christian compositions in Greek or Latin added in the later period. Only chs. 3-13 are the original body of the book. This study focuses on chs. 3-13 which are relevant to its topic.

2.6.1 Preliminary remark

Strangely, the author of 4 Ezra does not mention the rebuilding of the Temple at all when he refers to the restoration of Zion. Does this mean that he excluded the Temple idea from the restoration category? Or is the eschatological expectation for the rebuilding of the Temple weakened in 4 Ezra? Before discussing the texts, this problem should be resolved. For this purpose, some observations from 3:24, 10:46 and 10:20-22 will be given.⁷

¹ J. H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research* (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1981), 112. J. Wellhausen is a representative proponent of Hebrew theory (idem, "Zur apokalyptischer Literature," in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, [Berlin: 1899] 6:215-249). L. Gry belongs to Aramaic theory (idem, *Les dires prophetiques d'Esdras* [2 vols.; Paris: Geuthner, 1930]).

² M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 9.

³ G. H. Box, "IV Ezra," in *APOT* 2:542 (cf. G. H. Box, *The Ezra Apocalypse* [London: Pitman, 1912]; R. Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1889]).

⁴ M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 21; J. M. Myers, *I & II Esdras* (New York: Double day, 1974) 119-120.

⁵ P. F. Esler, *The First Christians in their Social Worlds* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), 128.

⁶ E. Breech, "These Fragments I Have Shored against my Ruins: The Form and Function of 4 Ezra," *JBL* 92 (1973), 269.

⁷ This work normally uses the translation of B. M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra: A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP* 1:525-559.

And you commanded him (David)⁸ to build a city for your name, and in it to offer you oblations from what is yours (3:24).

In this verse, certainly there is a close relationship between 'to build a city' and 'to offer oblations.' The phrase 'in it' strengthens the connection between them. From this close connection, it seems that, for the author, the purpose of building Jerusalem is the Temple cult.⁹ This appears to be obvious also from the OT context related to this verse. After David occupied Jerusalem and built the city (2 Sam 5:6-9), he brought the ark of the LORD into the city, and set it in its place, inside the tent that he had pitched for it, and he offered burnt offerings and offerings of well-being before the LORD (2 Sam 6:17). This series implies that he considered the city to be a Temple city. Looking back to past occurrences in the Davidic period and keeping in mind the tradition, the author demonstrates his longing to continue offering sacrifices in the Temple when he contemplates his current situation.¹⁰

And after three thousand years Solomon built the city, and offered offerings; then it was that the barren woman bore a son (10:46).

This verse has a similar structure to the previous one: juxtaposition of 'building of the city' and 'offering of offerings'. The main differences are the subject to build the city (Solomon from David) and the addition of the barren woman similitude. The similitude dramatizes the transformation of the city from a pagan city to God's dwelling place more effectively.

The problem, then, is why the author describes Solomon as the city-builder.¹¹ It would be more fitting to label him as a temple-builder rather than a city-builder.¹² Yet the author persists in calling him a city-builder, although he does not look like qualified as a city-builder as much as David. It could be because of the author's emphasis on 'built cities'.¹³ In addition to this, there can be one more reason. It is that the author does not distinguish the city from the temple.

⁸ In the first part of this verse, the author identified David as the one who built Jerusalem, although in effect, David did not build the whole city. Actually, R. J. Coggins and M. A. Knibb raise a question about this problem (It will be more discussed in the below). Yet here we do not have to understand David as a city-builder because he built the whole city. This identification of the author seems to be dependent on his understanding about 2 Sam. 5-6. First, David was the first one who completely occupied Jerusalem inhabited by Jebusites until then (2 Sam. 5:6-9). Second, it is reported that after occupation of Jerusalem, actually David built the city as shown in 2 Sam. 5:9, 11. Third, David was the first person to settle God's ark of covenant in Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:14-17). Through the coming of the ark, Jerusalem became God's dwelling place. This gives evidence that David could be the person to built the city even in a religious sense. Consequently, the above three reasons verify that David could be rightfully called a city-builder.

⁹ M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 74.

¹⁰ J. M. Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 171.

¹¹ R. J. Coggins and M. A. Knibb raise a question as to the identity of David and Solomon as the city-builder by saying that "neither David nor Solomon actually built Jerusalem, but both made additions to it" (idem, *The First and Second Books of Esdras* [London; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 234). Armenian version tried to solve this problem by adding the word 'the Temple' following the city.

¹² It is reported that he built the wall of Jerusalem in I Kings 9:15. Yet a much larger part is provided to described Solomon as a temple-builder.

¹³ According to M. E. Stone, "David and Solomon both might have been said to build the city, even though that was not precise, because of the importance of 'built cities' for 4 Ezra" (idem, *Fourth Ezra*, 337).

For the author the city is the temple and *vice versa*.¹⁴ Juxtaposition of ‘building of the city’ and ‘offering of offerings’ confirms such identification. Therefore, the author can demonstrate Solomon as city-builder.

Moreover, 10:21-22 lies in the midst of the fourth vision, and serves to give an account of the fourth vision where the restoration of Zion is described by means of woman imagery. In vs. 20, Ezra persuades the woman to be comforted by claiming that the troubles and sorrows of forfeiting Jerusalem/Zion are much heavier than a woman’s sadness at being bereaved of her son. Following this assertion, in vss. 21-22 Ezra illustrates the specific lists of sorrows which the destruction of Zion caused. Interestingly, all of the contents of the lists are concentrated on the devastation of what is related to the Temple and the Temple cult. Just after this, the vision of the New Jerusalem was given to Ezra as a response to his sorrow. One may conclude then, that distress and calamity with regard to the Temple mean distress and calamity with regard to Jerusalem, and advent of the New Jerusalem means that of the New Temple.

Consequently, the above remarks testify that the author neither excluded nor weakened the Temple idea in his categorization of restoration, but rather he thought a priori and primarily of the Temple, whenever he referred to Jerusalem or her restoration. Moreover, the author identified Jerusalem with the Temple. Therefore, it is possible to see that the author thought that the expectation for the New Jerusalem indicates that for the New Temple, and the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem implies that of the New Temple.¹⁵

In spite of this conclusion, there still remains a question as to why there are no explicit references to the Temple cult in the expectation of the New Jerusalem. As Metzger points out, IV Ezra has “a purely political eschatology” which is “concerned with release from the tyranny of Rome” in the Eagle Vision (ch. 12).¹⁶ It is possible that this eschatological perspective can be applied also to the other parts of the book. If this is right, the author would understandably like to represent the Heavenly Jerusalem rather than the Heavenly Temple as comparable to the wicked city, Rome. This seems to be the reason why the author usually used the Heavenly Jerusalem when he referred to the eschatological restoration.¹⁷

¹⁴ L. R. Fisher investigated the cases when the word עִיר can be translated as temple. According to him, the word can have not only the meaning of city or village but also “the meaning of the temple quarter or even of the inner room of the temple” (idem, “The Temple Quarter,” *JSS* 8 [1963], 34).

¹⁵ R. G. Hamerton-Kelly’s comment supports this conclusion: “IV Ezra contains a vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (x 25 ff.) in the course of which it becomes clear that the writer symbolically identifies the city and the temple--the one is a symbol of the other (x 46-49, 55)” (idem, “The Temple and the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic,” *VT* 20 [1970] 4).

¹⁶ B. M. Metzger, *OTP* 1:521.

¹⁷ Here it is necessary to define the relationship between the New (eschatological) Jerusalem/Temple and the heavenly (pre-existent) Jerusalem/Temple. C. M. Pate’s definition is very helpful: “the eschatological temple is also conceptualized against the backdrop of the heavenly, primeval temple thus conveying the impression that the two images refer to the same reality, but which are viewed from different time frames” (idem, *Adam Christology as the Exegetical & Theological Substructure of 2 Corinthians 4:7-5:21*, [Lanhan, New York: University Press of America, 1991], 72 [note 75]). In addition, Jerusalem will be also used with Zion as a synonym.

2.6.2 Textual Considerations (7:26; 8:52, 53-54; 10:27, 42-44, 53-55; 13:6)

A. 7:26 "For behold the time will come, when the signs which I have foretold to you will come to pass; (a) **the city that now is not seen shall appear**,¹⁸ (b) **and the land that now is hidden shall be disclosed**.

On the one hand, the city in (a) is Jerusalem; accordingly, 'the city that now is not seen' indicates Heavenly Jerusalem. On the other hand, the 'land' in (b), most scholars agree, means Paradise. The hidden land, according to Stone, is parallel to the field Ardat, the particular place where Ezra was called to see the vision of Heavenly Jerusalem in 10:54 (cf. 9:26).¹⁹ Here it is noteworthy that the Heavenly Jerusalem and Paradise co-exist. By means of the parallel between (a) and (b), they are closely related to each other.²⁰ Moreover, 'not seen,' and 'hidden' hint at the idea of precreation which characterizes the apocalyptic bias.²¹ In this respect, it is natural to see that the Heavenly Jerusalem possesses the idea of pre-existence. Finally, 'shall appear' and 'shall be disclosed' show that the pre-existent Heavenly Jerusalem/Paradise is eschatological at the same time.²²

B. 8:52 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.

This verse belongs to what is given as a final one of two angelic responses (8:37-41, 46-62) to Ezra's two prayers (8:4-36, 42-45) in order to show mercy to God's creation, especially his people. God rejects Ezra's pleading for creation and God's people by saying that "I will not concern myself about the fashioning of those who have sinned ... but I will rejoice over the creation of the righteous" (8:38-39). Paradise will not be given to those who walk in their pride but those like Ezra who humble themselves. The text lists the blessings given to the righteous like Ezra in the eschatological time in 8:53-54.

There are three points to mention here. The first point is that all of the elements in the text are to be understood materially as well as spiritually. The author of 4 Ezra thought heavenly objects to be real as much as earthly ones.²³ It would, therefore, be needless to divide spiritual

¹⁸ Latin and Syriac version read "that the bride shall appear, even the city appearing." This is, according to Oesterley, "a misreading of what the Greek must have read, viz: καὶ φανήσεται ἡ νῦν μὴ φαινόμενη πόλις, for which the Latin translator read, ἡ νύμφη instead of ἡ νῦν μὴ with Rev. 21:2, perhaps, in his mind" (W. O. E. Oesterley, 70; J. M. Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 232).

¹⁹ M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 214.

²⁰ It will be more explained in the below.

²¹ M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 214.

²² Concerning the contextualization of the Heavenly Jerusalem (which belongs to the new age after the end of the Messianic Kingdom elsewhere in 4 Ezra) within the temporary Messianic Kingdom (R. J. Coggins and M. A. Knibb, *The First and Second Books of Esdras*, CBC [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press], 167), R. H. Charles suggests that the Heavenly Jerusalem is represented instead of the New Jerusalem, because the Messianic age without Jerusalem as a center is inconceivable (G. H. Box, *APOT* 2:582). Concerning this issue, Stone also emphasizes that Fourth Ezra is a skillful and sophisticated work with "the overall literary purposes, conceptual structure and religious dynamic of his composition" (M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 23).

²³ *Ibid.*, 286.

and material as opposing categories. Such thinking is shown in our text. The heavenly blessings are materialistically depicted. Needless to say, the description of the heavenly city as 'being built' corroborates this point. The Heavenly Jerusalem is introduced materialistically. The second point is that the heavenly blessings are to be already in existence and prepared beforehand and reserved for the righteous.²⁴ This was a very common mode of representation of the early Jewish apocalyptic literature.²⁵ Such pre-existent and invincible heavenly blessings would be an extraordinary foundation of consolation for the Jewish people who experienced the painful tribulation of Temple destruction. The final point is the coexistence of paradise and city. The coexistence of both is parallel to the previous text, 7:26.

The following texts (C, D, E, F, G) come from the fourth vision, so called 'Zion vision,' The entire story purposes to show the Heavenly Zion for the consolation of Ezra who represents the Israelite community.²⁶ This vision decisively functions to comfort Ezra, who was in an agonizing state of mind, as the pivot on which the whole book turns by changing the way of Ezra's world view, although the vision was not a direct response to his questions.²⁷ This fact says that the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is the unique alternative which was able to solve the dilemma caused by the Temple destruction, at least in the book of IV Ezra. Following this vision, Ezra stopped lamenting. As the above four texts belong to the same episode, it is necessary to deal with them together within the entire framework of the fourth vision in order to better understand each of the texts.

C. 9:26 So I went, as he directed me, into **the field** which is called **Ardat**²⁸; and there I sat among the flowers and ate of the plants of **the field**, and the nourishment they afforded satisfied me.

This verse is significant in that it provides the setting for the fourth vision as its introduction. According to Stone, the author not only continues to use familiar elements in this introduction as in previous visions, he also presents new elements to stress the pivotal role of the fourth vision.²⁹ Obviously one of the new elements, as shown in the text, is the initiation of a physical setting to control the whole vision.³⁰ The physical aspect is strongly characteristic of the Heavenly Zion described in this vision.

²⁴ G. H. Box, *APOT* 2:597.

²⁵ In addition to references in 4 Ezra, see also 1 Enoch 1-36, 103:3; Testament of Levi 3-5; 2 Baruch 4:1-7; Apocalypse of Abraham 29:17, etc.

²⁶ Humphrey entitles Ezra to be the spokesman of his people, but also the spokesman of God (E. M. Humphrey, *The Ladies and Cities: Transformation and Apocalyptic Identity in Joseph & Aseneth, 4 Ezra, The Apocalypse and the Shepherd of Hermas*, JSPSS 17 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995], 79).

²⁷ M. E. Stone, "Reactions to Destruction of the Second Temple," *JSJ* 12 (1981), 203; E. Breech, "These Fragments I Have Shored against my Ruins," 272.

²⁸ It is uncertain what place this name indicates. For more information see M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 304 (textual note a) and J. M. Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 270 and G. H. Box, *APOT* 2:602.

²⁹ M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 304.

³⁰ *Ibid.* M. E. Stone states that "Ezra is in his Babylonian bedroom no longer, but in a field outside the city." This physical feature of the Heavenly Jerusalem appears in the preceding parts as discussed above. Yet here

Here the meaning of the field can be determined in relation to B which represents similar surroundings to C. Common elements between B and C such as 'the tree of life' vs. 'eating of plants,' and 'rest' and 'goodness' vs. 'satisfaction' seem to validate that the field in C symbolizes Paradise in B.³¹ This verse will be better understood by F (10:53-55) where the meaning of the field becomes clearer. Therefore, more observation will be given below.

D. 10:27 And I looked up, and behold, the woman was no longer visible to me, **but there was an established city, and a place of huge foundations showed itself.**

E. 10:42-44 a) but you do not now see the form of a woman, but **an established city** has appeared to you. b) this is the interpretation about the misfortune of her son...c) This woman whom you saw, whom you now behold **as an established city, is Zion.**

E-a) and E-b) summarize the contents of the preceding vision. E-b) shows that E-c) is the interpretation of the previous vision, the central part of which is D. E affirms that 'the woman' who was transformed into 'an established city' in D symbolizes 'Zion'. Here, it is noteworthy that Zion is described three times as 'an established city'.³² These triple expressions emphasize that Zion is a pre-existent city in heaven,³³ which means the Heavenly Jerusalem.³⁴

F. 10:53-55 (a) Therefore I told you to **go into the field** where there was no foundation of any building, (b) for no work of man's building could endure **in a place where the city of the Most High was to be revealed.** (c) Therefore do not be afraid, and do not let your heart be terrified; but **go in** and see the splendor and vastness of **the building,**³⁵ as far as it is possible for your eyes to see it

In F, the Heavenly Jerusalem is described together with a 'field motif,' which has been introduced in C. C supports the understanding about F by providing a physical setting in the beginning of the vision, and F actualizes the meaning of C by the precise explanation with regard to the field. In short, F provides evidence that the field, namely, Paradise, is the place where no human building has been set and thus suitable for the epiphany of the Heavenly

it is unique in that the whole vision is controlled by the physical feature, which is given as a setting in the introduction. In this sense, the introduction shows a new technique of composition.

³¹ Additionally, similarity between the land in A (7:26) and the field in C (9:26) confirms that the field symbolizes Paradise.

³² This translation favors "an alternate reading (translated 'upbuilt') offered in the Syriac and other supporting texts" (E. M. Humphrey, *The Ladies and Cities*, 76). Moreover, this translation signifies that "Zion may be said to be 'prepared and built' already" (ibid., 75). However, Latin version reads this phrase in 10:27 as 'aedificabatur' (a city was being built), which implies the process of preparation, while this is understood as "already built" ('aedificatam') in 10:44 (ibid.).

³³ Nevertheless, "Ezra's remarks about the possibility of the future 'rest' for the woman (10:24) and her son's restoration 'in tempore' (10:17), as well as the future setting of visions 5 and 6, suggest an eschatological Zion" (ibid.).

³⁴ J. M. Myer, *I & II Esdras*, 275; M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 335.

³⁵ Armenian version reads "the brilliance of the city or greatness of the construction" (M. E. Stone ed., *The Armenian Version of IV Ezra* [Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979], 173).

Jerusalem as the splendid and vast building.³⁶ Just as in A and B, the Heavenly Jerusalem and Paradise coexist also in F. However, the function of Paradise becomes clearer in F.

The materialistic feature of the Heavenly Jerusalem is made most manifest in F. This is shown not only from the usage of the term, 'building,' 'place' and 'field' but also from the usage 'go in(to)' and 'see' (the field or the building). For this reason, it can be said that F "highlights the importance of the physical setting of the vision" which is initiated in C.³⁷ The author, however, makes it certain that the physical element is totally different from the human work by saying that 'no work of man's building could endure' in F-(b). This shows that the physical aspect also contains the heavenly feature. On the other hand, Ezra is invited to see the magnificently completed building of the Heavenly Jerusalem. This also marks the heavenly city as a pre-existent entity.

G. 13:6 (a) And I looked, and behold, he carved out for himself a **great mountain**, and flew up upon it. 13:35-36 (b) But he will stand on the top of **Mount Zion**. (c) **And Zion shall come and be made manifest to all people, prepared and built**, as you saw **the mountain carved out without hands**.

These verses belong to the sixth vision. G-(b) and G-(c) are part of the interpretative section of the preceding section in which G-(a) is included. The vision provides a further remark on the Messianic function by supplementing the picture already given in the preceding eagle vision with the judgment of the Messiah and destruction of the Romans.³⁸ This vision refers to the Messiah's annihilation of all the nations opposed to him (13:25-38) and his gathering of the twelve tribes into the land of Israel to incorporate them into the Messianic Kingdom (13:39-50).³⁹ Here, it is worthwhile to note that the Heavenly Jerusalem is contextualized by the Messianic activities.⁴⁰

G is different from the other Zion texts in that Zion is described as a mountain and the term 'carved' is used in stead of 'built'. Mount Zion as having been carved without hands is reminiscent of the building of Zion, in which no human building has been set in F (10:53-55).⁴¹ Additionally, G-(c) shows that Mount Zion is eschatological as well as pre-existent. In particular, the term 'built Zion' is characteristic of 4 Ezra's descriptions of the eschatological

³⁶ M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 305.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 338.

³⁸ R. J. Coggins and M. A. Knibb, *The First and Second Books of Esdras*, 256.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Concerning the relationship between the Heavenly Jerusalem and Messianic Kingdom, refer to section of A (7:26).

⁴¹ The phrase 'without hands' is worth noting, because it is frequently used of the heavenly or eschatological Temple-e.g. Mk 14:58; Heb. 9:11; Acts. 7:48. Yet here it is taken from Dan. 2:34, 45, the context of which is slightly different from that in 4 Ezra. The context in Daniel is to show the unrivaled superiority of God's Kingdom to the secular kingdoms.

Zion.⁴² The Mountain Zion Ezra saw is pre-existent; it shall come and be made manifest to all people at the eschatological time.

2.6.3 Conclusion

The features of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple in IV Ezra can be summarized as follows: 1) Jerusalem/Zion and Temple are not distinguishable from each other. 2) The Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple coexists with the Heavenly Paradise. The Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple/Paradise which is pre-existent, will appear to be the New Jerusalem/Temple/Paradise as the eschatological restoration. 3) The New Jerusalem/Temple/Paradise is materialistically characterized but is made without hands because it will be transferred from the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple.

How then is the New Jerusalem/Temple, with these features, suited to the contemporary situation and function? In order to give an answer to this question, it is necessary to understand the social pathos suited to the contemporary situation and function. 4 Ezra 3:28-32 and 4:22-25, which are expressed with the forms of Ezra's personal lamentation, reflects the contemporary social sentiment best. The two references reflect the following current situations, which have been mentioned in the introduction: 1) a powerful dissonance of the doctrine of election; 2) a tormenting discrepancy between religious beliefs and actual experience, both of which the Temple destruction caused.⁴³

The method of healing the social impasse in 4 Ezra is significant. The author of the book leads readers to acknowledgment of the dilemmas of history by identifying with Ezra and then to experience the "apocalyptic cure"⁴⁴ by returning their attention to the right perception about the identity of Jerusalem/Temple.⁴⁵ In this respect, it is important to pay attention to the way in which Ezra's agonies have been resolved: "suddenly the problems and concerns that have beset Ezra and the questions that he has asked, are resolved," when he sees the vision of the Heavenly Zion/Temple in ch. 10.⁴⁶ This sudden solution indicates how powerfully the existence of the Heavenly Zion/Temple works for the solution of the problem.

When viewed from the perspective of the above three conclusions, the real Jerusalem/Temple has never ever been destroyed. This is because the real Jerusalem/Temple has actually been existing in the heaven (No. 2b). In addition, it is expected that the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple will be revealed at the end of times (No. 2c). Such an eschatological expectation makes belief in the existence of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple applicable.

⁴² M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 398.

⁴³ P. F. Esler, *The First Christians*, 128.

⁴⁴ This phrase is indirectly picked up from J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 169.

⁴⁵ J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 169.

⁴⁶ M. E. Stone, "Reactions," 203.

Moreover, on the one hand, it is heavenly, namely, made without human hands (No. 3b). This means that the eschatological Jerusalem/Temple will never be destroyed by anybody. On the other hand, it is material (No. 3a). It indicates that the eschatological Jerusalem/Temple is not abstract but factual. Furthermore, in No. 2a, the coexistence of the New Jerusalem/Temple with Paradise shows that the author expects the renewal of the world in the coming of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple because the Paradise is regarded as the suitable place for the epiphany of the Heavenly Jerusalem. These might be convincing enough to reverse the problems (a dissonance of the doctrine of election and a tormenting discrepancy between religious beliefs and actual experience) caused by the destruction of the Jerusalem/Temple.

Moreover, 4 Ezra seems to be reacting against the failure of the 66-70 revolt by portraying the arrival of the eschaton in terms of sheer miraculous divine intervention rather than human (militant) activity. The idea of a pre-existent Jerusalem/Temple which already exists and 'appears' at the end suits this approach very well. It is in opposition to the kind of views which led to the Bar Kokhba revolt -- i.e. the expectation that the Jews themselves should liberate Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple.

2.7 1 Baruch

It has been argued that there are three sections in Baruch which originated separately: 1:1-3:8, 3:9-4:4 and 4:5-5:9.¹ Nevertheless, the whole book can be regarded as redacted in a final form by one author because there exists a common idea in each section: either Temple destruction or her expectation toward the restoration. For example, in the first section, 2:7-10 and 2:11-18 describe the Temple destruction and the expectation of her restoration. In the second section, the idea is indirectly represented. In other words, the forsaking of God's wisdom which signifies God's commandment is given as the cause of Temple destruction (3:10-12) and holding fast to God's wisdom is regarded as the foundation of peace, strength, understanding and intelligence, which indicate the restored life (3:13-15). Finally, the third section fully shows the idea of destruction and restoration, which will be discussed below. In addition, argument for the unity of the book may be further corroborated by the systematic arrangement of the whole book: a confession of Israel's guilt as the cause of the Temple destruction in the first section; God's wisdom as the way of restoration from the disaster in the second section; and comfort and encouragement by the expectation for the restoration in the third section.²

The birth of the final form may be dated to be soon after AD 70,³ because the destruction of the first temple as the purported historical background is given as a literary device adopted for the purpose of representing the destruction of the second Temple as the actual historical background.⁴ In this case, for instance, Nebuchadnezzar and his son Belshazzar⁵ represent the Roman Emperor Vespasian and his son Titus, respectively.⁶ The book of Baruch was originally written in Hebrew, while the book is extant in Greek from which a number of other ancient versions were made, including two in Latin, two in Syriac, and others in Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Arabic.⁷

¹ For the specific evidence of the discrepancies between them, refer to W. O. E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, 263; J. C. Dancy, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 170.

² B. M. Metzger, *The Apocrypha of the OT* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 198.

³ W. O. E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, 260. O. C. Whitehouse suggests the date as between AD 70 and 135 (idem, "The Book of Baruch," in *APOT* 1:574-576).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 250-260.

⁵ Here, 'a serious anachronism' happens, because "Belshazzar is not the son of Nebuchadnezzar but the son of Nabonidus, the last king of the Neo-Babylonian empire" (cf. Dan. 5:2, 11, 18, 22) (C. A. Moore, "1 Baruch," in C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions* [New York: Doubleday, 1977], 273). Because of this anachronism, Moore proposes that the view of regarding Belshazzar as representing Titus, and Nebuchadnezzar as representing the emperor Vespasian is unlikely rather than 'disprovable' (*ibid.*, 274).

⁶ J. C. Dancy, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 172. Concerning the positive aspect of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, C. A. Moore argues that "From an impartial and objective point of view, there is nothing reasonable about such advice," in that he was "a far more humane and admirable king than most Jews and Christians realize ... as well as other 'villains' of the OT ..." (idem, "1 Baruch," 273).

⁷ B. M. Metzger, *The Apocrypha of the OT*, 198; J. C. Dancy, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 173. But Oesterley proposes Greek original (idem, *An Introduction to the Book of the Apocrypha*, 265).

This book can be divided into three parts: 1:1-3:8 (historical introduction [1:1-14] and the long confession [1:15-3:8]), 3:9-4:4 (a homily on Wisdom) and 4:5-5:9 (exhortation). The first two are composed in the prosaic form; the last one is composed in the poetic form. Here the last part (4:5-5:9) is relevant to this study, and is divided into seven small sections again (4:5-20; 21-26; 27-29; 30-35; 36-37; 5:1-4; 5-9)⁸ by the pattern of exhortation where the vocative case such as 'my people', 'my children', and 'O, Jerusalem' is regularly used. Of these seven small sections, the first three are addressed to the Israelites by Jerusalem which is personified as a mother in 4:8-10. The last four are addressed to Jerusalem by the prophet on behalf of God,⁹ and are particularly relevant to this study. However, the first three sections need to be investigated for the understanding of background.

First of all, it is noteworthy to see the distinction between the Israelites and Jerusalem. This distinction is designed as the unique rhetorical device for the purpose of exposing sinfulness of the Israelites (4:12-13) and as the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem (4:14-15) without damaging the sanctity of Jerusalem (4:10-12a). Therefore, by this distinction it is emphasized that the destruction of Jerusalem was caused only by the sin of the Israelites. However, in this part, the author still maintains a pattern of condemnation of sin and promise of restoration. This pattern is strengthened by the reluctance of the Mother, Jerusalem to send the Israelites to exile (4:23-24) and God's willingness to bring them back to the land (4:29).

On the other hand, the second part (4:30-5:9), where the speaker (the 'prophet') addresses Jerusalem, chiefly focuses on the restoration of Jerusalem, while the first part (4:5-29) predominantly describes the lamentation of the Mother, Jerusalem. In this case, it can be said that the second one is the response to the lamentation by the Mother, Jerusalem for the Israelites in the first part.¹⁰ This idea may be corroborated by the antithetical parallel between 4:20 and 5:1-4. Through the clothing motif in these two texts, a continuity is maintained between both parts. However, the process of 'taking off the robe of peace' and 'putting on sackcloth' in the former one is reversed into the process of 'taking off the garment of sorrow and affliction' and 'putting on the beauty of the glory from God' in the latter one. In this sense, it is possible to see that the latter one is given as a response to the lamentation in the former one by the reverse of the situation. Moreover, the state of restoration of Jerusalem in the latter passage is much more glorious and magnificent than that which is expected in the lamentation in 4:20. For example, in addition to changing the clothes of sorrow and affliction into the glorious beauty and righteousness, Jerusalem is privileged to put the tiara of the glory of the Everlasting on herself and she will be called 'Righteous Peace, Godly Glory'.

⁸ Ibid., 258. J. C. Dancy proposes eight small sections by separating the address to 'neighbours of Zion' in vss. 14-20 from vss. 1-20 (idem., *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 192-193).

⁹ J. C. Dancy, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 195.

¹⁰ J. C. Dancy denies the response of the second part to the first part (ibid.).

The promise of the glorification of Jerusalem is closely connected with the return of Israel from exile. In other words, the glorification of Jerusalem can be completed only by the perfect gathering of the Israelites who are described as her children. This must be the reason why the third blessing (5:1-4) is sandwiched between the second (4:36-37) and the fourth (5:5-6), both of which declare the coming of the Israelites from the remote nations. In the preceding texts, 5:5 is not only an elaboration of 4:36 but also a mosaic of phrases from Isa. 40-66.¹¹ Here, the return of Israel indicates not simply relocation of her living place but the radical change of her status from the captive into the royal rank. She will be seated on a throne like a king.

Finally, the last section reports how God prepares the way of Israel's returning safely and joyfully by leveling every high mountain and the everlasting hills and valleys (5:7-9). In particular, this text demonstrates a vividness of the glorious event by describing it at first as happening in 4:36-5:7 and then in 5:8-9 as having already happened.¹²

In conclusion, what is unique in the book of Baruch is that the Jerusalem as Mother is distinguished from the Israelites as children. This is intended to emphasize Israel's sinfulness as the cause of the destruction as well as to maintain the sanctity of Jerusalem. Moreover, in this book, the restoration of the New Jerusalem and the return of the Israelites are described as one of the eschatological blessings.

¹¹ C. A. Moore, "1 Baruch," 312. The phrase, 'Arise, Jerusalem' is parallel to 51:17; 'stand upon the height' with 40:9; 'and see your children gathered' with 60:4; 'from west to east' with 43:5. Most of all, the verse is a striking parallel to Psalms of Solomon 11:3: 'Stand upon the height, Jerusalem, and see your children assembled together from the east and west by the Lord' (ibid.).

¹² Ibid., 313. For an alternate explanation of this rhetorical technique, refer to C. A. Moore's same book, 315-316. According to him, "This illogical shift in tense from present to past in Stanza VII is best explained by concluding either that Stanza VII is based on the psalm or that both are independently based upon a now-lost liturgical piece which was cast in the past tense" (ibid.).

2.8 2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch

According to R. H. Charles, the Syriac text of 2 Baruch is a translation of a Greek translation of a Hebrew text.¹ However, P. M. Bogaert is doubtful that the Greek document was translated from a Hebrew text, though he insists that the Syriac text is still a translation from a Greek document.² The original language of 2 Baruch is, then, disputable. The accurate date of this book is also uncertain. The date can be assumed to be within the post-Second Temple destruction period because Temple destruction and her restoration are referred to in 32:2-4, 67:1-9 and 68:1-8, etc.³ From this point, it seems right to say that the book was written in response to the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in AD 70 and thus the central issue in this book was to solve the problems that the destruction caused for the contemporary Jews.⁴

Here, it is important to bear in mind that “Baruch makes the impression of a continuous composition, homogeneous throughout” and “no good reason has appeared for questioning its unity.”⁵ Along the same line, as Stone states, this book was probably composed in its present form at the very end of the first century or at the beginning of the second century AD⁶ Therefore, this book should be examined as a literary whole.⁷ In other words because this book is organically connected from the beginning to the end, one may argue his views of one part on the basis of another.

2.8.1 Preliminary Remarks

Klijn states that “the author of this work was not himself interested in the Temple ... the author starts, in ch. 10, a long passage in which Baruch speaks about Israel’s sorrows but

¹ R. H. Charles, “II Baruch,” in *APOT* 2:471-74. F. Zimmerman is also a proponent who follows this theory (idem, “Textual Observations on the Apocalypse of Baruch,” *JTS* 40 [1939] 151-56; Idem, “Translation and Mistranslation in the Apocalypse of Baruch,” in M. Ben-Horin, *et al.* eds., *Studies and Essays in Honour of Abraham A. Neuman*, [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962], 580-587. A. F. J. Klijn also proposes the same view by arguing that there are many parallels between 2 Baruch and other Jewish writings composed in Hebrew or Aramaic (idem, “2 [Syriac Apocalypse of] Baruch: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 1:616).

² P. M. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch, Introduction, traduction du Syriaque et commentaire*, SC 144 - 145 (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 1:380.

³ G. B. Saylor, *Have the Promises Failed?: A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch*, SBLDS 72 [Chico: Scholars Press, 1984], 104; A. F. J. Klijn, *OTP* 1:615, 616-617. There is a broad consensus that the book can be dated from the very end of the first century to the beginning of the second century (For this consensus, see also F. J. Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*, SBLDS 78 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985], 71, n. 2; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981], 287). In addition, the destruction of Jerusalem by Babylon in 587 BC is used as an analogy of the event in AD 70.

⁴ F. J. Murphy, “The Temple in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch,” *JBL* 106 (1987), 671; cf. M. E. Stone, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in M. E. Stone ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, CRINT 2.2 (Assen and Philadelphia: van Gorcum and Fortress Press, 1984), 410.

⁵ C. C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature: A Brief Introduction* (Hamden, London: Archon Books, 1963), 126

⁶ M. E. Stone, “Apocalyptic Literature,” 410.

⁷ G. B. Saylor, *Have the Promises Failed?* 8. She argues against her previous scholars such as R. H. Charles, P. M. Bogaert, W. Harnisch and A. C. B. Kolenkow that they do not pay attention to the whole literary structure by atomizing or isolating the subjects or structures of the book (*ibid.*, 4-9).

ironically does not mention the Temple.”⁸ Here Klijn not only deals with this problem unfairly but also overlooks the tendency of the Apocalyptists, at the post-Temple destruction period, to use Zion/Jerusalem and Temple interchangeably as synonyms.⁹ 2 Baruch is no exception to this.

According to F. J. Murphy, the author does not clearly distinguish between Jerusalem and the Temple: the latter defines the former.¹⁰ For example, in 1:4 it is announced that “the city” will be destroyed, but Baruch’s reaction to that announcement and the description of the destruction are directed toward the Temple. Likewise, in Baruch’s two laments (chaps. 10-12 and ch. 35) his sorrow comes particularly from the fact that the altar is no longer available for sacrifice.¹¹ Moreover, in 4:5 the New Jerusalem and the Heavenly Temple seem to be regarded as belonging to the same entity, in that the former was viewed by Moses when the Lord showed him the latter. Ch. 6 also provides a clue to this problem. Without any further explanation, the time of the restoration of the cultic instruments, namely the Temple, appears to be the same as that of Jerusalem (6:8-9). This hints at the fact that the author regards both as in the same category. Furthermore, in chs. 73-74 where reference is made to the New Creation in the eternal state, the restoration of Temple/Jerusalem may be assumed, even though it is not mentioned. This is because chs. 56-68, which are closely connected to chs. 73-74, show that the restoration of the Temple and that of Jerusalem are interchangeably or simultaneously given as the model for the futuristic ultimate restoration.¹² From these points, the author makes no distinction in his work between the loss/restoration of Jerusalem and the loss/restoration of the Temple, and he does not neglect the idea of the restoration of Temple. This conclusion is further corroborated by the ‘Temple’ concept in ch. 4:2-5 and 6:7 or term ‘Sanctuary’ (Temple) in 10:18 when it mentions the restoration. It may be because 2 Baruch is not too polemical against the Roman tyranny in comparison with 4 Ezra.¹³

⁸ A. F. J. Klijn, *OTP* 1:617; idem, “The Sources and The Redaction of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch,” *JSS* 15 (1970), 71.

⁹ Refer to the Preliminary Remark of 4 Ezra.

¹⁰ F. J. Murphy, “The Temple,” 671; F. J. Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*, 71; G. B. Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed?*, 16, n. 5. According to Sayler “the practice of using the terms interchangeably was common in this time period” (See also the preliminary remarks in 4 Ezra).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² For more information, refer to the section 2.8.2.4.1.

¹³ Of course, it does not mean that the book does not include any anti-Roman elements. Chs. 36-40 show such a feature.

2.8.2 Textual Considerations¹⁴

2.8.2.1 4:1-7

This text shows that the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is pre-existent.¹⁵ This is shown in vss. 3 and 5. The Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple was taken up from earth to heaven because Adam had committed a sin.¹⁶ Even though it was taken up to heaven, it is reported that it was shown to Abraham and to Moses on Mount Sinai, “when the Lord showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels” (vs. 5; cf. 59:4, 9).¹⁷ In other words, the glory of the Heavenly Temple is exemplified by Abraham and Moses’ participation in its reality.¹⁸ The Heavenly Temple will be revealed with the Lord at the end of times (vs. 3: “it is that which will be revealed, with me ...). In addition, it is observable that the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple coexists with Paradise in vss. 3 and 7.

Here, the author intends to show through the revelation of the Heavenly Temple that what was destroyed is not the Heavenly Temple but the building that is “in your midst now.” The real Temple (the Heavenly Temple) was never broken because it had existed in heaven since creation.¹⁹ This is one of the answers Baruch was looking for and it was believed that such an answer could also comfort the Israelites. The Lord assures Baruch that the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem is not final, since the destruction is only temporary, and the real Jerusalem in heaven will appear one day.²⁰ The real Temple was not demolished by anyone; the real Temple will be revealed in the future just as shown to Adam before sin, and to Abraham and Moses.

In summary, the Heavenly Temple as the real Temple is pre-existent in heaven along with Paradise and will be revealed with the Lord in the eschatological time to the righteous.

2.8.2.2 6:1-9

The veil, the holy ephod, the mercy seat, the two tables, the holy raiment of the priests, the altar of incense, the forty-eight precious stones with which the priests were clothed and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle were taken from the Holy of Holies by ‘another angel’ (vs. 7) lest strangers got possession of them. This relocation of the cultic instruments from the Temple has

¹⁴ This work normally uses the translation of A. F. J. Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” in *OTP* 1:621-652.

¹⁵ J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch*, JSPSS 1 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 130.

¹⁶ Ibid. Levison revises this part on the basis of the alternative translation as follows: “God revealed the celestial city to Adam to prevent him from sinning.”

¹⁷ There is other Jewish tradition which portrays the revelations to Abraham and Moses such as *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (LAB)* of Pseudo-Philo 19:10, which expands the account of Deut. 34:1-4 (R. J. Bauckham, “Early Jewish Visions of Hell,” *JTS* 41 [1990], 365).

¹⁸ C. M. Pate, *Adam Christology*, 52.

¹⁹ T. W. Willet, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra*, JSPSS 4 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 85, 97.

²⁰ Ibid., 85; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 173.

an important objective:²¹ “so that you (earth) may restore them (cultic instruments) when you (earth) are ordered” (vs. 8).²² This represents the anticipation of the restoration of the cultic service in the New Temple. This anticipation is also confirmed in vs. 9 where it is reported that the destruction of Jerusalem is transitory but its restoration is forever.

Here, it is necessary to understand the concept of *earth* in this passage in relation to that in chs. 29-32 and chs. 71-73. From the preceding two references, it can be assumed that *the earth* in 29:5 (cf. *this land* ch. 29:2) and the New Creation in 32:5-6 correspond to *the holy land* in 71:1 and the New Creation in ch. 73, respectively. In each case, the New Creation in the eternal state is the ultimate fulfillment of *the earth* and *the Holy land* during the Messianic period. Moreover, *the whole earth* (29:1; 70:10) appears to be contrasted with *this land*, *the earth*, *the holy land* and the New Creation. In this case, if the cultic instruments in ch. 6 are guarded *in earth*, one may choose between either *the whole land* as an ordinary land in 29:1 or *this land* in 29:2 (or *earth* in 29:5-8 or *Holy land* in ch. 71, or the New Creation in 32:5-6 and ch. 73) as a special place. It may be reasonable to think that it is not the former one being used for the purpose but the latter. In addition, “angels hid the holy vessels lest they be polluted by the enemies” in 80:2. In principle, this verse is parallel to 6:8. The action of *earth*’s guarding vessels can be compared with that of angels’ hiding them.²³ By this comparison, the action of *earth* in 6:8 can be regarded as angelic work, that is, heavenly. In that case, *earth* can not be considered as ordinary land.

In sum, *earth* in 6:8 can not be regarded as ordinary land or the whole land but as a special place. Then, it is natural to conclude that *earth* in 6:8 indicates *this land* in 29:2 or *the holy land* in 71:1 as protection place during the tribulation, and *the earth* in 29:5-8 as the restoration of earth in the Messianic Kingdom, and the New Creation in 32:5-6 and ch. 73 as the ultimate fulfillment of the previous ones. Consequently, *earth* in 6:8 can be finally regarded as foreshadowing the New Creation.

From the above arguments, an apparent contradiction can be harmonized, between *in heaven* in ch. 4 and *in earth* in ch. 6 because the author regards *earth* as the New Creation, which is characterized by the heavenly dimension.²⁴ In this respect, the discrepancy between *heaven* and *earth* disappears. He seems to see no distinction between the function of *earth* as *New Creation* in ch. 6 and that of *heaven* in ch. 4. The former is used to describe function to guard the cultic instruments of the Heavenly Temple; the latter one is used to describe function

²¹ The other object, as referred above, is not to let strangers to get possession of them (vs. 8).

²² There are several traditions concerning so-called ‘vessels burial’ such as 2 Macc. 2:4-8; *Bib. Ant.* 26:3-15; the *Par. Jer.* 3:1-11; and *Ant.* 18:61-63 (4, 1). According to G. B. Saylor, “the various forms of the legend share a conviction that the vessels will be restored in final times” (idem, *Have the Promises Failed?* 53).

²³ Here ‘angel’ in 6:5 is distinguished from ‘angels’ in 80:2. Rather, angels in 80:2 is correspondent to earth in ch. 6:8.

²⁴ Both ch. 29 and ch. 73 also show the heavenly dimension in terms of the earthly dimension.

to preserve the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple (cf. 10:18). Here the difference between *earth* and *heaven* has vanished.²⁵

Why then does the author use the term *earth* instead of *heaven* here? There are two possibilities as an answer to this question. First, the author may intend to remind readers of the existence of the New Creation at this stage for the purpose of consoling the Israelites. Second, the author may aim to reflect his anticipation of the appearance of the Heavenly/New Jerusalem on *earth* as *New Creation*.

How then can *New Creation* symbolized by *earth* be related to the restoration of Jerusalem/Temple? On the one hand, in ch. 6 while the New Creation is surely pre-existent, the restoration of Jerusalem/Temple is eschatological. On the other hand, while the New Creation is given at the eschatological time in chs. 32 and 73, the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is pre-existently preserved in heaven in ch. 4. Therefore, the New Creation is pre-existent as well as eschatological; the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is also pre-existent as well as eschatological in the book of 2 Baruch. One may infer two points from this. First, it can be known that the New Creation is always accompanied by the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple pre-existently as well as eschatologically. We see in 6:8 that earth (the New Creation) will restore the cultic instruments when Jerusalem is restored. It suggests that the New Creation provides the environment for the coming of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple. Second, the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is not only pre-existently placed in heaven, but also the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple will be revealed on the earth at the eschatological days as the New Jerusalem/Temple. This implies that the pre-existent Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple and the eschatological New Jerusalem/Temple are the same.²⁶ Neither are a problem of either/or.

2.8.2.3 Chs. 29-32

Ch. 29 describes the condition “at the consummation of time” (vs. 8). Ch. 30 represents the event at “the end of times” (vs. 3). While “the consummation of time” indicates the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom, “the end of times” points to the end of the Messianic Kingdom and the beginning of the eternal state. These two “times” are differentiated by the mention of both the appearance of the Messiah in 29:3 and his return in glory in 30:1b (“when the time of the appearance of the Anointed One has been fulfilled and he returns in glory”²⁷).

²⁵ Here this conclusion does not mean that *earth* (6:8), *the land* (29:2), *the earth* (29:5) and *the holy land* (ch. 71) exist in heaven but are characteristic of heavenly dimension. This idea is consistent with the Jewish thought that “the heavenly macrocosm is reflected in the earthly microcosm ... that the created world is a microcosm in relation to the heavenly macrocosm” (B. Otzen, “Heavenly Visions in Early Judaism: Origin and Function,” in D. J. A. Clines and P. R. Davies eds., *In the Shelter of Elyon*, JSOTSS 28 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984], 207).

²⁶ C. M. Pate, *Adam Christology*, 54.

²⁷ The meaning of the latter is somewhat ambiguous. A. F. J. Klijn’s German translation may be helpful for understanding this verse: “Vollendet sich die Zeit der Erscheinung des Messias und kehrt er dann in die Herrlichkeit zurück ...” (idem, “Die Syrische Baruch-Apocalypses,” *JSHRZ* 5/2 [1976], 142). This translation

Moreover, it is also verified by the phrase, “after these things” in 30:1a which shows that the previous events are *chronologically* followed by the next ones. From this chronological relationship between ch. 29 and ch. 30, an eschatological timetable may be illustrated as follows: tribulation → appearance of Messiah → judgment on all the nations → the period of Messianic bliss → Messiah’s return in glory to heaven → the end of Messianic reign → resurrection and the final judgment.²⁸

These eschatological references in chs. 29-30 are enlarged in chs. 31-32. Here, it is necessary to resolve the textual problem in ch. 32:2-4 and then to elucidate their meaning. On the one hand, it has been generally accepted that 32:2-4 does not fit into the context because while vss. 2-4 refer to the Zion/Temple, vs. 1 and vss. 5-6 are speaking about the world.²⁹ Concerning this problem, there are two solutions. First, as mentioned in introduction, 2 Baruch was given in this present form at the time when it was produced; and “no good reason has appeared for questioning its unity.”³⁰ Second, it is necessary to apply Otzen’s definition about the relationship between the world and the Zion/Temple to this text.³¹ From this point of view, the entire creation in vs.1 and vs. 5 ff. is not separated from the Zion/Temple in vs. 2-4 (cf. 1:7). In other words, the shaking of the Zion/Temple is related to that of the world, and the renewal of the Zion/Temple is related to that of the world. This relationship between them may be proved by the textual connection between 31:4-5 and 32:1, which seems to hint at the fact that the destruction of Jerusalem indicates the shaking of the entire creation. Therefore, vss. 2-4 are not simply insertion but rather are closely connected to the previous and the following verses. On the other hand, the meaning of 32:2-4 can be given as follows: the first destruction in vs. 2 indicates that of the Solomonic Temple³²; the first rebuilding is that by Zerubbabel; the second destruction in vs. 3 is that in AD 70, and finally vs. 4 shows the glorious renewal and the eternal perfection of the New Jerusalem in the eternal state, preceded by the Messianic era.³³

shows that this verse indicates the time when the Messianic period is finished (vollendet sich). R. H. Charles proposes a same view: “This seems to mean that after His reign the Messiah will return in glory to heaven” (*APOT* 2:498). G. B. Sayler also sees that this verse indicates the distinction between the time of the Messiah and the final times (idem, “Has the Promises Failed?” 60. n. 41). However, Arabic translation reads a little bit differently: “the coming of the time of the Messiah is fulfilled ...” (F. Leemhuis, A. F. J. Klijn and G. J. H. Van Gelder, *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch with a Parallel Translation of the Syriac Text* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986], 46).

²⁸ T. W. Willet, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra*, 118; G. B. Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed?*, 59-60.

²⁹ A. F. J. Klijn, “The Sources,” 70 (R. H. Charles, *APOT* 2:499: “these verses are an intrusion here”; C. C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature*, 126: “Charles, in both of his editions, brackets verses 2-4, with good reason”).

³⁰ C. C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature*, 126.

³¹ B. Otzen, “Heavenly Visions,” 207.

³² Probably, vss. 1-2 allude to Hag. 2:6-7 and are parallel to 68:1-4.

³³ Here, it is necessary to remember that the fictional setting of this work is the event which occurred in 586 BC. On the other hand, P. Bogaert provides another view on the meaning of these verses. According to him, the first destruction reminds us of the Second Temple destruction; the first reconstruction, the beginning of the

In addition, it can be known clearly by the expressions such as ‘to be renewed in glory’ and ‘to be perfected in eternity’ that the author represents his hope of the eschatological New Zion/Temple. At the same time, the anticipation of the earthly revealing of the eschatological New Zion/Temple is represented. As Klijn rightly states, “in 32:2-4 the author mentions the ‘building of Zion’ which will be shaken, then rebuilt, but will not remain. Finally it will be renewed”³⁴ as an eternal New Jerusalem/Temple. Finally, it is noteworthy that the renewal of the world is accompanied by the renewal of Jerusalem.³⁵ If it is right to view double destruction and double reconstruction in vss. 2-4 in terms of two trials in vss. 5-6, the New Jerusalem is parallel to the renewal of God’s creation.

In summary, these chapters show the eternal restoration of Jerusalem/Temple, and that the New Jerusalem/Temple goes with the New Creation in the eternal state after the Messianic Kingdom and resurrection.

2.8.2.4 Chs. 56-74

These chapters can be divided into two parts: chs. 56-68 and chs. 69-74. The first part contains a series of ‘twelve bright and black waters’ to be described on the basis of OT history (from Adam to the building of the Second Temple), which repeats the cycle of degradation and restoration. This series functions typologically for the eschatological judgment and restoration. The second part as an antitype of the typological pattern previously mentioned, describes the eschatological scenario followed by the destruction of the Second Temple. The sequence of the eschatological events in this scenario is as follows: eschatological tribulation and judgment→ Messianic Kingdom→ eternal state. After the second part, Baruch’s comfort and joy are expressed by the form of prayer. It is parallel to Ezra’s joy after seeing the Heavenly Zion.

2.8.2.4.1 The First Part (chs. 56-68)

This part is the interpretation of a vision in ch. 53 and a response to Baruch’s prayer in ch. 54. These chapters can be paired as follows: A (ch. 56)-B (ch. 57); C (ch. 58)-D (ch. 59); E (ch. 60)-F (ch. 61); G (ch. 62)-H (ch. 63); I (chs. 64, 65)-J (ch. 66); K (ch. 67)-L (ch. 68). The first parts refer to degradation and judgment but the latter parts, to restoration. This structure shows that chs. 56-76 provide the typological pattern for eschatological restoration from judgment. Ch. 56 displays judgment as untimely death, mourning, affliction, illness, painful labor, conception of children, and humiliation, etc., which were caused by Adam’s transgression. By contrast, B (ch. 57) reports that the eschatological hopes and promise were already given at that

Messianic age; the destruction of the first reconstruction, the end of the Messianic age; the second rebuilding in vs. 4, the perfect renewal of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the age to come (idem, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, I:423-4).

³⁴ A. J. F. Klijn, “Recent Development,” 9.

³⁵ P. Bogaert proposes the theme of New Creation (de la nouvelle création) with the more universal Heavenly Jerusalem in this chapter (idem, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, I:424).

time (57:2). This means that the eschatological pattern of restoration from judgment was first established in the Abrahamic time. Moreover, in D Moses gained the privilege of experiencing the ultimate state of the restoration beforehand by seeing the Heavenly Temple in vs. 4.³⁶ Expressions such as the greatness of Paradise, the end of periods (vs. 8), and the world which have not come (vs. 9), etc., symbolize the heavenly reality, which is characteristic of the Heavenly Temple.³⁷ Therefore, it must also show the pattern of the eschatological restoration in that the Mosaic Heavenly Jerusalem (D) is followed by the Egyptian bondage as judgment (C). Furthermore, descriptions of the restorational works of David and Solomon (F), Hezekiah (H) and Josiah (J) are also closely associated with the eschatological restoration of Jerusalem. That is to say, their restorational works are parallel to the state of the eschatological restoration.³⁸ In this respect, they provide the pattern of the eschatological restoration of Jerusalem.

In the above, it is necessary to highlight two valuable points. First, it seems likely that the author intends to shape the parallel between the historical account and the eschatological point of view for the purpose of intensifying the hope of restoration from the contemporary devastation. Second, here the expectation of the pre-existent Heavenly Jerusalem (which is revealed to Moses) and that of the eschatological New Jerusalem are presented without any conflict because the former is shown to Moses as the pattern of the eschatological restoration.

This pattern is culminated in K-L. A pair of K-L indicates the construction of the Second Temple after the destruction of the first Temple because obviously K refers to the destruction of the first Temple by the Babylonian king. In particular, the phrase, "but not as fully as before" in L justifies this assumption. In this case, Baruch is speaking between the event in 586 BC and the rebuilding of the Second Temple. This is the reason why the tense of K is present and that of L is (in the fiction) future. However, K-L as the historical event also opens the eschatological point of view just like the case of A-B, C-D, E-F, G-H and I-J, performing the function most intensively among the previous pairs. Here, it can be said that the author of 2 Baruch adopts the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BC as the occasion for proposing her destruction in AD 70 and then the futuristic restoration just like the author of IV Ezra.³⁹ Accordingly, this pair not only indicates the historical event of the destruction of the first Temple, but also points toward the eschatological restoration.

In summary, the author strongly demonstrates the expectation of the eschatological appearance of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple by listing the historical patterns of the judgment-restoration, centering around the cultic attitude.

³⁶ This is parallel to the heavenly City God showed Moses on Mount Sinai in 4:2-5.

³⁷ C. M. Pate, *Adam Christology*, 53.

³⁸ In the case of David and Solomon (F), rest, peace and much joy are correspondent to those of the eternal state in 73:1.

³⁹ A. F. Klijn, *OTP* 1:615.

2.8.2.4.2 The Second Part (chs. 69-74)

This part describes the last black waters (chs. 70-71) and last bright waters (chs. 72-74) which come after the black waters and the bright waters. These are “not black waters with black, nor bright with bright” (69:5). This means that this part refers to ‘the end of times’. Following the introduction to this part in ch. 69, the eschatological corruption is displayed in ch. 70:1-5; then Messianic war in 70:6-10, which is followed by the eschatological judgment. In ch. 71, *the holy land* is provided for the purpose of protection of God’s faithful people. It has been discussed that *the holy land* is parallel to *this land* in 29:2 or *earth* in 29:5-8, and this motif is associated with the New Creation theme, and thus this motif hints at the pre-existence of the New Creation. In ch. 72, the Messianic Kingdom is introduced. By the coming of the Messianic time, every nation will be annihilated or subjected to Israel.

However, it is uncertain whether chs. 73-74 indicates the Messianic Kingdom or the eternal state with the New Creation.⁴⁰ In particular, 73:1 causes this ambiguity because this verse is equivocal as to whether the Messianic period is finished or continued. There can be three options about the interpretation of this verse: 1) the Messianic Kingdom continues without reference to the eternal state: continuance; 2) the Messianic Kingdom continues and the eternal state begins: overlapped; 3) the eternal state begins after the Messianic Kingdom ends: transition.

At first, it is necessary to check if blessings in chs. 73-74 contain the characteristic of the Messianic Kingdom or the New Creation. The blessings can be categorized as follows: 1) encompassing of joy, rest and health; 2) nullification of curses: banishment of illness, fear, tribulation, lamentation, untimely death, adversity, judgment, condemnations, contentions, revenges, blood, passions, zeal and hate; 3) harmonization between nature and humanity: the wild beasts will serve humans and the asps and dragons will come out of their holes to subject themselves to a child; 4) relief from painful childbearing and labor. On the one hand, these blessings are not simply the same things as the Messianic blessings in ch. 29 but their expansion and the consummate fulfillment. On the other hand, they are parallel to the blessings of the New Creation in Isa. 65:16-25. In this case, the parallels show that chs. 73-74 are references to the New Creation.

Moreover, the phrase, “for that time is the end of that which is corruptible and the beginning of that which is incorruptible” in 74:2 corresponds to the phrase, “his (Messianic) dominion will last forever until the world of corruption has ended” (40:3; cf. 85:5). By this correspondence, it can be known that “the Messianic age is not an endless span of time but a temporary period, a period of transition, until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the

⁴⁰ In ch. 32, the eternal state accompanies the appearance of the New/Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple and New Creation.

times aforesaid are fulfilled,”⁴¹ and after the Messianic period the eternal state will come with the New Creation, which is an incorruptible world. Therefore, it can be said that chs. 73-74 indicate not only the ending of the Messianic period but also the eternal state with the New Creation. If this is so, options 1 and 2 in the above become invalid.⁴²

73:1, which is somewhat ambiguous, should be viewed in terms of this conclusion. In this verse, the phrase, ‘in eternal peace’ which is equivalent to ‘forever’ in 40:3 (‘his [Messianic] dominion will last *forever* until the world of corruption has ended’⁴³) may be used not in their usual meaning but as meaning ‘for the age’.⁴⁴ Then, obviously 1a shows the end of the Messianic era by means of ‘after’, and 1b displays the beginning of the eternal state.

In sum, chs. 73-74 demonstrates the end of the Messianic period and the beginning of the eternal state with the New Creation, which is accompanied by the eschatological appearance of the New Jerusalem/Temple.⁴⁵

2.8.3 Conclusion

The idea of the New Jerusalem/Temple in the book of 2 Baruch can be summarized as follows: 1) Jerusalem and Temple are used interchangeably; 2) The New Jerusalem/ Temple is always accompanied by the New Creation; the New Jerusalem is the center of the New Creation, and the New Creation is the setting of the New Jerusalem (ch. 6; ch. 32; chs. 73-74); 3) The New Jerusalem/Temple coexists with Paradise (ch. 4); 4) The New Jerusalem/Temple is pre-existent in heaven as well as eschatological; thus the New Creation and Paradise are also pre-existent as well as eschatological (ch. 4; ch. 6; ch. 32; chs. 73-74); 5) The New Jerusalem/Temple, the New Creation, and Paradise will be revealed on earth at the eschatological time (ch. 4; ch. 6; ch. 32; chs. 73-74); 6) The New Jerusalem/Temple belongs to the eternal state after the Messianic Kingdom (ch. 32; chs. 73-74); 7) The New

⁴¹ J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, trans. W. F. Stinespring (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956), 339. He also insists that “the Messianic age is only a transition to the World to Come” and “the Messiah, to be sure, does not die; neither does he remain on earth forever: he will return, apparently, to heaven, like the prophet Elijah” (ibid., 343).

⁴² A. B. Kolenkow seems to propose option 2 by saying that “2 Baruch does not say that the Messiah dies (unlike both Hippolytus and 4 Ezra) but rather stresses the continuity of his rule over the time which is the end of one age and the beginning of the next” (idem, “The Fall of the Temple and the Coming of the End: The Spectrum and Process of Apocalyptic Argument in 2 Baruch and Other Authors,” *SBLSP* 21 [Chico: Scholars Press, 1982], 247).

⁴³ In this verse, the term *forever* implies a temporal limitation.

⁴⁴ J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 339-340. Klausner translates this verse as follows: “After the Messiah has brought low everything that is in the world, and has sat down in peace for the age (or “eternally”) on the throne of his kingdom, joy shall then be revealed, and rest shall appear.”

⁴⁵ Several scholars such as F. J. Murphy, B. G. Saylor, T. W. Willet and W. O. E. Oesterley, regard chs. 73-74 as referring to the blessings of the Messianic era. However, their views are given without any argument or proof (F. J. Murphy, “The Temple,” 682; B. G. Saylor, *Have God’s the promises failed?*, 34, 71; T. W. Willet, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra*, 119; R. H. Charles with an Introduction by W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* [London: SPCK, 1917], xxxii).

Jerusalem/Temple has a continuity as well as a discontinuity with the earthly Jerusalem/Temple (ch. 6; ch. 10).

How then do the above features of the New Jerusalem/Temple function to solve problems caused by destruction of the Temple? Before answering this question, it is necessary to find out what kind of problems were raised by the destruction of the Temple. Generally speaking, the destruction raised serious questions for a religion and a nation which is centered upon its cultic place.⁴⁶

More specifically, there are two different scholarly opinions about the problems raised by the destruction or their solutions. The first is that of G. B. Saylor who suggests that the primary issues of the book are twofold: [a] “the vindication of God as just and powerful in the wake of the destruction; [b] and the survival of the Jewish community in the aftermath of the destruction.”⁴⁷ The second one is that of A. B. Kolenkow. According to her, the author of 2 Baruch was fundamentally concerned with questions of [c] ‘the meaning of the fall of the temple’ and [d] ‘the end of the world’.⁴⁸ Probably, it can be reckoned that the above four elements properly summarize the Jewish social situation after the destruction of the Temple. Concerning these issues, F. J. Murphy says that 2 Baruch offers two basic solutions: the first is that “the destruction is a punishment from God for Israel’s sins”; the second is that “many of Israel’s assumptions about the Temple are untrue”.⁴⁹ The first solution provides an answer to the problem [a]. More importantly, the second one, which is relevant to our subject as being related to the Temple, contributes more fundamental resolutions for every problem. Truly, the author attempts to solve the problem by establishing a correct concept about Jerusalem/Temple. In relation to this second solution, Murphy further comments that in 2 Baruch the heavenly city is used to relativize the earthly in order “to shift the attention of the people away from the destruction toward heaven as the true dwelling place of God and their ultimate goal.”⁵⁰ This explanation accords with the presentation of the pre-existent Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple, which is referred to in No. 4. This can be called an approach in terms of discontinuity. When viewed in terms of a discontinuity, there is a clear distinction between earthly and heavenly realities,⁵¹ and thus the New/Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is a unique alternative to the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem/Temple. As a result, the former is given to negate the significance of the latter (cf. 8:2) in order to neutralize the problems ([a], [b] and [c]) raised by the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem/Temple.⁵² However, the author does not

⁴⁶ F. J. Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*, 71-72.

⁴⁷ G. B. Saylor, *Have the Promises Failed?*, 41.

⁴⁸ A. B. Kolenkow, “The Fall of the Temple and the Coming of the End,” 247.

⁴⁹ F. J. Murphy, “The Temple,” 671.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 675, 681, 683. F. J. Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*, 35.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² In this respect, the author reports that God departed from the Temple before the enemies entered it (8:2). The Temple/Jerusalem which the enemies destroyed already is not the place where God dwells.

treat the problems only in terms of such a discontinuity. He also approaches the problem in terms of continuity.⁵³ When viewed in terms of a continuity, the New/ Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is a prototype of the earthly Jerusalem/Temple as its copy. From this point, it is possible to think that the cultic instruments of the earthly Temple can be hidden underneath *earth* to be restored and to be used at the end of times (ch. 6), and the earthly sanctuary, which was guarded by the priests, can be guarded by the Lord himself in heaven (10:18). This approach, which corresponds to No. 4 and 7, serves to let people think that actually the Jerusalem/Temple is not destroyed. Therefore, God is not overcome by enemies at all. In such a case, problem [a], [b] and [c] can be solved. Moreover, he leads his audience to the place of anticipation of the eschatological appearance of the New Jerusalem/Temple on earth. The Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple, which has been not only pre-existent but also returned to its original place, will appear on earth which will be transformed into the New Creation. This solution, which is matched with No. 2, 5 and 6, is proper enough to give the answer to the problem [d].

⁵³ Of course, both approaches are not distinguished completely but there are parts which overlap.

2.9 3 Baruch¹

This book is known to have been originally written in Greek, with a Semitic background,² and is often called the ‘Greek Apocalypse of Baruch.’ There are two opposing views regarding the origin of 3 Baruch:³ Christian origin and Jewish origin. The former is proposed by M. R. James,⁴ and the latter by L. Ginzberg.⁵ However, this kind of dichotomy of Jewish and Christian writings should be carefully treated because that may be “a misleading attempt to distinguish what is closely interrelated.”⁶ In this respect, Hughes’ position is plausible because he maintains the middle position by compromising the extreme parts of the above two opposite views.⁷

This book is widely acknowledged as having been written between the first century AD (just after the Temple destruction) and the third century AD, though views regarding the exact date are varied.⁸ The destruction story is viewed through the event of the first Temple destruction by the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar as in any other contemporary apocalyptic literature. Two versions of the extant text remain: Greek (henceforth, G) and Slavonic (henceforth, S).⁹ Of the two versions, the Slavonic seems to be regarded as being closer to the original one than the Greek because the former shows less Christian redaction than the latter.¹⁰

In this book, Baruch’s initial concern is to see if the substance of the Temple can properly function without the building. This concern leads to the following question: “How can the

¹ In this section, H. E. Gaylord, Jr.’s translation will be normally used (idem, “3 [Greek Apocalypse of] Baruch: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 1:662-679).

² *Ibid.*, 1:655.

³ A. W. Argyle, “The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch,” in H. F. D. Sparks ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 898; H. E. Gaylord, Jr., *OTP* 1:655-656.

⁴ M. R. James, “The Apocalypse of Baruch,” in J. A. Robinson ed., *Apocrypha Anecdota II* (Cambridge, 1897) lxxi. He states that 3 Baruch is “a Christian Apocalypse of the second century.”

⁵ L. Ginzberg, “Greek Apocalypse of Baruch,” in *JE* 2:551. He insists that 3 Baruch is completely Jewish except the one passage which can be surely regarded as “a Christian interpolation” that is, “the one concerning the vine ... in ch iv.”

⁶ H. E. Gaylord, Jr., *OTP* 1:656.

⁷ H. M. Hughes, “III Baruch,” in *APOT* 2:528. According to him, “the framework of this apocalypse is characteristically Jewish ... the hand of a Christian redactor can be traced in certain interpolations” (*ibid.*). W. Hage takes this opinion by saying that this book is written by “einen jüdischen Verfasser der hellenistischen Diaspora außerhalb Palästinas” through “christlichen Redaktion.” (idem, “Die griechische Baruch-Apokalypse” in *JSHRZ* 5.1 [1974], 19).

⁸ It is not a goal of this work to extract the exact date, but it is enough to suggest the relevance of the book to this work by showing a post destruction date.

⁹ On the one hand, in 1986 S. Novakovic published a single Serbian manuscript of the fifteenth century under the title “Otkrivene Varuhovo.” On the other hand, M. R. James published the Greek text in the second series of his *Apocrypha Anecdota*. For more information, see D. C. Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch): In Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* [Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996], 5, n. 16 and 37).

¹⁰ H. E. Gaylord, Jr., *OTP* 1:657. According to Gaylord, “In particular, it is likely that the references to the wicked and the righteous dead in the Slavonic version, which are quite different from those in the Greek version, are the more original” (cf. R. J. Bauckham, “Early Jewish Visions of Hell,” 372).

proper relation between God and men be maintained without the sacrifices of the Temple?”¹¹ The answer is clearly given through the revealing of the service in a Heavenly Temple, which is quite different from others given in this period.¹² In other words, ‘a timeless heavenly service’ presented on the heavenly altar through the prayers or good deeds of God’s people,¹³ which Michael conveys, is given as the chief answer to the crisis caused by the Temple destruction.¹⁴ This means that the author does not seek “a patient waiting for the New Temple (whether in heaven or in Jerusalem) at the end of days” but another way of substituting the Temple building.¹⁵ The perception of the existence of a way of communicating with God without the Temple building may contribute considerably to the understanding of the background to the present thesis. Therefore, this work will concentrate on how the author proposes his own alternative to the absence of the Temple building.

On the other hand, undoubtedly, it can be known, according to 1:1-2, that 3 Baruch is motivated by the destruction of the Temple (1:1-2G). Here, Baruch painfully asks God the reason for the destruction of the Temple. However, the response he has been given is somewhat unexpected: “Jerusalem had to suffer this” (1:3S); “Do not concern yourself so much over the salvation of Jerusalem” (1:3G).¹⁶ This seems to hint that Israel was rightfully destroyed and God is not willing to recover her. However, this does not mean that Baruch’s plea has been denied but rather that his tears and his voice “entered the ears of the Almighty God” (1:5S, “For your prayer has been heard before him and has entered the ears of the Lord God”, 1:5G). As a result, God represents his own solution to this devastating situation to Baruch. God sends an angel to show Baruch “all the mysteries of God” (1:4S, “all things of God”, G) “which no man has ever seen” (1:6S). Conclusively speaking, it is well shown in 17:3 (17:3G) that these mysteries function as an effective solution to the crisis caused by the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, at least to Baruch: “And when I came to myself, I praised God, who had deemed me worthy of such honors.” Accordingly, the perception of the mysteries is crucial to understand how Baruch is given the proper answer. And through this process, it will be known what position the book takes over the Temple, which is the goal of this work.

Here, the mysteries referred to by an angel indicate the framework and the function of the five heavens. On the one hand, the visions of the first three heavens describe the destiny of those who rebelled against God by means of the symbol of the tower of Babel, which is not

¹¹ H. E. Gaylord, Jr., *OTP* 1:659.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ The Slavonic version consistently uses the term, prayers, while the Greek uses several terms such as prayers, virtues, and good deeds alternately (11:5, 9; 12:5; 15:2) (cf. M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 128, n 22).

¹⁴ H. E. Gaylord, Jr., *OTP* 1:656.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 656. Himmelfarb also describes this position clearly as follows: “Like Revelation, 3 Baruch has no interest in the restoration of the earthly Temple” (M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 34).

¹⁶ This work normally uses the translation of H. E. Gaylord, Jr., *OTP* 1:662-679.

related to the present topic. On the other hand, the latter two visions are implicitly or explicitly related to the alternative idea to the destroyed Temple. Therefore, the latter is relevant to the present topic, and so observations will be focused on the latter two visions in detail.

2.9.1 Fourth heaven (ch. 10)

The fourth heaven is characterized by a very wide *mountain (plain)* in the middle of which there is *the multitude of birds* excluding the Phoenix of the third heaven. Here *the multitude of birds* indicates the souls of the righteous “who continuously praise the Lord” and *the mountain (plain)* is “the place where *the souls of the righteous* come when they assemble, living together choir by choir” (10:5G). In the Slavonic version, this is described as follows: “the birds are ready day and night, praising God ceaselessly.” This reminds us of the cultic appearance in the Heavenly Temple (cf. Isa. 6; Rev. 4: 10¹⁷).

In the above, *the multitude of birds* makes it evident that the fourth heavenly scene is associated with the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple motif. However, it is noteworthy that the above items do not include any feature of the Temple building.¹⁸

2.9.2 Fifth Heaven (chs. 11-16)

Undoubtedly, the most peculiar feature of the fifth heavenly scene is a ‘prayer’ motif. This means that the fifth heaven is also related to the Temple theme because prayer is closely associated with the Temple in the NT (Mt. 21:13; Mk 11:17; Lk. 19:46) as well as in the OT (1 Kings 8:29, 38; 2 Chr. 6:20; 29; Isa. 56:7) and Jewish Literature such as 1 Maccabees 7:37. However, 3 Baruch was written in a situation which was totally different from that of the above references, namely, in a condition without the Temple building. Accordingly, it seems to be interesting to observe how the author advances the Temple theme in terms of the prayer motif. In the prayer motif, three kinds of topics are provided: 1) Michael’s descending to accept the prayers of men and ascending to bring them presumably to the seventh heaven,¹⁹ 2) three kinds of people with respect to prayer, 3) rewards according to the measure of prayer.²⁰

¹⁷ In this verse, 24 elders are hypothesized to symbolize God’s people, in other words, the righteous; 4:8 also shows the ceaseless praise of 4 animals. In this case, it does not matter whether *birds* indicate ‘souls of the righteous’ in Greek version (cf. H. E. Gaylord, Jr., *OTP* 1:673 n. d) or, as R. J. Bauckham assumes, ‘heavenly creatures’ (idem, “Early Jewish Visions of Hell,” 372). What matters is that 10:5, whether the Slavonic version or the Greek, represents the cultic aspect.

¹⁸ It is interesting to compare ‘mountain’ as the Temple theme in the fourth heaven to that in 4 Ezra. In the latter, the mountain is clearly represented as a building by the expression such as ‘carved out (without hands)’ and ‘built’ (13:35-36); but in the former, the mountain does not give any impression of a building.

¹⁹ According to R. J. Bauckham, in the original text, there may be references to the seventh heaven, the highest heaven where God’s throne room exists (idem, “Early Jewish Vision of Hell,” 373; cf. M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 90).

²⁰ In this part, differences between Slavonic and Greek version are noteworthy. Therefore, it is necessary to observe them carefully. For the sake of convenience, the Slavonic version will be examined at first and then, if necessary, the Greek version.

First, when Baruch was taken to the fifth heaven, he heard Michael descending from the highest (seventh) heaven to accept the prayers of men with ‘a very large receptacle’ (a very large bowl, in G), the depth and width of which was that from heaven to earth and from east to west respectively (11:3-7S). “This is where the prayers of men go” (11:9S).²¹ Again, Michael is ascending to the seventh heaven to bring “the prayers of men” to God’s throne room (14:2S; “the virtues of men”, 14:2G).²² This means that men’s prayers are carried to God’s throne (the highest heaven) in ‘the very large receptacle’ which Michael is holding from the fifth heaven where angels brought gifts or prayers from people. A common feature in Michael’s descending and ascending is a noise like thunder (11:3, 5S) or 40 oxen (14:1S).²³ This appears to be parallel to the voice which shakes “the pivots on the thresholds” in Isa. 6:4 and “lightnings, thunderings, and voices” from the throne in Rev. 4:5. This feature strengthens that the prayers of men are the cultic performance in the Temple. However, it is noteworthy that this cultic performance is accomplished not by means of the sacrificial system in the Temple building but by means of prayer through Michael directly to God in heaven.

Then, three kinds of people are depicted in the following chapters. The first are those who offer gifts full of flowers²⁴; the second are those who offer insufficient measure of gifts; the third are those who do not offer any measure of gifts. Moreover, there are three kinds of responses of each angel, who brought the gifts, to these results. The first response is omitted because carrying gifts full of flowers seems to be regarded as normal. The second angels “were dejected (distressed, Slavonic) and did not dare to draw near because they did not have (sufficient) measure” (12:5S). “Michael also was greatly distressed” (12:7S; “Michael cried greatly over the [un]filled receptacle.” 12:7G). The last angels, when they brought the gifts, “were trembling with fear, saying, Woe to us, darkened ones, that we have been handed over to places of demons and of men. And we want to depart from them, if possible” (13:1S). It is notable that the third kind of people are described as those belonging to demons (evil men or

²¹ Interestingly, the Greek version substitutes ‘prayer’ with ‘the virtues of the righteous and the good works’: “This is where the virtues of the righteous and the good works which they do are carried...” (11:9). Here it can be known that ‘prayer’ is identified with ‘the virtues and the good works of the righteous’ in the Greek version.

²² The Greek version turns the scene into a more usual kind of heavenly judgment scene, in which people are judged according to their deeds. However, it also thereby considerably weakens the Temple theme. As the idea of people being judged purely on the basis of their prayers seems odd, it is easy to see why the Greek version should have changed the text in the direction of a more usual kind of judgment. Therefore, the Slavonic version is much more likely to be original. For this reason, this study comes down in favor of the originality of the Slavonic which refers only to prayers.

²³ In the Slavonic version, the noise is described in greater detail than in the Greek version. In the former, the noise is deliberately described as being increasingly stronger (if it is right that 40 oxen in 14:1S sound noisier than triple thunder in 11:3S), while the latter describes the noise in a similar degree such as ‘a (great) noise like thunder’ [11:3S] or ‘a shriek as from thunder’ [11:5S] or ‘a noise like thunder’ [14:1S]). The emphasis and the intentional expression of the noise in the Slavonic version shows that it is more concerned about the prayer motif than the Greek version in which the deeds of people are emphasized as a standard of God’s judgment.

²⁴ In the Greek version, angels use baskets for hauling the prayers of men into the large bowl.

foolish men filled with every unrighteousness and greediness, 13:1, 3G; cf. 13:4G). In the above, a peculiar thing is that Michael and other angels are so sensitive and even nervous about the measure of prayers of men. This appearance emphasizes how important the prayers are to God's people.

Finally, rewards are given to each category of people according to the measure of their prayers. The first kind of people are given 'God's mercies' "in the measure that they requested" (15:2S). Next, the second kind of people are also given God's mercies "in the measure that they offered prayers" (15:3S). Then they are encouraged "not to be negligent and to prostrate themselves in prayer in the holy church." In this respect, these people are not completely disregarded by God. Lastly, severe judgments are inflicted on the last kind of people who had brought nothing (16:2S).

Here, one important question arises: why are such unmerciful judgments imposed on the non-prayers? It is because not praying is understood as not fearing God (16:2S). However, this answer seems to be insufficient in explaining the extraordinary severity of the judgments. A more satisfactory answer can be found in the wider perspective but still in relation to the prior answer. It may be because the author views prayer, which was previously one of Temple acts, as the unique and only instrument to approach God, and even as that which takes the place of the function of the Temple (building). Therefore, without prayer, there is no way to communicate with the heavenly God. Those who do not pray cannot help but be regarded as Gentile. This is the reason why the unmerciful judgments are given to the non-prayers.

In the above, it is shown that the prayer motif is treated very importantly in relation to the Heavenly Temple itself. This is because prayer along with the Heavenly Temple is polemically given as the alternative of the earthly Temple building, which was destroyed. God's people do not necessarily have to long for the destroyed Temple building because they can meet God wherever and whenever they pray. In this case, this prayer functions to actualize the existence of the Heavenly Temple on this earth just as the earthly Temple building did. If this is true, even though the Temple has been destroyed, problems caused by the destruction can be overcome.²⁵

²⁵ D. C. Harlow takes an opposite position by arguing, "*Baruch's being denied a vision of God in the Heavenly Temple underscores the dispensability of the earthly Temple* (his italics) ... The earthly Temple is dispensable because the prayers and good deeds of humanity are offered to God on a daily basis through the agency of angels" (idem, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch [3 Baruch]*, 73). The idea of 'Baruch's being denied a vision of God in the Heavenly Temple' is based on his thesis that Baruch's ascent to the highest heaven is aborted. Moreover, he suggests that "the author employs temple imagery without making the fifth heaven part of the celestial temple" (ibid., 147). In the above, Harlow excludes any possibility of the function of the Heavenly Temple in 3 Baruch. However, as argued in this study, at least the 4th heaven and the 5th heaven contain the Heavenly Temple motif. Moreover, unfortunately, Harlow does not consult the Slavonic version seriously in dealing with this important issue, even though he states in another part of his book that "In those places where the Greek and Slavonic differ significantly, we will have occasion to note the differences ..." (ibid., 10). The Slavonic

However, one potential problem may remain. It was thought that all Jewish prayers were, as it were, assisted by the sacrifices in the Temple. In other words, without the Temple, it is impossible for prayer to reach God in heaven because prayer was regarded as ascending to heaven on the smoke of the sacrifices and the incense offered in the Temple. If this is so, it should be problematic to say that without the Temple, prayer can be successful. How does the author of 3 Baruch tackle this problem?

Concerning this issue, the following argument can be suggested: 3 Baruch is saying that sacrifices are not needed because prayers still reach God in his Heavenly Temple, conveyed by the angels. In this case, it can also be said that prayers already include the feature of sacrifice or offering because the word 'gifts' which is reminiscent of the idea of sacrifice is used as the substitute of the expression, 'prayers'.²⁶ Interestingly, the word 'gifts' is used only in the Slavonic version (12:1S; 12:4S; 12:5S; 15:3S). The Greek version deliberately omitted the usages of the word, 'gifts' in order to weaken the idea of sacrifice. This omission of the word in the Greek version better clarifies the significance of the word in the Slavonic version which is nearer to the original. What is the significance of the word? It is to represent that prayer comprises a feature of the sacrifice. Therefore, prayer can reach God in heaven without any extra sacrificial offerings.

The above argument is corroborated by the pictorial description of the conveyance of prayers or gifts by angels and Michael, such as the 'descending and ascending of Michael', and 'Michael's holding a large receptacle', the depth of which was from heaven to earth, and the width of which was from east to west (11:7S). Angels bring prayers from earth to the fifth heaven and Michael puts the prayers into the receptacle and carries them to the highest heaven. By this conveyance, the author intends to show that the prayers are characteristic of the sacrificial act. Moreover, Michael's descending and ascending from the fifth heaven to the highest heaven is reminiscent of the high priest in the Temple, who enters the holy of holies from the holy place. Accordingly, if the above argument is right, it can be said that the sacrificial system is affiliated to prayers.²⁷

On the other hand, after Michael's proclamation of the judgments to the non-prayers, the angel who has been guiding Baruch utters three promises to him: 1) to see the glory of God, 2)

version demonstrates the Heavenly Temple idea by the prayer motif more strongly than the Greek version which does not adopt the prayer motif but human deeds. Concerning this issue, refer to footnotes 19-22.

²⁶ The idea of the word, "gifts" in this context is parallel to that of (1) a gratuity (Prov. 19:6) to secure favor (Prov. 18:16; 21:14) a thank-offering (Num. 18:11) or a dowry (Gen. 34:12) (2) an oblation or propitiatory gift (2 Sam. 8:2,6 1 Chron. 18:2,6 2 Chron. 26:8 Pss. 45:12 72:10) (3) simply a thing given (Mt. 7:11; Lk. 11:13; Eph. 4:8) sacrificial (Mt. 5:23,24 8:4) eleemosynary (Lk. 21:1) a gratuity (Jn 4:10; Acts 8:20).

²⁷ There is another possibility: there are heavenly sacrifices in the Heavenly Temple, which substitute for the sacrifices in Jerusalem. Though 3 Baruch mentions no such sacrifices, they might have been portrayed in the 6th or 7th heaven which is omitted in the extant text but may exist in the original ending (This issue will be more discussed below). However, it would be understandable if the Christian editors of both versions omitted this, because no Christian could tolerate the idea of sacrifices being offered in heaven.

to see the resting place of the righteous, where there are glory, joy, rejoicing and celebration, and 3) to see the torture of the impious with their wailing, groans, lamentations and the eternal worm (16:4S). These three promises seem to be designed to be closely related to the three topics previously mentioned because by seeing God's glory and two other scenes such as the resting place of the righteous and the torture of the impious,²⁸ Baruch may be more assured of the truth that Michael hauls the prayers of men to God's throne, mercies and rewards given to the righteous, and judgments/curses are imposed on the non-prayers.²⁹

The issue at stake is how we can know that these promises are fulfilled to Baruch. Bauckham convincingly proposes his argument on this issue. According to him, the account of the Slavonic text (omitted in the Greek version) is 'the summary' or 'abbreviation' of the original ending of 3 Baruch, which may contain a full document, including Baruch's visit to the seventh heaven, God's throne room.³⁰ In this case, Baruch might ascend to the seventh heaven,

²⁸ It is not clear whether these two scenes refer to the intermediate state or not. However, what is clear is that they do not mention the situation on earth but that which is already in progress in paradise and in hell respectively (Bauckham, "Early Jewish Visions of Hell," 374).

²⁹ By seeing the glory of God, Baruch will also behold God's throne where the prayers of men are brought by Michael; by seeing the resting place of the righteous, Baruch is also convinced that the prayers in full and in half-full are mercies from God and rewards even on earth; by seeing the torment of the impious, he is persuaded that non-prayers are judged and cursed. Here it is important to recognize the differentiation between 'rewards to the prayers and judgment to non-prayers on earth' and 'the rest place/paradise to the righteous and torment/hell to the impious in heaven.'

³⁰ R. J. Bauckham provides five reasons to this view as follows: 1) The repetition of the angel's promise 'you will see the glory of God' (usually in the form, 'wait and you will see the glory of God' in 6:12G; 7:2; 11:2; the references without the term, 'wait' are only 4:2S and 6:12S) strongly forecasts the fulfillment of the promises; 2) An ascent through the heavens which does not reach the presence of God in the seventh is unthinkable. In this respect, 3 Baruch is parallel to 2 Enoch. This parallel leads one to expect Baruch to have seen God; 3) By the Slavonic version, the original structure of 3 Baruch was: ascent through the seven heavens, visit to paradise, visit to hell. This structure is paralleled in the apocalypse in the Syriac *Transitus Mariae* and in the *Gedulat Moshe* (where hell precedes paradise); 4) The question and the 'demonstrative explanation' in 16:5-6 are characteristic of the tour apocalypses and the tours of hell; 5) Baruch's prayer for mercy for the wicked in hell is a frequent feature of the tours of hell and is found in the apocalypse in the *Transitus Mariae*, which is the closest parallel to the structure suggested for the original 3 Baruch (idem, "Early Jewish Visions of Hell," 373-374). M. Himmelfarb agrees that Baruch ascends to the seventh heaven. Yet she disagrees that Baruch "would have seen God enthroned in the seventh heaven, like in the Ascension of Isaiah or Enoch in 2 Enoch" in that 3 Baruch is allegedly engaged in "a polemic against the understanding of the visionary's ascent in apocalypses like the Ascension of Isaiah" (idem, *Ascent to Heaven*, 90-91). However, here it is necessary to compare this view to the previous one in her earlier article: "After all, according to 3 Baruch the Heavenly Temple is not open to human beings, not even great heroes like Baruch, nor even to most angels, but only to the archangel Michael (chs. 11-15). Baruch cannot go beyond the gates of the Temple in the fifth heaven, and he remains subordinate to his angelic guide throughout the ascent" (idem, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," *SBL Seminar Papers* [Chico: Scholars Press, 1987], 214). It can be known that she changes her earlier view in that in her recent book she accepts Baruch's ascent to the seventh heaven, because she writes that "Bauckham has persuaded me that Baruch once entered the gates of the fifth heaven and ascended to the seventh heaven" (*Ascent to Heaven*, 90). Is it impossible then for Baruch to see God's glory when he ascends to the seventh heaven, God's throne room? Furthermore, 3 Baruch has a more powerful polemic than the one for correcting the understanding of the visionary's ascent. It is to provide the alternative to the crisis caused by the very Temple destruction. In other words, it was written to solve the problem about the absence of the Temple building by presenting the glorious existence of the Heavenly Temple. This must be remembered whenever we deal with this book. Angel tries to show the mysteries. As the most central part of the mysteries, the prayer motif is given. Baruch should necessarily behold the whole process of answering the prayers of men, even God's glory in the seventh heaven as well as hell and paradise outside the seventh

God's throne room, behold His glory, visit paradise, the resting place of the righteous, and finally visit hell outside the seventh heaven³¹ and take a look at the torment of the impious.

In the final chapter, the author shows that Baruch was very happily convinced by the presentation of the mysteries (17:3G). Moreover, Baruch is called to proclaim all the mysteries he has heard and seen to the sons of men (17:1S). These final remarks signify that Baruch who was in despair by the destruction of the Temple has been sufficiently persuaded by the revealing of the mysteries, namely, a series of heavenly journeys.

2.9.3 Conclusion

How is the Temple theme presented here? The above studies can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The Temple theme is concentrated on the fourth heaven and the fifth heaven.
- 2) In the fourth heaven, the Temple theme is portrayed by means of 'a very wide mountain (plain)' and 'the multitude of birds'.
- 3) In the fifth heaven, the Temple theme is represented through 'the prayer motif' as the unique way to the throne of God.
- 4) Prayer is emphasized as the alternative of the function of the earthly Temple building on the one hand, by Michael and the angels' very sensitive response to the prayers and the non-prayers, on the other hand, by the rewards to the faithful prayers and even the insufficient prayers as well as judgments to non-prayers.
- 4) Prayer is guaranteed to reach God in heaven without any extra sacrificial procedure because the prayers includes the feature of the sacrificial system.
- 5) The rewards and the judgment are confirmed by the ascent to the seventh heaven and the visits to paradise and hell outside the seventh heaven.
- 6) The Temple theme in both the fourth heaven and fifth heaven does not give any hints of the New Temple as a building but an intangible and invisible Heavenly Temple.

How then, is the author of 3 Baruch tackling the current problems caused by the Temple destruction? And, how do the above ideas work toward a solution of the current problems? In order to answer this question, it is necessary firstly to define the current problem. The current problem may be found in 1:1-2G. Here, two kinds of problems can be summarized: 1) that the

heaven. If Baruch could not go beyond the gates of the Temple in the fifth heaven, and look at the glory of God in the seventh heaven, 3 Baruch would not give any satisfactory answer to his inaugural questions at all. This assumption corroborates Bauckham's view that Baruch would see God's glory in the seventh heaven as well as paradise and hell located outside the seventh heaven. Most recently, however, D. C. Harlow argues against the abbreviation theory by denying the possibility of Baruch's ascent to the seventh heaven but proposing the 'aborted ascent' (idem, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch [3 Baruch]*, 24).

³¹ 16:4S ("their voice goes up to heaven") hints that hell is placed outside the seventh heaven.

Temple destruction is permitted by God and 2) that the Israelite people were handed over to the heathen who might convincingly negate the existence of the living God.

The author of 3 Baruch sternly disputes these two problems. First of all, the author does not deny that God allows the heathen to destroy the Temple. Rather by God's sanction he emphasizes God's sovereignty which controls the world powers. However, such authorization by God does not mean that He is not faithful, but rather that Israel is unfaithful. Therefore, God says as follows:

“Jerusalem had to suffer this”(1:3S);

“Do not concern yourself so much over the salvation of Jerusalem”(1:3G).³²

³² D. Harlow argues that the angel's statement in 1:3 indicates the 'aborted theodicy' (idem, *The Greek Apocalypse*, 56). From this view, 1:2 is supposed to portray a lamentation for the theodicy about the Temple destruction, which leads "the reader to expect a protracted discussion of theodicy" (ibid.). His view remains uncertain. On the one hand, careful observation on 1:2 shows that the verse is a lamentation to ask the reason for the Temple destruction rather than a supplication for the theodicy. This can be shown by the two questions beginning, 'why' in 1:2. In this case, 1:3 is the answer to this question. Both versions demonstrate seemingly different descriptions of 1:3, but they include the same idea. In other words, 1:3 emphasizes the inevitability of the Temple destruction presumably because of disobedience of the Israelites. In the Slavonic version, this idea is more or less directly described by the phrase, "Jerusalem had to suffer this," while in the Greek version, it is more indirect. Therefore, the author does not make readers expect to see the theodicy but rather to hear God's alternative to the destroyed Temple. The expectation does not fail when the angel of God promises to show 'all the mysteries of God (1:4S; 'all things of God' in 1:4G), which are considered as the heavenly things, as the

Moreover, the author effectively challenges against the second problem by showing the secure way to communicate with God without the Temple building. God is not confined to the Temple building. Therefore, 'no Temple' does not mean the death of God. God dwells in the highest heaven. God's people can meet him by means of prayer. The above summaries can be applied for the solution of this latter problem.

ultimate answer to the previous question. Moreover, angel's command to be silent and Baruch's silence in 1:6G does not signify the aborted theodicy but his response to God's answer to his prayer, because Baruch is told that his prayer has entered the ears of the Almighty God (1:5S, G). In 1:7G, no further speaking should be understood from a comparison with the Slavonic version which reads that "... If you will show me, I will listen; I will not subtract nor will I add one word." In 17:1S, Baruch is commanded to tell "the sons of men that which he has seen and heard, and all the mysteries ..." It is not believed that both versions are in conflict but both of them are helpful for understanding the text. If this is so, from 1:7, Baruch's silence shows his willingness not only to listen humbly to God's sayings and to see His mysteries but also to deliver what he hears and sees to people, without any change. On the other hand, if it is presumed that the expected theodicy exists in this context, as Harlow argues, then it is necessary to ask what the real theodicy is in the context of the Temple destruction. In 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, which are most popularly known as the apocalyptic literature, Ezra and Baruch find the ultimate solution for their dilemma caused by the Temple destruction in the perception of the existence of the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem and God's promise of the New Temple/Jerusalem rather than God's proclamation of judgment against Babylon and the nations. In other words, the theodicy may be ultimately fulfilled by the existence of the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem and the New Temple/Jerusalem. This is the same in 3 Baruch. Therefore, even in this aspect, the theodicy is not aborted but rather is fully acquired by the ascent to heavens and the sight of the heavenly mysteries.

2.10 The Apocalypse of Abraham

The Apocalypse of Abraham is widely held as being originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic in the Palestinian area.¹ The original text was translated into Greek and from the Greek into Slavonic.² The Greek version disappeared and thus the present text is Slavonic. The date of the composition is considered to be around the end of the first century AD after the Temple destruction,³ although the exact date is uncertain.

2.10.1 Preliminary Remarks: the Problem of Structure and Unity

There are three reasons for raising the problem of structure in this section. First, this book consists of two parts, which are seemingly separated from each other: narrative (chs. 1-8) and apocalypse proper (chs. 9-32). This framework may cause some problems regarding the unity of the book. Therefore, definition of the relationship between these two parts is necessary. Second, this book starts without lamentation unlike other apocalyptic literature which were written after the Temple destruction. It should be explained why the book was composed in this way. Finally, as shown in the above two reasons, a right perception about the structure is crucial to understanding this book. Therefore, in this section, it is necessary to deal briefly with these issues before going to the textual considerations.

Some scholars propose that the present book was not originally composed by one author. This view holds that the two parts of the book form a disunity since the first part (chs. 1-8) seems not to be related to the second part (chs. 9-32).⁴ It may be correct, as Mueller hints,⁵ that this book can be divided into two parts at large: chs. 1-8 and 9-32. The first part includes the story of Abraham's youth and his perception of idolatry which his father, Terah, committed. The second describes Abraham's ascent after his complete sacrifice according to God's command. However, it cannot be said that the two parts are totally separated. Several points can militate against this theory.

First, it is to be recognized that, although it is agreed that the first part belongs to a different origin of tradition from the second, the present author can treat this tradition 'in a very

¹ For more arguments about this, refer to G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1918), xv; R. Rubinkiewicz, "The Apocalypse of Abraham: A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP* 1:682, 686.

² G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xv; R. Rubinkiewicz, *OTP* 1:686; J. R. Mueller, "The Apocalypse of Abraham and the Destruction of the Second Jewish Temple," *SBLSP* 21 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1982), 345.

³ This is because there is an explicit reference to the Temple destruction in 27:5.

⁴ L. Ginzberg, "Abraham, Apocalypse of," in *JE* 1:92; J. R. Mueller, "The Apocalypse of Abraham," 342. Both Ginzberg and Mueller are similar in that narrative (chs. 1-8) and apocalypse (chs. 9-32) are not combined with each other.

⁵ According to Mueller, "the first part deals with Abraham's rejection of the idol-worship of his father and his search for, and acceptance of, the "true God"...The second, more extensive section, is an extended midrash on the sacrifice offered by Abraham in Genesis 15." Yet he does not attempt to connect both parts at all, in his article (*ibid.*, 343).

free way' for his own purpose, integral to the whole context.⁶ Second, the book in its original form demands the opening chapters.⁷ In this respect, the first part functions as an introduction to the second part by describing Abraham's family background and his conversion from idolatry. Therefore, without the first part as an introduction, the second part seems to be clumsy. Third, Iael provides the connection between the two parts, in that he introduces himself to Abraham as follows: "I am the one who ordered your father's house to be burned with him, for he honoured the dead" (10:12). In this statement, the author implies that the angel, Iael consistently ministers God's work in the first part as well as in the second.⁸ Fourth and most importantly, the first part is thematically integrated to the second part. For example, idolatry, which results in the burning of Terah's house as the crucial issue in the first part, also constitutes one of the main issues in the second part, as the cause of the Temple destruction (cf. 26:3).⁹ Just as Terah's idolatry caused the burning of his house, the idolatry of the Israelites produced the Temple destruction. Moreover, the sacrifice motif, which is closely related to idolatry, also provides the inter-dependence between the two parts by *the antithetical parallel*. In the first part, Terah sacrifices to idols, which results in the destruction of his house; in the second part Abraham completes the right sacrifice according to God, which opens the way to heaven for him. While idolatrous sacrifices lead to the destruction of Terah's house and the Temple, the right sacrifice leads to God's promises concerning the restoration of the Temple and its cult after the last judgment.¹⁰ Consequently, the above argument shows that, as A. Pennington states, "even if the two parts were originally independent, they have not simply been joined together, but a definite attempt has been made to fuse them."¹¹

In addition, the above arguments also show why the author adopts the narrative in the first part as the introduction: the narrative as the introduction hints at the framework of the whole story. In other words, through the narrative, the author projects the current problematic religious situation, which is the reason for the Temple destruction, and suggest its solution. Thus, the narrative is epitomized with two components as follows: 1) Terah's idolatry and 2) Abraham's searching for the God of gods (chs. 6-7) preceded by coming out of his father's house (8:3-6). The former is related to the corrupt circumstance; the latter is related to the condition for the restoration of the Temple as the solution of the current crisis. These two

⁶ G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxii.

⁷ Ibid. In addition to this, G. H. Box argues against Ginzberg's position in greater detail. However, further arguments go beyond the purpose of this section. Thus, for more information refer to his book, xxii-xxiv.

⁸ M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 62.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. The author of this book seems to be very cautious in advancing his view about the restoration of the Temple, because he demonstrates the restoration of the Temple without any clear reference to the rebuilding of the Temple unlike 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. However, the Apocalypse of Abraham hints at the rebuilding of the Temple by the emphasis on the cultic performance.

¹¹ A. Pennington, "The Apocalypse of Abraham," in H. F. D. Sparks ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 366.

factors are also developing in the second parts in the apocalyptic form.¹² The manner in which they develop will be investigated in the textual considerations.

On the other hand, this book does not begin with lamentation about the destruction of the Temple unlike other apocalyptic traditions. However, the lamentation is only briefly and relatively, not seriously, placed in the latter part of the book (27:4-6).¹³ Why does the author start his work without lamentation or why does the author place the lamentation of the Temple destruction in the later part (27:4-6)? First of all, the subject is Abraham, who unlike Ezra or Baruch did not live at the time of the destruction. He can know about the destruction of the Temple only when God predicts it, and there is no way he could know about it or lament it at the beginning of the story when he has not even converted to the true God. Thus, he laments as soon as he is told about the destruction of the Temple. However, another argument is possible, which does not entirely contradict the first one. The author polemically places his emphasis on idolatrous sin as the reason more than any other for the Temple destruction. This means that the author fully understood the reason for the Temple destruction. For this reason, the author does not place the lamentation in the initial part of the book but in the latter part, and even then only very mildly by fully using the plot of the Abrahamic episode. Consequently, no serious lamentation leads to no dramatic cheerfulness at the end of the book.

2.10.2 Textual Considerations¹⁴

2.10.2.1 *New Sacrifice and New Temple (9:8-10)*

As mentioned in the previous section, the book proposes the restoration of the Temple through right sacrifice. This is hinted at in 9:8-10, which is given right after the introductory part. These verses can be summarized by three elements: sacrifice (vs. 8), two ages (the present age and the new age with the new creation (vs. 9) and last judgment (vs. 10). It can be explained in two ways that this passage hints at the Temple restoration. First, sacrifice in vs. 8 is said to be given in the right place (Pennington's translation, "in the place which I will show you-on a high mountain") and the right way (according to God's command). This right sacrifice is, as mentioned in the previous section, antithetically parallel to the idolatrous

¹² The model of this framework may be originally given in the book of Daniel in which part 1 consists of narrative about the visionary and part 2 consists of the visionary's visions (with thematic relationships between the two parts). Moreover, this model is also followed by the Ascension of Isaiah in which chs. 1-5 consist of narrative and chs. 6-11 consist of visions, though there is also a similar debate about the unity of this book.

¹³ In addition to this, there also exists Abraham's lament on his father's stupidity and ignorance in the earlier part (6:1-3). It is also the lamentation on the stupidity and ignorance of Israel who committed idolatry against God, which caused the Temple destruction. In this narrative, the lamentation on the stupidity and ignorance leads Abraham to the acknowledgment of the God of gods.

¹⁴ In this work, the translation of R. Rubinkiewicz, which was revised and added by H. G. Lund in *OTP* 1: 689-705, will be normally used.

sacrifice by Terah.¹⁵ Therefore, if Terah's wrong sacrifice is the cause of his house's burning, which corresponds to the Temple destruction by the Israelite idolatrous sacrifice, then the right sacrifice, which Abraham is commanded to offer, can be understood as envisaging the Temple restoration. In this regard, the above text includes the idea of Temple restoration. Second, the description "in the place which I will show you on a high mountain" in vs. 8 hints at the Temple restoration in that the phrase refers to the place of the sacrifice.¹⁶ The place of sacrifice is indicated over again from ch. 9 onwards (10:14-16; 12:3 ff.; 29:17-19). In particular, 29:17-19 clearly represents the very place of the rebuilding of the Temple, when the passage describes "the place prepared beforehand" in vs. 17.¹⁷

Moreover, the reference to the right sacrifice is followed by the showing of two ages¹⁸ and the last judgment. The two ages indicate 'the coming age' in the new creation and 'the present age' in the old creation. On a high mountain, God will show all of history which includes the new creation as well as the old creation.¹⁹ Here, it can be reckoned that the context points toward the eschatological point because vs. 10 describes the last judgment. This contextual flow shows that the restoration of the Temple by right sacrifice is viewed as the eschatological event which is characterized by the last judgment and the new creation in the age to come, followed by the old creation in the present age.

In sum, the author represents the Temple restoration through right sacrifice, which will happen eschatologically with the new creation and the final judgment.

2.10.2.2 *The Abrahamic Covenant and the New Temple (12:3-9)*

In the next reference (12:3-9), Abraham arrives at the place which God points out in 9:8-10. The place is God's mountain--glorious Horeb. If 9:8-10 refers to the Temple restoration, then 12:3-9 is also inevitably related to the Temple restoration because this passage reports the result of the command in 9:8-10. However, this passage describes the Temple restoration in a different perspective. This passage is a midrashic interpretation on the sacrifices offered by

¹⁵ The position of this passage right after chs. 1-8 seems to imply that the author intentionally devises the antithetical parallel.

¹⁶ This does not mean that 'the place of sacrificing' indicates the Temple or Zion, but visualizes the Temple restoration.

¹⁷ 27:17-19 is the main passage in the book, as far as the theme of the Temple restoration is concerned. Therefore, more observations about the passage will be given below.

¹⁸ The two ages motif is proposed by the phrase, 'the things which were made by the ages and by my word, and affirmed, created, and renewed' in vs. 9. Pennington's translation more clearly shows the idea: 'the ages, which have been created and established, made and renewed, by my word'. In addition to this, 17:17-18 suggests two ages by distinguishing the corruptible age (the present age) from the age of the just (age to come). Furthermore, 21:1b also proposes the two ages idea by the phrase, 'the age prepared after it'. Normally these references to the 'two ages idea' include the new creation motif.

¹⁹ The phrase, 'I will show you ...' in vs. 9 represents the overall revelation given to Abraham concerning what happens in the two ages from the next chapter on.

Abraham in Gen. 15 and 22.²⁰ Even though Horeb and Moriah are different places, the phrases in vss. 6-8 and vss. 4-5 give evidence that Gen. 15 and 22 lie behind the text. In this text, the two events in Gen. 15 and 22 merge into one. Moreover, Moses' story (Exod. 3:1: "Moses ... came to Horeb, the mountain of God") is also mixed up with Abraham's stories by the same phrase, "we came to God's mountain, glorious Horeb" in vs. 3. What does the author purpose by the combination of the three episodes? First, in Gen. 15 and 22 the covenant idea is very significantly represented: the former is the reference to the covenant ceremony between God and Abraham; the latter is that to the final confirmation of the covenant by the test of the perfect obedience and faith of Abraham to God.²¹ Through the blending of these two episodes, the author views the Temple restoration in terms of the (Abrahamic) covenant idea: God's new people will come from the seed of Abraham. Through them the New Temple will be rebuilt and right sacrifice will be performed in the newly rebuilt Temple.²² This relationship between the covenant idea and the Temple restoration also appears in 22:5 ('there are the ones I have prepared to be born of you and to be called my people') and 29:17-20 ('... from your seed will be left the righteous men in their number ... who strive in the glory of my name toward the place prepared beforehand for them'), which will be dealt with below.

Second, the location of the mountain of Horeb in 12:3 is an allusion to Exod. 3:1. The reason for the location lies in a reference to Exod. 24:1-2 and 9-10 which shows that it was from mount Sinai (Horeb) that one could go up to God in heaven. The preceding passages show that Moses meets God in heaven at the mountain of Horeb. Therefore, the combination of the three episodes functions to emphasize the restoration of the Temple by the covenant, and to leave a possibility for the ascent to the heaven for the next section.

2.10.2.3 Heavenly Temple and New Temple (12:10; 15:1-2; 18:13-14)

It is noteworthy that the place in which God wants Abraham to sacrifice is located on God's mountain, glorious Horeb on earth, which is closely connected to the heavenly place as shown in Exod. 24:9-10. What then does the ascent of Abraham signify? Interestingly, Abraham is tempted by Azazel not to ascend twice in 13: 4-6 and 14:11. On the one hand, this is because Azazel wants to lay claim to Abraham, and can do so only while Abraham is on earth, since Azazel has been banished from heaven and cannot follow Abraham there. On the other hand, this is because Abraham's ascent causes something Azazel dislikes. What is it then

²⁰ Broadly speaking, as C. T. Begg points out, "the entire second main segment of the work, i.e., chaps. 9-32 ("the Apocalypse"), can be seen as a midrash in the biblical chapter" (C. T. Begg, "Rereadings of the 'Animal Rite' of Genesis 15 in Early Jewish Narratives," *CBQ* 50 [1988], 43).

²¹ G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. J. H. Marks (London: SCM, 1961, 1963), 176-185 and 232-240. In this regard, Gen. 17 may be regarded as the intermediate confirmation of the covenant.

²² It is not agreeable with Begg's view that there is a shift from God's promise to give the land in Gen. 15 to Abraham's posterity in the Apocalypse of Abraham 9 ff., because Gen. 15 dominantly contains the seed motif together with the land motif (C. T. Begg, "Rereadings of the 'Animal Rite' of Genesis 15," 45).

that Azazel does not want to happen? Conversely, what is it that Azazel wants to occur to Abraham and God's people? The answer may be found in the fact that in this book the Temple destruction is considered to originate from the original sin of Adam and Eve (chs. 23-27) through the deception of the serpent, which is represented by Azazel (23:11-12).²³ In this respect, Azazel may be called the agent who caused the Temple destruction. Here, it can be naturally supposed that Azazel wants to keep the Temple to be in a continual state of destruction, and dislikes the Temple being restored. Accordingly, the reason for Azazel's attempt to interrupt Abraham's ascent to heaven is because it can reverse his purpose. In other words, it can result in the restoration of the Temple. Therefore, Azazel prevents Abraham from ascending to the 'height' or heaven, and the angel repeatedly rebukes Azazel for tempting the righteous, and urges Abraham not to hear nor to answer to any saying of Azazel about the ascent. Accordingly, in this passage the idea of the Temple restoration is dramatically described. Consequently, it can be said that Abraham's ascent is related to the Temple restoration.

How then does Abrahamic ascent relate to the Temple restoration? The place of sacrifice, such as a mount Horeb, is an earthly place which is closely related to heaven. Abraham ascends to heaven from the place of sacrifice. It is noteworthy how Abraham ascends to heaven in 12:10 and 15:1-2. In the preceding texts, Abraham ascends to heaven by sitting on the right wing of the pigeon which was sacrificed as one of the prescribed sacrifices. The way of ascent corresponds to the process in which the sacrifice is accepted by God.²⁴ Therefore, Abraham's ascent means God's acceptance of the sacrifice by Abraham. The place where Abraham arrives is God's throne room in the seventh heaven,²⁵ which is vividly described in ch. 18. In this description, there are many parallels with Ezekiel 1, though there is the occasional change.²⁶ This relationship can best be discovered by comparing the appropriate sections in 'synoptic form':²⁷:

And above the firmament over their (the creatures) heads there was the likeness of a throne, in appearance like a sapphire; and seated above **the likeness of the throne** was a likeness as it were of a human form...and there was brightness round about...And I heard the voice of one speaking ... (Ezek. 1:26).

²³ It is notable that Azazel's way of deceiving to Abraham is reminiscent of the serpent's way with Adam and Eve in Gen. 3.

²⁴ The "fire phenomena" in Gen. 15 is used as the medium for ascent of Abraham and angel in the Apocalypse of Abraham (C. T. Begg, "Rereadings of the 'Animal Rite' of Genesis 15," 44).

²⁵ J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 183. According to him, "unlike 2 Enoch or 3 Baruch, Abraham is not said to ascend through the heavens one by one but is placed directly in the seventh heaven."

²⁶ C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 87. According to him, "perhaps the most significant change of all, however, is the abrupt termination of the description of the throne" and "there appears here to have been a deliberate attempt made to exclude all reference to the human figure mentioned in Ezekiel 1."

²⁷ Ibid.

And above the wheels was a **throne**...it was covered with fire, and fire encircled it round about, and an indescribable fire surrounded the fiery host. And I heard the voice of their sanctification like the voice of a single man (Apocalypse of Abraham 18:13-14).

This comparison shows that the author of the Apocalypse of Abraham depends on Ezekiel's description of God's throne, and in this passage it can be shown that the heaven which Abraham beholds on his arrival is God's throne. Therefore, as Himmelfarb states, "the heaven of the Apocalypse of Abraham is clearly a Temple," namely, Heavenly Temple.²⁸ *Consequently, the ascent of Abraham demonstrates the existence of the Heavenly Temple as the counterpart of the earthly Temple. Moreover, his ascent establishes the organic connection of the earthly sacrifice with the Heavenly Temple because he ascends to the heaven just as the sacrifice performed on the earthly place goes up to the Heavenly Temple.* In this regard, "the depiction of heaven as a Temple confirms the importance of the earthly Temple."²⁹ By his ascent, it becomes clear that the earthly Temple is the place where the right sacrifice is offered and the Heavenly Temple is the place where the right sacrifice is ultimately accepted.³⁰ In this case, the earthly place where the right sacrifice was offered can be regarded as projecting the eschatological New Temple. Consequently, Abraham's ascent visualizes the establishment of the New Temple as well.

2.10.2.4 Paradise, as the Home of the Righteous in the New Age and the New Creation (21:1-4, 6; 22:4-5)

21:1-2 shows the existence of two ages: the age which includes the present 'creation that was depicted of old on this expanse' and 'the age prepared after it'³¹. After these two verses, the two kinds of ages are introduced in detail with the form of the two worlds in 21:3-4, 6. Obviously, these two passages show that there are two kinds of worlds which belong to the two ages respectively:³² The former one refers to the present world; the latter to the Garden of Eden before the fall, which will exist on earth as the New Creation (cf. 9:9); the abode of the righteous whose fruits are 'incorruptible' (4 Ezra 7:123), wherein is 'the tree of life' (Rev. 2:7) whose 'leaves are for the healing of the nations' (Rev. 22:2).³³

After the references to the two ages, the final judgment and the new age, when the pure sacrifice will be offered, are introduced in 22: 4-5. In this passage, those who are on the left are

²⁸ M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 66.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ This is consistent with the traditional idea that the Heavenly Temple is the counterpart of the earthly Temple.

³¹ The phrase, 'after it' can be translated as 'according to it'. However, 'after it' is preferable to 'according to it' from the context.

³² It is interesting to note that the temporal dimension is described as the spatial. This shows that the two worlds do not exist simultaneously and dualistically but chronologically: this world belongs to the present age and the other world belongs to the coming age.

³³ G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, 67.

the ones to be prepared for judgment *at the end of the age*; those who are on the right are the ones to be prepared for being called God's people *at the coming age*.³⁴ The people of God will inherit Paradise, though the text does not say this. As the Temple, according to 9:8-10, will be restored at the coming age, the Paradise will coexist with the New Temple. In the Apocalypse of Abraham 21-22, "Abraham sees the whole of the drama of human history before it is presented on the world-stage, and, of course, in the case of Adam and Eve, a scene which has already taken place."³⁵

2.10.2.5 Recapitulation (29:17-19)

29:17-19 is part of what has been given in response to the question of Abraham, "Will what I saw be their lot for long?" (28:2) In this question, what is it that Abraham saw? In short, it is the contents of ch. 27, the Temple destruction.³⁶ In this case, the question can be revised as follows: Will the destroyed Temple be restored again? In response to this question, the Mighty one introduces his eschatological plan such as the appearance of the Messianic figure (vss. 9-13)³⁷ and the final judgment against "the heathen who have acted wickedly through the people of the seed Abraham" (vss. 14-16).

Our passage follows the proclamation of the final judgment as the direct answer to the initial question: Will the destroyed Temple be restored again? A positive answer to this question is presented, as shown in the above passage. How? First, the phrase, "strive in the glory of my name toward the place prepared beforehand for them, which you saw deserted in the picture" clearly shows Eternal, Mighty One's willingness to restore the Temple.³⁸ The expression "strive in the glory of my name" indicates the cultic performance in the Temple;³⁹ the phrase, "the place prepared beforehand for them" indicates the place of right sacrifice, and concurrently the place of Temple restoration in this context; the place of Temple restoration is the one "which you saw deserted in the picture," that is, the very place where the Temple was

³⁴ The text does not refer to the period of the latter, but it may be 'at the coming age' from the context, particularly, ch. 21.

³⁵ C. Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 144.

³⁶ The reference to the Temple destruction is about the first Temple. It is not clear whether the author treats the first Temple destruction as typological of the second and so fuses the two destructions or whether he does not acknowledge the second Temple at all, because the original form of the text may have been lost through Christian adaptation in ch. 29.

³⁷ C. Rowland suspects that this Messianic figure refers to Christ and thus this passage is considered to be a "Jewish-Christian interpolation of an idiosyncratic type into an essentially Jewish apocalypse" (C. Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 261; G. H. Box, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 78; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 184; M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to the heaven*, 65). In addition, however, according to M. E. Stone, "this is an unusual description of Christ. Still pending further insights, it does seem most reasonable to identify this figure as Christ and view the passage as a Christian interpolation Perhaps it is of an unidentified sectarian character" (M. E. Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 416).

³⁸ J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 185.

³⁹ Cf. 1 Kgs 8:16, 17, 33, 35, 43, 48; 9:3; 9:7. These passages show that "to strive in the glory of the name of God" is closely related to the cultic performance in the Temple.

destroyed. This means that the Temple will be restored in Jerusalem,⁴⁰ which the Eternal, Mighty One appointed beforehand. Moreover, this Temple restoration and the right sacrifice belong to the blessings of the new age in vss. 18-19.⁴¹ Furthermore, the phrase, "... from your seed will be left the righteous men in their number ..." in vs. 17 also indicates the covenant idea: "these living righteous shall enjoy the blessedness of the new age upon the renovated earth (in Jerusalem)."⁴² Finally, 'the gifts of justice ...' seems to parallel the 'justice' in 21:6, which describes the Paradise. If this is so, the parallel corroborates the fact that the New Temple coexists with the blessings of the Garden of Eden on earth. Consequently, as shown in the above, 29:17-19 recapitulates the former references to the Temple restoration.

2.10.3 Conclusion

In the above, the Temple restoration is envisaged in various ways: right sacrifice, covenant idea, Heavenly Temple and Paradise in the coming age. Among them, the new sacrifice is most crucial to the Temple restoration at least in the Apocalypse of Abraham. They can be summarized as follows respectively:

1) The Temple restoration is envisaged through right sacrifice, which will happen eschatologically together with the New Creation and the final judgment (9:8-10).

2) The Temple restoration is viewed in terms of the covenant idea, particularly, Abrahamic Covenant (12:3-9).

3) The ascent of Abraham to heaven demonstrates the existence of the Heavenly Temple, and the organic connection between the Heavenly Temple and the earthly right sacrifice (12:10; 13: 4-6; 15:1-2).

4) The ascent of Abraham visualizes the rebuilding of the eschatological New Temple as the antitype of the earthly place in which the right sacrifice was offered.

5) At the coming age, the New Temple will coexist with Paradise (21:1-6, 22:4-5; 29:17-19).

How did the above points function to solve the current problem caused by the Temple destruction? First, it is necessary to find what kind of problems are suggested in the Apocalypse of Abraham before answering the above question. The text shows what the author considered the current problem to be. As argued in the above, it becomes clear that the author approaches the contemporary crisis at a different angle from others. He places more emphasis for the reason of the Temple destruction than on the problem caused by the Temple destruction.

⁴⁰ According to G. H. Box, "our book may contemplate nothing more than the earthly Jerusalem transformed and glorified" (idem, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, 81); cf. J. R. Mueller, "The Apocalypse of Abraham," 348-349.

⁴¹ G. H. Box states that "the sacrificial cultus in a purified form will be revived in the new Jerusalem" (ibid.).

⁴² Ibid. These blessings are parallel to those in 21:6.

This is the reason why the lamentation is not put in the initial part of the book and described very mildly. The author analyzes the reason for the Temple destruction and suggests an alternative to the current problem.

What is the reason for the Temple destruction? It is idolatry, namely wrong sacrifice. This is emphasized by the long introductory narrative about Terah's corrupted religious life. The narrative functions to foreshadow the idolatrous sin of Israel. On the contrary, the right sacrifice which is performed by Abraham is introduced as the alternative as well as precondition for the Temple restoration. Moreover, the covenant idea is heavily prevalent throughout the book. It can be assumed that the reader group was very worried about God's faithfulness and their identity, which the covenant had been providing since it was established between God and Israel. The author seeks for the "apocalyptic healing" by demonstrating that through the covenant motif the Temple will be restored by the seed born of Abraham. This "apocalyptic healing" culminates in the ascent of Abraham to heaven because it displays the existence of the Heavenly Temple by which the restoration of the earthly Temple is guaranteed.

2.11 Pseudo-Philo (Latin title, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*: hereafter *LAB*)

The *LAB* has been known as “the rewritten Bible”, “midrash” or “Targum”, though each of those terms is not conclusive in defining the features of the book.¹ Normally it has been recognized as being originally written in Hebrew and later translated into Latin.² The date has been disputable between pre-70 and post-70. But it is necessary to specify the date between pre-70 or post-70 because the interpretation can be differentiated according to the date. While recently some scholars such as Bogaert³ and Harrington⁴ suggest the pre-70 theory, however, most scholars have still been proposing the post-second Temple destruction theory.⁵ The post-70 theory is favorable in this work because most recently, Jacobson efficiently proposes the position of the post-70 in his critique against the view of the pre-70.⁶ Accordingly, this work will be carried out on the basis of the post-70 theory.

A single predominant theme in *LAB* is that “no matter how much the Jewish people suffer, no matter how bleak the outlook appears, God will never completely abandon His people and in the end salvation and triumph will be the lot of the Jews.”⁷

2.11.1 Preliminary Remarks: Problem of Relevance

LAB rewrites the contents of the Bible from Adam to Saul. It looks like there is no association with our subject which deals with the events of the first century. Therefore, it is an important issue to find how the narratives in *LAB* are relevant to the first century event. *LAB* uses an analogy of events from one time to those from another.⁸ Of course, this does not mean simply to read the first-century issues and events into Pseudo-Philo’s text,⁹ but does suggest

¹ D. J. Harrington, “Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*,” in M. de Jonge ed., *Outside the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 7.

² Cf. H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum: with Latin Text and English Translation*, Vol. 1 (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996), 223-224.

³ D. J. Harrington, *et al. Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques*, SC 229-230 (Paris: Cerf, 1976), 2:10-78.

⁴ D. J. Harrington, “Pseudo-Philo: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 2:299. In addition to this, D. J. Harrington, “The Original Language of Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*,” *HTR* 63 (1970) 503-514; *idem*, “The Biblical Text of Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*,” *CBQ* 33 (1971) 1-17. For critics in detail about this position, see H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 199-201. This critic is quite illuminating.

⁵ The understanding for this trend is carried out by R. J. Bauckham, “The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo and The Gospels as ‘Midrash’,” in R. T. France ed., *Gospel Perspectives III: Studies in Midrash and Historiography* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 33. By the way, Bauckham inclines to the position of post-70 theory, arguing that “on the whole, however, the case for a late first century date still seems to have the best of the argument” (*ibid.*).

⁶ See H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 199-210.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 241-242.

⁸ F. J. Murphy, “Retelling the Bible: Idolatry in Pseudo-Philo,” *JBL* 107 (1988), 285.

⁹ In other words, Pseudo-Philo does not simply insert the apocalyptic revelations to the figures such as Noah, Abraham, Moses, Cenaz, into the biblical history but “develops them out of some feature of the biblical

“that the author expects his audience to make the same sorts of comparisons as are found in the narrative.”¹⁰ For example, the golden calf episode in ch. 12 establishes a paradigm for subsequent dealings between God and Israel.¹¹ Accordingly, the author intends to show that the Second temple was destroyed on account of the idolatrous sin through the golden calf story and then to provide the clue for the restoration from the Temple destruction at the same time: to remove the idolatrous sin. It is necessary to remember this hermeneutical principle in reading *LAB*.

On the other hand, in Pseudo-Philo’s time it was common practice to attribute apocalyptic revelations to the great figures of the OT, sometimes by finding hints of them in the biblical narrative.¹² In Pseudo-Philo, as such great figures there are ‘Abraham’ in Gen. 15 (*LAB* 23: 6-7) and ‘Kenaz’ (28: 6-9; cf. Judg. 1:15)¹³ and ‘Moses’ (*LAB* 19:10-15; cf. Deut. 34:1; *LAB* 19:10) and finally, ‘Noah’ (13:8-10).¹⁴ Here, Moses and Kenaz appear to be relevant to our subject.¹⁵ Accordingly, some passages in the narratives about them will be examined through analogy about the direct apocalyptic revelations, which explicitly describe the eschatological restoration, for the purpose of finding how the *LAB* proposes the theme of the New Jerusalem/Temple.

2.11.2 Textual Considerations¹⁶

2.11.2.1 Moses (13:7-10; 19:10, 13)

In ch. 13, three kinds of themes are intermingled: 1) the establishment of Mosaic institutions (cultic systems [vs.1]; law: temple law [vs. 2] and purity law [vs. 3]; 2) celebration of feasts [4-6], especially, the Feast of Tabernacles [7a]), 3) Noahic Covenant and Adamic transgression. It is the most crucial issue in understanding this chapter to find out how the above themes are connected to one another. First of all, this chapter demonstrates the restoration¹⁷ from the idolatrous sin through 1) making the Mosaic cultic instruments (vs. 1)

account which is interpreted as implying such a revelation” (R. J. Bauckham, “Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum,” 40).

¹⁰ F. J. Murphy, “Retelling the Bible,” 285.

¹¹ F. J. Murphy, “The Eternal Covenant in Pseudo-Philo,” *JSP* 3 (1988), 46.

¹² R. J. Bauckham, “The Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum,” 39.

¹³ According to Bauckham, Cenaz is a substitute for Othniel, the first judge (cf. *Ant.* 5:182-184) (R. J. Bauckham, “The Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum,” 48).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 39-40. In these cases, some passages represent the idea of the eschatological restoration not by analogy but directly.

¹⁵ Noah will be dealt with Moses as being related to Mosaic narrative.

¹⁶ All translations in this section are H. Jacobson’s from his book, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, unless otherwise referred.

¹⁷ In *Lab*, it is necessary to distinguish between the historical restoration (in ch. 13:7, the restoration is certainly historical) and the eschatological restoration. However, both are not totally separated from each other. It can be said that the historical restoration is the type of the eschatological restoration. Therefore, the contents of both restorations appear to overlap.

and 2) keeping the laws, (vss. 2-3) and finally 3) observing the annual festivals (vss. 4-6). In particular, as far as the restoration is concerned, the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles is much more emphasized than the celebration of any other feasts for the fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant which was defected by the idolatrous sin in vs. 7.¹⁸ In this verse, the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles causes the blessings associated with the Noahic Covenant. This connection shows that the Feast of Tabernacles is closely related with the Noahic Covenant.¹⁹

Subsequently, the Noahic episode is briefly but significantly introduced to Moses in the next verse (13:8).²⁰ Here, God explains to Moses “the significance of what He had shown to Noah,”²¹ in relation to the Adamic episode.²² In the following verse (vs. 9), God’s conversation with Moses continues as follows:

a) And the Lord proceeded²³ to show **him the ways of Paradise** and said to **him**, b) “These are the ways that men have lost by not walking in them because they have sinned against me.” (13:9)

Here, it is essential to pay attention to the translation of 13:9a, which looks obscure, before moving on the main argument. The Latin version of this part is as follows:

Et adiecit Dominus **adhuc** ostendere **vias paradysi**, et dixit ei ...²⁴

From this Latin version, if it was correctly translated from Hebrew (or Greek), there seems to be two problems in the above Jacobson’s translation.²⁵ First, he is not careful for the translation of the Latin word, **adhuc**, which lexically means ‘thus far’, ‘to this place’ or ‘to this point’.²⁶ Second, Jacobson arbitrarily inserts the pronoun, ‘him’ in the first part of 13:9a, although the author intentionally may omit the pronoun in that place, just as the Latin version shows. From these points, Jacobson’s translation can be modified as follows: ‘And thus far the Lord proceeded to show the ways of Paradise, and he said to him ...’

¹⁸ C. Hayward, “Adam in Pseudo-Philo’s Biblical Antiquities,” *JSJ* 13 (1982), 4.

¹⁹ C. Hayward states that “with the inauguration of the Tent, its appurtenances, and its sacrifices offered by the legitimate anointed priest, God’s covenant with Noah is made effective and firm. Cosmic order and earthly fertility are assured” (idem, “Adam in Pseudo-Philo’s Biblical Antiquities,” 4).

²⁰ C. Hayward, “Adam in Pseudo-Philo’s Biblical Antiquities,” 4; H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 519. According to Jacobson, “The introduction of Noah appears to be the result of the immediately preceding allusion to the flood” (ibid.).

²¹ C. Hayward, “Adam in Pseudo-Philo’s Biblical Antiquities,” 5.

²² According to F. J. Murphy, “Noah was granted a vision of the Garden of Eden” (idem, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* [New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 74).

²³ This translation is different from Harrington’s in that he does it as ‘continued’. However, H. Jacobson disregards Harrington’s as misreading (H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 521).

²⁴ H. Jacobson introduces two kinds of options in its textual criticism: 1) *ostendere ... dixit* with Δ or *ostendi ... dixi* with θ. According to Jacobson, “with the former, *ei* must be Moses; with the latter it might be Adam or Noah” Jacobson favors the former (idem, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 521-22).

²⁵ D. J. Harrington is considered to commit the same error as Jacobson does (idem, *OTP* 2:322).

²⁶ C. T. Lewis revise, enlarge, and in great part rewrite, *A LATIN DICTIONARY founded on Andrews’ Edition of FREUND’S LATIN DICTIONARY* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980), 35.

This translation saves readers from extra efforts to define who is the recipient of the showing of the ways of Paradise. For the author seems to intend to mean, by not fixing the recipient to the particular person, that ‘the ways of Paradise’²⁷ have been revealed not only to Adam, Noah or Moses but to all three persons *continuously*.²⁸ This is corroborated by the fact that the author uses the adverb, *adhuc*, which provides the nuance of *continuation*. Accordingly, this theory shows that the author proposes the continuous appearance of the Heavenly Paradise to three persons .

Moreover, 13:9b provides an important idea that the ways of Paradise were shown not only to the three pivotal persons but also to normal men:²⁹ “These are the ways that *men* have lost by not walking in them.”³⁰ Here, the antecedent of the pronoun, ‘these’ is ‘the ways of Paradise’ in previous sentence. From this, it can be inferred that the reason why Israel lost *the ways of Paradise* is because they did not walk in *the ways of Paradise*. Here it is right to understand that the former (*the ways of Paradise*) indicates the Heavenly Paradise itself, and the latter (*the ways of Paradise*) suggests the ways to the Heavenly Paradise. If this is correct, it can be shown that the latter of the two *the ways of Paradise* also insinuates God’s commandments. This can be proved by the last clause in 13:9b: “because they have sinned against me.” This phrase, which explains the preceding phrase, ‘by not walking in them (the ways to the Paradise)’, implies Israel’s disobedience to God’s commandments. Accordingly, 13:9b apparently means that though ‘the ways of Paradise’ were shown to people through the three, they were, however, forfeited on account of people’s disobedience. Here, the manner of experiencing the Heavenly Paradise can be understood as obedience to God’s commandments.³¹ Obedience to God’s commandments leads to the way of participating in the Heavenly Paradise.³² In this sense, continual obedience to God’s commandments means continual participation in the Heavenly Paradise. Conversely, disobedience to God’s commandments causes the loss of the Heavenly Paradise. Accordingly, Adam lost the ways of the Heavenly Paradise by not following God’s commandments in vs. 8b; Israel lost the ways of the Heavenly Paradise by not walking in them as shown in 13:9b.³³ Though the Heavenly Paradise was given to Israel, they failed to continue to experience the blessings of the Heavenly Paradise by not following God’s commandments.

²⁷ ‘*vias paradysi*’ can have the meanings not only (1) of ‘the roads in Paradise, i.e. the phrase simply means ‘Paradise’ but also (2) ‘the roads to Paradise’ (cf. H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 522). According to Jacobson, “the plural, if significant, may support (1); the phrasing at Gen. 3:24 could support (2). The phrase *semitas paradysi* (in its context) at 19:10 may also support (2)” (ibid.).

²⁸ In this sense, Harrington’s translation (“... continued to show ...”) may be right.

²⁹ But this does not mean Paradise was shown to them in Apocalyptic vision, as to Noah and Moses.

³⁰ Contextually, the antecedent of the pronoun, ‘these’ is ‘the ways of Paradise’. Accordingly, ‘the ways’ also indicates ‘the ways of Paradise’ in the previous phrase.

³¹ This will be more discussed in vs. 10 in the below.

³² In this respect, ‘God’s commandments’ may be equivalent to ‘the ways to Paradise’.

³³ The last clause in 13:9b corroborates this argument. The disobedience may indicate the idolatrous sin.

Finally, God gives His instruction to Moses himself in the first part of vs. 10. Here, the blessings such as productivity of their seed, the earth rapidly yielding its fruit and the beneficial rain show that this verse as an allusion to Lev. 26:2-5 is associated with the Feast of Tabernacles in vs. 7. These blessings will be given when they walk in ‘my (God’s) ways’ in vs. 10. What are ‘my ways’? Interestingly, there are seemingly similar expressions in vss. 8, 9 and 10 as far as the word ‘way’ (*via*) is concerned:³⁴ *Ille autem transgressus est vias meas* in vs. 8; *Hec sunt vie quas perdiderunt homines, non ambulantes in eis* in vs. 9; *Si in viis meis ambulaverint* in vs., 10. In particular, the same two words are used in vs. 9 and vs. 10 (*vie/ambulantes* and *viis/ambulaverint*). These parallels prove that the ‘ways’ in vs. 10 are the same ones as in vs. 9. In this case, it can be presumed that “my (God’s) ways” in vs. 10 indicates “the ways of paradise” in vs. 9.³⁵ If this is true, “the ways of Paradise” function as a condition for the blessings of God, which are celebrated in the Feast of Tabernacles because this verse is evidently characteristic of the blessings celebrated in the Feast of Tabernacles and the related clause is the conditional one. In this case, ‘the ways of Paradise’³⁶ should be understood as meaning ‘the ways to the blessings’ celebrated in the Feast of Tabernacles rather than ‘the ways to the eschatological Paradise’. This means that vs. 10 exhorts the readers to stick to the ways to be able to receive the blessings.

Here, it is necessary to consider why the Feast of Tabernacles appears to be related to ‘the ways of Paradise’. In other words, what is the significance of the Feast of Tabernacles in this context? The blessings associated with the Feast of Tabernacles function as most properly demonstrating the blessings of the Heavenly Paradise because the blessings of the Heavenly Paradise are virtually actualized through the blessings associated with the blessings of the Feast of Tabernacles.³⁷ If this is so, the Feast of Tabernacles is represented as the mark of restoration together with the Noahic Covenant in this context. This may be the reason why some of the blessings of the Feast of Tabernacles are also found in the blessings of the Noahic Covenant in vs. 7.

³⁴ The repeated usage of the word, ‘way’, in vss. 8-9 proves again that the instructions by God to Adam, Noah and Moses are characteristically the same ones. According to *Lab*, God made the covenant with Adam in order to protect the productivity of his seeds and the fertility of the earth from the corruption. The Noahic Covenant was made to mitigate the curse which Adam caused because of his transgression (C. Hayward, “Adam in Pseudo-Philo’s Biblical Antiquities,” 6). The Mosaic Covenant was established in order to restore the Noahic Covenant. In this respect, while the instructions which were given to three persons by God contain the same characteristics, the purposes are slightly different from one another.

³⁵ For more information, see note 43.

³⁶ In this sense, ‘the ways to Paradise’ is the same meaning as God’s commandments in vs. 8.

³⁷ There seems to be a shift between vs. 7 and vs. 10: in vs. 7, the blessings are more associated with the Noahic Covenant; in vs. 10, the blessings are more associated with the Feast of Tabernacles. However, such a shift does not cause much problem, because the blessings of the Noahic Covenant are caused by the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles in vs. 7a, and thus, in a sense, differentiation between both blessings are meaningless.

Summarizing the above argument, it would be necessary to ask the following question: What does the above argument show with regard to the eschatological restoration?³⁸ In the above, the contextual setting is historical as instructions given to Moses by God at the time of Moses.³⁹ The anticipation of the restoration is viewed from the situation of the time of Moses; the most important cause of the restoration is the establishment of the Mosaic institutions such as the cultic instruments, law and celebration of feasts, especially the Feast of Tabernacles; the most crucial contents of the restoration is the fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant through the Mosaic institutions; the goal of the restoration is the experience of the Heavenly Paradise, which can be actualized by the blessings of the Noahic Covenant or the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles.

These elements of the restoration may be rightly regarded as being applied to *LAB*'s current crisis by analogy, as referred in the section of Preliminary Remarks. In other words, they provide a kind of solution for the current problematic situation (the Second Temple destruction) by supplying a pattern for the eschatological restoration. The eschatological restoration is purposed to experience the Heavenly Paradise. The Heavenly Paradise can be acquired by the faithful observance of God's commandment, and actualized by the Noahic blessings caused by the Feast of Tabernacles. Moreover, the eschatological restoration will be impossible without the removal of the idolatrous sin as the cause of the Temple destruction.

Next, 19:10 is contextualized by Moses' farewell speech (19:1-6), God's prediction about the destruction of the first Temple (19:7)⁴⁰ and Moses' pleading for God's mercy on His people (19:8-9). Therefore, the following passages are supposed to refer to the restoration from the destruction of the first Temple as a result of Moses' pleading for God's mercy. What are the contents of the restoration?

First of all, God shows the land that He will give to His people, saying that "This is the land that I will give to my people."⁴¹ Then, He shows how plentiful and fruitful the promised land will be, directly by showing the special place in the firmament from which only the holy land drinks, hence the productivity of the promised land, and indirectly by showing the resourceful places from which the source of rain for the whole earth, the source of the Nile and

³⁸ This question is relevant to the whole context of the Pseudo-Philo as well as to 13:8-9 in that as F. J. Murphy remarks, "Lab 13:8-9 is an example of the protology of Pseudo-Philo," and "Everything within the work is framed by the Creation and the eschaton" (idem, *Pseudo-Philo*, 75).

³⁹ At least, Israel was supposed to experience the Heavenly Paradise while obeying God's commandments. In this respect, it may be said that the experience of the Heavenly Paradise is the historical dimension of restoration, while the Heavenly Paradise itself directs toward the eschatological.

⁴⁰ H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 200. Normally, the first Temple destruction contextualizes the second Temple destruction in the apocalyptic works which were composed in post-70 (cf. 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch and 4 Ezra). In this respect, the first Temple destruction visualizes the second Temple destruction (cf. 12:4).

⁴¹ God's promise to give the land is reminiscent of God's promise to Moses and Joshua of allowing Israel the land of Canaan. Therefore, in this literary context, the land indicates the land of Canaan.

the manna in the wilderness originated.⁴² Interestingly, the descriptions of productivity given from the resourceful places are reminiscent of the blessings of the Noahic Covenant and the blessings associated with the Feast of Tabernacles in 13:7, 10.⁴³ This shows that the idea of the restoration in *LAB*, particularly in the Mosaic episode, is consistently based on the Noahic Covenant and the Feast of Tabernacles.

However, the scenes in heaven are not simply a revelation of resource places as a guarantee of productivity of the promised land (the holy land), but they include a revelation of the heavenly sanctuary and the cultic practices in it. 'The measurement of the sanctuary' and 'showing of the number of sacrifices' can be understood as references to 'the Heavenly Temple' because they are parts of the heavenly scenes.

Importantly, on the other hand, it is possible to apply the same analogical method used in 13:7-10 to in 19:10.⁴⁴ That is to say, by the analogical method, *LAB* intends to project the apocalyptic visions to be given to Moses in 19:10 into the current crisis, expecting the contemporaries to be comforted and encouraged by them. In this respect, 'the land' which means the land of Canaan in the literary context, may be shown as being analogous to the New Jerusalem motif because the land is also described as 'the holy land' which normally indicates 'Jerusalem' (cf. Zec. 2:12 'The LORD will inherit Judah as his portion in the holy land, and will again choose Jerusalem')⁴⁵ and in this case, the restoration of 'the holy land' means the restoration of Jerusalem, and if this is so, it can be said that the restoration of Jerusalem alludes to the eschatological rebuilding of the New Jerusalem.

In addition, the expressions such as 'the measurements of the sanctuary' and 'the number of sacrifices'⁴⁶ indicate the existence of the Heavenly Temple as the proto-type of the Mosaic earthly Temple.⁴⁷ The vision of the Heavenly Temple also alludes to the coming of the eschatological New Temple on earth because by the vision, the pattern of the Heavenly Temple as the proto-type of the Mosaic Temple is supposed to be applied to the eschatological

⁴² Moses is shown the heavens, and like many apocalyptic seers (e.g. Enoch) in the apocalypses, he sees. Moreover, the repetition of 'place' is because Moses is shown a series of different places in the heavens, from which various earthly phenomena originate.

⁴³ 13:7-10 and 19:10 are parallel to each other by the phrase, "these are what have been denied to the human race because they have sinned against me" in the last part, because it echoes the passage "these are the ways that men have lost by not walking in them, because they have sinned against me" in 13:9.

⁴⁴ F. J. Murphy detects parallels between ch. 13 and ch. 19 in following elements: "sanctuary, cult, a cosmic context, special revelation to Moses including paradise, humanity's loss of the original blessings, reference to God's mercy, prediction of the sinfulness of the people, their punishment, and the restoration of God's favor, association of rains and water with God's favor, and reference to the previous establishment of the covenant" (*idem*, *Pseudo-Philo*, 93).

⁴⁵ H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 635.

⁴⁶ This means "the prescribed number of sacrifices" for the various occasions of offerings (*ibid.*, 637).

⁴⁷ It reflects the tradition preserved at *Sifre Deut.* ch. 357 that God showed Moses the completed Temple (*ibid.*, 637). According to H. Jacobson, "the notion that God revealed to Moses the very measurements of the sanctuary comes from midrashic elaborations about the desert sanctuary, wherein we read that God gave Moses instructions about its building that included specific measurements" (*ibid.*).

restoration again. This idea is confirmed by 19:13b which describes the rebuilding of the New Temple on earth.⁴⁸

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Paradise motif is presented in this verse by the phrase “all the way to the paths of Paradise”.⁴⁹ This phrase and the previous clause, “the place from which he rained down manna upon the people” are in apposition to each other. In this case, Paradise indicates ‘the place’ from which manna came down upon people. Here, it is right to regard the Paradise as the Heavenly Paradise. It is remarkable to see that the manna was given to the Israelite people in the wilderness from the Heavenly Paradise. This Heavenly Paradise is also eschatologically established on earth in that the blessings of the Heavenly Paradise will be actualized through the blessings of the Noahic Covenant caused by the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles at the end of days.

In summary, the vision of the restoration of the holy land, namely, Jerusalem and the Heavenly Temple/Paradise represented in 19:10 as the response to Moses’ pleading can be analogized to the eschatological expectation toward the New Jerusalem/Temple/Paradise in order to overcome the current crisis caused by the Temple destruction. This eschatological New Jerusalem/Temple/Paradise is supposed to appear materially because as shown in 13:7-10 and 19:10, the historical restoration as a pattern of the eschatological restoration is characterized by the blessings associated with the Feast of Tabernacles and the Noahic Covenant (19:11), which propose the suitable preservation of the cosmic framework.

Finally, 19:13 refers to the rebuilding of the New Temple. In 19:13b, the state of the new age includes the restoration of saints and the rebuilding of the New Temple.⁵⁰ On the one hand, in 19:13b, the phrase ‘the place of sanctification’ indicates the place where the New Temple will be rebuilt. On the other hand, the phrase, which indicates the dwelling place of the resurrected, the New Jerusalem since the phrase (‘the place of sanctification that I showed you’) may imply ‘the (holy) land’ which the Lord showed to Moses in 19:10 as the promised land.

Moreover, this part (19:13) begins with the conjunction, ‘for’. It means that this part is narrated as the cause of the former part. In other words, the eschatological judgment is necessarily required because there should be the resurrection of the saints and the resurrected

⁴⁸ It will be discussed in the below.

⁴⁹ It means “the paths that lead to Paradise (H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 636). Moses gets a pre-death vision of Paradise in *Sifre Deut.* ch. 357 (ibid.). The Latin version reads ‘*ad semitas paradysi*’. Here ‘*semitas*’ is distinguished from ‘*via*’ which is used in 13:8-9 (*viae paradysi*). The former one means ‘a narrow way’; the latter means ‘a highway’ (*A Latin Dictionary*, 1667). Therefore, the intentions of the author to describe both are different from each other. Ultimately, however, they are in common in that they indicate the New Jerusalem/Temple theme respectively by introducing the existence of the Paradise.

⁵⁰ It may be presumed that the *place* (locus) is the same entity as the one in 13:8-10 and 19:10. The repeated use of the word, ‘*place*’ (locus) with the eschatological restoration demonstrates that *Lab* emphasizes the earthly restoration

should live centering around the New Temple/Jerusalem.⁵¹ Therefore, in *LAB*, the eschatological scenario may be arranged as follows: after the shaking of the creation by the coming of God to the world, the creation will be refreshed by the judgment → the blessings of the Noahic Covenant will refresh the whole creation in a new heaven and a new earth → restoration of the saints and rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem.

2.11.2.2 *Kenaz and Twelve stones (chs. 26-27)*

First of all, it is necessary to note that chs. 25-27 establish a unity, although they may be divided into a series of episodes such as the election of Kenaz, the detection and punishment of the sinners, the precious stones, the murmurers and the great victory, which are skillfully interwoven in a single story.⁵² Chs. 25-27 consist of two themes which are interconnected: 1) Pseudo-Philo's interest in leadership and 2) the pattern of sin, punishment, deliverance, which is originated from the Deuteronomistic view of history and recurrent throughout *LAB*. In chs. 26-27, *LAB* describes the situation after the age of Joshua by presenting the non-biblical figure, Kenaz.⁵³ "The account of his activities exceeds in length all but the narratives about Moses and the Exodus."⁵⁴ This fact implies that the author put not less emphasis on this narrative than on Moses'. Through Kenaz, he intended to project the good leadership image which was contemporarily longed for.⁵⁵ Kenaz's leadership is significantly played both in the establishment of twelve stones, which is followed by the removal of seven stones,⁵⁶ and in his victory in the fighting with Amorites. This story about the precious stone is related to the Temple motif by the fact that God ordered Kenaz to place the twelve stones in the ark of the covenant of the Lord along with the tablets of the covenant given to Moses and then above the two cherubim in the Temple (26:12). Accordingly, one will be able to find what *LAB* is trying to express about the restoration of the Temple by observing Kenaz's ministry, as far as 'the twelve stones' are concerned.

⁵¹ B. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1994), 92.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵³ According to R. J. Bauckham, Kenaz is not simply another name of Othniel, nor is he the biblical Othniel's father but the "eponymous ancestor of the Kenizzite tribe to which both Caleb and Othniel belonged" and "a non-biblical son of Caleb whom he (the author of Pseudo-Philo) has substituted for the biblical first judge" (*idem*, "Kenaz: From Local Hero to Messianic Prototype," unpublished article, 2). Moreover, Bauckham argues that "the present text may be an attempt at reconciliation with the biblical narrative: that Kenaz was judge of only one tribe would explain his absence from Judges" (*ibid.*, 4) For more discussions about genealogy of Kenaz, refer to the same source by R. J. Bauckham, 2-5.

⁵⁴ G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Good and Bad Leaders in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," in J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg eds., *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 54.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ R. J. Bauckham observes that the removal and replacement of the seven stones by the twelve stones is parallel to "the removal of the old corrupted creation and its transformation into the new heaven and the new earth" (R. J. Bauckham, "Kenaz: From Local Hero to Eschatological Prototype," 18).

How do the twelve stones demonstrate the Temple/Paradise motif? First of all, they are related to the twelve stones that Moses in the wilderness set on the breastplate (26:4). For they were set “on the ephod to correspond to the twelve stones that Moses in the wilderness set on the breastplate” (26:4; cf. Exod. 28:17).⁵⁷ By the setting on the ephod, the twelve stones have a continuity with the twelve stones set on Moses’ breastplate, which is part of Moses’ cultic system. In addition, God ordered Kenaz to place them in the ark of the covenant of the Lord and, to place them before Him above the two cherubim in the Temple, after building the Temple (26:12). In the above, the twelve stones appear to be closely related with the Temple motif.

Here an important question arises: What is the significance of the ‘twelve stones’ with relation to the Temple motif? In other words, what is their function in this literary context? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to acknowledge that the twelve stones were brought from the Havilah, which is regarded as Paradise.⁵⁸ In short, *they represent the Paradise*. These twelve stones which are characteristic of the Paradise are also brought into the Temple. This fact says that the twelve stones make ‘a legitimate link’⁵⁹ between the Temple and the Paradise. By setting the twelve stones on the ephod, or in the ark, or above the two cherubim in the Temple, *LAB* attempts to show that “through the Temple service and the Law the people of Israel as a whole begin to have access, albeit at several removals, to what Adam lost.”⁶⁰ Accordingly, the twelve stones function to get access to the Paradise in the midst of the Temple service.

Moreover, the setting on the ephod or in the ark or above the two cherubim in the temple corresponds to the setting up of the seven stones upon the seven idols.⁶¹ This correspondence

⁵⁷ Here, “as each of the twelve stones of Exodus is associated with one of the tribes, so each of the new stones will be associated with one of the tribes,” as the ideal Israel to be determined by God alone (F. J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 123).

⁵⁸ C. Hayward, “Adam in Pseudo-Philo’s Biblical Antiquities,” 12. According to him, *Lab* is “one of the earliest witnesses to the tradition that Paradise with its river Pishon was the source of precious stones giving light of a miraculous kind, especially those oracle stones of the high priest’s ephod and breastplate” (ibid.). Hayward also provides some sources as follows: Targum *Pseudo-Jonathan* of Exodus 35, 27; *b. Yoma* 75a; *Shemoth Rabbah* 33, 8, etc. (ibid., n. 42). Moreover, the presence of the twelve precious stones in the Paradise is confirmed by the other sources such as 1 Enoch 18:6-8, 24:2, Ezekiel 28:3 (R. J. Bauckham, “Kenaz: From Local Hero to Messianic Prototype,” 6). In particular, according to Bauckham, Targum *Pseudo-Jonathan* to Exodus 35:27 explains that the precious stones brought by the leaders of Israel for the ephod and the breastplate had been brought by the clouds of heaven from the river Pishon (ibid.). Finally, Bauckham states that “clearly Pseudo-Philo’s account of the derivation of the second set of twelve precious stones from Paradise belongs in the context of similar traditions about the precious stones and metals in the Temple, and must reflect especially the tradition that the first set of twelve precious stones came from Paradise, a tradition to which Pseudo-Philo perhaps explicitly alludes in LAB 26:13” (ibid., 7). However, H. Jacobson considers it is not clear “whether the allusion to Havilah is meant to indicate that the stones come from Paradise” (idem, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 754).

⁵⁹ C. Hayward, “Adam in Pseudo-Philo’s Biblical Antiquities,” 13.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 14.

⁶¹ Interestingly, the seven stones and the twelve stones are similar to each other in their origin and function. Both stones were taken from the land of ‘Havilah’ (25:11) or ‘the top of the mountain’ (26:4). The former is placed over the idols in the sanctuaries (25:10, 12); the latter is set upon the ephod (26:4) and in the ark

demonstrates that another significance or another function of the twelve stones can be inferred from the relationship of the seven stones with the seven idols. What is the function of the seven stones with regard to the seven idols? As far as the seven idols are concerned, there is no reference to the lively power but to the remarkable beauty (cf. 25:11). However, the seven stones are described as having mythical energy. The latter effectuates the former. This principle may be applied to the function of the twelve stones, though not totally. In this case, the precious twelve stones may be considered as functioning to invigorate the Mosaic cultic system or the Temple service over against the idolatry. Moreover, they were sanctified according to the twelve tribes through the engraving of the name of the tribes on the twelve stones (26:4, 26:8-11): “The engraving on them was such as if the forms of eyes were portrayed on them” (26:9). This engraving of the name of the twelve tribes on the twelve stones may be regarded as indicating the renewal of the significance of the existence of Israel.⁶²

What has been discussed thus far may be regarded as a historical dimension, but 26:13 displays the eschatological event. The function of the twelve stones as ‘a legitimate link’ between Paradise and Temple in the historical dimension is totally applied to that in the eschatological dimension. For the twelve stones in the historical dimension will not be removed by Israel’s sins unlike the seven stones but they will continue to exist by God’s protection (26:13a). In this passage (26:13a), it is predicted that Israel will greatly commit sins before God and as a result, God’s temple will be destroyed by their enemies.⁶³ At the time of the ordeal in full measure of Israel, due to their sins, God will take twelve stones and the former stones, namely, Moses’ twelve stones in his breastplate⁶⁴ along with the tablets of the covenant which was given on the mount Horeb (26:12). Then, the precious stones, Moses’ twelve stones and the tablets of the covenant will be kept in the same place (Paradise) as that

and then will be placed above the two cherubim in the temple when the temple is built (26:12). By the former, there is no need of the light of a lamp in entrance at night, because the natural light of the stones shine forth so brightly (25:12); by the latter, “the just will not need the light of the sun or the brightness of the moon, for the light of those most precious stones will be their light” (26:13) (Note that there is difference in scale: the former is compared to the lamp; the latter is compared to the sun and moon. The latter shows much larger scale). From this similarity, it may be assumed that the seven stones had been so pure (this can be more clearly seen from the fact that the seven stones were taken from the same place as the twelve stones had been taken) that they might be used for the divine purpose, but later became corrupted through the idolatrous practice by the sinful human (25:11; 26:4). As its result, the seven stones seemed to be replaced by the twelve stones. From this assumption, it can be supposed that another function of the seven stones to purify people of demons and to recover the sight of the blind (25:12) exists also in the twelve stones with a greater scale, though not reported. When Israel’s sins have reached full measure and so their enemies will have power over the Temple, the twelve stones are said to be taken to the place in which they were brought forth in order to be prevented from the corruption which the seven stones had suffered.

⁶² According to R. J. Bauckham, “with the names of the tribes inscribed on them, they (twelve precious stones) represent Israel as she should be, in her purity” (idem, “Kenaz: From Local Hero to Eschatological Prototype,” 16).

⁶³ Even though *Lab* is presumed to be written in the post-70, the above prediction does not causes any problem, because it can be said that *Lab* rewrites Bible in terms of the current crisis, Temple destruction.

⁶⁴ H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 775. D. J. Harrington, *OTP* 2:338.

from which they were taken at the beginning, in order to prevent them from being corrupt like the previous seven precious stones, until the eschatological time to visit the inhabitants of the earth as shown in the following (26:13b). Here, it is significant that the precious stones accompany the tablets of the covenant in their placement in the ark and their removal to paradise at the destruction of the Temple because this coexistence of the tablets with the precious stones emphasizes the covenantal feature of the precious stones. In this case, the replacement of the precious stones with the tablets in Paradise demonstrates that the covenant is not canceled even in the situation of the Temple destruction.⁶⁵

The visitation of the world in 26:13b means God's eschatological judgment. Here, the contents of the eschatological judgment in detail are omitted. The narrative turns directly to the reports about the event after the eschatological judgment. What will happen to this world after the eschatological judgment? At that time, God will retake the twelve precious stones/Moses' twelve stones with the tablets to this world (26:13c). By the replacement of the twelve precious stones/Moses' twelve stones with the tablets, three eschatological blessings may be expected, which are alluded to in the historical references. First, the retaking of the twelve precious stones/Moses' twelve stones with the tablets of the covenant necessarily means God's remembering of the covenant (27:7).⁶⁶ Second, the restoration of the twelve stones leads to the rebuilding of the Temple because they should be placed above the cherubim in the Temple just as they used to be. Third, accordingly, God's people will experience the blessings of Paradise through the Temple service in the New Temple because the function of the twelve stones as a legitimate link between Paradise and Temple in the historical dimension continually exists in the eschatological dimension. As a result, "the just will not need the light of the sun or the brightness of the moon, for the light of those most precious stones will be their light" (26:13c).⁶⁷ In addition, God will also bring "many others, much better ones, from those which the eye has not seen nor has the ear heard nor have they entered the mind of man until the like will come into existence in the world". This means that the eschatological restoration will be much more glorious than the restoration in the historical dimension.

⁶⁵ According to R. J. Bauckham, "it is a constant and emphatic theme of *LAB* that the covenant is eternal and cannot be annulled" (idem, "Kenaz: From Local Hero to Eschatological Prototype," 17).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ R. J. Bauckham proposes this passage as "an allusion to Isaiah 60:19-20 (where the glory of God is to replace the light of the sun and the moon; cf. Rev. 21:23), rather oddly (it seems at first) substituting the light of the precious stones for the glory of God as the illumination of the age to come" (idem, "Kenaz: From Local Hero to Messianic Prototype," 9). He also argues that 'the light of the twelve precious stones' also has the exegetical tradition in 4QIsa^d, which is a fragment of a commentary on Isaiah 54:11-12, the description of the New Jerusalem built of precious stones, which is interpreted as "the twelve sectarian priests who illuminate ... like the sun in all light" (4QIsa^d 1:4-5). Therefore, according to Bauckham, behind *LAB* 26:13 lies an interpretation of Isa. 54:12a by the sectarian community at Qumran, which took "the 'pinnacles of agate' in the New Jerusalem to be the brilliantly luminous stones of the high priest's breastplate" (ibid.).

In sum, in the above, the twelve stone motif in Kenaz's narrative proposes 1) the covenantal idea, 2) the rebuilding of the New Temple and 3) "a legitimate link" between the Temple and the Paradise. Therefore, the retaking of the twelve stones at the end of the time demonstrates that 1) God will remember the covenant, 2) the New Temple will be rebuilt and 3) a link between the New Temple and the Paradise will also eschatologically appear. Consequently, the three blessings may be combined to one another as follows: in the age to come, God's people will be able to experience the blessings of Paradise through the renewal of the covenant and the service in the Temple, which will be eschatologically rebuilt by the fulfillment of God's covenant.

2.11.3 Conclusion

2.11.3.1 Moses

1) *LAB* uses 'analogical method' in applying the book to its current crisis. This means that *LAB* is trying to find solutions about the current issues through reviewing the Mosaic episode. 2) *LAB* anticipates the restoration by extending the fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant through the revival of the Mosaic cultic system and celebration of feasts, especially the Feast of Tabernacles. This reclaiming of the Noahic Covenant is essential for the prospect of restoration from the Temple destruction because while Temple destruction means God's judgment, shaking the universe, the fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant activates the preservation of the cosmic order (13:7b). 3) *LAB* establishes a parallel between Adam, Noah and Moses⁶⁸ since *LAB* regards Adam, Noah and Moses as the triple important turning points of the redemptive history by placing them side by side as those through whom the ways of the Heavenly Paradise were revealed, and the same kind of instructions not to depart from His ways were given lest they lose the ways of the Heavenly Paradise (13:9). The continual experience of the Heavenly Paradise is brought by obedience to God's commandment (13:8bc; 13:9). 4) *LAB* presents the Feast of Tabernacles with the Noahic Covenant as the mark of restoration from the destruction due to the idolatry, by following the ways of Paradise, namely, God's commandments (13:7, 9-10). 5) The Heavenly Paradise in Moses' episode functions as a goal of the eschatological restoration and as its contents (13:9-10). 6) *LAB analogically* represents the materially eschatological appearing of the New Jerusalem/Temple/Paradise with the eschatological fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant (19:10; cf. No. 4). 7) *LAB* arranges the eschatological scenario as follows: after the shaking of the creation by the coming of God to the world, the creation will be refreshed by the judgment → the blessings of the Noahic Covenant will hold

⁶⁸ But there is difference between them in that Noah and Moses are more involved in the restoration of proper relationships between God, the earth, and his creatures (C. Hayward, "Adam in Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities," 10).

the whole creation in a new heaven and a new earth → restoration of the saints/rebuilding of the Temple (19:13).

2.11.3.2 *Kenaz*

8) The precious twelve stones function to be 'a legitimate link' between the Temple and Paradise. This means that through the Temple service, one can experience Paradise. The eschatological retaking of the twelve precious stones/Moses's twelve stones with the tablets of the covenant to this world from the original place necessarily leads to the renewal of the covenant (probably, the Noahic Covenant in terms of the previous section about Moses) and the rebuilding of the eschatological Temple because they should be placed above the cherubim in the Temple just as they used to be. Accordingly, in the age to come, God's people will be able to experience the blessings of Paradise through the covenantal renewal and the service in the Temple, which will be eschatologically rebuilt.

How do the above facts function to solve the current problems caused by the Temple destruction? In order to respond properly to this question, it is necessary to understand what the current problems are. First of all, from 13:10b, it can be taken for granted that the Israelites were afraid of God's abandoning them because of their repeated disobedience. Second, references to restoration in 13:7-9 emphasize the fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant with the renewal of the Mosaic cultic system. This emphasis implies the crisis in Israel's cosmological perspective because if the Temple had been regarded as central to the cosmos, its destruction means the devastation of universe. Finally, the audience of *LAB* seemed to be afraid of losing Paradise through the Temple destruction. *LAB* stresses that although the Paradise was shown to Adam in pre-fall, Noah, Moses and even the people of Israel, it has been forfeited on account of Israel's disobedience to God's commandments, which are the ways to the Paradise.

In response to these problems, *LAB*, as a whole, endeavors to solve them by suggesting anticipation of the rebuilding of the Temple in reviewing Israel's past history, by the service of which Paradise will be able to be experienced. In other words, the confirmation of the rebuilding of the Temple fundamentally functions to provide the satisfactory answer to all dilemmas which have been introduced in the above. In addition to this, Moses' intercessory prayer (12:8-9) and promise of the renewal of the covenant as the eschatological blessing in 26:13 makes evident the identity of Israel as possessing the function of glorifying God, as mentioned in No. 8. Therefore, this is matched to the first problem. No. 2, and No. 5 in the above summary can be given as a solution of the second problem. No. 3, No. 4, No. 7 and No. 8 provide the solution of the final problem.

2.12 The Sibylline Oracles, Book 5

The books have often been called “historical apocalypses.”¹ It is because the book includes part of historical survey with the heavenly vision.² This may be corroborated by the fact that this book sticks to the ‘political struggles’, such as the revolt against Rome, more than any other apocalyptists, although this book still looks forward to seeing the eschatological fulfillment.³ The standard collection of *Sibylline Oracles* contains twelve books,⁴ the oldest of which was known as Alexandrian Jewish, but the greater number of which were Christian in their final form, belonging to several different times and places.⁵ *Sibylline Oracles* Book 5 was written no earlier than AD 70 but probably, no later than 150.⁶ In addition to these, “the favorable reference to Hadrian in vss. 46-50 indicates that this book must have been written before the Jewish revolt of AD 132.”⁷ Moreover, the Egyptian origin of *Sibylline Oracles* 5 is not disputable.⁸

2.12.1 Preliminary Remarks: Structure

Concerning the structure of *Sibylline Oracles* 5, there are two elements to point out: 1) unity and 2) repetitive pattern. On the one hand, J. J. Collins emphasizes that *Sibylline Oracles* 5 is “a highly structured composition.”⁹ This feature of the unity in *Sibylline Oracles* 5 is exceptional because the corpus of *Sibylline Oracles* were collected from various kinds of oracles, which had no necessary connection with each other; it would hardly be organized as ‘a literary unity’ and ‘a very well-defined form’.¹⁰ On the other hand, the unity of the *Sibylline Oracles* 5 is more emphasized by the fact that it has four units with the same pattern (52-110; 111-178; 179-285; 286-434)¹¹ except 5:1-51, which is an introduction to the book as a review

¹ J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 187. Concerning the relation of the elements of apocalyptic to the *Sibylline Oracles*, refer to J. J. Collins’ another book, *Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, SBLDS 13 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974), 18.

² Particularly, “despite the propensity for mythological imagery and the supernatural character of the savior figure, *Sibylline Oracles* 5 does not envisage salvation beyond this world. There is no judgment of the dead, either of the individual soul or of a resurrected humanity in the end time” (J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 191).

³ Ibid.; J. J. Collins, *Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 2-3.

⁴ J. J. Collins, “The *Sibylline Oracles*,” in M. E. Stone ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, 357.

⁵ M. S. Terry, *Sibylline Oracles* (El Paso, Texas: Selene Books, 1991), 18. They were written over a period of more than 700 years (J. J. Collins, “The *Sibylline Oracles*,” 357).

⁶ J. J. Collins, “*Sibylline Oracles*, Book 5,” *OTP* 1:391. However, “the concluding oracle of the book (435-531) was most probably written after the Diaspora revolt” (J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 188).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 75.

⁹ J. J. Collins, *Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 74.

¹⁰ Ibid., 4.

¹¹ Each pattern is introduced by a verse in which the Sibyllist reflects on her task--52, 111, 179 and 286 (J. J. Collins, *Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 73).

of the history from Alexander to Hadrian, and 5:435-530, which is a concluding oracle.¹² The common pattern is as follows: a) Oracles against various nations; b) The return of Nero¹³ as an eschatological adversary; c) The advent of an eschatological Messianic figure; d) A destruction, usually by fire.¹⁴ In this pattern, it is noteworthy that there is a contrast between the return of Nero as an eschatological adversary and the advent of an eschatological Messianic figure. In unit I (5:52-110) and unit II (5:111-178), only the contrast between Nero and a Messianic figure ('a certain king sent from God' in pattern I and 'a great star' in unit II) appears without the contrast between the New Jerusalem and Rome; in unit III (5:179-285) the contrast between the New Jerusalem and Rome is added to that between the two figures; finally in unit IV (5:286-434), the contrast between Nero/Rome and the Messianic figure/New Jerusalem appears to be remarkable and in greater detail. The above observation shows that the proportion of the contrast between Nero/Rome and a Messianic figure/New Jerusalem figure is gradually expanded from the beginning to the end. This expansion method may be thought of as the rhetorical technique of dramatically emphasizing the contrasting relationship between Nero/Rome and a Messianic figure/New Jerusalem, especially between Rome and New Jerusalem. Therefore, it can be said that "the eschatological antithesis in this oracle is still Rome, represented by Nero, and Jerusalem" represented by an eschatological Messianic figure.¹⁵

In the following textual consideration, 5:247-255 in unit III (5:179-285) and 5:420-427 in unit IV (5:286-434), in which the contrast is shown to be outstanding, will be observed centering around how the New Jerusalem with the Messianic figure are expected in relation to Rome with the return of Nero.

2.12.2 Textual Considerations¹⁶

2.12.2.1 5:247-285: *The New Jerusalem I*

As far as the New Jerusalem theme is concerned, this part includes three subjects: the features of the New Jerusalem itself, the appearance of an eschatological Messianic figure, and life in the New Jerusalem. First of all, in 5:247-255, the New Jerusalem is introduced as follows:

In 5:247, 'the Persian land' indicates the great Parthian empire to the east of the Roman empire. This is why Nero can be called both 'Parthian' and 'Persian' at the same time. In other

¹² J. J. Collins, *OTP* 1:390.

¹³ In addition to the references about the return of Nero, the rumors of the return of Nero were predominantly circulated at that time. Concerning the rumors, see H. N. Bate ed., and trans., *The Sibylline Oracles Book III-V* (London: SPCK, 1918), 37; cf. J. J. Collins, *Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 80-81.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ J. J. Collins, *Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 83.

¹⁶ In this work, the translation of J. J. Collins in *OTP* 1:393-414 will be normally used.

words, according to Collins, “Persian should be identified as Nero returning at the head of a Parthian army.”¹⁷ In Sibylline Oracles 5, Nero is called ‘the Persian’ (5:93) and ‘the one who has obtained the land of the Persians’ (5:101) and he is also said to return ‘from the ends of the earth’ (5:363).¹⁸ If this is the case, the phrase, “when the Persian land desists from war, pestilence” in 5:247 may indicate the perfect defeat of the returning Nero as “the head of a Parthian army”.¹⁹ Here, Nero may be regarded not simply as a historical figure but as an eschatological adversary.²⁰ In this regard, just after the reference to the perfect defeat of the eschatological adversary, the New Jerusalem is described.²¹ How then is the New Jerusalem described here? Several kinds of features can be summarized. First, the New Jerusalem will be inhabited by the divine and heavenly race of the blessed Jews. Jews are highly dignified (5:249). Second, the New Jerusalem is described as being in the midst of the earth (5:250). This reflects the traditional idea that the Temple or Jerusalem is the centre of the universe.²² Third, the New Jerusalem will be rebuilt as a gigantic building with outstanding height and a huge wall, which is reminiscent of the tower (5:251-252).²³ Fourth, the New Jerusalem is characterized by peaceful surroundings: no more war; no more perishing which means no more Temple/Jerusalem destruction (‘and no longer will they perish at raging hostile hands’, 5:254); but eternal triumph (5:253-255).

Following this, a Messianic figure is introduced (5:256-263).²⁴ It is noteworthy that the Messianic figure will come from the sky. In *Sibylline Oracles 5*, it is the remarkable feature of

¹⁷ J. J. Collins, *Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 73; H. C. O. Lanchester, “The Sibylline Oracles,” in *APOT* 2:399.

¹⁸ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 417.

¹⁹ According to H. N. Bate, this phrase indicates the perfect defeat of Antichrist-kingdom (idem, *The Sibylline Oracles Books III-V*, 104-105. J. Geffcken also connects this with the peace between Rome and Parthia under the Flavian Caesar (idem, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Die Oracula Sibyllina*, [Leipzig, 1902], 24-25).

²⁰ According to R. J. Bauckham, “what distinguishes the account of Nero’s return in the fifth Sibylline from that in the fourth is that features of Jewish apocalyptic expectation have been added to the former. In particular, Nero has been assimilated to the eschatological adversary of the people of God, the tradition about whom was modeled on the prophecies in Daniel ...” (idem, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 417). In this regard, the Nero is envisaged as representing Rome which is antithetical with New Jerusalem, although the returning Nero legend was an anti-Roman hope. Concerning Nero legend as an anti-Roman hope, Bauckham rightly states as follows: “... pagans in the eastern empire embraced the hope of Nero’s return as a kind of savior figure to wreak the revenge of the east on the west. The Jewish author has taken over this theme and made it his own, by understanding the revenge as God’s retribution on Rome for the sack of Jerusalem” (ibid., 416). In the above, it becomes clear that the Nero legend is used with two seemingly opposite meanings: the eschatological adversary as antithetical parallel to the New Jerusalem and God’s instrument for His retribution on Rome.

²¹ H. N. Bate, *The Sibylline Oracles Books III-V*, 105.

²² According to A. Chester, this theme is based on the biblical tradition such as Ezek. 38:12 (cf. 5:5) which is developed to Jub. 8:19 (cf. 1 Enoch 26:1; 25-26; Letter of Aristeas 83-84) (A. Chester, “The Sibyl and the Temple” in W. Horbury ed., *Templum Amicitiae*, JSNTSS 48 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991], 59-60).

²³ Concerning this tower theme, it will be discussed in the next section in greater detail.

²⁴ 5:256-259 is known as a Christian oracle to describe “the return of the crucified messiah” (H. N. Bate, *The Sibylline Oracles*, 105).

this Messianic figure that he originates from heaven.²⁵ The Messianic figure is called ‘one exceptional man from the sky’ and ‘the best of the Hebrews’. In 5:260, the pronoun has been suddenly changed from the third into the second and this second pronoun is continually used in the next section. The oracles are given toward the New Jerusalem²⁶ as a form of praise by describing her as ‘blessed one’, ‘divinely born, wealthy, sole-desired flower’, ‘good light’, ‘holy shoot’, ‘beloved plant’, ‘delightful Judea’, and ‘fair city, inspired with hymns’. Presumably, this sudden change of the object of the oracles functions to maximize the effect of the appearance of the Messiah which causes blessings of the New Jerusalem in the following lines. If this is the case, the Messianic figure may be rightly regarded as a founder of the New Jerusalem.²⁷

The references to the Messianic figure and commendation of the New Jerusalem are accompanied by descriptions of the blessed life in the New Jerusalem in A (5:264-270)-- B (5:271-280) -- A' (5:281-285). A and A' refer to the life in the New Jerusalem; B can be assumed to recount the eschatological judgment by phrases such as ‘until mortal men pay attention to the immortal eternal God ...’ and ‘a shower of blazing fire from the clouds’. As referred to in the above, descriptions of the New Jerusalem in A are given as a result of the appearance of the Messianic figure (‘one exceptional man from the sky ... the best of the Hebrews, who will one day cause the sun to stand’²⁸) in 5:256-258. Part A mostly focuses on the godly life in the New Jerusalem, except the last two lines (5:269-270).²⁹ In particular, the phrases such as ‘they will have a mind in their breasts that conforms to your (New Jerusalem) laws’ and ‘glorious children will honor you (New Jerusalem) exceedingly’ show how God’s people will live according to the quality of life which corresponds to the New Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the last two lines in A refer to ‘rewards’ or ‘comforts’ given to God’s people in the New Jerusalem. These two lines may be shown as functioning to transfer antithetically part A to part B, in which the eschatological judgment is introduced because the ‘rewards’ and ‘comforts’ toward saints are obviously contrasted with the eschatological judgment of the wicked. In addition to this antithetical transference as a whole, a contrast between A and B is established as follows: while A presents the godly life of those belonging to the Messianic figure, and rewards and comforts to be given to them, B shows the eschatological judgment against “the wicked, who dispatched lawless utterance against heaven.”

²⁵ J. J. Collins, *OTP* 1:391-392.

²⁶ It can be known by the fact that the gender of ‘blessed one’ is feminine in Greek text.

²⁷ This idea becomes clearer in the next section (5:420-427).

²⁸ The latter one is reminiscent of Joshua in the OT.

²⁹ These two last lines will be more discussed below.

Moreover, the New Jerusalem in A' is also described in anti-thematical comparison to the eschatological judgment in B. The circumstance of the New Jerusalem in part A' shapes a sharp contrast with that of the eschatological judgment in B especially by the description 'all will remain unsown and unplowed ...' in B and that of flowing of 'a honey-sweet stream from rock and spring and heavenly milk for all the righteous'³⁰ in A'.

In the above, structure A-B-A' must be unusual because normally the structure would be expected to be established as B-A-A' because it is the right order for the eschatological judgment to be placed prior to the New Jerusalem in the final age, but interestingly the eschatological judgment is inserted in the midst of the references to the New Jerusalem. Then what is it that this structure implies? As shown in the above observation, B is contrasted with A and A' respectively in a different perspective and then the degree of the blessedness of A and A' is emphasized by the interpolation of B. In other words, B maximizes the gracefulness of the New Jerusalem by means of its existence in the middle of A and A'.

Finally, the above contents of the Messianic figure and the New Jerusalem necessarily lead to the comparison with Nero and his career in 5:214-246: murder and terrors are in store for all men (5:225); arrogance (5:228); beginning and great end of toil for men (5:229, 244); creation is damaged (5:230); he arranged all things badly and brought on a full flood of evil (5:234); through him, the beautiful folds of the world were changed (5:235); the reaping hook and grief (5:233). In particular, the phrase, "such righteous men as endured toils will receive greater, pleasant things in exchange for a little distress" in 5:269-270 is antithetically parallel to the phrase, 'beginning and great end of toil for men' in 5:229 and 244. This verbal similarity shows that the Sibyllist intentionally compares two kinds of situation between the New Jerusalem/the Messianic figure and Rome/Nero. What is the purpose of this comparison? It is to propose the superiority of the New Jerusalem, which is brought by the Messianic figure, over Rome which is represented by Nero. This idea will appear much more spectacular in the observation about the next oracles.

In the above, through the various rhetorical techniques, the blessings of the New Jerusalem are maximized and the superiority of the New Jerusalem over Rome is emphasized. This explains what the Sibyllist finally purposes in these oracles: it is to overcome the current dilemma caused by the Temple destruction by the Roman Empire, which represented by Nero, by providing the 'apocalyptic healing'.

2.12.2.2 5:420-433: *The New Jerusalem II*

Before going to the text referring to the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem/New Temple, it is necessary to ponder the appearance of the Messianic king and the Messianic war in 5:414-419.

³⁰ It is reminiscent of the expression about Canaan which was a 'land flowing with milk and honey' (Exod. 3:8).

Here, the Messianic king is described as ‘a blessed man’ (5:414).³¹ His authority is verified by his origin from the expanses of heaven and a scepter in his hand given by God (5:415). He also reforms the social injustice (5:416-417). Moreover, he overthrows every city utterly as a process of the Messianic judgment (5:418-419).

Then, references to the New Jerusalem are given in 5:420-433. This text magnificently shows the features of the New Jerusalem as follows. First, as the city God desires, the New Jerusalem will be made by the Messiah (5:420-424).³² This idea looks very ‘exceptional’ in the context of Second Temple Judaism because, during that time, God himself was mostly considered as an eschatological Temple builder.³³ However, the idea that the (re)building of the Temple is initiated not directly by God but by the Messianic figure has inherently been the biblical position (cf. 2 Sam. 7:13; Isa. 45:1, 13; Zech. 6:12-13).³⁴ *Sibylline Oracles* 5 follows the biblical tradition. In addition, however, the *Sibylline Oracles* 5 has also its own particular reason as to the reference to the Messianic figure as a Temple builder; it is a very political reason.³⁵ The book would need a powerful figure as a founder of the New Jerusalem who can be matched to, or excel, Nero in Rome. This idea can be seen by the animosity against Rome/Nero.

Second, the New Jerusalem is more brilliant than stars and sun and moon (5:421). It implies that the New Jerusalem will make stars and sun and moon redundant. Third, in the New Jerusalem, the holy Temple will be materially rebuilt (5:422). Fourth, in the New Jerusalem, “God fashioned a great and immense tower over many stadia touching even the clouds and visible to all, (cf. 1 Enoch 87:3; 89:50, 73) so that all faithful and all righteous people could see *the glory of eternal God*, a form desired” (5:423-427; cf.; Isa. 60:1-2). Instead of setting out on the heavenly journey in order to see the glory of God, the building of the tower is used for the purpose. Moreover, the building of the tower has two more important functions.

³¹ H. N. Bate, *The Sibylline*, 29. In addition, A. Chester states that “the case for seeing the ‘blessed man’ here as ‘Messianic’ is further strengthened not only by noting the allusion to Dan 7.13, but also by recognizing that, for the writer, this figure is fundamentally the same as the one ‘exceptional man from the sky’ (256), in another ‘Messianic’ passage (256-259) ...” (idem, “The Sibyl and the Temple,” 49).

³² In fact, the text is reported with the past tense, although the contents are futuristic. According to J. J. Collins, “the past tense is used by anticipation” (*OTP* 1:403). J. Geffcken explains this more dramatically as follows: “Dementsprechend dürfen wir annehmen, dass derselbe Dichter, dem angesichts des Elends Israels die Rolle der Sibylle versagt, der, anstatt immer im *ermüdenden Futurum*, hier in der so beredten Form der Vergangenheit ausspricht, was er erlebt hat, dass dieser auch brünstigen Herzens das Erscheinen des erst erhofften Erretters durch sein ἦλθε γὰρ οὐρανῶν νότων ἀνὴρ μακαρίτης schon als vollzogen seinen Glaubensgenossen verkündet” (J. Geffcken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit*, 25).

³³ A. Chester, “The Sibyl and the Temple,” 50. Chester suggests the references to God as the Temple builder as follows: in pre-70 period, e.g. Tob. 14:5-6; 1 Enoch 90:28-29; Jubilees 1:15-17; Psalms of Solomon 17:21-34; 11QTemple 29:8-10; in post 70, e.g. 2 Baruch 32:4; 68:5.

³⁴ A. Chester, “The Sibyl and the Temple,” 51. In addition, Chester suggests other references to the theme of the messiah as a Temple builder in some Jewish texts as follows: *Tg. Zech.* 6:12; *Tg. Isa.* 53:5; *Vay. R.* 9:6 (ibid., 54-55). Even in the above main text, God is described as the founder of the greatest Temple in line 432.

³⁵ But it must be remembered that the political reason is not all, but the apocalyptic or eschatological reason should be considered, which regards Nero not just as political adversary but as eschatological one.

First, Chester finds that there is “an implicit contrast between the Tower of Babel, representing idolatry,³⁶ on the one hand, and the New Temple, reaching up to heaven and portrayed as the place of pure worship of the one true God, on the other.”³⁷ This contrast hints that the New perfect Temple in the New Jerusalem will “reverse the idolatry of the Babel and its effects.”³⁸ Second, the Temple is depicted as a tower in 1 Enoch 87:3; 89:50, 73, and *DNJ* (4Q554 2, 2:15-16) describes the New Jerusalem with a lot of high towers.³⁹ In Isa. 2:2, the mountains which are parallel to (height) tower(s) in 1 Enoch 89:50, 73 and 4Q554 2, 2:15-16 function to maximize the universal visibility of the New Jerusalem. This idea is found in *Sibylline Oracles* 5:424-425. Fifth, the New Jerusalem will be full of peace, glory of God, holiness/purity and justice (5:428-431). Finally, the New Jerusalem will be eschatologically established for God’s holy people by God (5:432-433).

2.12.3 Conclusion

Most importantly, in *Sibylline Oracles* 5, there is a sharp contrast between Rome/Nero and New Jerusalem/Messianic figure. The rhetorical technique and structural pattern emphasize the blessings of the New Jerusalem and the unparalleled superiority of the latter to the former. This emphasis of superiority of New Jerusalem/Messianic figure to Rome/Nero in the contrasting relationship originates not only from the political perspective but also from the apocalyptic perspective. These two elements should be considered in balance. Nero and Rome are eschatological adversaries which will be executed through the eschatological judgment by a Messianic figure as well as a political adversaries who currently persecute God’s people and destroy the Temple so that they should be removed. This contrasting relationship is further deepened by the fact that the New Jerusalem will be established on earth by an eschatological Messianic figure, just as Rome was represented by Nero because this causes an unavoidable replacement of the latter by the former. Moreover, the New Jerusalem is not simply the vindication of the Jews against Rome, but also the vindication of Israel’s God, since the New Jerusalem displays the glory of God for the whole world to see and attracts all people to worship.

The above ideas in *Sibylline Oracles* 5 helps Jews in the Diaspora to solve the problem caused by the Temple destruction. What is the dilemma caused by the Temple destruction? In

³⁶ A. Chester, “The Sibyl and the Temple,” 57-58.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 58. McKelvey views that “the unity of mankind which was lost at Babel will be recovered at the Temple which the Messiah will build in the new age.” He argues this on the basis of the connection of the idea of tower with the third Oracles (3:98-104), which describes “the unity of mankind at the time of the tower of Babel (regarded by the ancients as a Temple)” (R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969], 19). However, Chester regards this view as too general (*ibid.*, 57).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁹ The sectarian text states that the New Jerusalem will be surrounded by 1430 towers, the height of which is 10 rods or 70 cubits (30-40m).

order to apprehend this, it is necessary to observe references (5:397-410) to the incident. In this passage, what so perplexed the Sibyllist is that the desired Temple has been extinguished (5:397), soaked in fire (5:399) and cast down and left in ruins (5:409) by 'an impious hand' (5:399) and 'a certain insignificant and impious king' (5:408). What more bewildered her is that 'the ever-flourishing, watchful Temple of God' was destroyed by Titus, although Israel had not committed any transgressions such as idolatry. No one among Israel carelessly praised a god (5:403) of insignificant clay, nor did a clever sculptor make one from rock, (5:404) nor worship any ornament of gold, a deception of souls (5:405) but rather they honored the great God, begetter of all (5:406) who have God-given breath, with holy sacrifices and hecatombs (5:407). Despite this allegedly godly life, the destruction of the Temple must have provoked no less curiosity about God's sovereignty over His people and nation on the part of the Sibyllist and her audience.

What solution then does the message of the *Sibylline Oracles 5* provide about the seeming deadlock? The superiority of the New Jerusalem over Rome which will be eschatologically coming simply makes it possible to solve this problem, as shown in the above. For this purpose, the Sibyllist dramatically and deliberately elaborates the predominance of the New Jerusalem through the rhetorical techniques and the structuring of the text.

2.13 Yavnean Movement¹: Rabbinic Response to the Temple Destruction

The purpose of this study is not to deal with the whole of rabbinic Judaism but to examine how Yavneans, centering around Yohanan ben Zakkai and Eliezer ben Hyrcanus responded to the Temple destruction. Therefore, this study will be focused on their sayings with relation to the restoration of Temple.

2.13.1 General Features of the Yavnean Movement

A. J. Saldarini argues that the original core of Yohanan's escape story in *ARNa* ch. 4, *ARNb* ch. 6, *Lam. R.* 1.5.31 and *b. Git.* 56a-b provides a "justification of Yavneh during the period when it was the center of Judaism (70-135)."² While the issue of the historicity of the Yavnean movement still remains disputable,³ this study, however, is based on the minimal consensus by most scholars that after AD 70, Yohanan started teaching at Yavneh (it does not matter whether he did so during the revolt or only after its failure) and that he opposed the 66-73 revolt.⁴

The Yavnean movement has been usually misunderstood as follows:⁵

... sectarianism ceased when the Pharisees, gathered at Yavneh, ejected all those who were not members of their own party. Christians were excommunicated, the biblical canon was purged of works written in Greek and apocalyptic in style, and the gates were closed on the outside world, both Jewish and non-Jewish. ... their goal was to define orthodoxy and to rid Judaism of all those who would not conform to it.

The first scholar who proposed the preceding theory is H. Graetz in his *Excursus to Qoheleth*,⁶ and is followed by F. Buhl, H. E. Ryle, R. Pfeiffer and O. Eissfeldt, etc.⁷ This is based on the

¹ The Yavneans established a community directed toward a roughly common aim (although not a strictly uniform one), so it is legitimate to speak of the Yavnean "Movement," even though I accept J. J. Collins' reservations about the term "Apocalyptic movement" (idem, *Seers, Sibyls & Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997], 37).

² A. J. Saldarini, "Yohanan Ben Zakkai's Escape from Jerusalem: Origin and Development of a rabbinic Story," *JSJ* 6 (1975), 194.

³ A. J. Saldarini has changed his opinion as to the historicity of the escape story in his recent paper (idem., "Varieties of Rabbinic Response to the Destruction of the Temple," *SBLSP* 21 [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982], 457) by evaluating P. Schäfer's view as reasonable, which concludes that Yohanan's prediction of Vespasian's being Emperor and Vespasian's granting Yavneh to Yohanan are not historical (idem., "Die Flucht Johanan b. Zakkais aus Jerusalem und die Grundung des 'Lehrhauses' in Jabne," *ANRW* 2/19/2 [1979], 98).

⁴ G. G. Porton states that "rabbinic Judaism pictures Yohanan as the person most responsible for the survival of Judaism after the Great Roman War of 66 CE-73 CE, and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE" (idem., "Yohanan ben Zakkai," in *ABD* 6:1024).

⁵ S. J. D. Cohen, "The Significance of Yavneh: Pharisees, Rabbis, and the End of Jewish Sectarianism," *HUCA* 55 (1984), 28. Cohen introduces scholars who propose this view as follows: G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1927), 1.85-86; W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1964), 259-86; J. Neusner, "The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism: Yavneh (Jamnia) from AD 70 to 100," in *ANRW* 2/19/2 (1979), 3-42.

⁶ H. Graetz, *Kohelet oder der Somonische Prediger*, (Leipzig, 1871), 155-156. This information is owed to J. P. Lewis, "Jamnia (Jabneh), Council of," in *ABD* 3:634.

⁷ *Ibid.*

interpretation of *m. Yad.* 3:5: “the OT canon was closed for all time by the specific religious authority of 72 elders when R. Eleazar ben Azariah became head of the Academy at Yavneh about AD 90.”⁸ Moreover, S. Talmon further develops the idea of the closure of the canon at Yavneh by proposing the formal action for the standardization of the OT text.⁹

However, concerning the interpretation of *m. Yad.* 3:5, J. P. Lewis argues that “*m. Yad.* 3:5 speaks only of a discussion of the Song of Songs and of Ecclesiastes which discussion is continued after Yavneh times, furnishing no basis for the assertion that the canon was closed at Yavneh.”¹⁰ S. J. D. Cohen also criticizes the older, traditional scholarly view with the following reasons:¹¹ 1) this oversimplifies the complexity and diversity of Yavneh; 2) it assumes that Yavneh was pervaded by an air of crisis which the rabbis may not have felt or, at least, may not have felt in a way which would have demanded the expulsion of those with whom they disagreed; 3) it presumes that we know a good deal more about Yavneh than we really do. All that is known of the ‘synod’ of Yavneh is based on the *disjecta membra* of the Mishnah and later works, all of which were redacted at least a century after the event. Even these *disjecta membra*, however, are sufficient to show that the tannaim refused to see themselves as Pharisees or to adopt an exclusivistic ethic; 4) the above view obscures the major feature of Yavneh: the creation of a society which “agreed to disagree.” J. P. Lewis further corroborates Cohen’s criticism by pointing out that “Despite the absence of significant support in ancient Jewish, Christian, or classical texts, the hypothesis enjoyed vogue in the 20th century by repetition rather than by proof.”¹²

In the above, the general features of Yavneh are well shown. The most important feature is the ending of sectarianism not by expelling other sects but by including many kinds of parties in its category. In this respect, the terminology ‘council’ or ‘synod’, as ‘the concept of ecumenical councils or of modern meetings where delegates meet and vote on making binding decisions’, may cause a misunderstanding, when used for the Yavneh meetings, but “school, academy, or court is nearer the nature of the meetings.”¹³

2.13.2 Textual Considerations

As usable sources, there are *Mishna* (edited AD 220), *ARN* (AD 220), *Mekhilta* (redacted not earlier than AD the fifth century), and *Talmud* (Palestine Talmud: edited AD 400;

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.; S. Talmon, “The Old Testament Text,” *CHB* 1 (1970), 174-179.

¹⁰ J. P. Lewis, *ABD* 3:636. He also states that “No text speaks of the discussion and exclusion of apocryphal books at Yavneh” (ibid.).

¹¹ S. J. D. Cohen, “The Significance of Yavneh: Pharisees, Rabbis, and the End of Jewish Sectarianism,” 28-29.

¹² J. P. Lewis, *ABD* 3:634.

¹³ Ibid. According to him, the sources show that the gatherings in Yavneh are called as *בית המדרש* (house of study), *ביתא/אקאדמיא* (academy), *בית דין* (court) and *בית נער* (meeting place), etc.

Babylonian Talmud: edited AD 500).¹⁴ The priority of reliability will be placed on the earlier sources because the rabbinic literature was censored, invented and developed according to current needs as time passed.¹⁵ In particular, it can be assumed that the issue of the building of the third Temple became more diluted at the later period, especially after the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt, but the issue as to how to cope with the religious life without the Temple became more dominant. It means that the later the date of sources is, the more substitutes for the Temple are emphasized. Therefore, methodologically, it is important to show how sayings attributed to Yavnean masters specifically, Yohanan ben Zakkai and Eliezer ben Hyrcanus are changed, observing carefully the course of the development of the sources.

2.13.2.1 Yohanan ben Zakkai

First of all, it is necessary to see the Mishnaic sources with regard to the Temple because it is relatively reliable.

- A. Said R. Judah, "Testified Ben Bukhri in Yabneh: 'Any priest who pays the *sheqel* does not sin.'
- B. "Said to him Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, 'Not so. But any priest who does not pay the *sheqel* sins.

¹⁴ The dates of the sources are based on L. H. Feldman and M. Reinhold eds., *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), esp. xix-xxxiii.

¹⁵ For this reason, J. Neusner is very skeptical of the historical or biographical recovery of the rabbinic sources. Concerning this issue, refer to his recent works: idem, *Rabbinic Literature & The New Testament: What We Cannot Show, We Do not Know* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994); idem, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), xxix-xxxii; idem, "The Use of the Later Rabbinic Evidence for the Study of First-Century Pharisaism," in W. S. Green ed., *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 222. This position is followed by W. S. Green (idem, "Context and Meaning in Rabbinic 'Bibliography'" in W. S. Green ed., *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* vol. II [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980], 110). However, A. I. Baumgarten argues for the historical significance of the rabbinic documents (idem., "Rabbinic Literature As a Source for the History of Jewish Sectarianism in the Second Temple Period," *DSD* 2 [1995], 15, 33-35). Moreover, W. S. Green, though he is skeptical of the biographical recovery of particularly, Yavnean masters, suggests the possibility of reaching their ideas as follows: "if we cannot claim access to a master's language, perhaps we nevertheless can claim to possess formalized but accurate representations of *ideas* and *positions* held by him" (idem, "What's in a Name?--The Problem of Rabbinic 'Biography'," in W. S. Green ed., *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* [Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978], 81). J. Neusner, who is skeptical of the biographical recovery of Yavnean masters, also supports the foregoing idea in a slightly different way. According to him, "the simplest possible hypothesis is that the attributions of sayings to named authorities may be relied upon in assigning those sayings to the period, broadly defined, in which said authorities flourished" (idem, "The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism," 14). In the above, even though the biographical reconstruction of masters at Yavneh is considered as impossible at the worst, it is agreed by I. A. Baumgarten, W. S. Green and J. Neusner that ideas of Yavnean masters can be traced back. This agreement provides a methodological legitimacy for this study, because the aim of this study is not to pursue the biographical reconstruction of historical figures such as Yohanan and Eliezer but simply to trace back what kind of ideas was proposed in the name of Yohanan or Eliezer with regard to the Temple, whether by the masters themselves or by their schools, who represent the Yavnean movement in order to know the position of the Yavneans about the Temple. Most recently, moreover, Ben Zion Rosenfeld suggests an analogical method in attempting to find Yavnean ideas, particularly, about Temple, in rabbinic literature (idem, "Sage and Temple in Rabbinic Thought After the Destruction of the Second Temple," *JSJ* 28 [1997], 437-464). According to him, "... it should be understood in a quite general sense, setting up the sage and his teachings as a parallel to the Temple in respect of all its constituents and all its spiritual-religious meanings" (ibid., 439).

C. “But the priests expound this Scriptural verse for their own benefit: *And every meal offering of the priest shall be wholly burned, it shall not be eaten* (Lev. 6:23) (*m. Sheq.* 1:4).¹⁶

In the above, the saying attributed to Yohanan (B) emphasizes the fundamental reason for the payment of the *sheqel*. Here, ‘shekel’ indicates the atonement money in Exod. 30:11-16 (cf. Num. 3:37) or Temple tax (2 Chr. 24:6; Mt. 17:24, 27). From this, it can be known that Yohanan (or his school) enacted the practical ruling for obeying the specific commandment of Torah when there is no Temple (cf. *m. Sheq.* 2:1B).¹⁷ This is also well shown in Yohanan’s involvement in celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles (*m. Suk.* 2:5)¹⁸ and his examination of “a witness as to the character of the stems of figs” (*m. Sanh.* 5:2B) in terms of the commandment in Lev. 5:1 (*m. Sanh.* 4:5P). Another evidence of this is demonstrated in *m. Men.* 10:5F and G:

F. After the Temple was destroyed, Rabban Yohanan b. Zakkai ordained that the day of waving [of the *omer*, the second day of Passover] should be wholly prohibited [in respect to new produce].
(G. said R. Judah, “And is it not so that it is prohibited by the Torah, as it is said, *To this selfsame day* (Lev. 23:14?)”) (*m. Men.* 10:5)

In the above, the point is that, after the destruction of the temple, when the *omer* was no longer offered, it no longer made sense to say that new corn was permitted only after the offering was completed (cf. Lev. 23:9-14). So when was new corn permitted? Yohanan made a new ruling that it was permitted only after the whole day had passed. This is a good example of Yohanan addressing a very particular and practical question of what one does, in a particular instance, when sacrifices in the temple are no longer offered.

Moreover, concerning the issue of breaking a jar on the Sabbath, R. Judah uses Yohanan’s saying for his educational purpose as follows:

Said R. Judah, “A case came before Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai in Arab, and he said, ‘I fear on his account that he should bring a sin offering [for violating the Sabbath]’” (*m. Shab.* 22:3H).

The foregoing saying indicates that Yohanan (or his school) still not only honored the observation of Sabbath even during the period without the Temple, but he also kept the sacrificial system such as a sin offering for the forgiveness of sin. It is reported that Yohanan referred to the ‘sin offering’ in *m. Shab.* 16:7D again. Furthermore, the Temple function was transferred to Yavneh in *m. Ros. Hash.* 4:1-2. The main point of the pericopae is that the

¹⁶ In this work, unless mentioned otherwise, the translation of Mishna belongs to J. Neusner, *The Mishna: A New Translation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).

¹⁷ According to B. Z. Rosenfeld, “R. Yohanan b. Zakkai transfers the concept of atonement from the altar, the essential cultic element of the Temple, to the Torah, initiating a further evolution by shifting the emphasis from the Torah itself to the Sons of Torah” (idem, “Sage and Temple in the Rabbinic Thought,” 441).

¹⁸ Here, *Sukkah* indicates “a temporary dwelling (‘booth’) in which Israelites live during the Festival of Tabernacles, in fulfillment of Lev. 34-36, 39-43” (This is J. Neusner’s definition in glossary of *The Mishna* [1143] which is translated by him).

shofar¹⁹ had been blown only in the Holy City not in the other provinces at a festival day of the New Year falling on a Sabbath, but after Temple destruction, Yohanan ordained that the shofar be sounded only in Yavneh. This view of Yohanan may indicate that some of the significance of the Temple was transferred to Yavneh.²⁰

Furthermore, the saying attributed to Yohanan in the subsequent verse (*m. Ros. Hash. 4:3*; cf. *m. Suk. 3:12*) shows how he suggests the alternative to the third Temple after the second Temple destruction and how Yohanan expected the third Temple to be rebuilt.

A. In olden times the *lulab* was taken up in the Temple for seven days, and in the provinces, for one day.

B. When the Temple was destroyed, Rabban Yohanan b. Zakkai made the rule that in the provinces the *lulab* should be taken up for seven days, as a memorial to the Temple

... (*m. Ros. Hash. 4:3*)

Here *lulab* is “the branches of palm, myrtle, and willow which are bound together and carried along with the *etrog* on the Festival of Booths (Lev. 23:40).”²¹ Yohanan’s saying shows that the function of the Temple is extended to the provinces which had been regarded as subordinate to the Temple after the Temple was destroyed. However, it does not mean that the provinces would function as the Temple eternally but temporarily until the building of the third Temple because the phrase, ‘as a memorial to the Temple’ in B implies the expectation of third Temple.

In summary so far, at least in Mishna it is necessary to pay attention to two points as far as the Temple idea of Yohanan or his school is concerned: 1) the sacrificial system in the Temple is preserved; 2) the transference of the function of Jerusalem to Yavneh or partly to the provinces is not eternal but temporal because the third Temple is expected to be built. Therefore, Yavneh (or the provinces) was given as the temporal place where the Temple rulings were enacted, only until the building of the third Temple. Moreover, the preservation of the Temple sacrificial system demonstrates Yohanan or his school’s conviction of the building of the third Temple. This idea in the Mishna is further corroborated in *t. Ros. Hash. 2:3, 9*, which demonstrate the anticipation of the restoration of the original condition, when the Temple will be rebuilt, from what was brought in the time of ‘no Temple’ by Yohanan. It means that “if the Temple would be rebuilt, then the several ordinances of Yavneh would be

¹⁹ “The blowing of the *shofar* was the symbol of the presence of the deity, and the deity was now present in the high court as formerly in the Temple” (J. Neusner, *Development of A Legend: Studies on the Traditions Concerning Yohanan ben Zakkai* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970], 45).

²⁰ Ibid. Here, this view is conflicted with the fact that the shofar could be sounded wherever there was a court. This position might be proposed by the ones who “did not want to have trouble from a single surviving center of exceptional authority outside of the Temple” (ibid.).

²¹ Ibid., *The Mishna*, 1141.

annulled.”²² Therefore, it can be said that ultimately, they expected the building of the third Temple.²³

However, Yohanan is shown to be skeptical of the Temple rebuilding and Messianic expectation *in a short time*, as shown in *ARNb*, ch. 31.²⁴ Here, the episode of Rehoboam is the background for this saying, in which Rehoboam’s authority declined on account of following the advice of the youths rather than the elders (1 Kings 12:4-16). On the basis of this background, Yohanan emphasizes that the current demand is not to rebuild the Temple. The following quotation shows Yohanan’s immediate alternative to the loss of Temple during the Yavnean period:

“My son,” Rabban Yohanan said to him, “be not grieved. We have another atonement as effective as this. And what is it? It is acts of lovingkindness, as it is said, *For I desire mercy, not sacrifice* [Hos. 6:6].” (*ARNa* ch. 4)

This pericope is Yohanan’s response to Rabbi Joshua’s lamentation about Temple destruction as ‘the place where the iniquities of Israel were atoned’ when he beheld the Temple in ruins. It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that Yohanan regarded ‘acts of lovingkindness’ as ‘another atonement as effective as Temple’ on the basis of Hos. 6:6. The acts of loving were introduced as an alternative to the Temple at Yavneh by Yohanan.

The exceptional eagerness for the study of the Torah of Yohanan ben Zakkai is reported in *ARN* 1.15, *ARNa*, ch. 14 and *b. Suk.* 28a. The study of the Torah was also regarded as equivalent to the sacrificial worship in *b. Men.* 110a, which is the teaching concerning how to understand Lev. 7:37. Such an idea is repeated in *b. Men.* 110a, which emphasizes the importance of the study of the Torah as being equivalent to the sacrificial system such as a sin-offering, guilt-offerings, a burnt-offering and a meal-offering. In *b. Ros. Hash.* 18a, the superiority of the study of the Torah over sacrifice and offerings is radically shown. This saying is used in order to corroborate the teaching of Rabban Jonathan, emphasizing the superiority of the study of the Torah over sacrifice and offering. “Sacrifice and offerings would not save the priestly family, but study of Torah would.”²⁵ In the above, the Talmudic references demonstrate that the position of the study of the Torah was developed from equivalence to superiority over sacrifice and offering. It means that the study of the Torah was much more emphasized by the later generation (AD 400-500) as the essential element for atonement, which had been regarded as the temporal alternative to the Temple sacrificial system, when there was no Temple.

²² J. Neusner, *Development of a Legend*, 66.

²³ These two sayings look reliable, in that although the date of the texts is much later than Mishna, they preserve the same idea.

²⁴ J. Neusner, *Judaism in the Beginning of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 93.

²⁵ J. Neusner, *Development of a Legend*, 64.

2.13.2.2 *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus*

There are few traditions which directly refer to Eliezer's view of the state of 'no Temple' caused by the Temple destruction. Nevertheless, it can be considered that Eliezer anticipates the establishment of the third Temple more immediately after the second Temple destruction than Yohanan because he did not give any alternatives to the loss of the Temple such as the study of the Torah or acts of lovingkindness.²⁶ In this regard, Eliezer is different from Yohanan who attempted to make an immediate alternative to the loss of the second Temple such as study of the Torah and acts of lovingkindness. This section will attempt to show Eliezer's position through the textual evidence.²⁷ For this purpose, above all, it is necessary to show references to sacrificial regulations of the Temple, which imply the idea of the potential existence of the third Temple.

First of all, Eliezer referred to the Temple sacrificial system such as Passover-offering (*m. Yad.* 4:2), Heave-offering (*t. Ter.* 3:18; *m. Ter.* 2:1; 4:4-7, 10-11), Dough-offering (*t. Ḥal.* 1:10; *m. Ḥal.* 2:8) and Thank-offering of Nazirite (*t. Ter.* 1:6; *m. Ḥal.* 1:6), etc. Moreover, Eliezer is strict on a sin offering as shown in Mishna Keritot 4:2, 10 (cf. *m. Tem.* 3:1-3, 6:5; *m. Sheq.* 4:5-7; *y. Shab.* 19:4; *b. Shab.* 137a-b; *t. Shab.* 15:10). It is noteworthy that most of the sayings concerning the Temple rulings in Mishna, which are attributed to Eliezer, always presuppose the existence of the Temple. Consequently, it can be said that Eliezer looked forward to seeing the reconstruction of the Temple more urgently than Yohanan and that in the new Temple, the rules would be enforced.²⁸

However, the regulations in the above were expected to be carried out not only after the establishment of the third Temple but even before it, as argued by R. Joshua in *m. Edu.* 8:6 as follows:

- A. Said R. Eliezer, "I heard [that] when they were building the Temple, they made curtains for the Temple and curtains for the courtyard.
- B. "But [the wall] of the Temple they built outside [of the veil], and that of the courtyard they build inside [the veil].
- C. Said R. Joshua, "I heard that they make offerings even though there is no house [for the Temple altar]
- D. "And they eat Most Holy Things, even though there are no hangings.
- E. "[And that they eat] Lesser Holy Things and second tithe, even though there is no wall [around Jerusalem].

²⁶ J. Neusner, *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus: The Tradition and The Man* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 2:329.

²⁷ It is not easy to decide which is attributed to Eliezer himself, just like the case of Yohanan. Therefore, Neusner suggests several warrants to guarantee textual reliability as follows: 1) an association, within the same pericope; 2) explicit reference by a rabbi to a pericope as belonging to Eliezer *b. Hyrcanus*; 3) consistency of the legal opinion therein contained with the view of the House of Shammai; 4) consistency with opinion or principles already assigned to Eliezer *b. Hyrcanus*; 5) citation by Ilai or Judah *b. Ilai* who trustworthily preserved traditions of Eliezer *b. Hyrcanus* (*idem*, *Eliezer Ben Hyrcanus*, 2:2).

²⁸ J. Neusner, *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus*, 2:299.

F. “for the original act of consecration was valid both for this time and for all time to come.”

Here, it is shown that Joshua has a tradition that it is possible to make offerings without the Temple after its destruction and to eat Most Holy Things without hangings and Lesser Holy things and the second tithe without a wall around Jerusalem. This means, according to Neusner, that “the holy places remain holy, even without the Temple.”²⁹ Nevertheless, what matters is that without the *idea* of the Temple, it is impossible to think about sacrificial offerings because to make a sacrifice without the Temple eventually points toward rebuilding of the Temple. This can be shown in the fact that Joshua’s saying is juxtaposed with Eliezer’s saying which reminds one of the idea of the Temple, though it indicates Herod’s. The juxtaposition between Joshua’s and Eliezer’s has a meaning beyond a link by the common form, *I have heard*.³⁰ What is then the function of this juxtaposition? It is to remind audiences of the existence of Temple in the holy place, before arguing the possibility of sacrificial offering without the Temple, in order to confirm that the place is holy.

Moreover, debate on the offerings took place between Eliezer and other Yavnean masters. This means that along with Eliezer, the other masters expected the rebuilding of Temple, though their views were different between them as shown in the above. In other words, not a few masters adhered to Eliezer’s line in that they presupposed the existence of the Temple.

On the other hand, Eliezer also emphasized the importance of the study of the Torah like Yohanan in *ARNa*, ch. 6 (cf. *Mekhilta Amalek* 1:131-137; *Midr. Song. R.* 1:31). In addition to this, *PRE* chs. 1-2, *Midr. Gen. R.* 42:1 and *Midr. Tanh.* 10 report the biographical story of Eliezer.³¹ In this story, Eliezer’s love for the Torah is dramatically described by his attempt to learn from Yohanan ben Zakkai. In particular, the story is climaxed at his delivering of the exposition before Yohanan and his father, and his father’s decision for Eliezer to inherit his possessions.³²

In the above reference to Eliezer’s love for the study of the Torah, the important thing is that there is no evidence that, despite such a high valuation for the Torah, Eliezer proposed the study of the Torah as an alternative to the sacrificial system in the Temple, unlike Yohanan. Certainly, Eliezer’s solution to the crisis of ‘no Temple’ was not to replace the old piety, namely Pharisaism, with a new one, “but rather to preserve and refine the rules governing the old in the certain expectation of its restoration in a better form than ever.”³³ In this respect,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:399.

³⁰ J. Neusner indicates only the existence of this common form (*Eliezer ben Hyrcanus*, 1:399).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1:445.

³² It is necessary to note that most of references belong to Talmud and Midrash, which were edited around AD 500 and AD 600, respectively. From this, it can be assumed that they might be affected by the sayings attributed to Yohanan, as far as the sayings about the study of the Torah are concerned. If this is so, Eliezer’s sayings would focus more on sacrificial regulations in the Temple than Yohanan’s.

³³ J. Neusner, *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus*, 2:300.

Eliezer is outstandingly distinguished from Yohanan in coping with the current crisis, even though both of them expected the building of the third Temple.

2.13.3 Conclusion

Both Yohanan and Eliezer are represented in the rabbinic tradition as expecting the building of the Third Temple by providing the sacrificial rulings. However, they are different from each other in terms of emphasis. The former focuses on the immediate alternative to the absence of the Temple without urgently proposing the building of the third Temple; the latter, consistently on the building of the third Temple without suggesting any alternatives.

2.14 Bar Kokhba Revolt

Bar Kokhba revolt was also the operation for the purpose of the rebuilding of the Temple at the similar period (AD 132-135) to the Yavnean movement.¹ This revolt was the most practical action resulting from the anticipation of the building of the third Temple since AD 70. The national energy, which was accumulated by filling the gap caused by the Temple destruction and by making the religious life possible without the Temple through the rabbinic sages, was intensively expressed in this revolt. A. Oppenheimer describes this process as follows:

The unity of the nation in the Bar Kokhba revolt and the military and political strength of the revolt were the apogee of that process, and reflected the vitality of the nation in the generations immediately succeeding the destruction of the Second Temple.²

This statement plainly reflects the general environment of the revolt. Such an environment may be confirmed by the fact that the revolt was planned by vigilante agencies such as underground networking and Bethar as an important Jewish center throughout the entire revolt and in the period preceding the revolt.³ On the one hand, more than 150 cave complexes at 70 sites of underground networking, which is called *cave complex*, were found by David Allon in 1978.⁴ They consist of burrows, special kinds of entrances, closing and blocking methods, shafts, defense installations, ventilation arrangements, water installations, storage rooms and granaries, and lamp niches.⁵ In the above, the defense installations, water supply, storage,

¹ As for the relation between Yavnean masters and Bar Kokhba revolt, it can be said that the rabbis at Yavneh probably did not, on the whole, discourage support of such a revolt. But it is unknown how influential they were. The leadership of the revolt may have had connections with Yavneh or may have had nothing to do with the rabbinic movement. However, it is certain that Bar Kokhba himself does not belong to Yavnean masters. Therefore, it is right to deal with the subject about the Bar Kokhba revolt separately from the Yavnean movement.

² A. Oppenheimer, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt," *Immanuel* 14 (1982), 59.

³ *Ibid.*, 63-64. In addition to these, according to Oppenheimer, "they manufactured arms deliberately below Roman standards so that they would be rejected by the inspectors and remain in Jewish hands; they dug outposts, well-planned subterranean hiding places, and fortifications; and they scheduled the war to start after Hadrian and company had left Palestine" (*ibid.*, 63).

⁴ A. Kilner, "Underground Hiding Complexes from the Bar Kokhba War in the Judean Shphelah," *BA* 46 (1983), 211. They are located in an area bounded by Nahal Ayalon on the north, the Hebron mountains on the east, the Yatir Region on the south, and the coastal plain on the south, and the coastal plain on the west (*ibid.*). According to B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, there are three arguments to support the view that the underground strongholds are related to the Revolt: 1) in part of the subterranean strongholds finds have come to light which must indubitably be assigned to the revolt (Bar Kokhba coinage); 2) the refuges and the measures taken to prevent their discovery and penetration from the outside are so similar as to be virtually identical; 3) emphasis is laid on the conformity of the archaeological evidence with the words of Cassius Dio and talmudic sources (*idem*, "The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship," *JJS* 36 [1985], 43). On the other hand, there are some archaeologists and historians who doubt that all the underground strongholds were made only by the rebels but propose that "they were prepared and used from the Hellenistic until the Byzantine period," while not denying the use of subterranean hiding-places during the revolt" (*ibid.*, 43; B. Isaac, "Bandits in Judaea and Arabia," *HSCP* 88 [1984], 171-203). This source is from B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, "The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship," 43, n. 43^a.

⁵ K. A. Kilner, "Underground Hiding Complexes," 211-212. For the explanations of the specific items, refer to the following pages of the same article.

ventilation, and lighting all may indicate an intensive and deliberate planning in advance, though incomplete rooms and burrows can hypothesize excavation during the war itself.⁶ On the other hand, Bethar is regarded as “an important Jewish town in the years between the two major wars and during the revolt of Bar Kokhba,”⁷ where the Jewish leadership was transferred from Jerusalem.⁸ This establishment of the seat of the Jewish authority at Bethar near Jerusalem significantly reflects “the hope that after its liberation the centre of Jewish authority would again be established there.”⁹

What does this cautious preparation for the revolt signify? It indicates that the revolt was supported by the majority of the Jewish contemporaries because without full support, it would be impossible to establish such a huge work for preparation in advance.¹⁰ In other words, most Jews were supposed to be united in the same goal to motivate Bar Kokhba to provoke war. What then brought the majority of the Jewish people to the revolt? In a sense, after the crushing defeat of AD 70-73, it is hard to think of anyone actively promoting armed revolt again for some time. 4 Ezra is perhaps responding to the practical impossibility of the armed revolt, though it expects the aid of the returning 10 tribes but not their military role. However, the failed Diaspora revolts of AD 115-117 in Mesopotamia, Egypt (Alexandria), Cyprus and Cyrene reflect the practicality of the armed revolt as well as the expectation of the returning of exiles from the Diaspora.¹¹ In this sense, the Diaspora revolt shows a different aspect from that in 4 Ezra, but it is parallel to the Bar Kokhba revolt in terms of the use of armed force and the Messianic expectation. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the revolt occurred nearly 70 years after the destruction of the second Temple. Since it is known from 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch and 4 Ezra that people saw a parallel with the destruction of the first Temple, it looks likely that they expected the period without a Temple to be the same as in that case--70 years.¹² Here, the recognition of the fixed period might give the contemporary Jews an impression that the

⁶ Ibid., 220.

⁷ B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, “The Revolt of Bar Kokhba,” 51.

⁸ Ibid., 51-52.

⁹ Ibid., 52.

¹⁰ It is debatable whether R. Aqiva (or Akiba) strongly supported the revolt and thus he took a trip to mobilize support in the Diaspora for the revolt. Traditionally, it has been accepted that he was involved in the revolt. But recently, this view is being challenged by scholars such as A. Oppenheimer (ibid., 64), P. Schäfer (“The causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt,” in J. J. Petuchowski and E. Fleischer eds., *Studies in Aggadah, Targum and Jewish Liturgy in Memory of Joseph Heinemann* [Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, Hebrew Union College Press, 1981]) and G. S. Aleksandrov (“The Role of Akiba in the Bar Kokhba Rebellion,” trans. S. Driver in J. Neusner, *Eliezer Ben Hyrcanus*, Part Two, 422-436).

¹¹ In the recent studies about the Diaspora, there are two references: 1) T. D. Barnes, “Trajan and the Jews,” *JJS* 40 (1989), 145-162; D. Frankfurter, “Lest Egypt’s City Be Deserted: Religion and Ideology in the Egyptian Response to the Jewish Revolt (116-117 CE),” *JJS* 48 (1992), 203-220. The latter suggests that the revolt was characteristically Messianic. However, the former suggests that it was more than Messianic. It argues that the Diaspora revolt was primarily because they feared that “Trajan’s conquest of the Jewish communities of Mesopotamia posed a threat to the Jewish way of life” (T. D. Barnes, “Trajan and the Jews,” 162).

¹² Surely, since the 70 years expectation proved wrong, we could not expect evidence of it from the rabbinic traditions.

establishment of the third Temple would be given soon. Consequently, the Bar Kokhba revolt drew the attention of the vast majority of contemporaries, and the use of the armed forces was justified (particularly, from the case of the Diaspora revolt) because "... living without the temple and Jerusalem was regarded by all as a temporary phase" and "every Jew believed in his heart that the day of his return to Jerusalem was not far off, that the Temple would be rebuilt and the Messiah would appear to redeem his people."¹³ If it is true, then it can be said that it is the goal and the cause of the revolt to build the third Temple and to restore the religious system.

Concerning the reason for the eruption of the revolt, there has been a debate as to whether Hadrian's decrees were the cause of the revolt or a reaction to the revolt.¹⁴ In this debate, the latter view is more convincing because the critical examinations of the related texts by Schäfer and Mantel who argue for it are reasonable, and moreover, the latter view is naturally connected with the argument that the rebuilding of the Temple is the ultimate aim and cause of the revolt. The revolt was not sparked by the passive abrupt response to the decree by Hadrian but motivated by the active initiative to achieve freedom and salvation which are identified with the rebuilding of Temple and Jerusalem. This motivation for building the third Temple can be linked to that of some of the Yavneans, particularly Eliezer.

The preceding argument that the Bar Kokhba revolt was motivated by the desire to build the third Temple is further corroborated by the archaeological findings. Particularly, the images and inscriptions on the coins shows the contemporary Jews' desire for the rebuilding of the Temple. The image on the coins consists of a two columned structure and a certain object between two columns, and the inscription written with 'Jerusalem' or 'Shimeon' which indicates Bar Kokhba himself.¹⁵ The two column structure is regarded as "the entrance to the Temple rather than a shortened version of the façade of the Temple."¹⁶ Moreover, the identity of the object between the two column structure is obscure. It has been regarded as 'a door' or 'the Ark of covenant' or 'Ark of the Law', i.e. 'a *Torah* chest'.¹⁷ But most recently, Barag proposes it as 'the Shewbread Table'.¹⁸ According to Barag, "the appearance of the Shewbread

¹³ Y. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba: Rediscovery of the legendary hero of the last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome* (London, Jerusalem: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 17.

¹⁴ Concerning Hadrian decrees, refer to P. Schäfer, "The causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," 75; H. Mantel, "Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," *JQR* 58 (1967-68), 225. The former view is represented by S. Applebaum (idem., *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt [A. D. 132-134]*, BARSS 7 [Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1976], 7 ff.; cf. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jew of Palestine: A Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976], 12-14). The latter view is proposed by H. Mantel, "Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," 224-242, 274-296; cf. P. Schäfer, "The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," 94.

¹⁵ Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 25.

¹⁶ D. P. Barag, "Gleanings of Jewish Art From the Coins of Bar Kokhba," *BAIAS* 11 (1991-1992), 45. Y. Yadin argues for the latter view (idem., *Bar-Kokhba*, 25).

¹⁷ D. P. Barag, "Gleanings of Jewish Art," 44-45.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

Table ... fits well with the other Temple vessels and musical instruments represented on Bar Kokhba's coins, which were to be used if the Temple rituals were to have been revived."¹⁹ Accordingly, it can be said that 'the Temple entrance' and the 'Shewbread Table' between the columns of the tetrastyle temple façade' represent that the religious-political goals of Bar Kokhba are "to build the Temple and revive the permanent rituals, symbolized by the Shewbread Table, as well as to revive the holy pilgrimage festivals symbolized by the *lulab* and *ethrog* of *Sukkoth*."²⁰ Moreover, there are several kinds of inscriptions in the coins such as 'Year One of the Redemption of Israel', 'Year two of the Freedom of Israel' and 'of the Freedom of Jerusalem', etc.²¹ They are also surely enough to show that the cause and goal of the revolt were the rebuilding of the Temple.

On the other hand, concerning the Messiahship of Bar Kokhba, R. Bauckham suggests four reasons for supporting that he was regarded as Messiah.²² First, rabbinic evidence (*y. Ta'an*. 68d) demonstrates that Rabbi Aqiva regarded Bar Kokhba as the King Messiah, and his name as fulfillment of "the prophecy of the star (*kokhav*) that will come forth from Jacob (Num. 24:17), a favorite Messianic text of the period."²³ Second, Christian sources show that Bar Kosiva was widely known as Bar Kokhba (son of the star), which is identified with the Messianic star of Jacob. Thirdly, denial of him as the Messiah in some rabbinic traditions implies that "during the revolt he was regarded by many as the Messiah."²⁴ Fourth, the recently discovered Bar Kokhba documents show that he appears to be "a purely human military and political leader."²⁵ This is agreeable with his Messiahship because the contemporaries expected the coming of the purely human figure who could restore Jewish national sovereignty by force of arms.²⁶ Here, it is noteworthy that the Messiah was not

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 24-25 and 27. Mantel attempts to connect the Bar Kokhba revolt with the Hasmonean movement by the similarity of the coin inscriptions (idem, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt," 279-280). These inscriptions should not be regarded as celebrating the capture of the city but only as indicating hopes or aims of the revolt (B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, "The Revolt of Bar Kokhba," 55. Moreover, S. Applebaum argues that there are no concrete archaeological evidences for this, because no coins of the revolt were found in the Old City of Jerusalem in the excavations carried out since 1967 (idem, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt*, 27).

²² R. J. Bauckham, "The Apocalypse of Peter: A Jewish Christian Apocalypse From the Time of Bar Kokhba," *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 36-37. On the other hand, A. Reinhartz comprehensively argues against the view that Bar Kokhba was regarded as the Messiah among his rabbinic contemporaries in his articles, "Rabbinic Perceptions of Simeon Bar Kokhba," *JSJ* 20 (1989), 171-194.

²³ R. J. Bauckham, "The Apocalypse of Peter," 36.

²⁴ Ibid., 37. According to B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, Talmudic sources describe Bar Kokhba ambivalently. On the one hand, they emphasize his legendary strength as a Messiah as in the case of R. Aqiva; on the other hand, they criticize him as a false Messiah (e.g. *y. Ta'an* iv 68d; b. *Git.* 57b; b. *Sanhedrin* 93b) (idem, "The Revolt of Bar Kokhba," 58 and n 116). This ambivalent position reflects either "differences of opinion among the sages during the revolt" or "a change of mind after the failure of the rising" (ibid.).

²⁵ R. J. Bauckham, "The Apocalypse of Peter," 37.

²⁶ However, there are other evidences about the rejection of the militant, revolutionary option in 4 Ezra and at Yavneh, expecting God to establish the Temple miraculously.

necessarily expected to build the third Temple. However, it is certain that recognition of Bar Kokhba as a Messiah further motivated support of the revolt for building the third Temple.

In conclusion, Bar Kokhba follows the position of sayings attributed to Eliezer more radically, by leading the revolt against Roman government. He started to revolt in order to rebuild the Temple. Moreover, even he himself was regarded as a Messianic figure. In the above, the three responses (Yohanan ben Zakkai, Eliezer be Hyrcanus and Bar Kokhba) to the current crisis at Yavneh eventually have one goal: to rebuild Temple. However, the immediate ways of overcoming the crisis are different from one another.

2.15 Conclusion: Summary of the Idea of the Temple/Jerusalem in the Early Jewish Literature in Comparisons with the OT

The aim of this section is not to harmonize the ideas which were examined in the preceding sections but to collect and compare them. Methodologically, focus will be on five points. The first point assesses whether or not these works refer to the rebuilding of the New Temple or not. This will be discussed in the context of the relation of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple to the New Jerusalem/ Temple. Second, it is important to see how they are related to other motifs such as Paradise and the New Creation. The third point will be a summary of how the New/Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is described and what it consists of. Fourth, it is also necessary to summarize the functions of the New/Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple. Finally, it will be shown what the eschatological blessings as well as the heavenly blessings are like.

First, all the above works except 3 Baruch propose the eschatological rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem. However, the way they describe the expectation is so various. Therefore, it would be interesting to see how each work demonstrates the rebuilding of the Temple. The first time this idea is shown is in 1 Enoch. The Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem is described in 14:8-17 in the *Book of Watchers* and 87:3 in the *Animal Apocalypse*. 90:29-38 in *Animal Apocalypse* describes the New Temple/Jerusalem. In 24:1-6 and 25:5-6, Paradise functions to connect the Heavenly Temple to the New Temple in that the mountain throne in Paradise is not only the earthly throne as being parallel to the heavenly throne in the Heavenly Temple, but also the source of the New Temple.

Moreover, in 38:1-2 and 39:4-5, the present dwelling place of the righteous in heaven is transferred to the eschatological dwelling place of the righteous at the end of times (cf. 70:1-4). From these references, it can be presumed that there is an interconnection between the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem and the New Temple/ Jerusalem. In 2 Enoch, this eschatological transfer of the Heavenly Temple into the New Temple is also obvious by the parallel between the heavenly dimension and the eschatological dimension.

In the Qumran library, this interconnection between the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem and the New Temple/Jerusalem is differently but more strongly demonstrated by the addition of the Community Temple idea. By regarding themselves as Temple in CD 15:15-17; 1QSa 1:8-9; 2:5-9; 1QS 3:7-9; 8:1-7, etc., the sectarians are not only assimilated to the Heavenly Temple by the form of joining the worship in it (conversely, the unification of the sectarians with the angelic group in the Heavenly Temple makes them Temple forever, as shown in 1QS 11:8), but also they are portrayed as encountering the eschatological blessings belonging to the New Temple/Jerusalem in the Heavenly Temple (4Q427; 1QH 14). For this reason, they themselves in the Heavenly Temple become a foretaste of the New Temple (4 Florilegium 3-7). In this

respect, it can be said that the Heavenly Temple is activated as the embryo of the New Temple through the Community Temple. Accordingly, the Heavenly Temple is organically connected to the New Temple through the participation of the Community Temple in the Heavenly Temple. In other words, if blessings, which will be eschatologically given through the New Temple, can be experienced in the Heavenly Temple, it may be assumed that the New Temple is the eschatological transference of the Heavenly Temple. Consequently, the rebuilding of the New Temple is firmly assured by the Heavenly Temple and the participation of sectarian community as Temple in it.

The organic relationship of the Heavenly Temple with the New Temple continues to appear in the Jewish literature around the Temple destruction period, though variously modified. In 4 Ezra, the New Jerusalem/Temple is described as the eschatological appearance of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple, which is pre-existent (7:26; 10:27; 10:42-44; 10:53-55). This feature of the interconnection between the two is corroborated by the phrase, 'the mountain carved out without hands' (13:35-36) which indicates the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple as appearing to be the New Temple. This phrase in 4 Ezra provides a slightly developed idea from Daniel 2:34, 45 where the superiority of the Kingdom of God to the secular kingdoms is displayed, by the stone cut out 'not by human hands'. The similar idea is also shown in 2 Baruch. In particular, in 2 Baruch the Heavenly Temple is employed to emphasize the indestructibility of Temple. In other words, the true Jerusalem Temple is not destroyed because it is hidden in heaven (4:1-7; 6:1-9). The Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple will be eschatologically revealed as the New Jerusalem/Temple (4:1-7; 6:1-9; chs. 56-68). In the Apocalypse of Abraham, Abraham's ascent to heaven demonstrates the interconnection of the Heavenly Temple to the New Temple (12:10; 13:4-6; 15:1-2). In Pseudo-Philo, the interconnection between the New Temple and the Heavenly Temple is not explicitly but implicitly shown. The Heavenly Paradise is proposed as a goal of the eschatological restoration which means the eschatological appearing of the New Jerusalem/Temple with the eschatological fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant with the Feast of Tabernacles (13:8-10, 19:10, 13; cf. chs. 26-27). In addition to these, Tobit 13:9-18, 1 Baruch, and Sibylline Oracles 5 and Eliezer in Yavnean movement report the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem without the direct interconnection with the Heavenly Temple. Sibylline Oracles 5 stresses the function of a Messianic figure for the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem (5:420-433).

Exceptionally, 3 Baruch and Yohanan ben Zakkai in the Yavnean movement do not propose the rebuilding of the New Temple. In 3 Baruch, there is no hint of rebuilding of the New Temple, but prayer is given, instead of any sacrificial system in Temple as the instrument to reach the Heavenly Temple. Yohanan ben Zakkai is similar to 3 Baruch in that he suggests acts of love and the study of the Torah as an alternative to the Temple sacrificial system.

However, Yohanan ben Zakkai's view is given only in the short term perspective. In the long term perspective, he also hints at the rebuilding of the New Temple with the expectation of the coming of a Messianic figure.

In the above, the anticipation of the rebuilding of the New Temple is agreeable with that in the OT (Ezek. 40-48; Isa. 65:16-18; Jer. 30:18-22; 31:38-40; 33:10-13; Zech. 3:1-10; 4:1-4). However, in the early Jewish literature, as far as the rebuilding of the New Temple is concerned, the New Temple is more dynamically related with the Heavenly Temple than in the OT. In the latter, the relationship between the New Temple and the Heavenly Temple is shown only in Isa. 6:1-3; Zech. 3:6-7; 4:9-14. Consequently, the function of the Heavenly Temple is much more emphasized in the early Jewish literature.¹

So far, it has been summarized how the early Jewish literature describes the rebuilding of the New Temple. Next, it is necessary to show the relationship of the New Temple/Jerusalem or the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem with other motifs such as Paradise and the New Creation. This observation will accompany references to the blessings caused by the proper function of the Heavenly or New Temple.

Remarkably, the New Jerusalem/Temple motif is often accompanied by the New Creation and Paradise (or Garden of Eden) motif, both of which are also eschatologically transferred from the heavenly dimension with the New Temple/Jerusalem. On the one hand, the New Creation not only serves to provide the setting of the New Jerusalem/Temple (1 Enoch 10:16b-22; 2 Baruch 4, 6, 32, 73-74; Apocalypse of Abraham 9:8-10), but also characterizes the New Jerusalem/Temple. In the former case, the New Jerusalem/Temple is the center of the New Creation; in the latter, the New Jerusalem/Temple is full of blessings caused by the New Creation.² In Pseudo-Philo and 1 Enoch, the New Creation is described as the ultimate fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant to activate the preservation of the cosmic order (13:7b; 1 Enoch 10:16b-22). Here, the centrality of the New Jerusalem and the New Creation as the setting of the New Jerusalem are reminiscent of Isa. 65:16-25. Therefore, the descriptions of the blessings of the New Jerusalem and the New Creation overlap each other.

On the other hand, as far as Paradise is concerned, in 4 Ezra 7:26 and 8:52, the Heavenly Paradise coexists with the Heavenly Jerusalem, and both will be eschatologically transferred to the eschatological New Jerusalem/Paradise. Moreover, in 10:53-55, the Heavenly Paradise is

¹ M. Baker argues that the Temple throne vision in heaven in the early Jewish tradition attests so-called two powers in heaven theory, which means that "a human figure had been elevated to heaven and enthroned as the divine judge; he had been given the name Yahweh and had worn the sacred name on his crown, exactly as did the high priest in the temple" (idem, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Judaism* [London: SPCK, 1991], 168). For this reason, according to her, "... the divine throne was seen to present a threat to monotheism ..." (ibid., 167). However, as far as the throne vision in the Heavenly Temple in the early Jewish tradition is concerned, this study did not find any threat to the Jewish monotheism.

² The eschatological blessings with regard to the New Creation will be considered separately later.

described as setting for the epiphany of the Heavenly Jerusalem. In 2 Baruch, it is also demonstrated that Paradise is heavenly as well eschatological (ch. 4, ch. 6, ch. 32, chs. 73-74). In the Apocalypse of Abraham, the New Temple will coexist with the Paradise at the end of times (21:1-6, 22:4-5, 29:17-19). In Pseudo-Philo, the experience of Heavenly Paradise by Adam in pre-fall, Noah and Moses is proposed as a model of restoration, and thus the restoration is the continual experience of the Heavenly Paradise (13:9). Therefore, the Heavenly Paradise functions as a goal of the restoration (13:9-10). Therefore, the Heavenly Paradise will ultimately be fully experienced by means of the covenantal renewal and the service in the New Temple (chs. 26-27). In particular, the Kenaz episode in the Pseudo-Philo 26-27 represents 'a legitimate link' between Temple and Paradise, which means that through the Temple service one can experience Paradise. Therefore, God's people will be able to experience the blessings of Paradise through service in the New Temple. In 1 Enoch 24-26; 28-36, the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem, the Heavenly Paradise and the New Creation in heaven are organically combined with one another, among which the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem is the most important factor. In particular, it is detected that the New Temple (mountain throne) as the counterpart of the Heavenly Temple is characterized by features of the Garden of Eden in 24:3-5. In 2 Enoch, the Heavenly Paradise (chs. 8-9) is demonstrated as the dwelling place as well as the inheritance of the righteous, which is assumed to be transferred into the eschatological Paradise as the eternal residence of the righteous (65:10). Moreover, it is noteworthy that in 2 Enoch the Heavenly Paradise functions not only to be the residence of the righteous but also to be the cultic place or God's resting place or the Heavenly Temple (chs. 8-9), though the Heavenly Temple is purely shown in chs. 20-22 again. It means that the Heavenly Paradise is not *sensu stricto* distinguished from the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem. In 1QH 14:15-17, the sectarian community as Temple is described as branches grown into 'the everlasting plantation' which is watered by 'all the streams of Eden'. This metaphorical description shows that the Community Temple idea is not only more enriched by the Eden motif but is also aimed towards the pre-fall condition of the Garden Eden.

In the OT, Paradise is described as coexisting with the New Temple and the New Creation (Ezek. 47:1-12; Isa. 11:6-9; 51:3; 65:25). However, there is no idea of the Heavenly Paradise in the OT, but the Heavenly Paradise is a unique idea to the early Jewish literature, as shown in the above.

The above observation shows that the relationship between the New Creation and the New/Heavenly Paradise and the New/Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is quite diversely described in the early Jewish literature. However, the most common idea is that the close relationship of these three motifs in the above signifies the total restoration of creation and redemption. The

restoration which the early Jewish writers sought for is not simply spiritual but includes the total aspect of human life in creation.³ This is true in the OT as well (cf. Isa. 65:16-25).

Thirdly, the architectural elements of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple or the New Jerusalem/Temple according to the early Jewish literature are summarized next. In 1 Enoch, the Heavenly Temple is characterized by a materialistic structure such as 'a wall which was built of white marble', 'house which was built of white marble', 'ceiling', 'gate' and 'the floor of crystal' in 14:8-12. In addition, walls and gates are surrounded by flaming fire. In 14:15-23, the fire motif is further emphasized in relation to the Heavenly Temple, and the fire, crystal, lightning, sun, and stars intensify the brightness of the Heavenly Temple. Moreover, in 18:6-10, God's throne mountain, the earthly part of the Heavenly Temple, is described as consisting of precious stones of varied hues, pearl, stones of the color of antimony, carnelians and emeralds (cf. 24:1-3). In the Animal Apocalypse, the Heavenly Temple is described as 'a tower high above the earth' (1 Enoch 89:50, 73; cf. Sibylline Oracles 5:423) and as having new columns and ornaments (1 Enoch 90:29b). In 2 Enoch 65:10, the New Jerusalem/Temple is described as an 'indestructible wall' (A) or 'indestructible light' (J). In Pseudo-Philo, the precious *twelve stones* have a different function from those in other works: a legitimate link between the Temple and Paradise (ch. 26). In other words, the New Temple/Jerusalem is activated by the precious twelve stones from Paradise, on which the names of the twelve tribes are engraved (26:4, 8-11). In Sibylline Oracles 5, the New Jerusalem is more brilliant than the stars or the sun and moon (5:421). In Tobit 13:16b, the architectural elements of the New Jerusalem are described as follows: gates, walls, towers, battlements, streets and houses. Each of the elements is decorated with jewelry: the gates will be built with sapphire and emerald, all walls with precious stones, the towers with gold, their battlements with pure gold, and the streets of Jerusalem will be paved with ruby and with stones of Ophir.

In the sectarian works, there are two kinds of architectural descriptions: the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple and the New Temple/Jerusalem. On the one hand, the architectural elements in the Heavenly Temple are described in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: the foundations of the holy of holies, the supporting pillars (columns) of the supremely lofty abode in the highest vault, and all the corners of the building, and the splendidly shining firmament of God's holy sanctuary (4Q403 1:41-46; cf. 4Q403 2:1-17). Moreover, in the last five songs of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the structures and features of the Heavenly Temple such as the holy of holies, merkabah/chariot-throne, cherubim, the heavenly throne and its attendant priestly angels, etc., are depicted.

³ This idea becomes more obvious in the observation of the heavenly blessings as well as the eschatological blessings with regard to the Heavenly/New Temple/Jerusalem.

On the other hand, *DNJ* describes the architectural features of the New Jerusalem/Temple as follows: 1) The main architectural elements in the city are twelve large gates, towers, streets, blocks, walls and columns. Each of the twelve large gates bears the name of one of the twelve patriarchs; the number ($1432+24=1456$) and the height (the one on the large gates: 5 rods; the one on the inside: 10 rods) of the tower are spectacular; the streets are constructed centering around the city centre and the Temple; the 12 large gates, walls and columns (foundations) are connected to one another. 2) All buildings, windows, walls, gates and streets in the city are covered with *precious stones such as white stone, alabaster, onyx, sapphire, rubies and pure gold*. 3) The general shape of the whole city is a square. It is also noteworthy that the block which contains the houses is a square. Moreover, it is emphasized that the main architectural elements such as every house, room, gate and tower in the city are the same size, respectively. 4) The living water flows probably from the center of the New Jerusalem or Temple.

In addition, the architectural features such as 'a fortified city', 'foundation', 'beam', 'the plumb line' and 'tested stone' in 1QH 14:25-26 and 'the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron', 'the tested rampart', 'the precious cornerstone' in 1QS 8:4-8 symbolize the Community Council or the whole sectarian community. This idea is further corroborated in 4QIsaiah Peshers^d, which interprets the architectural features of the Temple in envisaging the glorious Zion in the future in Isa. 54:11-12 as indicating *the hierarchical system* in the sectarian community.

As shown in the above, the early Jewish literature emphasizes the architectural structure of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple as well as the New Jerusalem/Temple. However, in the OT, there are few references to the architectural structure of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple, though they are shown in a blueprint of the New Temple in Ezek. 40-48. Therefore, abundant references to the architectural structure of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple in the early Jewish literature demonstrate further evidence for emphasis of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple. Moreover, it is remarkable that the architectural structure in 1QH 14:25-26; 1QS 8:4-8; 4QIsaiah Peshers^d alludes to the hierarchical system in the sectarian community. In particular, 4QIsaiah Peshers^d interprets the references to the architectural structure in Isa. 54:11-12 as fulfilled in the inner group (12 members) of the sectarian community. Another striking feature of the Heavenly/New Jerusalem/Temple in the early Jewish Literature is the precious stone motif. It is noteworthy that the precious stone motif is adopted in the New Temple/Jerusalem rather than in the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem. This precious stone motif in the New Temple/Jerusalem originates from the gems which decorate the clothing of the high priest in Exod. 28. In addition to this, the precious stone motif appears in Ezek. 28:13 and Isa. 54:11-12 as well.

Fourth, the functions of the New/Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple are as follows. Above all, the functions are related to the fact that the actual Jerusalem Temple was not available to them because it was either defiled or destroyed. 1 Enoch 18:11-12 intimates that God's throne in the Heavenly Temple functions to execute judgment in that the fire descends from God's throne in the Heavenly Temple as a judgmental instrument against the sinful beings in the abyss. In 1 Enoch 41, the Heavenly Temple has other functions: divine mastery of human history (vs. 1) and preservation and control of creation (vss. 3-9). In *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q402 4, 12-14), a strong predestinarian idea in the Heavenly Temple is represented because the text describes God in the Heavenly Temple as ruling over all the world by doing the first things in their ages and the final things in their appointed periods through his predestined decision. Therefore, the heavenly dimension, centering around the Heavenly Temple, functions to promote the eschatological fulfillment as well as God's sovereignty over the whole universe (cf. 1QH 9:19-20). In other words, the sectarian community experiences the eschatological blessings by participating in the worship in the Heavenly Temple (4Q402 4, 7-10; cf. 1QM 17:5-8). In *Hodayot*, the sectarian community is portrayed as experiencing the eschatological blessings through the heavenly blessings to be acquired through involvement in the heavenly worship in the Heavenly Temple (4Q427 7, 2:3-11; cf. 4Q285; 11Q14; 1QH 14:1-36).

In 1 Enoch 39:3-8, heaven ('the ultimate ends of the heavens') is identified with the dwelling place of the righteous, and in 1 Enoch 38:1-2, the whole earth is described as the dwelling place of the righteous at the end of times. Moreover, all residents will be transformed under one New Adamic race in order to be fit for the life in the New Jerusalem (1 Enoch 90:38). 2 Enoch 65:10 describes the New Temple/Jerusalem (and Paradise) as the shelter of an eternal residence. The New Jerusalem as the dwelling place for the righteous in 1 and 2 Enoch is slightly modified as that of the sectarians in *DNJ*.

Another function of the Heavenly Temple is the cultic place. This is shown in 1 Enoch 47:1-2 in which the angelic group joins the praying ceremony of the righteous with praising, giving thanks and blessing the name of the Lord of Spirits. This idea is also described in the sectarian works such as *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and in *Hodayot*. In both cases, the human group and the angelic group participate in the worship in the Heavenly Temple together (4Q400 2, 2-8; 4Q403 1:12-29, etc.; 4Q427 7, 1:1-23; 2:1-23; 1QH 14:1-36). Moreover, it is necessary to note the function of the Heavenly/New Temple/Jerusalem in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch which were written after the Temple destruction. In both works, the existence of the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem makes their readers experience 'an apocalyptic cure' by understanding that the real Temple was not destroyed at all. In 3 Baruch, the Heavenly Temple is the place where the prayers of God's people are brought (14:2S).

The foregoing summaries show how conspicuous the function of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is in the early Jewish literature. In the OT, the function of the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple is generally described as the divine council in Zech. 3:1-10 but it is not specified as the cultic place, the dwelling place and the place of foretaste of eschatological blessings. These features are singular in the early Jewish Literature.

Finally, the eschatological blessings and the heavenly blessings will be summarized. In fact, the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem and the coming of the Heavenly Paradise and the New Creation essentially represent eschatological blessings. However, they will be more specifically shown here. The most important eschatological blessing with regard to the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem is the ingathering of the Israelites and nations into the holy city (Tobit 13:9-17; 14:5-7). In 1 Enoch 90:13, God rejoices with great joy at their return to His house; in 1 Enoch 90:36, the vast number of God's people will fill the New Jerusalem so that she cannot contain them. In 1 Baruch, the glorification of the New Jerusalem is completed by the perfect gathering of Israelites (4:36-37; 5:1-4 and 5:5-6). In Sibylline Oracles 5:428-431, the New Jerusalem will be full of peace, the glory of God, holiness/purity and justice.

In *Hodayot* (4Q427) 7, 2:3-11, the heavenly blessings are illustrated in greater detail as follows: no oppression, no deceit, no wickedness, no sorrow, no anguish, no terror, no plague, no illness, no evil, no guilt, light, enjoyment, peace, the fount of perpetual blessing and of well-being, perpetual power, eternal enjoyment and perennial glory. The eschatological blessings in 4QWar Scroll^g (4Q285) or 11QBlessings (11Q14) are described as follows: 1) the blessings given to the land such as rains of blessing, dew and frost, late and early rains for producing bountiful fruits, grains, wine and oil (4Q285 1, 4-7a) ; 2) good health condition without miscarriages or illness or disease or pestilence (4Q285 1, 7b-8a); 3) moral purification with the vanishing of evil from the land (4Q285 1, 8b-9a) and without stealing of children (11QBlessings 12); and 4) a peace (11QBlessings 12)

In 1 Enoch 10:16b-22, the eschatological blessings as elements of the New Creation are listed as follows: 1) plantation of righteousness -- deeds of righteousness with joy (vs. 16b); 2) safety, productivity in offspring and longevity (vs. 17); 3) fruitfulness of the whole earth with trees (luxuriant trees, vines and olives) (vss. 18-19); 4) cleanness of the whole earth and being free from defilement and uncleanness, fullness with righteousness and the conversion of the Gentiles (vss. 20-22). The preceding items are parallels to those in the Noahic Covenant: 1) safety, productivity in offspring and longevity (Gen. 8:17; 9:1, 7); 2) fruitfulness of the whole earth with trees and blessings (9:3); 3) cleanness of the whole earth (the deluge itself functions to clean the earth). This parallel implies that the New Creation with such eschatological blessings is the eschatological fulfillment of the Noahic Covenant. Moreover, in 1 Enoch 25:6, longer life, no tortures, no pain and no labors are described as the eschatological blessings

given by the New Creation. They are prompted by the tree of life which represents the Garden of Eden.

In 2 Enoch, the blessings in the Heavenly Paradise are characterized by happiness, gladness and joyfulness in ch. 42. In ch. 65, the blessings of the eternal state are described as follows: 1) the righteous will be collected (vs. 8); 2) no weariness nor suffering nor affliction nor expectation of violence nor the pain of the night nor darkness, which are reminiscent of the New Creation (vs. 2); the New Temple/Jerusalem and Paradise as the eternal residence (vs. 10); transfiguration of the righteous like angels (vs. 11).

In Pseudo-Philo, the eschatological blessings are described as the blessings associated with the Noahic Covenant by the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, which brings forth 'the beautiful fruit of the tree and a branch of palm and willows and citron and branches of myrtle' and 'the whole earth with rain', the measure of the seasons, and regulation of the cosmic order such as stars, clouds, winds, etc., (13:7, 10a).

In the above, the eschatological blessings are mostly reminiscent of those in the OT (Ezek. 16:59-63; 17:22-24; 28:25-26; Isa. 65; Jer. 30:8:11, 19, 21; 31:4; Zech. 1:7-17; 1:18-21; 6:1-15; chs. 8-13). However, it is noteworthy that the eschatological blessings are closely associated with the heavenly blessings in the early Jewish literature. Here it can be assumed that the eschatological blessings originate from the Heavenly ones. This idea is rarely shown in the OT.

All in all, the early Jewish literature is in general much more interested in describing the contents of heaven than the OT, where there are few ascents to heaven by a seer, if any. Moreover, most of this literature is to some degree exegetical -- i.e. it is reinterpreting the OT prophecies of restoration. At least in the texts of this study, these OT prophecies were not understood as fulfilled in the Second Temple. However, the tendency in Second Temple Judaism was to read them in more clearly apocalyptic ways in which the fulfillment of the OT prophecies were found in the heavenly dimension as well as in the eschatological dimension. This trend provided proper background for the inaugurated eschatology in Revelation. In particular, Ezekiel 40-48 and Isaiah 40-66 are the most important texts for describing the New/Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem in the early Jewish literature. Finally, the Jewish writers seem to treat the OT prophecies quite freely, not very literalistically, varying the details in all sorts of ways.

3. The Temple Idea in the New Testament

In the New Testament, the issue with regard to the Temple can be summarized as follows: Christ as the New Temple, the church as the New Temple and the church as (being in) the Heavenly Jerusalem. This study will focus on proving the legitimacy of the three topics by means of strongly relevant and indisputable biblical texts briefly rather than on exhausting every related text because the whole study is about Revelation, not the NT in general. In other words, the aim of this study is simply to show that the above three topics were current in early Christianity and would have been known to John. Therefore, this section will deal only with Jn 2:19-21, 7:37-39; 1 Cor. 3:10-17; 1 Pet. 2:4; Gal. 4:21-27 and Heb. 12:22-24.

First, Christ as the New Temple is described in Jn 2:19-21, which attests that Jesus is conscious of Himself as the New Temple, which will be rebuilt through the resurrection, when He says, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."¹ This is confirmed by John's explanation in vs. 21 where Christ's resurrected body is regarded as the New Temple (τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ) replacing the Jerusalem old Temple. It means that Jesus Himself has become the New Temple after his resurrection.² The divine power to build the New Temple is emphasized by comparing the long period of the establishment of the old Temple with the exceptionally short period of the rebuilding of the New Temple in vs. 20 (cf. Isa. 66:7-9).³ Assured of the coming of the New Temple, John also reports Jesus' saying to the Samaritan woman in 4:21-24.⁴

Another important reference to Jesus as the New Temple occurs in Jn 7:37-39. The flowing rivers of living water from Christ Himself in vs. 38⁵ is reminiscent of that from the

¹ G. R. Beasley-Murray explains this saying as follows: "the 'destruction' of the temple is completed in the destruction of the body of Jesus, and the building of the new temple takes place through the resurrection of Jesus. The Jews will accomplish the former; Jesus will accomplish the latter" (idem, *John*, WBC 36 [Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1987], 41).

² It does not mean that before resurrection, Jesus does not function as the New Temple. Even before resurrection, Jesus works as the New Temple in his ministry, as shown in the next section. Resurrection is the official initiation of Jesus as the New Temple.

³ Concerning the 46 year construction period, refer to C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (London: SPCK, 1978), 200.

⁴ S. E. Johnson suggests that Jn 4:21, 23-24 is "a better exposition of Mk 14:58 as understood by Christians" (idem, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* [London: Adam & Charles Black, 1977], 244).

⁵ It has been disputed whether the phrase 'ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ' indicates Christ or believers. Rengstorf, Barrett, Lightfoot, Lindars, Haenchen, NRSV and NKJV propose the latter view. However, G. R. Beasley-Murray convincingly argues that the phrase indicates Christ Himself. According to him, vs. 37b-38a should be read as follows:

Ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἔρχέσθω πρὸς με
καὶ πινέτω ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ,

This reading makes acceptable the proposal that the water flows from Christ (idem, *John*, 115). On the other hand, T. L. Brodie defines 7:38 as ambiguity, by which it does not matter whether the rivers of living water flow from the heart of Jesus or of the believer. By the ambiguous technique, the author provides "a rich microcosm of a much larger reality" (idem, *The Gospel according to John: A Literary and Theological Commentary* [New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 318-319).

Temple in Ezek. 47:1-12 and Joel 3:17-18, and from Jerusalem in Zech. 14:8 (cf. Isa. 12:3).⁶ It means that Jesus is seen as the fulfillment of the promise of the Temple in Ezek. 40-48 and the New Jerusalem in Zech. 14:8.⁷ “In John 7:37-38 all people are invited to come by faith to the New Temple of the risen Jesus as the source of the Spirit.”⁸ Moreover, the water from Christ is interpreted as the Holy Spirit who will be given after Christ’s resurrection. In this respect, the official function as the New Temple starts with the resurrection of Christ and the coming of the Holy Spirit.

Second, 1 Cor. 3:10-17 and 1 Pet. 2:4 describe the church as the New Temple. In 1 Cor. 3:10-17 the church as the New Temple is very uniquely described. This text (1 Cor. 3:10-17) is placed between 3:1-9 and 3:18-23, both of which include Paul’s admonition against division within the Corinthian church. The division takes place in the name of Apollos, Cephas, and Paul. In his tentative conclusion in vs. 9, Paul emphasizes that Apollos, Cephas and Paul are only God’s servants who work to build up the Corinthians, God’s building (θεοῦ οἰκοδομή). Therefore, just as division in one building cannot occur, neither can this happen in the Corinthian church.

With this idea in mind, Paul continues to explain about the building. He asserts that the foundation (θεμέλιον) of the building is Jesus Christ (vs. 11). Paul as a skilled master builder (ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων)⁹ already laid (ἔθηκα) a foundation (vs. 10), and others may build (ἐποικοδομεῖ) on it, but they should be careful about building on the foundation, lest they miss the foundation which Paul already placed, and thus build on a different one (vs. 11).

Moreover, it is also important what kind of material is used for building even on the proper foundation. Paul lists what kind of material should and should not be used for building on the foundation in vs. 12: gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, and straw. The first three materials are the proper ones;¹⁰ the last three are not because while the former ones cannot be burned by the fire, the latter ones can (vs. 13-14). Those who build with the latter will be saved because they built on the foundation, Jesus, but they will lose everything in the fire (vs. 15). Paul connects these people to those who are involved in the division within the church. In vss.

⁶ A. Wikenhauser, *Das Evangelium Nach Johannes* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1961), 162-163; F. F. Bruce, *The Gospel of John* (London: Input Typesetting, 1983), 181-182; Wes Howerd-Brook, *Becoming Children of God: John’s Gospel and Radical Discipleship* (New York: Orbis Books, 1994), 185-186; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 116; C. R. Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 178.

⁷ D. E. Holwerda, *Jesus & Israel: One Covenant or Two?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 78.

⁸ J. McCaffrey, *The House with Many Rooms: The Temple Theme of Jn. 14:2-3*, AnBib 114 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1988), 230.

⁹ Only God is the Temple builder. However, here the apostolic function is emphasized in Temple building.

¹⁰ Jewelry such gold, silver and precious stones are normally described as material of architectural elements in the Old Testament and early Jewish literature. For this reason, G. Fee argues that Paul has the Temple building in view (idem, *The First Corinthians* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991], 140-141). However, there is no explicit reference to Temple building. It becomes explicit in vss. 16-17.

16-17, Paul concludes this illustration. In vs. 16, Paul defines the Corinthians as God's Temple, within which God's Spirit dwells. Here, it is noteworthy that the Holy Spirit functions to effectuate church as the New Temple. Moreover, it has been made explicit that the foundation and building in the above are used as Temple imagery which symbolizes the Corinthian church as God's Temple.¹¹ From this perspective, Paul deals with the issue of division within the church more seriously by saying that division can cause the spoiling of the Temple, which is the gathering of God's people, and God will destroy those who spoil His Temple (vs. 17).

In 1 Pet. 2:4, προσερχόμενοι as the circumstantial (adverbial) participle, the usage of which can be more specified as a manner or modal-temporal, is connected with the main verb, οἰκοδομεῖσθε. From this, it is right to translate it as 'when': 'when you come to the living stone ... chosen and precious in God's sight' or 'by coming to the living stone ...' Here, living stone (λίθον ζῶντα) is parallel to cornerstone in Eph. 2:20. The living stone is the beginning and the end of the Temple building. What is the effect of coming to the living stone? Those (church) who come to the living stone will become living stones as well. Moreover, the living stones build into οἶκος πνευματικός. Here οἶκος πνευματικός means the New Temple. The word, πνευματικός, when applied to 'house' and 'sacrifices', "does not mean 'immaterial but rather influenced or dominated by the Holy Spirit; sharing the character of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 1:11; 1 Cor. 2:13, 15; 12:1; Gal. 6:1; Col. 3:16)."¹² Therefore, it is shown the Holy Spirit functions to effectuate the New Temple. In this sense, the New Temple in 1 Pet 2:4 is parallel to that in 1 Cor. 3:16. Here, the New Temple which is made of the living stones is contrasted with the earthly Jerusalem Temple building, which is made of dead stones.¹³ Moreover, the establishment of believers as the New Temple (spiritual house) also lets them become the holy priesthood which functions "to offer up spiritual (πνευματικὰς) sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (2:4). Consequently, the church has not only become the New Temple by joining the Living Stone, but also she has acquired a priesthood. In sum, believers have become living stones, which indicate the New Temple, and acquire priesthood.

Finally, Gal. 4:21-27 and Heb. 12:22-24 refer to the church as (being in) Heavenly Jerusalem. Gal. 4:21-27 records Paul counter-attacking his opponents who insist on *Jerusalem-dependency*,¹⁴ emphasizing observance of the law, particularly circumcision. For this purpose, Paul puts forward the idea of the Heavenly Jerusalem, as contrasted with the present (earthly) Jerusalem, which Paul's opponents depend on, as shown in vss. 25-26.

Gal 4:25 Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present Jerusalem (νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ), for she is in slavery with her children. 26 But the

¹¹ C. Blomberg, *1 Corinthians: The NIV Application Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 75.

¹² W. Grudem, *The First Epistle of Peter*, TNTC 17 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 100.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁴ This phrase comes from P. Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City*, 129. For more information about the polemical setting, refer to A. T. Lincoln, *Paradise*, 9-11.

other woman corresponds to the Jerusalem above (ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ); she is free, and she is our mother.

The preceding text is an allegorical argument on the basis of redemptive history in the Abrahamic story in vss. 22-24.¹⁵ In vs. 23, Hagar and her child are characterized as ‘a slave woman’ and ‘the child of the slave’/‘according to the flesh’, respectively, while Sarah and her child are characterized as ‘the free woman’ and ‘the child of the promise’/‘through the promise’, respectively.

Against this redemptive historical background, in vs. 25a, Paul connects Hagar with Mount Sinai in Arabia, which is the symbol of the legal system. This connection between them seemed to confuse Judaizers and their sympathizers in the Galatian churches, because the law at Mount Sinai had been granted to the descendants of Abraham/Sarah rather than Hagar. Paul solves this expected confusion by the addition of the geographical reference ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ. Lincoln argues that “Hagar can be said to be Sinai because Sinai is in Arabia and Arabia has negative redemptive-historical connotations, since not only was it associated with the descendants of Hagar and Ishmael but was also outside Palestine.”¹⁶ Therefore, by this connection between Hagar and Mount Sinai in Arabia, Hagar represents the slavery caused by the distorted legal requirement (vs. 25, “she is in slavery with her children”). Moreover, Paul allegorizes Hagar as the present Jerusalem. By this link, the present Jerusalem takes over the feature of Hagar as slavery. Therefore, the present Jerusalem signifies “the epitome of legalistic Judaism” and thus “misplaced claims for Jerusalem.”¹⁷ Consequently, Paul rightly sees those who stick to Jerusalem-dependency as belonging to the present Jerusalem.¹⁸

On the other hand, the Heavenly Jerusalem¹⁹ is directly presented as a contrast to the present Jerusalem in vs. 26 (ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν).²⁰ The phrase μήτηρ ἡμῶν implies Sarah. If this is so, vs. 26 denotes that just as Hagar corresponds to the present Jerusalem, Sarah corresponds to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Here, Paul

¹⁵ A. T. Lincoln states that “Though the basic framework of Paul’s treatment of the OT in Gal. 4:21 ff. is typological, in his attempt to make its application specific he uses what we would now call allegory.” (idem., *Paradise*, 14). C. B. Cousar argues that “This section (4:22-31) is not only an allegorical interpretation of the Hagar-Sarah story, it is also a *midrash* (his italic) on Gen. 21:9-12” (idem., *Galatians* [Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982], 105).

¹⁶ Ibid., 16.

¹⁷ Ibid., 16, 18. According to F. F. Bruce, the present Jerusalem indicates “the whole legal system of Judaism” (idem., *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*, NIGTC [Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1982], 220).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Paul uses this phrase without further explanation as if his readers are familiar with it. (H. D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatians*, [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979], 246.) However, the readers’ familiarity with the concept of the Heavenly Jerusalem did not come from the gnostic adaptation of this concept, as Betz argues (Ibid., 247). Rather it came from the early Jewish literature such as 1 and 2 Enoch, Qumran sectarian works, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, etc.

²⁰ NRSV paraphrases the original text by the addition of “the other woman corresponds to ...” However, NKJV follows the original text as follows: “but the Jerusalem above is free, which is the mother of us all.” Here, the translation of NKJV is preferred.

argues that Sarah is the mother of the (Galatian) church (μήτηρ ἡμῶν), and Sarah corresponds to the Heavenly Jerusalem and thus the (Galatian) church belongs to the Heavenly Jerusalem. The Heavenly Jerusalem grants freedom from any legal requirements to the (Galatian) church in vs. 26. Therefore, the (Galatian) church experiences freedom from any legal requirement. Accordingly, the church which belongs to the Heavenly Jerusalem owns the eschatological blessing (freedom) caused by the new age inaugurated by Christ (cf. 5:1).²¹

This status of the church can be better understood in the citation of Isa. 54:1 in 4:27. This citation is given for the purpose of supporting Paul's previous statement in vs. 26 (the Heavenly Jerusalem as the church's mother is free), because 4:27 starts with the conjunction, γάρ, which is used for providing some reasons for the previous sentence. The whole context of Isa. 54 refers to the restoration of the New Jerusalem. Isa. 54:1 predicts the future Jerusalem "in terms reminiscent of the Sarah--Hagar relationship."²² In this text, Zion is described as 'the desolated woman'. The desolated woman will have more children than any other normal women who are married.²³ It means that the Israelites returning from exile are very numerous.²⁴ This returning of the great multitude necessarily results in the enlargement of the New Jerusalem in 54:2-3. Moreover, this restoration of the destroyed Jerusalem as the desolated woman is alluded to in the rebuilding and beautification of the New Jerusalem in 54:11-12 as God's wife (54:4-5). Therefore, 54:1, 2-3 and 11-12 are closely connected to one another within the same chapter in terms of the promise of the New Jerusalem. Accordingly, Paul must have these three passages in mind in this citation.²⁵ Among them, Paul uses only the first one (54:1) for his purpose, because 54:1 is based on the story of Hagar and Sarah and thus is most logically connected with the context of Galatians 4:25-26 in which Hagar and Sarah are contrasted.

²¹ Lincoln indicates that Paul understands that Christ is the one who liberates Galatians to enjoy the freedom in the Heavenly Jerusalem in 5:1, and the freedom as "a quality belonging to the new age" by linking it with the Heavenly Jerusalem (idem., *Paradise Now and Not Yet*, 25-26).

²² Ibid., 23.

²³ The desolated woman is regarded as Jerusalem in the absence of the exiles; the married woman is Jerusalem before the exile. (E. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1977], 264.) In this respect, the scheme of confrontation between Sarah and Hagar is not strong here. Therefore, it is difficult to see that Paul draws the scheme of confrontation between Sarah and Hagar in Gal. 4:21-26 from Isa. 54:1.

²⁴ Over-crowdedness of the New Jerusalem is given as one of the most popular promises for those returning from exile in the Old Testament and early Jewish literature. It goes too far to say that "Paul recognized that Isaiah had seen in Sarah a type of the new Jerusalem, mother of the promised 'seed' (described in Isa. 54:11-17)." (J. Bligh, *Galatians: A Discussion of St Paul's Epistle* [London: St Paul Publication, 1969], 403.) It would be better to say that the Isa. 54:1 Sarah-Hagar story is used by Isaiah as an illustration for emphasizing overpopulation after the return from exile (cf. Isa. 49:19-20).

²⁵ In this respect, Lincoln's following remark is right: "It is by no means a verse ripped out of context and applied arbitrarily" (idem., *Paradise Now and Not Yet*, 23).

Here it is shown that the promise of the restoration of the New Jerusalem in Isa. 54 has been fulfilled in the church.²⁶ This corroborates the idea that the church belongs to the Heavenly Jerusalem because the New Jerusalem is closely connected to the Heavenly Jerusalem. This close connection between them is supported by the early Jewish tradition in which the New Jerusalem is the transference of the Heavenly Jerusalem (4 Ezra 7:26, 10:27, 10:42-44, 10:53-55; 2 Baruch 4:17, 6:1-9, chs. 56-68, etc.).²⁷

To summarize, in Gal. 4:21-27, the Heavenly Jerusalem is shown as representing the new age, in which the church experiences freedom from any distorted bondage to the Jewish law.

Heb. 12:22-24 shows that the church has already participated in the Heavenly Jerusalem. First of all, it is necessary to consider Heb. 12:22-24 together with 12:18-21 because both are antithetically parallel to each other. Moreover, both 12:22-24 and 12:18-21 are also closely connected to 12:12-17 in which Esau, who threw away his inheritance for the sake of food, is portrayed as “the prototype of all who throw away the heavenly reality for the sake of the earthly one.”²⁸ In particular, the conjunction, γὰρ in 12:18 demonstrates that the purpose of the following references is to provide a foundation for the exhortation and warning in 12:12-17: “The church is not to be ‘worldly’ like Esau, who threw away the heavenly gift for the earthly gain.”²⁹

The author intends to contrast 12:22-24 with 12:18-21 by the phrase, Οὐ γὰρ προσεληλύθατε (12:18) and ἀλλὰ προσεληλύθατε (12:22). 12:18-21 characterizes the Sinai theophany as ‘something that can be touched’ (ψηλαφωμένω). The author’s use of the word, ψηλαφωμένω shows that he interprets the Sinai theophany as having ‘material nature’.³⁰ In this respect, this word is contrasted with the word, ἐπουρανίω in 12:22. In this case, the word (ψηλαφωμένω) may be regarded as meaning ‘earthly’. The descriptions of the Sinai theophany in 12:18-21 need to be thought of in terms of this assumption of the meaning of the word, ψηλαφωμένω. In this respect, “a blazing fire, and darkness, and gloom, and a tempest, and the sound of a trumpet” in 12:18-19a are rightly shown as earthly or “natural phenomena.”³¹

Moreover, the inevitable distance between God and Israel is emphasized in the descriptions of the earthly phenomena in Heb. 12:19b-20. The author picks up three subsequent

²⁶ Isa. 54, particularly, 54:11-12 has a tradition of interpretation in the sectarian work at Qumran, *4QIsaiah Pesher*^d. In this pesher, the sectarians understand the promise of the New Jerusalem in Isa. 54:11-12 as being fulfilled in their community. For more information, see pages 82 and 95. (Cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*, 222).

²⁷ For more information, see the study of the early Jewish literature in ch. 2.

²⁸ J. W. Thompson, *The Beginnings of Christian Philosophy: The Epistle to the Hebrews*, CBQM 13 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), 43.

²⁹ Ibid., 44.

³⁰ Ibid., 47.

³¹ F. J. Schierse, *Verheissung und Heilsvollendung: Zur theologischen Grundfrage des Hebräerbriefs*, (Munich: Zink, 1955), 176. This information belongs to J. W. Thompson, *The Beginnings of Christian Philosophy*, 47.

events in Exod. 19:12-13, 19:16 and 20:18-19 in order to show this fact. Here, the author demonstrates that the Israelite people could not draw near even to the earthly things at Sinai. This idea strengthens the author's following statement about the church's participation in the heavenly things, particularly the Heavenly Jerusalem. While the Israelites could not touch the earthly things, the church has experienced the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is much holier to touch than the earthly things at Sinai.

In 12:22-24, the present participation (προσεληλύθατε) of the church in the Heavenly Jerusalem is described. At first, 'Mount Zion' is deliberately used in order to contrast with the event at Sinai in 12:18-21. Then the reference to the Heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God are given as follows: 1) innumerable angels in festal gathering, 2) the assembly of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, 3) God the judge of all, 4) the spirits of the righteous made perfect, 5) Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant, and 6) the sprinkled blood that speaks a better word than the blood of Abel. The above five items further explain the Heavenly Jerusalem. Therefore, they are helpful for understanding the Heavenly Jerusalem.

First, 'innumerable angels in festal gathering (πανηγύρει)' undoubtedly indicates the angelic group in heaven. Here, the phrase, 'festal gathering' reflects the "scene of joyful praise and celebration in the Heavenly Jerusalem."³² This gathering of the angelic group forms a pair with the gathering of the human group: the assembly of the first born who are enrolled in heaven. Here, 'the assembly of the first born' (ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων) indicates "a gathering or an assembly of the redeemed people of God"³³ and 'enrolled in heaven' means "to be listed in the book of life, a membership roll of the elect ..."³⁴

In addition to these two groups, God and Jesus are also paired by being described as the judge of all and the mediator of a new covenant, respectively. While God is the One who judges all according to his righteous rule, Jesus mediates between the righteous God and sinful people through 'the sprinkled blood that speaks a better word than the blood of Abel'. This relationship between God and Jesus is further verified by the position of the phrase, 'the spirits of the righteous made perfect' (πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων) between the references to God and Jesus. This phrase signifies the redeemed people.³⁵ In this respect, the phrase means

³² P. E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 547. H. W. Attridge suggests that "it recalls the description of the 'sabbath festivity' (4:9) that awaits the faithful" (idem, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989], 375).

³³ W. L. Lane, *Hebrews 9-13*, WBC 47b (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 468; H. W. Attridge: "all men and women of faith in distinction from angels" (idem, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 375); P. E. Hughes: "the people of God in the age of the new covenant" (idem, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 548). However, P. Ellingworth suggests the possible meaning of the phrase as "earlier generation of God's people, waiting to be joined in heaven by the generation of Christians to whom Hebrews is addressed (cf. 11:40) ..." (idem, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 679).

³⁴ H. W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 375.

³⁵ There are two positions about the meaning of 'the spirits of the righteous made perfect'. First, W. Lane understands this phrase as "those who have died ... but who now inhabit the heavenly city" (idem, *Hebrews 9-13*,

the same as 'the assembly of the first born'. However, here the use of the phrase ('the spirits of the righteous made perfect') is intended to emphasize Christ's redemption for God's people from God's wrath.

In the above, it is noteworthy that the Heavenly Jerusalem is described not as the building but as the community with God, Jesus, God's people (church) and angels. The community has been perfectly established because the human group (the spirits of the righteous) has been made perfect before God the perfect judge of all through Jesus the mediator of a new covenant or his 'sprinkled blood that speaks a better word than the blood of Abel'.

470). P. E. Hughes supports this view by arguing that "Absent from the body, they are at home with their Lord" (idem, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 550). Second, H. W. Attridge argues that "The spirits of the perfected just properly stand in parallel with the church of the firstborn enrolled in heaven, for in Hebrews's understanding human hearts, minds, and spirits have been 'perfected' and granted access to God's own realm by the cleansing sacrifice of Christ" (idem, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 376). This position is supported by G. W. Buchanan who proposes that "The readers, who had been called 'holy brothers' (3:1), were given the further honorific titles of 'first-born' those 'enrolled in heaven', 'the righteous', 'perfected' ones" (idem, *To the Hebrews: Translation, Comment and Conclusions*, AB 36 [New York: Doubleday, 1978], 223). Here, the second view is more preferable.

4. The New Jerusalem in Revelation

4.1 Introduction

In Revelation, various themes are interwoven. The New Jerusalem theme is one of the most important. The main purpose of this section is to analyze exegetically the meaning of the New Jerusalem in Rev. 21:1-22:5. However, it is necessary to examine the New Jerusalem motif minutely and contextually throughout the book because references to the church, which the New Jerusalem symbolizes, are spread through the entire book. Moreover, a right understanding of the structure is important because this leads to the right understanding of Revelation. Therefore, the study of Revelation can be divided into three parts: structural analysis, contextual analysis and exegetical analysis. In addition to these analyses, thematic analysis will be given in the final section. This is intended to show the relationship of the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem to the New Temple/Jerusalem in greater detail in order to understand better the idea of the descent of the New Jerusalem from heaven in Revelation.

4.2 Structural Analysis: Structure and Composition

The purpose of this section is to investigate how Revelation is structured. Unfortunately, there are various models given by many different scholars because John as a skilled writer arranges texts so invisibly and subtly that it is quite difficult to perceive the structure.¹ Therefore, one needs to be cautious in dealing with this issue. Above all, it would be inappropriate to enter this controversy but rather to follow one specific sample as the main model. Recently, there are three representative theories in terms of the structure of Revelation: concentric structure by E. S. Fiorenza,² encompassing structure by J. Lambrecht³ and linguistic marker by Bauckham.⁴ The third one will be adopted for this study because it is most relevant to this study.

¹ E. S. Fiorenza, *Revelation: Vision of a Just World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 31

² E. S. Fiorenza, "Composition and Structure of the Book of Revelation," *CBQ* 39 (1977), 363-365.

³ J. Lambrecht, "A Structuration of Revelation 4:1-22:5" In J. Lambrecht ed., *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), 84-97.

⁴ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 1-37.

Bauckham starts by mentioning the prologue as an epistolary opening in 1:1-8, and the epilogue as an epistolary conclusion in 22:6-21, both of which have strong verbal echoes (cf. 1:1-3; 22:6-7).¹ The first linguistic marker is 'ἐν πνεύματι' in 1:10, which signifies the beginning of the whole visionary experience.² Another three more uses in 4:2, 17:3 and 21:10 denote 'three major transitions within the whole vision'³ that lead to the following divisions: (1) the inaugural vision of Christ, including the seven messages to the churches (1:9-3:22); (2) the inaugural vision of heaven (chs. 4-5) leading to the sequences of judgment (chs. 6-16); (3) Babylon the harlot (17:1-19:10); (4) the transition from Babylon to the New Jerusalem (19:11-21:8); (5) the New Jerusalem the Bride (21:9-22:9).⁴

In the preceding division, part 3 and part 5 are introduced in 17:1 and 21:9 by one of the seven angels pouring the seven bowls on the earth in ch. 16. This means that both parts are the dual conclusion of the foregoing seven series in chs. 6-16.⁵ Here, part 2 and part 4 serve to strengthen the function of part 3 and part 5 as the dual conclusion. This is shown by the phrase, 'it is done' (Γέγονεν) in 16:17 (end of part 2) and in 21:6 (part 4), a few verses before the beginning of each dual conclusion. The first one refers to the completion of the judgment of evil, including the fall of Babylon (16:19); the second refers to the great judgment and the New Creation, including the coming of the New Jerusalem.⁶ Here, both (16:17 and 21:6) already include the concluding elements in a preliminary form, expecting their full version of each in the following dual conclusion. In addition to this, there is one more important parallel between the context (16:1-21) to which 16:17 belongs, and the context (19:11-21:9) to which 21:6 belongs: for the dragon and the beast make war against God the Almighty in 16:13-16 and the rider (Jesus) and his army in 19:17-21 and 20:7-10.⁷ In the above, the parallels eventually lead to the parallel between 16:1-21 (the end of part [2]) and 19:11-21:9 (part [4]). This parallel also strengthens the view that part (3) and part (5) are the dual conclusion. Finally, it is noteworthy that 19:9-10 and 22:6-10 are verbally paralleled to each other.⁸ The verbal parallels between the two texts demonstrate the legitimacy of the dual conclusion of 17:1-19:10 and 21:10-22:10 again.

¹ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 3.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 3-6. Part (3) and part (5) are delimited by the clear verbal and thematic parallels as the structural markers. For more information, refer to R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 4-5. Here part (4) as a transition between part (3) and part (5) is formed by the clear division of both parts.

⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ There has been dispute about whether the war in 19:17-21 and 20:7-10 is recapitulatory or chronological. The discussion about this issue will be given in the contextual analysis II.

⁸ Unfortunately, Bauckham does not mention verbal parallels between two verses, which may be very important for the structural analysis.

Moreover, Bauckham tackles the structural analysis of chs. 6-16, which is the most structurally complex part of the book, by means of the linguistic markers as follows:

4:5	ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ
8:5	βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ σεισμός.
11:19	ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη.
16:18-21	ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός ... μέγας ... χάλαζα μεγάλη

In 4:5, the formula, which echoes the Sinai theophany (Exod. 19:16; cf. Jub. 2:2; LAB 11:4), is expanded by the addition of an extra item in 8:5, 11:19 and 16:18-21.⁹ The first formula is given in the Heavenly Temple vision. This means that the Heavenly Temple embraces the eschatological occurrences, and thus the divine eschatological judgments of chs. 6-16 originate from the Heavenly Temple. Moreover, the last three formulae function to corroborate the encompassing theory by J. Lambrecht.

The judgment of the seventh seal-opening, the climax of the first series, described by this formula in 8:5, encompasses the whole course of the judgments of the seven trumpets, and similarly the judgments of the seven trumpets, and similarly the judgment of the seventh trumpet, described by this formula in 11:19b, encompasses the whole series of bowl judgments, climaxing in the final, fullest elaboration of the formula in 16:18-21.¹⁰

The expansion in the above formulae is also related to the development of the intensification of the judgments in each series.¹¹ In particular, despite the long gap between the seventh trumpet (11:15-19) and the first appearance of the seven angels with the bowls (15:1) by chs. 12-14, they are connected by the parallel of 11:19 to 15:5-6 in terms of the Heavenly Temple opening formula.¹²

Bauckham also emphasizes the functions of the intercalation between the sixth seal and the seventh, and that between the sixth trumpet and the seventh.¹³ In the first case, ch. 7 does not interrupt the series but rather it is closely connected to the sixth seal since it provides the answers (esp. in 7:9) to the question in 6:17: 'who is able to stand (the great day of the wrath)?' In the second case, the long intercalation in 10:1-11:13 is enclosed with the sixth trumpet by the enumeration of two woes in 9:12 and 11:14. It indicates that the intercalation is the continuation of the sixth trumpet. If this is so, it can be assumed that the intercalation serves to supplement the sixth trumpet's message. The way of supplementing can be hinted by the contrasted occurrence between 9:21 ('And they did not repent') and 11:13 ('the rest are terrified and gave glory to the God of heaven'). Here, the event in the intercalation functions to

⁹ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 8.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. Bauckham also detects a 4+3 structure of the three series of seven judgments, which means that the first four and the last three form a set, respectively (ibid., 11).

¹² Ibid., 9.

¹³ Ibid., 12-13.

cause the unrepentant people to be terrified, to glorify God and to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth by means of the prophetic proclamation of the Gospel by church.¹⁴

These two intercalations are connected to chs. 4-5 by the literary links between 5:5-4 and 10:1-11: ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν of 5:5-14 and ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν of 10:1; βιβλίον in 5:1-9 and βιβλαρίδιον in 10:2, 9-10.¹⁵ John also connects all parts of chs. 6-11 to the Heavenly Temple vision in chs. 4-5 by advancing the two series of sevens sequentially out of the vision of the Lamb and the scroll in ch. 5: “the Lamb opens each of the seven seals of that scroll, and the seventh seal-opening entails the following sequence of trumpet-blasts.”¹⁶ Moreover, the Heavenly Temple visions at the climactic conclusions of two seven series in 8:5 and 11:19 are parallel to that in chs. 4-5, particularly, the divine throne vision in 4:5.¹⁷ Concerning the absence of the intercalation in the third seven series (the bowls), Bauckham explains it as “the suddenness of the Lord’s final coming to judgment,”¹⁸ while J. Lambrecht argues that the intercalation is relocated in chs. 12-14 not to interrupt the author’s last seven series which is no longer open-ended.¹⁹

Bauckham solves the problem of the isolation of chs. 12-14 and 15:2-4, which are “the upshot of the confrontation between the beast (ch. 13) and the followers of the Lamb (14:1-5),” by connecting them with the following bowl series (ch. 16) as follows:²⁰ 1) 15:2-4 is sandwiched between the introduction of the seven angels with the seven last plagues (15:1) and the account of their preparation of pouring out the bowls on the earth (15:5-8); 2) the seven angels in 15:1 are introduced by a variation of the formula which has previously been used only to introduce the dragon and the woman at the beginning of ch. 12:1 (... σημεῖον μέγα ὄφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ; 15:1, εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν). In addition, the parallels between 15:5 and 11:19a, and 16:17-20 (expanded) and 11:19b, show that the seventh trumpet is closely connected with the bowl series as the fuller version of the former.²¹ If this is so, it is possible to say that “chapter 15 is the point where the narrative began in chapter 12 with the dragon’s threat to the pregnant woman *converges with* the narrative begun in chapter 5 with the Lamb receiving the scroll in order to open it.”²² Bauckham argues for this by saying that the seven bowl series is not only a sequence and a completed version of the previous two

¹⁴ Ibid., 249.

¹⁵ R. J. Bauckham argues that both are the same thing. For the lengthy discussion, refer to his book, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 243-257.

¹⁶ Ibid., 14.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. Here Bauckham understands that in the other two seven series, the final, seventh judgment is delayed by the intercalations.

¹⁹ J. Lambrecht, “A Structuration of Revelation 4:1-22:5,” 97-99.

²⁰ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 16.

²¹ Ibid., 16.

²² Ibid.

seven series but also a description (16:2, 10, 13, 19) of “the forces of opposition of God” in chs. 12-14, which the other seven series do not include.²³ Moreover, chs. 12-14 are thematically connected to the intercalations which are placed between the sixth (seal and trumpet) and the seventh in the two seven series: 144,000 in 7:4 and 14:1; the apocalyptic period of the church’s suffering and witness in 11:2-3 and 12:6, 14, 13:5; the beast in 11:7 and 13; eschatological war between the beast and the saints in 11:7 and 13:7.²⁴ From this connection between them, it can be known that “the main function of chapters 12-15 is to deal much more fully with the subject that was adumbrated in the two intercalations (7:1-17; 10:1-11:13): the people of God in their conflict with the forces opposed to God.”²⁵

Finally, Bauckham shows the literary unity of part (4) in 19:11-21:8 with other parts of Revelation by means of the cross-referencing as follows:²⁶ 1) the list of those who hide from judgment in the great day of the wrath of God in 6:15 is parallel to the list of those whose flesh the birds are to eat in 19:18; 2) ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ in 12:5 is parallel to ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς (τὰ ἔθνη) ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ in 19:15; 3) ‘gathering the kings for the battle of the great day of God the Almighty’ in 16:14 is parallel to ‘gathering for the battle’ in 19:15 and ‘God the Almighty’ in 19:19; 4) the Lamb’s title in 17:14 and 19:16.

From the above argument, Bauckham suggests the following simplified division:²⁷

1:1-8	Prologue
1:9-3:22	Inaugural vision of Christ and the churches including seven message to the churches
4:1-5:14	Inaugural vision of heaven leading to three series of sevens and two intercalations:
6:1-8:1; 8:3-5	Seven seals, numbered 4 + 1 + (1 + intercalation) + 1
8:2; 8:6-11:19	Seven trumpets, numbered 4 + 1 + (1 + intercalation) + 1
12:1-14:20; 15:2-4	The story of God’s people in conflict with evil
15:1; 15:5-16:21	Seven bowls, numbered (4 + 3) without intercalation
17:1-19:10	Babylon the harlot
19:11-21:8	Transition from Babylon to the New Jerusalem
21:9-22:9	The New Jerusalem the bride
22:6-21	Epilogue

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 17.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 19-20.

²⁷ Ibid., 21-22.

4.3 Contextual Analysis I

The contextual analysis is divided into two parts: Contextual Analysis I and II. They are similar to each other since they provide the outline of the theme of the New Jerusalem. However, they are also distinguished because the former mainly focuses on the status of the church in chs. 2-16, while the latter focuses on the immediate context in chs. 17-20, in which Babylon the harlot (17:1-19:10) and the transition from Babylon to the New Jerusalem (19:11-21:8) are described. The main purpose of this section is to observe how the church is described in chs. 2-16 (chs. 2-3; chs. 4-5; 6:9, 8:1, 3-5; 7:1-17; 10:1-11:13; ch. 12; 14:1-5; 15:2-4) and how the church in chs. 2-16 is linked to the New Jerusalem in chs. 21-22.

4.3.1 Messages to seven Churches (chs. 2-3)

The seven messages have the following features: the addressing formula (cf. Hos. 4:1; Isa. 1:1; Jer. 2:1-2, etc.), *τάδε λέγει* formula, call to repentance, eschatological promises. These elements show that the seven messages are related to the Old Testament prophetic formula.¹ In particular, absence of the beginning and closing greeting is noticeable. If the messages of Rev. 2-3 are personal letters from John, there might be a salutation and a closing in each letter,² which are the basic elements of all personal letters in antiquity.³ However, the fact that such elements do not exist indicates that the seven messages are not personal letters, but prophetic messages ('prophetic exhortation' or 'critical evaluation'⁴) in the form of letters which provide the setting for the rest of the book.⁵ Therefore, it is not possible to separate them from the rest of the book.

How then do the seven messages provide the setting for the following part of the book? It can be answered by four points. First, the seven messages form an unity with ch. 1 and chs. 21-22.⁶ The relationship between them can be described as 'flashback' and 'flash-forward'.⁷ On the one hand, each message begins with Christological expressions, portraying "a flashback" to the Christophany of 1:19-20. The seven messages in chs. 2-3 use the same Christological titles,

¹ E. S. Fiorenza, *Revelation*, 46, 53. E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1953), 19. H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of John* (London: Macmillan, 1922³), 24. According to H. B. Swete, *τάδε λέγει* formula suggests that chs. 2-3 are not simple letters but prophetic utterances. He also suggests that the formula perhaps comes from Amos 1:6 LXX, *τάδε λέγει*, "Thus says Yahweh."; J. Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, trans. J. E. Alsup (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 43.

² R. L. Muse, "Revelation 2-3: A Critical Analysis of Seven Prophetic Messages," *JETS* 29 (1986), 149; cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 71.

³ The three basic parts of the common Greek letters are: opening; body; closing (J. L. White, *The Body of the Greek Letter*, SBLDS 2 [Missoula: Scholars, 1972], 7).

⁴ R. L. Muse, "Revelation 2-3," 152. E. S. Fiorenza suggests "prophetic interpretation" instead of "prophetic exhortation" (idem, *Revelation*, 53).

⁵ E. Corsini, *Apocalypse*, trans. J. Moloney (Willmington: M. Glazier, 1983), 103; J. Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, 41-42. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, 72; E. S. Fiorenza, *Revelation*, 46, etc.

⁶ Refer to E. S. Fiorenza's model, concentric structure in "Composition and Structure," 363-365.

⁷ M. E. Boring, *Revelation* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1989), 89.

as in ch. 1.⁸ This means that the speaker refers to “a single person the Messiah” -- in ch. 1 and chs. 2-3.⁹ Moreover, ch. 1 (vss. 4, 11 and 20) is referring to the seven churches that are described as the addressees in chs. 2-3. In this sense, ch. 1 and chs. 2-3 establish an integral relation. On the other hand, each message ends with promises to the conqueror, showing ‘a flash-forward’ to the eschatological consummation of chs. 20-22. In other words, chs. 2-3 and chs. 21-22 establish a ‘Promise and Fulfillment formula’¹⁰: the right to eat from the tree of life, which is in the paradise of God (2:7) is fulfilled in 22:2, 14, 19; not to be hurt at all by the second death (2:11), in 20:6, 21:4; a new name written (2:17), in 19:12, 22:4; authority over the nations and morning star (2:26-27), in 22:16; white clothes (3:5), in 22:14, 21:17; a pillar in the Temple of God and the New Jerusalem (3:12), in 21:2, 10 and 22, 22:4; seat on the throne (3:21), in 22:3.¹¹ Finally, 21:7 summarizes compactly the fulfillment of all the promises.¹² In addition, the antithetical formula¹³ between the two parts confirms the unity in terms of the negative aspect. In this antithetical formula, five of eight terms in 21:8 correspond to the following items in chs 2-3: the cowards from 2:10, 13; the disloyal from 2:10, 13; the fornicators from 2:10, 13; the idolaters from 2:14, 20; the liars (deceivers) from 2:2, 9, 20; 3:9.¹⁴

Second, John is not addressing the seven messages to “an abstract church” but to concrete churches which exist on this earth.¹⁵ This is known by the fact that the author uses the specific names of the churches. Therefore, the church which John adopts as the audience is not the one that takes a rest safely in the heaven but one which “lives in particular vexations and in jeopardy of her relationship to Christ through the temptations offered by the religious world that tries to undermine the life and teaching of the church from within (2-3).”¹⁶ Accordingly, without the seven messages, “the valuable point of contact with our present human experience” in the book of Revelation would be lost.¹⁷

On the other hand, the seven messages serve to indicate that Revelation is addressed not only to the seven churches or to any single church, but to the entire church that existed then in Asia Minor and will appear in the future. This assumption can be confirmed by two arguments.

⁸ 2:1 and 1:16; 2:8 and 1:17; 2:12 and 1:16; 2:18 and 1:14; 3:1 and 1:4, 1:20; 3:14 and 1:5 are paralleled, respectively.

⁹ P. S. Minear, *I saw a New Earth* (Washington : Corpus Books, 1968), 43-44.

¹⁰ This formula is fully recognized by Fiorenza’s concentric structure (idem, “Composition and Structure,” 363-365).

¹¹ P. S. Minear, *I saw a New Earth*, 44.

¹² Ibid., 61

¹³ This term is used by Minear (ibid.).

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, SPS 16 (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1993) 56.

¹⁶ M. Rissi, *The Future of the world: An Exegetical Study of Revelation 19:11-22:15* (London: SCM Press, 1972), 15.

¹⁷ G. Goldsworthy, *The Gospel in Revelation* (Devon: Paternoster, 1984), 77.

First, John chooses only seven because seven is the number of completeness, and thus it represents all churches. Second, ‘promises to conqueror’ are generally given. They are given to anybody who obeys faithfully, not being limited only to a ‘specific church’. John, by connecting his prophetic messages to the “final culmination of the whole biblical prophetic tradition,” suggests “a relevance” for all Christian churches.¹⁸ This function is also shown by the ‘call to hear formula’: ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Though each message begins with a church, it ends with what the churches are invited to hear. Evidently every church is supposed to share what is addressed to each church.¹⁹ Messages to each church represent “some aspect that is characteristic of the church at one time or another.”²⁰ Therefore, the churches in every age are required to be open before God, always ready themselves to inspect what the Spirit says to churches in chs. 2-3.²¹ This shows that the author has the whole gathering of God’s people in his mind, when he describes church.

Finally, the seven messages indicate that the author’s main concern is placed on the church. This concern for the church is specifically related to the important fact that the church is involved in the apocalyptic war, in that John encourages God’s people to participate actively in the cosmic spiritual war by referring to the promises to conquerors in every message. This means that the seven messages to the churches “link the daily existence of every child of God to the cosmic struggle between Christ and Satan, which, though the outcome was shown on the cross, should continue until the consummation at Christ’s return.”²² She participates in the war with the help of Christ’s victory that was already gained on the cross.²³

In sum, the seven message in chs. 2-3 provide the prophetic setting for the rest of the Book by 1) forming the connection with 21-22 as the point of eschatological culmination, 2) drawing attention to the church on earth, 3) reminding the audience of the whole gathering of God’s people, and 4) manifesting that the author’s concern is God’s church.

4.3.2 Heavenly Temple Vision (chs. 4-5)

The seven messages in chs. 2-3 are well balanced with the Heavenly Temple vision in chs. 4-5,²⁴ because while the former is focused on the earthly existence of church, the latter is on

¹⁸ R. J. Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 16; E. Corsini, *Apocalypse*, 110.

²⁰ H. R. Boer, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 28.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² G. Goldsworthy, *The Gospel in Revelation*, 84.

²³ This is also perceptible in the titles of Christ in chs. 2-3.

²⁴ E. S. Fiorenza argues that “John describes heaven not so much as a temple but as an oriental or Roman sovereign’s throne hall” (*idem, Revelation*, 59). D. Aune also argues for this (*idem, Revelation*, WBC 52A [Dallas: Word Book, 1997], 266 ff.). However, the Jewish Apocalyptic literature already portrayed the Heavenly Temple as God’s throne room, from which He rules the world. The two are not alternatives. John combines cultic and political themes in these chapters.

her heavenly existence. Moreover, chs. 4-5 are connected to chs. 2-3 by the throne imagery in the concluding statement (3:21) of chs. 2-3:²⁵ 'To the one who conquers I will give a place with me on my throne, just as I myself conquered and sat down with my Father on his throne'. Here, it is expected that there exist two important figures in this Heavenly Temple vision: Christ and the church. The way they are described is one of main concerns in this section.

First of all, the reference to 24 elders is given immediately after the throne theophany. 24 thrones surround God's throne, which means that they are each given their own throne. They also wear white robes, with golden crowns on their heads (vs. 4). Their identity has been known as one of the most controversial subjects in Revelation. Two kinds of answers are given to the question: human beings or angelic classes.²⁶ In the former case, the question as to whether they are the OT worthies or God's people in totality remains. Here, the following argument shows that they are human beings which signify the total people of God. First, there is no evidence in which angels sit upon thrones or wear crowns. 'Sitting on a throne' as well as 'wearing crowns' are privileges awarded only to God's people. Therefore, such attributes show that the 24 elders are a human rather than angelic, group.²⁷ Second, '24 elders' has '24 classes of priests' in 1 Chron. 24:1-19 as the background.²⁸ In Revelation, the elders have not only a cultic role (4:9-10, 5:8-11, 11:16-18, 19:4) but also royal status by seating on thrones and wearing crowns.²⁹ In this respect, they fittingly represent "the people of God," as the royal house of priests (1:6).³⁰ As such, they are "the heavenly counterpart of the earthly church."³¹ Therefore, the heavenly chorus by the 24 elders is the praises to be continually given to God on behalf of His faithful people on earth, namely, the heavenly doxologies which the worshipping community on earth are supposed to give to God.³² Third, the number twenty four, a derivative

²⁵ E. S. Fiorenza, *Revelation*, 58.

²⁶ R. H. Charles: heavenly representatives of the whole body of the faithful (idem, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* vol. I, ICC [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920], 129-133); H. B. Swete: the church in its totality (idem, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 68-69); J. P. M. Sweet: OT worthies (idem, *Revelation*, 118); R. Mounce: an exalted and angelic order (idem, *Revelation*, 135-136); I. T. Beckwith: angelic kings (idem, *The Apocalypse of John* [New York: Macmillan, 1919], 498-99); M. E. Boring: representation of the church on earth (106); L. Hurtado: representative of the elect (idem, "Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies," *JSNT* 25 [1985] 105-124); H. Hoeksema: representatives of the church and of the people of God of all ages (idem, *Behold He Cometh*, [Grand Rapids: Reformed Free Publishing Association, 1969], 159); G. Caird: no significant meaning but incidental insertion (idem, *The Revelation of St. John*, [New York/Evance: Harper & Row, 1966], 63). For more information of this issue, refer to D. Aune, *Revelation*, 287-292.

²⁷ J. P. M. Sweet rejects the opinion that 24 elders are angelic figures with the same reason. However, he suggests that they are the OT worthies who already have a place in heaven (cf. Heb. 11:2) (idem, *Revelation*, 118).

²⁸ L. Hurtado, "Revelation 4-5," 114; W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 79; D. Chilton, *The day of Vengeance: An Exposition of the Book of Revelation* (Tyler, TX: Dominion Press, 1987), 151-153.

²⁹ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 79.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 92.

of twelve, indicates that the elders symbolize the people of God.³³ This number is matched to the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles symbolized by the twelve gates and twelve foundations in 21:12-14.³⁴ Therefore, the 24 elders represent the whole of God's people in the New Testament as well as in the Old Testament. Fourth, the 24 elders' holding harps with censers in Rev. 5:8 indicates their cultic function like the Levites of 1 Chron. 25, who exercise the priestly office of mediation and prayer to God (Ps. 141:2).³⁵ Accordingly, the above arguments prove that the 24 elders are the human group representing the whole gathering of God's people in the Heavenly Temple. The existence of God's people in totality in the Heavenly Temple is supported by 'the assembly of the firstborn who are enrolled' in heaven in Heb. 12:22, and ascension of believers with Christ in Eph. 2:5-6 and 2:19-22, and the sectarian idea at Qumran that they regard themselves as being placed in the Heavenly Temple (*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, 4Q427 and 1QH 14, etc.).³⁶

Moreover, in vs. 5a, the 'flashes of lightning', 'rumblings' and 'peals of thunder' are coming from God's throne. This scene is a reference to the so called 'cosmic earthquake', which accompanies the 'eschatological theophany' (Exod. 19:16; cf. Ezek. 1:13; *LAB* 11:4; 1 Enoch 1:3-9; 102:1-2; Testament of Moses 10:1-7; 2 Baruch 32:1).³⁷ It is significant that the eschatological scene is described in the Heavenly Temple vision. This demonstrates that *the Heavenly Temple scene in chs. 4-5 already includes the eschatological occurrence*. Besides, there are 'seven flaming lamps' in front of the throne, which are the seven spirits of God (vs. 5b). In addition, the Heavenly Temple is described as 'something like a sea of glass, like crystal' in 4:6a. Here, the 'sea of glass like crystal' indicates "the floor of heaven."³⁸ This becomes clear from Rev. 15:2, where those who had conquered the beast and its image are described as standing on (ἐπὶ) the sea of glass with harps of God.³⁹ This assumption can be corroborated by the expressions, 'the floor of crystal' in 1 Enoch 14:10 and 'a lofty throne -- its appearance was like crystal' in 1 Enoch 14:18.

Furthermore, the four living creatures (like a lion, like an ox, like a human face and like flying eagle) exist around the throne, and on each side of the throne (vs. 6b). They are

³³ Ibid., 92; J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation*, 118. R. J. Bauckham suggests that "Twelve is the number of the people of God' (7:4-8; 12:1; 14:1; 21:12, 14), squared for completeness, multiplied by a thousand to suggest vast numbers (7:4-8; 14:1; 21:17)" (idem, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 36).

³⁴ J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation*, 118.

³⁵ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 85.

³⁶ See section 2.5.2.2.

³⁷ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 199, 202. However, 'a noise like thunder' by Michael's descending and ascending to bring 'the prayers of men' to God's throne in 3 Baruch 11:3, 5 (Slavonic version) is characteristic of the cultic performance to replace the sacrificial offering in the Temple rather than God's eschatological theophany.

³⁸ Ibid., 296.

³⁹ Ibid., 296-297. NRSV wrongly translates the preposition, ἐπὶ as 'beside' but NKJV translates it as 'on'.

reminiscent of the four animals in Ezek. 1:10, which are equivalent with cherubim in Ezek. 10:8, 19-22, though the number of wings are different. As shown in Ezekiel 1 and 10, the four animals represent the most lordly creatures in this world, denoting that they are bearers of the Lord of Lords⁴⁰ as well as the angelic group.⁴¹ Therefore, they are worshipping God as 'representatives of all creation'.⁴² However, John may borrow the expression, 'six wings' of four animals (or cherubim) in 4:8a from that of Isaiah's seraphim in Isa. 6:2.⁴³ In this case, "like seraphim, the four living creatures lead the liturgy in heaven and that distinguishes them most from Ezekiel's cherubim."⁴⁴ Therefore, the hymn in 4:8b is reminiscent of the seraphim's declaration of God's holiness in Isa. 6:3⁴⁵

Here, it is noteworthy that the liturgical praises by the angelic group represented by the four living creatures in 4:8⁴⁶ and the human group represented by 24 elders in 4:10-11 resemble the heavenly worship in 1QM 12:1-2, the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q403 1:12-29) and *Hodayot* (4Q427 7, 1:8-11, 13-15, 16-18). In Revelation, however, the liturgical utterances in the joint worship between the human group and the angelic group are described as more mutually exchanged between two than in the sectarian works. For instance, in 4:9-11, whenever the angelic group (four living creatures) give glory and honor and thanks to the One who is seated on the throne, the human group (24 elders) fall before the One who is seated on the throne and worship Him, saying:

You are worthy, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honor and power, for you created all things, and by your will they existed and were created (4:11).

This interactive worshipping performance is described in greater length in 5:9-14, which will be discussed below.

Descriptions about the Heavenly Temple are continued in ch. 5. The focal point in this chapter is to show who is worthy to open the scroll and to look into it. When John weeps bitterly because he can not find anyone who can open the scroll, he is introduced to 'the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David' as the only One who can open the seven seals of the scroll in 5:5. Then, he sees 'a Lamb standing as if it had been slaughtered' in the midst of the throne, the four living creatures and 24 elders in 5:6. According to Bauckham, "the

⁴⁰ P. Hughes, *The Book of Revelation*, 74.

⁴¹ R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 94.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴³ G. A. Krodel, *Revelation*, ACNT (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1989), 157.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 95.

⁴⁶ In 1 Enoch 40:1-10, four representative angels are described as Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel.

juxtaposition of the contrasting images of the lion and the Lamb expresses John's Jewish Christian reinterpretation of current Jewish eschatological hopes."⁴⁷

From this, the opening of the scroll is closely related to Christ's redemptive death because only the slaughtered Jesus on the cross can break the seven seals of the book. What is the contents of the scroll? Bauckham defines the scroll as "his (God) secret purpose for establishing his kingdom on earth."⁴⁸ In other words, the scroll will reveal how the kingdom of God is to come, which is announced from ch. 4.⁴⁹ From this conclusion, it can be known why the Lamb alone is entitled to open it because He is the one who has 'conquered' (5:5) and now shares God's throne (5:6; cf. 7:17).⁵⁰ Here, it is important to see that in the Heavenly Temple, the eschatological coming of God's kingdom, which already exists in heaven, is predicted.

Moreover, cultic performance by the angelic group and the human group is described in vss. 8b-14 as the response to the Lamb's taking the scroll for the purpose of opening it (vss. 7-8a).⁵¹ In particular, 8b as the introductory description, emphasizes that the following contents describe the liturgical procedure to celebrate the Lamb's victory as follows:

τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου
ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν καὶ φιάλας χρυσῆς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων, αἱ εἰσὶν αἱ
προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων

First of all, the four living creatures and 24 elders are shown as participating in the worship of the Lamb. The phrase, 'ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου' indicates their cultic attitude toward the Lamb. Each of the 24 elders hold a harp and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints. This scene is characteristic of the liturgical action. However, it is remarkable that the prayers of the saints replace sacrificial offering. This echoes the prayer of men as the cultic performance in the fifth heaven in 3 Baruch 11:3-9 (Slavonic version). In 3 Baruch, the prayer as the unique and only instrument to approach God replaces the sacrificial system in the Temple. Likewise, in Rev. 4-5, the prayer of the saints reaches the throne of God without either the sacrificial system or the Temple building. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the 24 elders are holding the bowls. In 3 Baruch 11:3-9, Michael is holding 'the very large receptacle' in which men's prayers are carried to God's throne (the highest heaven) from the fifth heaven where angels brought gifts or prayers from the people. Here, if the 24 elders truly indicate the church in totality, it may mean that the prayer of believers on earth reaches the throne of God directly without any mediators such as Michael or the angels.

⁴⁷ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 214.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* This argument of his is given by the identification of the scroll in ch. 5 with the little scroll (βιβλαρίδιον) with the background against Ezek. 2-3 and Dan. 8:26 and 12:5-7. In this case, the last seal of the scroll is broken at 8:1 and then the scroll appears open at 10:2 (*ibid.*, 248-250).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ The conjunction, ὅτε in vs. 8a shows that the subsequent action is immediately followed by that in vs. 8a.

From vs. 9 on to vs. 14, there are three doxologies. There are four remarkable things to be noted in the first one: 1) the worthiness of the Lamb to open the scroll; 2) redemption is described as already accomplished by the blood of the Lamb, and thus future hope is secured;⁵² 3) the redemption is universal from the phrase, ‘ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους’ in 9b; 4) the Lamb made them royal priests, who are ruling over the earth, representing God to the world. In the second doxology, many kinds of heavenly hosts and their number (5:11) are emphasized, and the doxology is described by the ἄξιος ... ἀνοῖξαι or λαβεῖν formula (vs. 12). The third doxology shows the eulogy of creation to God and the Lamb, which means that the New Creation has been produced by the Lamb’s redemption (vs. 13). Finally, the four living creatures, which represent both all creation and the angelic group, response as Amen, and the 24 elders, which represent redeemed humankind, fell down and worshipped (vs. 14).⁵³

In the above, there are several important things to be sorted out. First, the worship in the Heavenly Temple focuses on the Lamb and his sacrificial death by the triple appearances of the ἄξιος ... ἀνοῖξαι or λαβεῖν formula (cf. Heb. 9:11-12 and 9:23-24). Second, the eschatological redemption has already been completed in heaven by the Lamb’s sacrifice on the cross. Third, the New Creation has already been completed in heaven by Christ’s redemption.

How do chs. 4-5 contribute to the understanding of the New Jerusalem motif? First, the liturgy which is unfolded in chs. 4-5 provide a foretaste of the one which will unfold in the New Jerusalem.⁵⁴ In this sense, in Rev. 4-5, John sees the coming of the eschatological New Jerusalem in advance through the Heavenly Temple vision.⁵⁵ In other words, chs. 4-5 demonstrate “an ongoing interplay between the spatial transcendence of heavenly worship (in the Heavenly Temple) and the temporal transcendence of eschatological drama” (in the New Jerusalem).⁵⁶ By the interplay, John views in advance the vision of the New Jerusalem in the future. Second, chs. 4-5 portray ‘the rule of God’ which will be consummately manifested in the New Jerusalem, though it is already being exercised on earth now from the time of Christ’s exaltation. God’s and Christ’s rulership in chs. 4-5 can be specified as follows: celebration of creation by God/Creator in ch. 4; celebration of redemption by Christ/Redeemer in ch. 5.⁵⁷

⁵² R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 171.

⁵³ P. Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation*, 83.

⁵⁴ J. P. Prevost, *How to Read the Apocalypse* (New York, London : Crossroad, SCM Press, 1993), 87.

⁵⁵ J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation*, 118.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 82.

4.3.3 Lamentation of Martyrs in the Heavenly Temple (6:9-11) and Saints' Prayers on Earth (8:3-5)

When the fifth seal was opened, martyrs under the altar were shown to lament. Here, the phrase, 'under the altar' (ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου) is regarded as symbolizing the blood of sacrifice on the altar of the Heavenly Temple.⁵⁸ In this case, the martyrs are presented as 'sacrificial victims'.⁵⁹ Just as when the worshiper brings the sacrificial victim to be killed on the altar, its blood was poured out at the base of the altar (Lev. 4:7, 18), so the martyrs are under the altar.⁶⁰ Here, it is necessary to ask the purpose of the sacrificial death of the martyrs. The answer to this question can be found in the next phrase of the same verse: those who had been slaughtered for the word of God and for the testimony they had given (τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον). This phrase signifies the death of the martyrs through the witnessing ministry. In addition, the word, μαρτυρίαν represents the ministry of two witnesses in 11:3-13 (esp. 11:7) "to bear prophetic witness to all nations."⁶¹ If this is so, the martyrs' sacrificial death is "to be instrumental in the conversion of the nations of the world."⁶² If Christians are faithful in their calling to bear witness to the truth against the claims of the beast in order to win the nations belonging to the beast, they will necessarily face a conflict with the beast so critical as to be a struggle to death.⁶³ Here, the martyrdom signifies "a continuation of Christ's work by his followers, a working-out of the victory he achieved by his death."⁶⁴ Therefore, though these martyrs are not the total number of the church, they are the ideal representation of the church or God's people, in that they show the very nature of the church as a witness.

The martyrs called out in a loud voice in vs. 10, 'How long, Sovereign Lord, holy and true, until you judge the inhabitants of the earth and avenge our blood?' Most commentators agree that this lamentation is not "for personal revenge but for the vindication of the right and truth of the cause for which they gave their lives, which is Christ's cause."⁶⁵ This understanding is agreeable with the reason of the martyrs' death, which is caused by the witness to the nations. Accordingly, the purpose of this lamentation is to confirm that "God will accomplish his plan

⁵⁸ J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation*, 142. R. J. Bauckham argues that there is only one altar in the heavenly sanctuary, which corresponds to the altar of incense (idem, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 269). However, 6:9 shows that the altar is the one of burnt-offering on which sacrifices were offered. Of course, this does not mean "that there is a literal altar in the heavenly realm," as P. Hughes indicates (idem, *Revelation*, 88). Nevertheless, the expression demonstrates the existence of martyrs in the Heavenly Temple rather than simply "the symbol of their own self-offering," which P. Hughes also argues for (ibid.).

⁵⁹ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 93.

⁶⁰ M. E. Boring, *Revelation*, 125.

⁶¹ R. J. Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, 84.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 93.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 79.

⁶⁵ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 136; R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 111; W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 94; E. S. Fiorenza, *Revelation*, 64; J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation*, 141.

for history, and to make manifest on earth the lordship of Jesus Christ, which has already been proclaimed in heaven (5:9-10)⁶⁶ (cf. Isa. 63:15-64:12; 1 Enoch 47:1-2). According to Sweet, the final response to this lamentation is given in the total defeat of the great harlot (Babylon), the beast, the false prophet and Satan who delude the nations, and in the coming of the New Creation and the New Jerusalem.⁶⁷

Before the final response, however, God answers immediately just after they prayed as follows: ‘a white robe and rest are given to them’. In this sense, the phrase, ‘under the altar’ in vs. 9 also indicates that the martyrs sit in a place of honor or rest as a reward.⁶⁸ Moreover, the expressions, ἐδόθη and ἐρρέθη are ‘divine passives’ in which God is the agent.⁶⁹ Here, it shows that God responds directly to their prayer.⁷⁰ The phrase, ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν indicates that only a short time remains for God’s enemies and his church (12:12).⁷¹ Here the important issue is the meaning of ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτείνεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί. Beckwith sees the function of καὶ before οἱ ἀδελφοί as “exegetical,” namely “as an explanation of the οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν.”⁷² As a result of this view, 6:11 may be understood as indicating that there is to be a total number of “οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν” who are to be killed. Many versions support this understanding. However, Ulfgard argues against this position. First of all, he insists that ‘καὶ ... καί’ generally means ‘both ... and’.⁷³ Further, he points out that Beckwith overlooked the function of the first καί that comes before οἱ σύνδουλοι.⁷⁴ Accordingly, he concludes that there are two kinds of Christians: “fellow servants” (οἱ σύνδουλοι), and “brethren” (οἱ ἀδελφοί) who are to be killed as they themselves have been.⁷⁵ The two groups represent the total number of God’s people. In this sense, vs. 11 indicates the church in totality.

On the other hand, 8:3-5 describes the believers’ prayers on earth which are assisted by incense in heaven. It is commonly seen in the whole book of Revelation that the church on earth is being persecuted and remains in serious tribulations. Their prayers are made in this serious situation. Yet their prayers do not demand personal blessing, but seek to bring the

⁶⁶ J. Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, 90.

⁶⁷ J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation*, 141. E. S. Fiorenza considers that the responses to the lamentation are repeated in 16:5-7, 18:20 and 20:4-6. According to her, the last passage (20:4-6) stresses the positive result of the judgment of God for those killed (idem, *Revelation*, 64).

⁶⁸ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 135.

⁶⁹ J. M. Ford, *Revelation*, AB 38 (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 111.

⁷⁰ Ibid..

⁷¹ J. Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, 90.

⁷² I. T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 527.

⁷³ H. Ulfgard, *Feast and Future: Revelation 7:9-17 and the Feast of Tabernacles* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989), 56.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

justice and judgment of God, just like the lamentation of the martyrs in 6:9-11.⁷⁶ The text clearly shows that God hears their prayers through the liturgical procedure scene in the Heavenly Temple. Here, 'a great quantity of incense' is given to angel in order to assist 'the prayers of God's people on the golden altar before throne'.⁷⁷ As a response to the prayers, the censer was thrown down on the earth (8:5a; cf. Ezek. 10:2, 6-7). Subsequently, there came peals of thunder, flashes of lightening and an earthquake (8:5b), which indicates the eschatological theophany in the Heavenly Temple (4:5; 11:19 and 16:18-21).⁷⁸ Therefore, the eschatological theophany causes the awfulness of the series of eschatological judgments as the immediate response of their prayer, which eventually leads to the glorious coming of the kingdom, the New Jerusalem as the ultimate response.⁷⁹

4.3.4 144,000 and numberless Throng (7:1-17; 14:1-5); Measuring God's Temple (11:1-2); Two Witnesses (11:3-13) and the Woman who begets a child (ch. 12); God's dwelling (13:6); Victors in Heaven (15:2-4)

An intercalation (7:1-17) is placed between the openings of the sixth and the seventh seals. The sixth seal ends with the exclamation, 'for the great day of their wrath has come, who is able to stand?' in 6:17. In response, it is promised that church on earth will be protected from the harmful activities of the four angels by being sealed. This is the message of the former part of the intercalation in 7:1-17. The number of those who are sealed is calculated as 144,000 from all the tribes of Israel (vs. 4). The number 144,000 is intentionally adopted to represent completeness as well as the greatness of God's people because the number could not reasonably indicate the number of the Israelites in a census of the OT.⁸⁰ In terms of completeness, on the one hand, the number 144 (ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες) is a fulfilled number. "The 144 is obviously the multiple of 12 x 12, the twelve tribes of old Israel and the twelve apostles of the new Israel (cf. 21:12-14),"⁸¹ both of which represent one unified people rather than two different kinds of God's people in two different periods, in that the latter is the fulfillment of the former.⁸² In terms of greatness, on the other hand, χιλιάδε is used as indicating the largest numerical unit found in the Bible (LXX) because both symbolically imply 'a very large number' in biblical usage (χιλιάδας in Exod. 20:6; χιλιοπλασίως in Deut. 1:11;

⁷⁶ E. S. Fiorenza, *Revelation*, 71.

⁷⁷ It is necessary to note that there is difference between 5:8 and 8:3. In the former, the 24 elders hold 'golden bowls full of incense', which are the saints' prayers; in the latter, the angel is given 'a great quantity of incense' to assist the saints' prayer to reach to God's throne.

⁷⁸ This phrase creates "a particular kind of relationship between the three series of seven judgment" (R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 8). This relationship means the encompassing structure in chs. 6-16; see the structural analysis.

⁷⁹ M. E. Boring, *Revelation*, 134.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*; W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 98.

⁸² For more information, see the exegesis on 21:12-14.

εἰς χιλιάς γενεάς in 7:9; 1 Sam. 18:7; 21:11; Ps. 3:6; 68:17; Dan. 7:10).⁸³ Therefore, Bauckham also suggests that “Twelve is the number of the people (7:4-8; 12:1; 14:1; 21:12, 14), squared for completeness, multiplied by a thousand to suggest vast number (7:4-8; 14:1; 21:17).”⁸⁴ Accordingly, the number 144,000 signifies “a vast throng beyond all reckoning” of God’s people with the idea of completeness.⁸⁵ The complete number of God’s people was sealed in order to be protected from God’s eschatological judgment (vs. 4). C. R. Smith argues for this view by examining the list of tribes. According to him, 7:5-8 shows “the systematic reworking of a paradigmatic list of the sons of Israel grouped by maternal descent, whose otherwise perplexing features are clearly explained by the author’s design of portraying the church as the New Israel.”⁸⁶ In addition to this, as Bauckham argues, the 144,000 may be also regarded as “those called to serve God in battle” by the form of 7:4-8, which is reminiscent of ‘a census of the tribes of Israel’ because in the Old Testament a census is always motivated by the demonstration of the *military* strength of the nation (cf. Num. 1; Exod. 30:11-16; 2 Sam. 24).⁸⁷ Consequently, 7:2-8 demonstrates the invulnerability of church in totality on earth as battlefield, which is called to fight against the beast.⁸⁸

The latter part (vss. 9-17) refers to the church in heaven. First, in vs. 9a, the phrase, ‘a great multitude that no one could count, from every nation, from all tribes and peoples and languages’ indicates God’s people (church) in totality,⁸⁹ which is the same entity as 144,000 in 7:1-8.⁹⁰ Second, in vs. 9b, the phrase, ‘standing before the throne and before the lamb’ implies that they are placed in heaven now. Third, in vs. 9c, the phrase, ‘robed in white,’ which is reminiscent of ‘a white robe’ of the martyrs under the altar in 6:11, represents the church’s characteristic as martyrdom. This is further explained in vss. 13-14: ‘These are they who have

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 36.

⁸⁵ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 98; cf. M. E. Boring, *Revelation*, 130; W. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors: An Interpretation of the Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1967, 1983 [2nd]), 112.

⁸⁶ C. R. Smith, “The Portrayal of The Church As The New Israel in the Names And Order of The Tribes in Revelation 7:5-8,” *JSNT* 39 (1990), 111-118.

⁸⁷ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 217. He very soundly argues for this idea in greater detail in the same source, 215-229. Both meanings of the 144,000 as ‘a vast throng beyond all reckoning’ and ‘those called to serve to God in battle’ are not necessarily considered as conflicted to each other. Both can be combined by saying that God’s people in totality are called to serve Him in battle. However, the priority is placed in the former meaning because 7:1 ff. is the answer about the question, ‘who is able to stand?’ in 6:17. In this case, 7:1 ff. is required to show the identity of those who will be able to stand for God’s eschatological wrath rather than the census of 12 tribes.

⁸⁸ The confrontation with the beast is one of the seven series in the bowls (16:12-15). Therefore, the promise of protection is applied to the whole seven series.

⁸⁹ R. J. Bauckham rightly understands a great multitude in 7:9 as the fulfillment of the patriarchal promise (Gen. 32:12; 35:11) as well as the reinterpretation of 144,000 in 7:4-8 (idem, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 225). In this sense, he regards ‘a great number’ in 7:9 as ‘the complete number of the potential martyrs in heaven’, which characterizes the church (ibid., 55).

⁹⁰ W. H. Harrington, *Revelation*, 100. However, J. A. Draper insists that 7:1-8 and 9-17 describe different people (idem, “The Heavenly Feast of Tabernacles: Revelation 7:1-17,” *JSNT* 19 [1983] 133-147).

come out of the great ordeal (tribulation, NKJV)' (vs. 14). The white robes are also understood as "the festal garments of the victory celebration."⁹¹ In particular, the white clothes imagery is used to indicate the conquerors in heaven (Rev. 2:4-5, 18; 6:11; 7:9; 19:8, 14).⁹² Therefore, the phrase indicates the conquerors/victors through martyrdom. Fourth, in vs. 9d, the phrase 'with palm branches in their hands' is used as "a symbol of victory and of rejoicing after war (cf. 1 Macc. 13:51; 2 Macc. 10:7)."⁹³ In the above, vss. 9-17 describes the church in totality in heaven which is characterized as a victor through martyrdom.⁹⁴

The above observation indicates that 7:1-8 and 7:9-17 show the same people, but they are different not in an emphasis on racial distinction but in perspective.⁹⁵ The former views church in totality from here and now, and the latter, from there and then. Therefore, as H. Hoeksema, the only difference between the two is that the former still confronts that tribulation, while the latter has already passed through it.⁹⁶ The glorious appearance in vss. 9-17 has been guaranteed for the people who lived then and live now in this world.⁹⁷ Here, it is shown why John juxtaposes both parts: the 144,000 in vss. 1-8 and the numberless throng in vss. 9-17. John reports that God protects His suffering people from the harm coming on the earth by sealing them in vss. 1-8. Yet it is not enough to comfort them. Thus John also reports the heavenly vision, in which God's people have already acquired the complete victory. In this respect, the latter corroborates the former. In other words, while the victory in the midst of tribulation is anticipated in the audition of 7:1-8, it is further confirmed in the vision of 7:9-17.

Interestingly, this vision in vss. 9-17 is retrospectively related to chs. 4-5 and prospectively related to chs. 21-22. In the former case, the figures such as 'the elders' and 'the four living creatures' in vs. 11 are the same as in chs. 4-5. In the latter case, the contents of vss. 15-17 are paralleled to those of 21:4, 6, 22-23, which describe the New Jerusalem. It is remarkable to see that the eschatological blessings are described as already experienced by God's people in heaven. In particular, in vs. 14, God's people is described as having come out of the great tribulation as "a technical term for the eschatological 'time of trouble' of Daniel 12:1."⁹⁸ In this sense, "those who come out of the great tribulation' could be taken to mean 'those who

⁹¹ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 225.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 227.

⁹³ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 100.

⁹⁴ This does not mean "that every faithful Christian will in fact be put to death" but "that every faithful Christian must be prepared to die" (R. J. Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, 93).

⁹⁵ H. Ulfgard, *Feast and Future*, 73; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 99.

⁹⁶ H. Hoeksema, *Behold, He Cometh*, 267.

⁹⁷ This is supported by 1:6, 5:10 and 20:4-6, which show inaugurated eschatology.

⁹⁸ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 226.

emerge victorious from the eschatological war’.”⁹⁹ If this is so, John describes the eschatological victory as that which God’s people have already acquired in heaven.

There is further reference to this idea in 14:1-5. Here two images of the church in 7:1-8 and 9-17 are merged into one picture. The 144,000, who are sealed on their forehead (14:1; cf. 7:3) in order to be protected on the earth, stand in heaven with the Lamb, on Mount Zion (14:1-2). They sing a new song before the throne and before the four living creatures and the elders (14:3; cf. 7:11-12). They are those who had been redeemed from the earth and did not defile themselves with women but followed the Lamb wherever he goes; they were purchased from among men and offered as firstfruits to God and the Lamb (14:4; cf. 7:9). Here, the descriptions about the ‘144,000’ in 7:1-8 and the numberless throng in 7:9-17 are parallel to those about 144,000 in 14:1-5. Therefore, it can be said that the ‘144,000’ in 14:1-5 put together both realities of the ‘144,000’ and the numberless throng in 7:1-17. Accordingly, 14:1-5 demonstrates that the earthly church is enjoying the heavenly blessings here and now, which they will experience there and then after the final judgment.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, John represents the real image of the victorious church in heaven in 14:1-5, both recalling 7:1-17 and anticipating 21:1-22:5.¹⁰¹

Between ch. 7 and 14, three images for the conflict of church as the messianic army of the Lamb with the evil power are represented: measuring God’s Temple (11:1-2), two witnesses (11:3-12) and woman who begets a Child (ch. 12).¹⁰² The first one is given as the introduction of the second, but it has an independent meaning from the second one. According to Bauckham, in Rev. 11:1-2, the Temple of God (ναός) indicates the Temple building, containing the holy place and the holy of holies; the altar (τὸ θυσιαστήριον) in 11:1 indicates the altar of incense, located within the holy place;¹⁰³ those who worship there imply the priests, “who alone could enter the holy place and offer incense on the altar of incense”; the court outside the Temple must be “the court immediately outside the Temple building, the innermost of the two courts of the biblical temples or of the several courts of Herod’s Temple.”¹⁰⁴ Here John’s measuring symbolizes God’s preservation from defilement or destruction by the nations.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, his measuring of the Temple of God indicates God’s preservation of it from

⁹⁹ Ibid. Bauckham understands the washing of their robes in this light by saying that “The following clause (‘and they have washed their robes’) then also fits naturally into a description of victory in a holy war, since the washing of garments was part of the ritual purification required after shedding blood (Num. 31:19-20, 24; cf. 19:19) and before participation in worship” (ibid.).

¹⁰⁰ W. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors*, 151.

¹⁰¹ M. E. Boring, *Revelation*, 168.

¹⁰² In ch. 13, the appearances of the two beasts dramatize this confrontation.

¹⁰³ Although τὸ θυσιαστήριον generally refers to the altar of burnt-offering without qualification, here John qualifies it by locating it within the sanctuary (R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 269).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

defilement or destruction by the nations, “while the court containing the altar of burnt-offering is given to the nations ...”¹⁰⁶ This idea is well shown in John’s interpretation of Dan. 8:11-14.¹⁰⁷ First, the clause ‘καὶ τὴν ἀύλην τὴν ἕξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ ἔκβαλε ἕξωθεν’ is regarded as the translation of the last three words of Dan. 8:11: מִכּוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ וְהִשְׁלַח.¹⁰⁸ Here, מִכּוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ is translated as “the court belonging to (i.e. outside) the Temple building” rather than the Temple itself, and thus הִשְׁלַח mean ‘to cast out’ (ἐκβάλλω) rather than ‘to cast down’.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the clause, ‘it is given over to the nations ... they will trample over the holy city ...’ in 11:2b is an allusion to Dan. 8:13 (“... the giving over of the sanctuary and host to be trampled ...”; cf. Dan. 9:24; Zech. 12:3 [LXX]).¹¹⁰ Therefore, it is shown that John interprets the challenge of the Temple by the nations in Daniel not as toward the Temple building itself but toward the court outside the Temple building. Accordingly, John emphasizes the invulnerability of the Temple of God with its altar and the priests who worship in it from defilement and trampling by the nations, even though the outer part of the Temple is trampled by them. Here, the Temple building surely indicates God’s people or church, as in other New Testament writings, rather than the Temple, which had already been destroyed in AD 70, as the literal meaning.¹¹¹ In this case, the outer court implies “the outward experience of the church as it is exposed to persecution by the kingdom of the nations.”¹¹²

These two aspects of the church (invulnerability and persecution) are also described in 11:3-12. The church is symbolized by two witnesses. “John’s choice of Moses and Elijah as the Old Testament models for his two witnesses is readily intelligible in terms of his own work,” in that both figures are common in confronting pagan ruler and pagan religion.¹¹³ These confrontations of two prophets are characteristic of the two witnesses because they have to face the beast in ch. 13. The two witnesses prophesy for 1260 days. It indicates “a limited period of time during which evil would be allowed free rein.”¹¹⁴ Therefore, the church proclaims her

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ In fact, because of the parallel of the time-period between 42 (three and half year period) months and ‘a time two times, and half a time’ in Dan. 12:7, John’s allusion of Daniel starts from Dan. 12:7. However, following common Jewish exegetical practice, John chooses the other close text 8:11-14, which can further corroborate his exegesis on Daniel’s references (ibid., 267).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 270.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. According to Bauckham, John assumes that the reason it has been ‘cast out’ is that the pagan nations have defiled it (cf. Dan. 8:11, 13; 11:31; 12:11).

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 272.

¹¹¹ Ibid.; P. W. L. Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City*, 247; W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 119; R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 142.

¹¹² R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 272. Bauckham elaborates this idea by saying that “The church will be kept safe in its hidden spiritual reality, while suffering persecution and martyrdom” (ibid.).

¹¹³ Ibid., 277. According to him, Moses encountered Pharaoh and his magicians and later Balak and Balaam; Elijah encountered Jezebel and the prophets of Baal. Both cases are the two great Old Testament contests between the prophets of Yahweh and pagan power and religion (ibid.).

¹¹⁴ R. H. Mounce, *Revelation*, 221.

testimony during the difficult time. This is 'the duration of the time of the Gentiles' (11:20) or 'the whole time of the Church' (12:6, 14).¹¹⁵ While they are witnessing for 1,260 days, nothing can harm them. This does not mean that the church is exempt from any sufferings, but nothing can destroy the church of God.¹¹⁶ However, at the end of the present epoch when they have finished their testimony, the beast from the Abyss begins to attack them seriously, overpower and kill them (11:7).¹¹⁷ The murdered bodies of the two witnesses lie in the street of the great city. After three and a half days, they are resurrected by a breath of life from God, and go up to heaven in a cloud, while their enemies look on (11:11-12). Here, the suffering church on earth is connected to the triumphant church in heaven. As a result of the two witnesses' activity, the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ (11:15; cf. 11:13).

The other confrontation is shown in ch. 12. Here, attack by the beast against the church is remarkably described as follows: (1) the woman, who symbolizes the church, stays in the desert for 1260 days or a time, times and half a time (12:6; cf. 11:2-3); (2) during that period, God takes care of her (12:6) and she is out of the serpent's reach (12:14; cf. 11:5-6); (3) she is in a battle with her enemy, the dragon, who is trying to hurt and harm her (12:15, 17; 11:7); (4) the battle is a part of the war won by Christ's exaltation, the fruit of his ministry, death and resurrection; Michael's victory in heaven (12:7-9) is really the counterpart of the victory of Christ on the cross on earth (12:5).¹¹⁸ Accordingly, the woman is destined to win the battle with the dragon (12:11; cf. 11:11).

On the other hand, 13:6 represents the confrontation between the beast and God/His heavenly dwelling (church). Here, God's people are described as *those who dwell in heaven* because their true home and their true citizenship are not here and now, in this present pilgrimage, but in the glory that is to be revealed hereafter."¹¹⁹ From the above arguments, the Temple building in 11:1-3, the two witnesses in 11:4-13, the woman who begets child in ch. 12, God's heavenly dwelling in 13:6 and the 144,000 in 14:1-5 can be seen as the reinterpretation of the 144,000 and a numberless throng in 7:1-17.

Finally, the series of confrontations in 7:1-17, 11:1-13, ch. 12, ch. 13 and 14:1-5 culminate in 15:2-4, which depicts those who had been victorious over the beast and his image and over the number of his name. This passage corresponds to the theme of the New Jerusalem in 21:1-22:5 by descriptions such as 'a sea of glass,' 'harp given by God' and 'the song of Moses,' which is also reminiscent of the harp in 5:8 and 'a new song' ('the song of the Lamb) in 5:9

¹¹⁵ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 121.

¹¹⁶ This is the contents of 7:1-8.

¹¹⁷ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 124.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 133. In this respect, Michael's victory is paralleled to the binding of Satan in 20:1-3

¹¹⁹ P. Hughes, *Revelation*, 148.

and 14:3. For this reason, the victors in heaven in 15:2-4 indicate the church in heaven in chs. 4-5, 7:9-17, 14:1-5 as well as the New Jerusalem in 21:10-22:5.

4.3.5 Summary

First, the seven messages in chs. 2-3 provide the prophetic setting for the rest of the Book by 1) forming the connection with chs. 21-22 as the point of the eschatological culmination (particularly, by means of the New Temple/Jerusalem theme such as the Paradise in 2:7, manna in 2:17, and the New Jerusalem/pillar in the Temple in 3:12), 2) drawing attention to the church on earth, 3) reminding the audience of the whole gathering of God's people, and 4) manifesting that the author's concern is God's church.

Second, chs. 4-5 contribute to the understanding of the New Jerusalem as follows. 1) The liturgy which is unfolded in chs. 4-5 provides a foretaste of the one which will unfold in the New Jerusalem. In this sense, John sees in advance the coming of the eschatological New Jerusalem through the Heavenly Temple vision. 2) Chs. 4-5 portray 'the rule of God' which will be consummately manifested in the New Jerusalem, though it is already being exercised on earth now from the time of Christ's incarnation.

Third, 6:9-11 describes martyrs in heaven as the ideal picture of the church. Their lamentation for God to accomplish His plan in history and to make manifest on earth is answered in the total defeat of Babylon, the beast, the false prophet, and Satan, and then the coming of the New Creation and the New Jerusalem. In 8:3-5, the prayers of the saints on earth cause the same effect as the lamentation of the martyrs in heaven. Both the martyrs in heaven and the believers on earth present the two aspects of the church.

Fourth, 144,000 in 7:1-8 and the numberless throne in 7:9-17 indicate the same people. However, they are also distinguished from each other: while the former is the militant church on earth, the latter is the triumphant church in heaven. These two images of the church are merged into one picture in 14:-5.

Fifth, both 11:1-2 and 13:6 describe the church as the New Temple, which are attacked by the beast. However, the former regards the church as being placed on earth; the latter, as in heaven.

Sixth, chs. 7-15 demonstrate the confrontation between the church and the evil power, caused by the former's witnessing ministry. Here, the church's victory is emphasized by her evangelizing the nations through martyrdom in 11:3-13 (cf. ch. 12 and ch. 13), and her invulnerability is also stressed despite severe persecution (7:1-8 and 7:9-17; 11:1-2; 14:1-5). The description of the confrontation culminates in 15:2-4. Here, it is noteworthy that the whole church is described as belonging to 'victors', which are characterized by martyrdom, and in the

Heavenly Temple she experiences in advance the eschatological blessings in the New Jerusalem in chs. 21-22.

The above summary shows the following propositions about the church or the New Jerusalem in Revelation.

1) John has several images of the church which he uses for different purposes.

2) The New Jerusalem represents the eschatological future of the church.

3) Chs. 2-3 and chs. 4-5 exemplify the following pattern. The former provides the pattern of the militant church on earth; the latter provides the pattern of the triumphant church in heaven (cf. Gal. 4:21-27; Heb. 12:22-24).

4) John uses the rhetorical interplay between the spatial transcendence (in heaven) and the temporal transcendence (in the future) in order to show in advance the ultimate state of the church, which is symbolized by the New Jerusalem. Such a viewing of the ultimate state of the church in advance by means of this interplay, represents the inaugurated eschatology in the book of Revelation. Therefore, John does not simply view the ultimate state of the church (the New Jerusalem) as a futuristic event but as a present one which can be experienced in the life of God's people.

5) In other words, the triumphant church in heaven (chs. 4-5, 6:9-11, 7:9-17, 14:1-5, 15:2-4 and 19:1-7) functions to connect the militant church on earth (chs. 2-3, 7:1-8, 8:3-5, 11:3-13 and ch. 12) to the New Jerusalem in chs. 21-22.

4.4 Contextual Analysis II: Babylon the Harlot (17:1-19:10) and The Transition from Babylon the Great to the New Jerusalem (19:11-21:8)

The contextual analysis II will be divided into two parts: 1) 17:1-19:10 and 2) 19:11-21:8.¹ In the former case, there are (antithetical) parallels between the holy city, the New Jerusalem in 21:9-22:5 and Babylon the harlot (chs. 17-18) as follows: the same angel, one of seven angels who had the seven bowls in 17:1 and 21:9; adorned with jewels in 17:4 and 21:11, 18, 19-21; personified as a woman in 17:1, 3-4 and 21:2, 9; a name on her forehead in 17:5 and God's name on His people's foreheads in 22:4; the great in 17:18 and the holy city in 21:2, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23; to be full of the unclean things and abomination in 17:3-4 and such things not permitted to enter into it in 21:6; great harlot in 17:1, 5 and the bride in 21:2, 9; the names of those belonging to Babylon are not written in the book of life in 17:8 and the names of those belonging to the New Jerusalem are in the book of life in 21:27. These (antithetical) parallels verify that the descriptions of Babylon and her fall function as a dual conclusion of the three seven series in chs. 6-16 with those of the New Jerusalem.² Moreover, the general descriptions of Babylon and the beast in ch. 17 are followed by the reference to the fall of Babylon in ch. 18. The descriptions of the fall of Babylon in ch. 18 echo those of the fall of the great city, Babylon in 16:19 (cf. 16:12-16 and 17:13-14). In this case, the former develops and fully explains the latter by extending its descriptions in greater detail.³ This fact says that the former recapitulates the latter.

In ch. 19:1-10, the heavenly worship is described in response to the destruction of Babylon in ch. 18. In the heavenly worship, the church in heaven is displayed. First, 'μεγάλην ὄχλου πολλοῦ' in 19:1 corresponds to 'ὄχλος πολὺς' in 7:9-17, and 'ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου πολλοῦ καὶ ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν καὶ ὡς φωνὴν βροντῶν ἰσχυρῶν' in 19:6, to 'φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν καὶ ὡς φωνὴν βροντῆς μεγάλης' in 14:2.⁴ Second, 'the hallelujah choruses' of the heavenly worship are reminiscent of the new song in 5:9 (24 elders), 7:10 (praises of the numberless throng), and 14:3 (144,000) (cf. 15:2-4: the song of Moses or the song of the Lamb). On the other hand, the wedding of the Lamb in 19:7-9 is linked to the theme of the New Jerusalem in 21:2 since ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἠτοιμάσεν ἑαυτήν in 19:7 is parallel to ἠτοιμασμενὴν ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς in 21:2, where the bride is associated with the New Jerusalem. This parallel evidences that the bride in 19:7 is the same one as that in 21:2. However, there is a crucial difference between 19:1-10 and 21:2: the former describes the New Jerusalem still in heaven; the latter, the New Jerusalem on earth which descends from heaven. The latter demonstrates the ultimate stage of the church as the New Jerusalem, while

¹ See section 4.1

² This has been discussed in Structural Analysis (4.2).

³ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 247.

⁴ It has been discussed above that 7:9-17 and 14:1-5 describe the church in heaven.

the former shows the pre-existent state of the New Jerusalem as the church. Accordingly, 19:1-10 has a rhetorical function to link between the church in heaven during the interadvent age and the New Jerusalem on earth at the end of times.

The second part (19:11-21:8) functions as the transition from Babylon (17:1-19:10) to the New Jerusalem (21:9-22:5). In the structural analysis and the preceding discussion, it has been found that 17:1-19:10 and 21:9-22:5, and 16:1-21 (chs. 6-16) and 19:11-21:8 are parallel to each other, respectively. Here, the first pair functions as a dual conclusion, and 19:11-21:8, as a transition from the first conclusion (Babylon) to the second conclusion (the New Jerusalem). In the transition from Babylon to the New Jerusalem (19:11-21:8), John compactly describes the idea which is equivalent to chs. 6-16, particularly 16:1-21.⁵ Probably, John feels it necessary to remind readers or audiences of the previous part (16:1-21) because there is a long break by 17:1-19:10 between chs. 6-16 and 21:9-22:5.

19:17-21 and 20:7-10⁶ in 19:11-21:8 show the confrontations between Jesus/his army (church) and Satan/the beast/the false prophet/kings (the nations),⁷ that eventually lead to the total victory of the former and the total defeat of the latter.⁸ These multiple references to the victory of the church in the eschatological war emphasize the certainty of the ultimate defeat of Satan, the beast and the false prophet. The total defeat of the evil power is preparation for the perfect restoration of the corrupted universe caused by the satanic trinity. Therefore, it is no wonder that the New Creation and the New Jerusalem are introduced (21:1 ff.), just after the final judgment (20:11-15) which is followed by the total defeat of the evil power (19:17-21 and 20:7-10). The destruction of the evil power is necessarily required for the coming of the New Creation and New Jerusalem (cf. 1 Enoch 10:9-22; 38:1-2; 46:4-5; 90:20-28).

In the midst of referring to the eschatological victory, there appears a reference to 'the souls of those who had been beheaded for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God' in

⁵ Refer to the discussion about the parallel between 16:1-21 and 19:11:28, both of which are in the structural analysis.

⁶ In Ezek. 38-39, the invasion of Gog is used for proving the invincibility of the New Jerusalem God has established (For more information, See the study of Ezekiel in the Old Testament background). This principle can be applied because here, the beloved city surely indicates the New Jerusalem. However, the beloved city here is not the New Jerusalem which is described in 21:9 ff., but the church on earth, which is also placed in heaven.

⁷ According to R. F. White, there are three groups who view the relationship between the two passages differently: 1) Postmillennialists who have interpreted 19:11-20:10 as a description of events from the interadvent age (19:11-20:6) up through the second coming (20:7-10); 2) Premillennialists who have viewed the visions as an account of events associated with the second coming (19:11-20:3), a subsequent interregnum (20:4-6), and a judgment of Satan and the nations following that interregnum (20:7-10); 3) Amillennialists who have seen the relationship between 19:11-21 and 20:1-10 as one of recapitulation and has understood the visions of 20:1-6 as a description of events associated with the first advent and the interadvent age, while treating the vision of 20:7-10 as a depiction of the second advent parallel to the account in 19:11-21 (R. F. White, "Reexamining the Evidence For Recapitulation in Rev. 20:1-10," *WTJ* 51 [1989], 320). This study is not involved in this issue.

⁸ Most parts in chs. 6-16 (particularly, 6:1-21) describe the confrontation between the two and the church's victory.

20:4, who are supposed to be comforted by this tremendous victory.⁹ This reference serves to remind one of the victors through martyrdom in chs. 6-16.

In sum, 17:1-19:10, as a dual conclusion of chs. 6-16 with 21:9-22:5, describes the destruction of Babylon the harlot, and 19:11-21:8, as the transition from Babylon to the New Jerusalem, demonstrates the total defeat of the evil power as the preparation for the coming of the New Creation and the New Jerusalem.

⁹ According to Ulfgard, in 20:4-6 there appear two kinds of people: the people who have been executed for their faith (καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) and those who had neither worshipped the beast nor received his mark on their foreheads or their hands (καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον οὐδὲ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῶν) (Hakan Ulfgard, *Feast and Future*, 65). R. W. Wall suggests that these two groups categorize the whole people of God, who have been redeemed (idem, *Revelation*, 238).

4.5 Exegetical Analysis: The New Jerusalem (21:1-22:5)

The exegetical analysis of 21:1-22:5 shares the result of the contextual analysis of the preceding two sections, in which it is found that the church in chs. 2-20 is closely linked to the theme of the New Jerusalem in chs. 21-22. The most important point here is that the New Jerusalem, though it is the ultimate purpose of history, is already actualized by the church in heaven even in their persecution time, guaranteeing their perfect victory. In the end, the New Jerusalem is coming down to the earth from heaven at the end of times, after the total removal of the evil power.

4.5.1 Prologue (21:1-8): New Creation, New Jerusalem and New Covenant.

In the structural analysis and the contextual analysis, 19:11-20:8 is regarded as a transition part between Babylon in 17:1-19:10 and the New Jerusalem in 21:9-22:5 (22:6-9 is an epilogue). However, 21:1-8 should be specially treated together with 21:9-22:5 because though it belongs to the transition part, it is also closely related to the following description of the New Jerusalem as a general account of the New Jerusalem by adding references to the New Creation and the New Covenant. In this respect, it is possible to regard this part as the prologue of the New Jerusalem. Accordingly, this section will start with the exegesis of 21:1-8 as a prologue of the New Jerusalem, and then 21:9-22:5 will be observed.

4.5.1.1 New Creation (21:1, 4-5a)

The New Creation is the setting of the New Jerusalem along with the New Paradise and the New Covenant. First of all, it is important to see that vs. 1 and vss. 4-5a establishes the chiasmic structure and *inclusio* as follows:

- a 1a) coming of the new heaven and earth
- b 1b) transformation of the first heaven and earth
- c 1c) no more sea: no more curses

- c' 4a) no more tear, death, mourning and crying and pain: removal of curses
- b' 4b) transformation of the first things (the first heaven and earth)
- a' 5) making all things new (new heaven and earth)

In the above diagram, the New Creation is emphasized by the chiasmic structure and the *inclusio*.

Here the important issue is whether the phrase is God's creative work out of nothing (eine Neuschöpfung Gottes aus dem Nichts) or the restoration of the old things (eine Erneuerung der alten Schöpfung). There are several elements to support the latter view. First, Kraft finds the answer in the LXX text of Isa. 65:17 that John uses, in which בִּיְרֵהּ in the MT is omitted. According to him, by omitting the word, the translator of LXX intended to expose the

restoration (eine Erneuerung)¹ rather than Creation from nothing (eine Neuschöpfung aus dem Nichts).² Second, A. Pohl maintains this view by means of the word ‘καινός’. Basically, the term is used as the “göttliche Radikalität” in Revelation (2:17)³ as well as in the rest of NT.⁴ In other words, the word indicates the radical change from the old world to the new. At the same time, differing from the word νέος, which means ‘newness’ in time or origin, the word καινός means newness in nature or in quality.⁵ Accordingly, when John uses the word καινός in vs. 1, he does not mean the emergence of a cosmos totally other than the present one in origin or time, but the creation of a universe which, though it has been gloriously and radically renewed in quality or nature, stands in continuity with the present one.⁶ Third, theologically speaking, according to R. W. Wall, this is an “eschatological catchword,” which is reminiscent of the consummation of redemptive-history.⁷ In this sense, Wall insists that οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν reflects neither a “brand new reality” nor “the end of human history,” but it shows the consummated renewal of “the old order.”⁸ Fourth, in vs. 5a, most obviously, the phrase, ‘I am making all things new’ indicates that God will renew present corrupt things. Finally, this restoration idea is agreeable with the eschatological blessings in the New Creation in the OT and the early Jewish writings (Isa. 65:18-25; Ezek. 28:25-26, 34:25-30; Zech. 1:17-21, 8:12, 14:6, 14; 1 Enoch 10:16b-22, 25:6; 2 Enoch 65:2, 8-11; 4Q285 4-9; LAB 13:7, 10a; cf. heavenly blessings in 4Q427 7, 2:3-11). In particular, it is noteworthy that the New Creation is regarded as the ultimate fulfillment of the Noahic covenant in LAB 13:7-9, 19:10-13 and 1 Enoch 10:16b-22. This relation between the New Creation and the Noahic covenant emphasizes the above restoration idea, namely that the New Creation is the restoration of the first creation. Therefore, the phrase, ‘the first heaven and the first earth had passed away’ in vs. 1b and ‘the first things have passed away’ in vs. 4 simply emphasize the radical transformation of the first creation rather than the removal of the first creation.

Moreover, it is necessary to examine the meaning of ‘no more sea’ in vs. 1c. ‘Sea’ often exists in relationship to evil powers such as the beast or dragon within the book of Revelation

¹ W. Hendriksen uses the term, ‘renovation’, keeping the same idea as this (idem, *More than Conquerors*, 199).

² “Das „ich will schaffen“ ist nicht aus dem hebräischen Text in die LXX übergegangen, weil der Übersetzer nicht an eine Neuschöpfung, sondern an eine Erneuerung der alten Welt geglaubt hat” (H. Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, HNT 16a [Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1974], 263).

³ A. Pohl, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Druck: Brockhaus Verlag Wuppertal, 1971), 302.

⁴ There are three kinds of Greek word which are translated as ‘new’: 1) καινός: Mt. 9:17, 13:52, 26:28-29; Mk 1:27, 2:21, 22, 14:24, 25, 16:17; Lk. 5:36, 38, 22:20, Jn 13:34, 19:41; Acts. 17:19, 1 Cor. 11:25; 2 Cor. 3:6, 5:17; Gal. 6:15; Eph. 2:15, 4:24; Heb. 8:8, 8:13, 9:15, 2 Pet. 3:13, 1 Jn 2:7-8; Rev. 2:17, 3:12, 5:9, 14:3; 2) νέος: Mt. 9:17; Mk 2:22; Lk. 5:37-39; 3) νεώτερος: Lk. 15:12, 13; Heb. 12:24.

⁵ J. Behm, “καινός,” *TDNT* 3:447-49.

⁶ A. Hoekema, *The Bible and the Future* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 280; cf. D. Chilton, *The Days of Vengeance* (Ft. Worth: Dominion, 1987), 537.

⁷ R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 247.

⁸ Ibid.

(cf. 13:1, 6-7).⁹ In Dan. 7:3 ff., four beasts came up out of the sea, and Isaiah associates the wicked powers with ‘the tossing sea which cannot rest, whose waters toss up mire and dirt’ (Isa. 57:20).¹⁰ Moreover, in the ancient cosmology a world which possesses ‘no sea’ does not mean the disappearance of the present world but the total difference from the present order.¹¹ Consequently, ‘no more sea’ does not mean the vanishing of this earth but rather of the evil power. This is the natural result of the total defeat of the satanic trinity in 16:6-16, 17:13-14, 19:11-21 and 20:7-10. As a result, there will be no more death, mourning, crying and pain in the New Creation, as shown in 21:4.

In sum, in vs. 1 and vs. 5a, the New Creation is not the nullification of the first creation but the radical renewal of the first creation, and thus in the New Creation, there will be no more sea.

4.5.1.2 New Jerusalem (21:2)

1a	Καὶ	εἶδον	
1b			οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινὴν
2a	καὶ		τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ
2b	εἶδον		καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς

Here it is emphasized by the chiasmic structure between 1a1b and 2a2b that the New Jerusalem is closely connected with the New Creation. The expression, καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ means not only that the New Jerusalem belongs to the heavenly origin of the city whose builder and maker is God¹² (cf. chs. 4-5; 6:9-11; 7:9-17; 14:1-5; 15:2-4; 19:7-9)¹³ but also that the New Jerusalem is practically coming down from the heavenly place. In other words, the New Jerusalem is the transference of the Heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁴ Therefore, it is possible to say that “The contrast between heaven and earth disappears in the new

⁹ There are many opinions about the meaning of the sea: 1) Hendriksen: to symbolize the nations of the world in their conflict and unrest (13:1, 17:15) (199); 2) M. E. Boring: the chaotic power of un-creation, anti-creation, the abysmal depth from which the dragon arises to torment the earth, the very opposite of the creator God (idem, *Revelation*, 216-217); 3) J. M. Ford: a symbol of evil, danger, and distress (idem, *Revelation*, 361); 4) G. B. Caird: the cosmic sea out of which heaven and earth were made, the primeval ocean or abyss which is an alias for the dragon (idem, *The Revelation*, 262); 5) J. F. Walvoord: real water (idem, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 311); 6) G. R. Beasley-Murray: In the ancient cosmology a world which possesses no sea is even more vastly different from the present order than it appears in the modern view (idem, *Revelation*, 306).

¹⁰ R. H. Mounce, *Revelation*, 370.

¹¹ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 307.

¹² H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 276.

¹³ See Contextual Analysis I for more information about the evidence to show that the New Jerusalem is placed in heaven.

¹⁴ This issue within the Revelation will be further discussed in Thematic Analysis of the next section.

creation.”¹⁵ This is emphasized by the double expression, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ and ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Rev. 21:2. Moreover, the phrase ‘ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς’ demonstrates that the descent of the New Jerusalem is preceded by her perfect preparation in heaven as a bride of the Lamb (cf. 19:7-8). The preparation of the bride is shown by the magnificent adornment of the New Jerusalem with manifold jewels.

The idea of the dynamic interconnection between the New Jerusalem and the Heavenly Jerusalem is strongly supported by the early Jewish understanding rather than by the Old Testament.¹⁶ In 1 Enoch 14:8-17, 24:4-5 and 25:5-6, the mountain throne in the Garden of Eden is not only the earthly throne as being parallel to the heavenly throne in the Heavenly Temple, but also the source of the New Temple. The first case is mainly represented by the fire motif; the second case, by the tree of life. Here, it is possible to establish the relation between the Heavenly Temple and the New Temple through the mountain throne in the Garden of Eden. In 1 Enoch 38:1-2 and 39:4-5, the Heavenly Jerusalem as the present dwelling place is transferred to the New Jerusalem as the eschatological dwelling place of the righteous (cf. 70:1-4). Moreover, in 2 Enoch, the interconnection between the Heavenly Temple and the New Temple is shown by the parallel between the heavenly dimension (Heavenly Temple with God’s throne; Heavenly Paradise as the inheritance and the dwelling places for the righteous with the liturgical practices by the angels; glorification and priestly appointment of Enoch) and the eschatological dimension (gathering of the righteous; New Creation and New Temple/Jerusalem; Paradise as the shelter of the eternal residence; transfiguration of the righteous).

In the Qumran library, this interconnection between the Heavenly Temple and the New Temple is differently but more strongly demonstrated by the addition of the Community Temple idea. By regarding themselves as Temple in CD 15:15-17; 1QSa 1:8-9; 2:5-9; 1QS 3:7-9; 8:1-7, etc., the sectarians are not only assimilated to the Heavenly Temple by the form of joining the worship in it (conversely, the unification of the sectarians with the angelic group in the Heavenly Temple makes them Temple forever, as shown in 1QS 11:8), but also they are portrayed as encountering the eschatological blessings belonging to the New Temple/Jerusalem in the Heavenly Temple (4Q427; 1QH 14). For this reason, they themselves in the Heavenly Temple become a foretaste of the New Temple (4QFlor 3-7). In this respect, it can be said that the Heavenly Temple is activated as the embryo of the New Temple through the Community Temple. In other words, the Heavenly Temple is organically connected to the New Temple through the participation of the Community Temple in the Heavenly Temple.

¹⁵ C. Rowland, *Revelation* (London: Epworth Press, 1993), 153.

¹⁶ Interestingly, this idea rarely appears in the OT (cf. Zech. 3:6-7; 4:9-14).

The organic relationship of the Heavenly Temple with the New Temple continues to appear in the Jewish literature around the Temple destruction period in more advanced ways. In 4 Ezra (7:26; 10:27; 42-44; 53-55), the New Jerusalem is described as the eschatological appearance of the Heavenly Jerusalem. In the preceding texts, two things are clear. First, the Heavenly Zion or Jerusalem is preexistent in the state of an established city. Second, the Heavenly Zion or Jerusalem will be revealed at the end of time. This will be the New Jerusalem. In this case, it is possible to say that the New Jerusalem is the transference of the Heavenly Jerusalem. In particular, it is noteworthy that the appearance of the Heavenly Zion is understood as the rebuilding of the New Temple in 13:35-36. The similar idea is also shown in 2 Baruch, in which the Heavenly Temple is employed to emphasize the indestructibility of the Temple. In other words, the true Temple is not destroyed because it is hidden in heaven (4:1-7; 6:1-9). The Heavenly Temple will be eschatologically revealed as the New Temple (4:1-7; 6:1-9; chs. 56-68). In the Apocalypse of Abraham, Abraham's ascent to heaven demonstrates the interconnection of the Heavenly Temple to the New Temple (12:10; 13:4-6; 15:1-2).

On the other hand, the adjectives, holy (ἅγιαν) and new (καινήν) are attached to the New Jerusalem. The New Jerusalem is 'new' because it belongs to the newly restored creation, in contradiction with the earthly or Palestinian Jerusalem. Also, it is 'holy' "because it is separated from sins and thoroughly consecrated to God."¹⁷ Moreover, it is clear that the New Jerusalem represents the 'church' by the expression, 'ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἄνδρὶ αὐτῆς' (cf. Rev. 21:9; Isa. 26:1; 54:5; Ps. 48, etc.). Here, the New Jerusalem as the (church) community is backed by the sectarian idea proposing the sectarian community itself as a Temple in 1QS 8:1-7, 1QS 9:3-6, etc.,¹⁸ or 'a fortified city' (the New Jerusalem) in 1QH 14:25.¹⁹

As for the relationship between the New Jerusalem and the restored creation, the chiasmic structure indicates a close relationship between the New Jerusalem and the New Creation: the New Creation as the setting of the New Jerusalem; the New Jerusalem as the center of the New Creation. The relation between them is also shown in Isa. 65:16-25 and in 1 Enoch 10:16b-22, 2 Baruch 4, 6, 32, 73-74 and Apocalypse of Abraham 9:8-10. This becomes more evident in the relationship between vss. 1-8 and the following verses. Vss. 1-8 introduce the New Creation and the New Jerusalem together, but then from vs. 9 on, only the description of the New Jerusalem is separately displayed in greater detail. This denotes that the New Jerusalem is the main focus of the author.

¹⁷ W. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors*, 199.

¹⁸ More fundamentally, the community Temple idea is issued by the purity concept, which is related with the Temple cult. For more information, refer to the section 2.5.2.1.

¹⁹ See the discussion in greater detail in the study of the sectarian works.

Along the same line, Beasley-Murray considers the restored creation as “the setting for the city of God.”²⁰ Rissi sees the New Jerusalem as “the concrete form” or “a part of the new world.”²¹ Ford’s view that the New Jerusalem is the center of the New Creation describes the relationship between them more correctly.²² This relationship between the New Jerusalem and the New Creation suggests that the features which belong to the latter are more intensively given to the former.

4.5.1.3 *New Covenant and Reversal of Covenantal Curses (21:3-4, 7)*

In vs. 3, God’s dwelling with his peoples (λαοί) is emphasized by the phrases, ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ and σκηνώσει. This close and perpetual dwelling of God with his peoples is the natural result of the descent of the New Jerusalem on earth from heaven. God’s permanent dwelling is further highlighted by the covenant formula in vs. 3b and vs. 7. In particular, vs. 7 echoes the Davidic Covenant by the term υἱός. 2 Sam. 7 which describes the Davidic Covenant contains the term together with the phrase which stresses the special relationship with God: ‘I will be his father, and he will be my son’ (7:14).²³ In this covenant formula, the Davidic Covenant is characterized by sonship.²⁴ The ultimate renewal of the old covenants had been prophesied by the prophets (Jer. 30:22, Ezek. 36:28, 37:23, 27, Zech. 8:8, Hos. 1:23, etc.). They have been fulfilled in the incarnation of Jesus Christ, who has established the New Covenant (cf. Heb. 8).²⁵ At last they are consummated in the New Jerusalem by God’s eternal dwelling with His peoples.

Moreover, it is worth noting that in the Old Testament, the announcement or the renewal of the covenant occurs in the context of the establishment or the restoration of the Temple/Jerusalem, though sometimes the covenant formula also occurs in the context of Torah observance (Lev. 26:11-12 and Jer. 7:23).²⁶ For example, in Exod. 29:45 the formula occurs in reference to the establishment of the Tabernacle. In Jer. 31:33, the formula appears in reference to the restoration of the Temple/Jerusalem. In addition, Zech. 8:3 and Ezek. 37:26-27 (cf. 43:7) demonstrate the same pattern precisely.²⁷ This pattern may be applied to this context. In the

²⁰ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 307.

²¹ M. Rissi, *The Future of the World*, 55.

²² J. M. Ford, *Revelation*, 365; A. Kuyper, *The Revelation of St. John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1935), 322.

²³ According to O. P. Robertson, the covenant relationship can be summarized by a single phrase throughout all the biblical record of God’s administration of the covenant: “I shall be your God, and you shall be my people” (idem, *The Christ of the Covenant* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980], 45).

²⁴ O. P. Robertson divides the Old Covenants into ‘the Covenant of Creation’ and ‘the Covenant of Redemption.’ And the latter is listed as follows: the Adamic Covenant, the Noahic Covenant, the Abrahamic Covenant, the Mosaic Covenant and the Davidic Covenant.

²⁵ O. P. Robertson calls this “the Covenant of Consummation” (ibid., 271).

²⁶ C. Deutsch, “Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rev. 21:1-22:5,” *ZNW* 78 (1987), 119.

²⁷ Ibid.

New Jerusalem, God the Almighty and the Lamb, even His peoples²⁸ are established as the New Temple without any Temple building in 21:22-23.

Furthermore, the restoration of the New Jerusalem is described as the reverse of the covenantal curses, as in Isa. 65:20-25. In other words, the eschatological blessings in vs. 4 such as wiping every tear, no more death, no more mourning or crying or pain can be seen as resulting from the reversal of the covenantal curses. This is because the blessings are given in the context of the New Covenant. Here, it is noteworthy that these blessings and the promise of the water of life in vs. 6b are parallel to those in 7:16-17, which belong to the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple. This means that believers are experiencing the eschatological blessings in advance in the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple, and their possessing the heavenly blessings will be ultimately actualized at the end of times when they come down from the Heavenly Jerusalem/Temple. This idea is backed by the early Jewish tradition. In the sectarian work at Qumran, the descriptions about the heavenly blessings and the eschatological blessings are parallel to one another. For example, in 4Q427 7 2:3-11, the heavenly blessings are listed as follows: no oppression, no deceit, no wickedness, no sorrow, no anguish, no terror, no plague, no illness, no evil, no guilt, light, enjoyment, peace, the fount of perpetual blessing and of well-being, perpetual power, eternal enjoyment and perennial glory. The eschatological blessings in 4Q285 and 11Q14 are described as follows: late and early rains for producing bountiful fruits, grains, wine and oil (4Q285 1, 4-7a); good health without miscarriages or illness or disease or pestilence (4Q285 1, 7b-8a); moral purification with the vanishing of evil from the land (4Q285 1, 8b-5a) and without stealing of children and peace (11Q14 12). The above illustration shows that there are parallels between the heavenly blessings and the eschatological blessings.

In sum, the New Covenant will be consummated in the context of the establishment of the New Temple in the New Jerusalem by constituting the most perfect relationship between God and His people; at the same time, the covenantal eschatological blessings are already experienced by the believers in heaven. Significantly, it also leads to the reversal of the covenantal curses.

4.5.1.4 *The Victors and the Cowardly (21:6b-8)*

In 21:6b, the promise of the spring of the water of life as a gift to the thirsty is shown as representing eschatological blessings in the New Creation²⁹ because the item is distinctively

²⁸ Though there is no explicit reference to His peoples being Temple, it can be assumed that the New Jerusalem is the Temple city by its shape as a square in vs. 16. It will be further discussed below.

²⁹ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 168. In Isaiah, the water motif is broadly associated with other eschatological blessings: the warrant of the return from the Babylonian exile in 43:19-21; the Paradisaic surroundings in 11:6-9, 30:23-25, 58:11-12; pouring of the Holy Spirit in 60:3-4; healing of the disabled people in 35:5-7. These illustrations demonstrate that the water motif is regarded as the fundamental element of the eschatological blessing.

referred to in relation to inheritance given to victors. Only the victors may inherit the eschatological blessing in vs. 7. This is one fulfillment of the promises in the seven messages in chs. 2-3. By contrast, a list of those who fail to overcome is shown in vs. 8. It is not a general statement but a significant one on the basis of the whole context of Revelation.³⁰ While John is suggesting 'a vice catalog' which other New Testament authors often use, he uses it for his purpose by means of adaptation to his situation.³¹ From this point of view, cowards (the beginning of the list) and liars (the end of the list) indicate "the failures of Christians under the pressure of persecution and threat of it: lack of courage before the Roman courts, lack of truthfulness in making the declaration of their Christian faith regardless of the consequences."³² In addition to the above two, the other items in the list likewise are not "general broadsides against human sinfulness" but are sins that, in terms of John's viewpoint, were particularly associated "with participation in the emperor cult and yielding to the pressures of pagan society."³³ They are those who fail to keep the commandment, 'be faithful' in Rev. 2:10, 14:12 and 17:14. Only the eternal judgment -- second death -- is given to them. This assumption shows that the ideal portrait of the church as martyrdom clearly make the victors distinctive from the cowardly and the liars.

On the other hand, the list of those who cannot inherit the eschatological blessing thematically has the same meaning as the list of those who cannot enter the New Jerusalem in 21:27: 'those who are unclean and practice abomination or falsehood'. These conditions for inheriting or entering the New Jerusalem are based on the idea that the New Jerusalem or the church as the eschatological community is the New Temple. This assumption is reminiscent of the sectarian community at Qumran which regard themselves as the Temple and thus is very strict in accepting members.³⁴ It is noteworthy that the sectarian community's concern for ritual purity as well as moral, is here replaced by purely religious and moral qualifications.

4.5.2 The New Jerusalem (21:9-22:5): Main Topics concerning the New Jerusalem.

The second part begins with an introduction concerning one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls filled with the seven last plagues. This says that the New Jerusalem functions as a dual conclusion with Babylon to chs. 6-16. However, the New Jerusalem message is also

³⁰ M. E. Boring, *Revelation*, 217.

³¹ For example, Rom. 1:28-32, 13:13; 1 Cor. 5:9-11, 6:9-10; 2 Cor. 12:20; Gal. 5:19-21; Eph. 4:31, 5:3-5; Col. 3:5, 8-9; 1 Tim. 1:9-10, 6:4-5, 2 Tim 3:2-5; Tit. 3:3; 1 Pet. 4:3; Mk 7:21-23; Lk. 18:11; cf. Rev. 9:21, 22:15 (ibid.).

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ For more information of this subject, refer to the Community Temple section of Dead Sea Scrolls study in 2.5.2.1.

a conclusion of the whole book of Revelation by the promise and fulfillment formula with chs. 2-3.

4.5.2.1 *Introduction (21: 9-10)*

Here, the phrase, 'ἐν πνεύματι' is used as a linguistic marker, which leads to three major transitions (4:2, 17:3; 21:10) within the whole vision.³⁵ The New Jerusalem is described as 'the bride, the wife of the Lamb'. This designation of the New Jerusalem surely indicates that she implies the 'church'. In addition, the angel shows John the New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. The foregoing two ideas of the New Jerusalem³⁶ are assumed to be the most important issue to John and his readers because reference is made to them twice in 21:2 and here, both of which are significantly located: initial part of the prologue and that of the main description of the New Jerusalem, respectively. For John, it seems to be very important not only to define the New Jerusalem as the church, which is the total number of God's people but also to introduce the origin of the New Jerusalem in heaven, which has been waiting for the descent from heaven throughout the whole book of Revelation.

4.5.2.2 *Architectural Structure: Wall, 12 Gates and 12 Foundations (21:12-21)*

Wall, gates, towers, streets and foundations, etc., are selected as the essential architectural elements of the Heavenly/New Temple/Jerusalem in the early Jewish tradition. In 1 Enoch, the Heavenly Temple consists of 'a wall' which was built of white marble and 'a gate', etc., in 14:8-12. In 2 Enoch 65:10 (A), the New Jerusalem/Temple is described as an 'indestructible wall'. Moreover, *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* show the foundations of the holy of holies and the supporting pillars of the supremely lofty abode in the highest vault. Finally, *DNJ* describes the main architectural elements as twelve large gates (4Q554 1, 1:1-2:22; 5Q15 1, 1:10-14; cf. Tobit 13:16b; Isa. 54:12), towers (4Q554 2, 2:15b-16a), streets (4Q554 1, 2:16-22; 5Q15 1, 1:3-6; cf. Tobit 13:16b), blocks (2Q4, 1), walls (2Q4 3, 3; Tobit 13:16b) and foundations (4Q554 2, 2; cf. Isa. 54:11).³⁷ Therefore, in Revelation, it seems natural that the three main elements (wall, gates and foundations) in 21:12-14 plus one minor element (street) in 21:21 and 22:2 are chosen as the architectural structure of the New Jerusalem.³⁸

Of the architectural structures of the New Jerusalem, the wall is the first to be described. The wall is great (μέγα) and high (ὕψηλόν) (vs. 12); the height is a hundred and forty-four cubits by a man's measure, namely, an angel's measure (vs. 17), and it is built of jasper (vs.

³⁵ See Structural Analysis (4.2).

³⁶ The discussion about the Jewish and the New Testament background of these two ideas has been given in the exegesis of 21:2.

³⁷ Cf. J. Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and their Development*, JSNTSS 93 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 239.

³⁸ Cf. J. M. Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 89.

18). Each side of the wall has three gates, which points toward four directions (vs. 13). The wall is connected with 12 gates and 12 foundations. The names of the 12 tribes of the Israelites were inscribed on the 12 gates (vss. 12-13) (cf. 4QpIs^d; 4Q554 1, 1:9-21 and 1:7-22; 5Q15 1, 1:10). The 12 gates are 12 pearls, each of which are made of a single pearl (vs. 21). The 12 foundations has the 12 names of the 12 apostles (vs. 14) and are adorned with its own jewel (vs. 20). Finally, the streets of the city are described as pure gold, transparent as glass (vs. 21) and the river of the water of life flows from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city (22:2).

In understanding these features, it is necessary to remember that they must be comprehended symbolically.³⁹ The New Jerusalem has already symbolized the church. This is not the physical building made of material. Therefore, it is natural to interpret the rest of the features symbolically.⁴⁰ First of all, there are several opinions concerning the symbolic meaning of the wall. Rissi approaches this problem in terms of the interpretation of Rom. 9-11. According to him, the wall makes visible the fact that at the time of the New Jerusalem there will exist a “within and without” (21:8, 27, 22:15) and those who should be saved, namely, all Israel and some Gentiles, will come in through the open gates into the New Jerusalem in order to be saved. In this respect, the wall functions as “a religious delimitation.”⁴¹ Along the same line, Beasley-Murray sees its function as “the eternal security of the city’s inhabitants” as well as exclusion of the outsiders from the New Jerusalem.⁴² Walvoord proposes the function of the wall as “the reminder that only those qualified may enter.”⁴³ The common feature of the above arguments is to interpret the function of the wall as the delimitation between the insider and the outsider, and the security from the strong outer by admitting the existence of the outsiders even in the time of the New Jerusalem.

However, the New Jerusalem should be viewed against the background of final judgment for all people into the second death, whose names were not found in the book of life in 20:10-15 and the total destruction of the great city Babylon and Satan in the immediate context (16:12-16; 17:13-14; ch. 18; 19:11-20:10). The first heaven and earth, which is the old order was banished. The whole world is restored, renewed and transformed into the New Creation. There is no more sea. There is no more enemy, no more Satan, no devil, no sin and no more sinners in the New Creation. They have already been completely removed from the restored

³⁹ H. Hoeksema, *Behold He Cometh*, 694; D. Chilton, *The day of Vengeance*, 556-557.

⁴⁰ R. H. Gundry, “The New Jerusalem People as Place, Not Place for People,” *NovT* 29 (1987), 255; cf. G. Caird, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible* (Philadelphia; Westminster, 1980) 160-167; J. Drury, “The Sower, the Vineyard, and the Place of Allegory in the Interpretation of Mark’s Parables,” *JTS* 24 (1973) 367-79; C. E. Carlston, “Parable and Allegory Revisited: An Interpretive Review,” *CBQ* 43 (1981) 228-242.

⁴¹ M. Rissi, *Time and History: A Study on the Revelation*, trans. G. C. Winsor (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1966) 132-133.

⁴² G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 320.

⁴³ J. F. Walvoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1989), 321.

world by the judgment. Only the redeemed remain in the New Creation as members of the New Jerusalem. Here, the clause, "... anyone whose name was not found written in the book of life was thrown into the lake of fire" in 20:15 defines the exact meaning of the clause, "(will enter the New Jerusalem) only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life" in 21:27. In other words, there are no evil ones who remain even outside the New Jerusalem because they are thrown into the lake of fire. Therefore, the New Jerusalem does not have to be protected from the outer enemies. Here, H. Hoeksema's comment is appropriate as follows:

There is no need of guards and protection against possible enemies and attacks any more: for there will be no one in the New Creation and no one in the New Jerusalem who will hate and attack the people of God any longer.⁴⁴

The above fact says that Rissi's, Beasley-Murray's and Walvoord's opinions cannot be sustained since they attempt to understand the wall as presupposing the existence of the evil power outside the New Jerusalem.

Above all, if the New Jerusalem rightly symbolizes the church, the total number of God's people, then the wall should be understood symbolically. In fact, the wall signifies 'the safety of Zion' in the Zion tradition (cf. Isa. 26:1; 2 Enoch 65:10, etc.) because heavy attack upon the New Jerusalem by the kings of the nations establishes the background in the Zion tradition (like the war of Gog in Ezek. 38-39;⁴⁵ Ps. 48; the foregoing early Jewish tradition [in particular, 4Q554 2, 3]).⁴⁶ Therefore, the safety of the New Jerusalem is one of the most important issues in the Old Testament (Isa. 26:1, 33:16; Ezek. 36:12b-15, 38:8; Jer. 30:10-11; Zech. 9:8, 12:1-9, 14:10-11) and the early Jewish literature (2 Baruch 4:1-7; 6:1-9; 1QH 14:18-38, etc.). John must utilize this idea of the Zion-tradition with the same language in describing the structure of the New Jerusalem in order to emphasize that the New Jerusalem is the ultimate fulfillment of the tradition. Therefore, R. H. Mounce rightly insists that "the wall is simply part of the description of an ideal city as conceived by ancient people accustomed to the security of strong outer walls."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ H. Hoeksema, *Behold He Cometh*, 697.

⁴⁵ The war of Gog in Ezek. 38-39 occurred against the New Jerusalem in order to prove her invincibility. For more information, refer to the discussion of the text in the Old Testament background study.

⁴⁶ J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration*, 15. Concerning the understanding of the war of Gog in Ezek. 38-39, refer to the discussion in the Old Testament background study. In *DNJ*, the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem is contextualized by the eschatological war against Kittim, Edom, Moab and the sons of Ammon and Babel (4Q554 2, 3:16-19). Unfortunately, the exact meaning of the text is difficult to know because of the severe fragmentation of the scroll.

⁴⁷ R. H. Mounce *Revelation*, 379. According to him, "The mention of a wall is not to suggest the necessity of security precautions in the eternal state. Nor does it imply that Christians are a people set apart" (*ibid.*, 378-379).

Moreover, the wall's measurement in 21:17 appears to convey a different message, though it does not totally conflict with the significance of the walls in the original tradition.⁴⁸ In other words, the concept of the wall has been changed in the New Jerusalem in Revelation, though some common features are still kept. First, the wall in the New Jerusalem does not have the meaning of protection from outsiders.⁴⁹ There is no enemy attack in the New Creation. There is no more war with those who persecute. There is no power to rebel against God. The New Creation is the world which only God rules and in which His people experience only His peaceful rule. Therefore, the wall is not necessary any more in the New Jerusalem (cf. Zech. 2:4-5). Nevertheless, the reason he describes the wall is to stress the perfect and eternal invulnerability of the New Jerusalem. John emphasizes this by reminding the reader or audience of Zion's safety by means of the wall imagery in the Zion tradition. To troubled Christians at that time, John assures "total absence of anxiety over persecution such as looms on the old earth."⁵⁰ This is the reason why the wall is described as a 'great (μέγα) and high (ὕψηλόν) wall' in 21:12, even though "the actual size of the wall is ridiculously small in proportion to the size of the city."⁵¹

Second, the wall means that the city is "complete and finished."⁵² Moreover, the fact that the city is complete and finished also means that the perfect or complete number of the elect are gathered and are included in the New Jerusalem. The perfect number of the city is evidenced by the measurements of the wall in 21:17.⁵³ In other words, as W. J. Harrington remarks, "144 (12x12) is a fitting symbolic description of a wall that associates the twelve tribes of Israel with the twelve apostles of the lamb."⁵⁴ In terms of this view, it is not accidental that the names of the 12 tribes and the names of the 12 apostles are written on the 12 gates and 12 foundations, respectively, both of which are connected to the wall. Accordingly, it is right to see that the wall signifies that the New Jerusalem includes the perfect number of God's people.

⁴⁸ J. M. Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation*, 90, n. 19. According to him, "The designation of the wall as a 'great, high wall' heightens this impression of inviolability; it turns out, however, that the actual size of the wall is ridiculously small in proportion to the size of the city" (ibid.). Concerning the peculiarity of the measurement of the wall, R. H. Mounce points out that "The significance of the measurement lies in the fact that it is a multiple of twelve and has to do with the people of God in their eternal eternity" (idem, *Revelation*, 381; W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 214).

⁴⁹ R. H. Mounce, *Revelation*, 378.

⁵⁰ R. H. Gundry, "The New Jerusalem People as Place, Not Place for People," 260.

⁵¹ J. M. Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation*, 90 (n. 19).

⁵² H. Hoeksema, *Behold He Cometh*, 697.

⁵³ The size of the wall is not proportional to the gigantic size of the city and is even an insignificant figure if actual figures and standards are considered (W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 214). Therefore, the size of the city and the wall should be regarded symbolically. In this respect, Caird is in agreement with Harrington. According to Caird, "the measurements of the city show how much John cared for symbolism and how little for mathematics" (G. B. Caird, *The Revelation*, 273).

⁵⁴ W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, 214.

In addition to the wall, twelve gates are described. Here the same principle of the case of the wall should be applied to the case of the twelve gates. In other words, the gates should not be regarded as ‘the entrance to receive continuous flow from without’ as Rissi argues.⁵⁵ The reference to the gates comes from Ezek. 48:30-35. Here, the twelve gates and the twelve names of the twelve tribes are paralleled to those in Ezek. 48:30-35 (cf. 4Q554 1, 1:1-2:22).⁵⁶ Ezekiel’s vision indicates that “each tribe has its full share allotted to it in the distribution of the land and it has its own gate of entrance into the city.”⁵⁷ Likewise, in the New Jerusalem, God’s whole people is assured of “its right of equal approach into the place of God’s presence” and of equal right of sharing God’s blessings.⁵⁸ They indicate ‘the accessibility’ from every quarter.⁵⁹ Therefore, the gates show that from John’s standpoint of the new heaven and earth in the future, there has been “abundant opportunity to enter into this glorious and wonderful fellowship with God” by means of God-given faith in God’s promise.⁶⁰ This is verified by the fact that the gates are always open: ‘On no day will its gates ever be shut’ (vs. 25).⁶¹

John further describes the twelve foundations of the wall. The names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb are inscribed on the twelve foundations (vs. 14). It means that the church has been founded by the apostles. Here the names are emphasized by “the enumeration of the twelve jewels” according to the twelve apostles’ names in 21:19-21, differing from the twelve tribes’ names of the twelve gates.⁶² By enumeration, John is showing concern for this new element and putting the weight of emphasis on the twelve apostles more than the twelve tribes. However, this does not mean that he intends to distinguish between them so that the New Jerusalem consists of two kinds of people: the New Testament people (church) and the Old Testament people (Israel). By the progression of revelation, during the Old Testament period, God’s people are represented by ‘Israel’, and in the time of the New Testament, God’s people are represented by ‘church’. The New Testament church built by the twelve apostles is the fulfillment of the Israel represented by the twelve tribes. Here there are not two separate people but only one people. The people were called Israel in the past but now they are called church. All God’s people before the church have been incorporated into the church after she appears.

⁵⁵ M. Rissi, *The Future of the World*, 73.

⁵⁶ John omits the specific lists of the twelve tribes in Ezekiel but transfers only ‘three gates in each of the four directions’ from Ezekiel to the text (vs. 13).

⁵⁷ I. T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 758. 4Q554 1, 1-2 corroborates this idea, in which each gate is described as belonging to each tribe.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ N. W. Lund, *Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Covenant Press, 1955), 240.

⁶⁰ W. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors*, 204.

⁶¹ This verse will be further dealt with in Pilgrimage of the Nations and the Kings to the New Jerusalem (4.5.2.5)

⁶² J. M. Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation*, 91.

In the above, John's understanding of 12 gates as 12 tribes and 12 foundations as 12 apostles is thematically parallel to the sectarian understanding at Qumran of the architectural elements in 4QIsaiah Pesher^d. The sectarians interpret foundations, battlements and gates in Isa. 54:11-12 as fulfilled in their community. In other words, they regard the three architectural elements as indicating the 'council of the Community' ('the priests and the people'), 'twelve [...]' and 'the chiefs of the tribes of Israel', respectively.⁶³ Here, the three inner groups are different descriptions of the same group which represents the whole community (cf. Rev. 3:12).⁶⁴ This understanding is adopted by Paul in Ephesians 2:19-20, in which the Heavenly Temple is built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets. Like Paul, John also develops this tradition in terms of Christian perspective by adding the names of 12 apostles in order to demonstrate the fulfillment of the expectation of the New Jerusalem in Christ's church.

In sum, the wall symbolizes the perfect safety of the New Jerusalem and the perfect number of God's people. The 12 gates signify perfect accessibility to the New Jerusalem from the futuristic viewpoint. Finally, the 12 foundations disclose the perfect unity of God's people. What these three elements signify is correlated to each other just as the wall, gates and the foundations are correlated even in the general building.

4.5.2.3 No Temple Building but True Temple (21: 22-23)

The rebuilding of the New Temple was the hottest issue among Jews who were living during the second Temple period and just after destruction of the second Temple, and even among the OT prophets in the pre- and post-exilic period. Ezekiel, as one of the leading prophets in the OT, remarkably drew attention to the rebuilding of the New Temple by describing it magnificently in chs. 40-48. Isaiah, Jeremiah and Zechariah were involved in this movement as well. In the early Jewish tradition, this issue was significantly considered by the Jewish apocalyptists. Most of them expected the New Temple to be rebuilt or to be disclosed from heaven mainly on the basis of the Ezekielian prophecy in chs. 40-48. However, among such a mainstream, there are some noteworthy groups seeking to modify the expectation of the rebuilding of the New Temple according to their group's purpose. One of them is the sectarian community at Qumran.⁶⁵ They expected the rebuilding of the eschatological Temple, of course (4QFlor and *DNJ*). However, they went beyond that. They attempted to guarantee the rebuilding of the New Temple through proposing themselves as a Temple (1QS 8:1-7; 1QS

⁶³ For discussion in greater detail about this text, refer to the study of the sectarian texts at Qumran (2.5.2.1 and 2.5.2.2).

⁶⁴ In this section, the discussion of this issue will be omitted. For full discussion about this issue, refer to the study of the sectarian texts at Qumran.

⁶⁵ The other ones are 3 Baruch, in which the Temple building is replaced by prayer. See the discussion of this issue in the study of 3 Baruch, and Yohanan ben Zakkai of the Yavnean movement, who emphasizes prayer, acts of loving kindness and study of the Torah. See also the section of the discussion about the Yavnean movement.

9:3-6, etc.; cf. Isa. 65:18-19; Jer. 31:4; 1 Enoch 45:4-5; Pseudo-Philo 12:8-9) as well as regarding themselves as placed in the Heavenly Temple (*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*; 1QH 14). In other words, they believed that they as a Temple community already experienced the eschatological blessings belonging to the New Temple, which meant that they already had the New Temple in heaven. In this case, the characteristic as the community Temple is not simply temporarily given during the absence of the New Temple, but it continues to function even after the rebuilding of the New Temple, just as it does in the Heavenly Temple. This idea of the community Temple parallels the New Testament idea that proposes the church community as a Temple, which is placed in the Heavenly Temple, and continues to function even in the New Jerusalem. However, there is a big difference between the sectarian understanding and the Christian one. In the latter, Christ is the cornerstone of the Temple, which decisively makes the existence of the community Temple possible. Moreover, the latter case does not propose the rebuilding of the New Temple in the New Jerusalem at all because Christ Himself is the Temple. This is the meaning of Rev. 21:22:

- a. Καὶ ναὸν οὐκ εἶδον ἐν αὐτῇ
- b. ὁ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ναὸς αὐτῆς ἐστίν,
- c. καὶ τὸ ἄρνιον.

This verse says that there is no Temple in the New Jerusalem. However, while the Temple as a physical building (ναός) does not exist any more (22a), the true and ultimate Temple appears in the New Jerusalem (22bc). In other words, expectation of the New Temple throughout the redemptive history will be consummated in the New Jerusalem by the most intimate dwelling of the Lord Almighty God and the Lamb with His people. Here it is noteworthy that the true and ultimate Temple is described as both the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb. The first case (the Lord God the Almighty as the New Temple) is reminiscent of ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων in 21:3. It is no wonder that the building, as the meeting place between God and his people and a mark of His presence, is not needed any more because God is directly present with all his people everywhere and at all time.⁶⁶ M. E. Boring describes this situation as follows:⁶⁷

All life is holy and God is present in the midst of every day, not only at special places and times and all the people of God are ‘priests’.

The second case (the Lamb as the New Temple) is initially shown in Jesus’ incarnation (Jn 1:14). Jesus nullified the Temple, which is made with hands, and built another not made with hands (Mk 14:58, Jn 2:19-21) by being raised from the dead. The risen Christ has become “the

⁶⁶ W. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors*, 203. Therefore, there is difference between the New Jerusalem and the restored Temple in Ezek. 40-48, in which the Temple is divided from the rest of the city by the wall in order to distinguish “the holy and the profane.”

⁶⁷ M. E. Boring, *Revelation*, 218.

place wherein God meets man in grace and man offers acceptable worship to God.”⁶⁸ This has been consummated in the New Jerusalem.

Therefore, it is right to say not only that there is no Temple building, but also that there is the true Temple in the New Jerusalem. This must be a striking difference between John’s New Jerusalem, and the Old Testament (e.g. Ezek. 40-48) and Jewish accounts (e.g. *DNJ*), which strongly demonstrate the rebuilding of the New Temple.

Here, however, John could have had a Temple building, just as he has a city building, and intended both symbolically (not as actual building): the Temple building as a symbol of God’s presence among his people. Nevertheless, he just introduces the presence of God and Jesus as the New Temple in the New Jerusalem. Why then does John directly present God and Jesus as the New Temple without symbolization of architectural features of a Temple building? Three answers can be given to this question. First, this is because John intends to emphasize the perfect presence of God and Jesus as the New Temple. Second, there are no equivalent cases in the Jewish tradition to symbolize God and Jesus as the New Temple. Third, John’s exclusion of the architectural elements of the New Temple is also influenced by his view about the church as the Temple (Rev. 3:12). Here, if the New Jerusalem rightly symbolizes the church, the New Temple and the New Jerusalem are identified with each other at least in the context of Revelation.⁶⁹ In this case, John may feel it to be unnecessary to describe the architectural elements of the Temple because the New Jerusalem has common features with the New Temple.⁷⁰ This point is further corroborated by the following argument.

It is suggested by some commentators that the perfect cubic shape of the New Jerusalem (21:16) is related to the Temple motif. According to Beasley-Murray, John must know that the square idea is dominant in Ezekiel’s description both of the Temple (43:16, 45:1-2) and of the rebuilt Jerusalem (48:20).⁷¹ John, however, stresses that the New Jerusalem is a cubic shape by adding height to length and breadth. His knowledge concerning this would surely come from Solomon’s ‘holy of holies’ (1 Kgs 6:20), the shape of which is cube.⁷² This particular form is reminiscent of the inner sanctuary of the Temple, the holiest place of the divine presence.⁷³

⁶⁸ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 327.

⁶⁹ Here, church as the New Temple and Jesus as the New Temple are shared with the New Testament writers. Both ideas can be better understood by 1 Enoch 45:4-5, which says that the elect will be the Elect One’s dwelling place, and God’s presence (God’s throne) will be their dwelling place.

⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the problem as to why John chooses the New Jerusalem motif as the main theme in Rev. 21-22 rather than Temple motif, still remains. This issue will be dealt with in Thematic Analysis.

⁷¹ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 322. In *DNJ*, the general dimension of the whole city and block are a square. All the houses, the rooms within the houses, 12 large gates and towers are the same size, respectively.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ R. H. Mounce (*Revelation*, 380), G. G. Caird (*The Revelation*, 273) and H. B. Swete, (*The Apocalypse of St. John*, 288) explain the cubic form of the New Jerusalem with the same idea. Caird insists that “this cubic symbol of the earthly presence of God among his people has expanded before his mind’s eye, so that it not only fills the whole Templeless city, but embraces heaven and earth.” However, W. J. Harrington (*Revelation*, 214), H.

John describes the Temple motif of the New Jerusalem by combining Ezekiel's description of the restored Temple and the restored Jerusalem with Solomon's holy of holies. The Temple motif, shown by the cubic shape, indicates again that the New Jerusalem (church) itself is the Temple (Rev. 3:12), filled with the presence of the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb (cf. Zech. 14:20-21).⁷⁴ This Temple motif realizes not only God's intimacy with His people but also signifies the perfect purity or holiness of the New Jerusalem (cf. Ezek. 44:9, Isa. 52:1, 35:8). Therefore, "nothing impure will ever enter it, nor will anyone who does what is shameful or deceitful, but only those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life" (Rev. 21:27; cf. 21:6b-8).

There are precedents for ignoring the distinction between Jerusalem and Temple. In some of the Jewish texts (4 Ezra and 2 Baruch) at least the distinction between city and temple is very unimportant, and perhaps therefore John takes a further step in the direction some of the Jewish texts are already going. In this issue, moreover, Zechariah 14:20-21 could be important, where the whole city will be as holy as the Temple now is. In Jewish thought about the city and the Temple, there are degrees of holiness: the holy of holies is the most holy place, the courts of the Temple progressively less holy, and the 'holy city', the least holy (though holier than the rest of the land). This is because God is present in the holy of holies, and progressive distance from his presence implies lesser degrees of holiness. However, if the whole city is to be equally holy, as Zechariah seems to suggest, then the distinction between Temple and city no longer really applies. God must be equally present throughout the city.

4.5.2.4 *Precious Stones: Jewelry Motif (21:11, 18-21)*

Descriptions about jewelry are often shown in order to describe the structure (wall, gates, foundations, towers and streets, etc.) of the New/Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem in the early Jewish literature. In Revelation, first of all, the New Jerusalem is like a most rare jewel, like jasper, clear as crystal (vs. 11; cf. 4:4); the wall is built of jasper (vs. 18); the twelve foundations are adorned with twelve kinds of jewels (vs. 19); the twelve gates were twelve pearls, each of the gates made of a single pearl, and finally, the streets of the city were pure gold, transparent as glass (vs. 21).

Here Hoeksema suggests a hermeneutical principle in understanding the descriptions of the jewelry as follows:

Hoeksema (*Behold He Cometh*, 697 ff.), and J. P. M. Sweet (*Revelation*, 305) see the cubic form in terms of the perfection rather than the Temple motif. On the other hand, Ellul criticizes the opinion that it is not a cube but in the image of a ziggurat (J. Ellul, *Apocalypse: The Book of Revelation*, trans. G. W. Schreiner [New York: The Seabury Press, 1977], 226).

⁷⁴ P. W. L. Walker, *Jesus and the Holy City: New Testament Perspective on Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 245; cf. C. Rowland, *Revelation*, 155.

“we must not attempt to allegorize every detail here; that would be in conflict with the whole idea of the vision and would involve us in hopeless difficulty.”⁷⁵

In terms of this principle, it is right to see that all the details of the jewelry are used to express “the glory, the purity, the beauty, and the preciousness of this great and holy city.”⁷⁶ This is evidenced by the expression in 21:2, in which the New Jerusalem is described as a bride adorned (ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην) for her husband. This idea can be traced back to Isa. 54, in which God is described as a husband of Israel (vss. 4-6), and the restoration of Israel’s being the wife of God (vss. 9-10) is signified by the rebuilding of the New Jerusalem, which is decorated with several kinds of gems (vss. 11-12). This is further confirmed in the sectarian work at Qumran, 4Q Isaiah Pesher^d, in which the sectarian community as Temple is regarded as the fulfillment of Isa. 54:11-12.⁷⁷ However, John adapts the jewelry motif to his purpose in terms of Christological viewpoint in Revelation. In other words, various gems in the architectural elements of the New Jerusalem are purposed for adorning the New Jerusalem in order for her to be prepared as a bride of Jesus the Lamb.

The jasper in vs. 11 (cf. vss. 18-19) is reminiscent of the description of the divine appearance on the throne in Rev. 4:3. Therefore, by the jasper in Rev. 21:11, 18-19, the whole church is viewed of as “glowing with glory of God, reflecting His nature in its every part” (cf. Isa. 61:10-11).⁷⁸ More specifically, the twelve stones of the twelve foundations (vs. 19) may be regarded as “of what a great treasure and blessing the apostles and their message have been to the church.”⁷⁹

Three references to the Jewelry motif appear in the OT. First, Exod. 28:17-20 lists the precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest, which are almost identical with the jewels in Rev. 21:19-20. Interestingly, Exod. 28:17-20 is related to the Temple motif by the context. The second reference is Ezek. 28:13,⁸⁰ the list of which is also similar to Exod. 28:17-20. This reference shows that all the precious stones are found in the Garden of Eden. The third

⁷⁵ H. Hoeksema, *Behold He Cometh*, 699.

⁷⁶ Ibid. In early Jewish literature, the jewelry motif in relation with the Temple, is very popular. In 1 Enoch, God’s throne mountain, the earthly part of the Heavenly Temple, is described as consisting of precious stones of varied hues, pearl, stones of the color of antimony, red stone (carnelian) and alabaster (emeralds) in 18:6-10 (cf. 24:1-3); in Tobit 13:16b, the gates of the New Jerusalem will be built with sapphire and emerald, the walls with precious stones, towers with gold, their battlement with pure gold and the streets of Jerusalem will be paved with ruby and with stones of Ophir; in *DNJ*, all buildings, windows, walls, gates and streets in the city are covered with precious stones such as white stone, alabaster, onyx, sapphire, rubies and pure gold.

⁷⁷ In fact, the peshet points out that the architectural elements of the New Jerusalem in Isa. 54:11-12 are fulfilled in 12 inner members of the sectarian community, who illuminates like the sun in all light. The fulfillment is extended to the whole community because the inner group with 12 members is organically connected to the whole community. Moreover, the light of the twelve precious stones in Pseudo-Philo 26:13 is exegetically connected with this tradition. For more information, see section 2.11.2.2

⁷⁸ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 319.

⁷⁹ S. W. Becker, *Revelation* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1985), 343.

⁸⁰ The context shows that this is a lament concerning the king of Tyre. Yet obviously this passage shows that the precious stones come from Eden.

reference is Isa. 54:11-12. In this passage, the New Jerusalem is built with precious stones, which are closely related to those in Exod. 28:17-20 and Ezek. 28:13. By the Jewelry motif, the New Jerusalem is related to the Eden motif and the Temple motif. This assumption is corroborated by the function of the twelve stones which is brought from the Havilah (which is regarded as Paradise) and placed in the Temple by Kenaz in *LAB* 26:4-12. Here, the twelve stones make 'a legitimate link' between the Temple and Paradise. By means of the twelve precious stones, one can get access to the Paradise, which Adam lost, through the Temple service. Thus the Jewel motif characterizes the New Jerusalem "as a Temple-city adorned with all the fabulously radiant precious materials of paradise."⁸¹ The Jewelry motif in Revelation functions to evidence that the New Jerusalem is the ultimate fulfillment of Eden and the Temple in the Old Testament and in the early Jewish literature.

4.5.2.5 Pilgrimage of the Nations and the Kings to the New Jerusalem (21:24-27)

The pilgrimage of the nations and their kings to the New Jerusalem in the Old Testament (Isa. 2:2-4; 60:1-14; 14:1-2; Zech. 2:11, 14:16) and the early Jewish literature (*DNJ*; 1 Enoch 90:37-38; Tobit 13:9-17; 14:5-7, etc.) is the essential element of the eschatological blessings to the Israelites. In their setting, the pilgrimage of the nations and their kings has two purposes in the gathering of the nations to the New Jerusalem: 1) to complete God's purpose which is to redeem all the peoples in the world; 2) to emphasize the centrality and universality of the New Jerusalem.⁸² These two aspects are ultimately fulfilled in the New Jerusalem in Revelation: 1) The nations walk by the city's light and the kings of the earth bring their glory into it (21:24; 26), and 2) the leaves of the trees bring healing (22:2). In 21:24, 26, the gathered nations and kings may be shown as God's converted people because vs. 27 defines their entering as conversion.

Here there are two problems. First, Revelation represents the nations as God's enemies or the people as disobedient to God (16:2, 12, 17:2, 19:9). They are "outsiders, the unrighteous, part of the evil world order that shall be judged" (2:26, 10:11, 11:2, 9, 18, 12:5, 13:7, 14:6-8, 15:19, 17:15, 18:3, 23, 19:12, 20:3, 8).⁸³ How can they belong to God's people? As for this question, there are some references within Revelation which suggest that the nations can be members of the New Jerusalem. In Rev. 5:9-10 Christ is honored, He who was slain to ransom God's chosen people from every tribe and tongue and people and nation, and has made them a kingdom and priests to God.⁸⁴ Rev. 7:9 in which the New Jerusalem is projected, already

⁸¹ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 134.

⁸² Refer to the discussion of this issue in the thematic study of Isaiah (1.3.3.3).

⁸³ J. M. Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation*, 103.

⁸⁴ Here it is important to note that every tribe and tongue and people and nation will not be redeemed, but from (ἐκ) them in 5:9, 7:9. From this point, the phrase, 'all nations' in 15:3-4 does not indicate gathering of every

reports that its members come from all tribes and peoples and tongues. Moreover, in Rev. 10:11, John is required to prophesy to many people and nations and tongues and kings (καὶ λέγουσίν μοί Δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν καὶ γλώσσαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν πολλοῖς.). Finally, Rev. 15:3-4 shows that God is the king of the nations and “all nations shall come and worship you.” Here to worship God does not merely have a symbolical meaning but is the religious action in contrast with worshipping the beast.⁸⁵ As a result of Christ’s death and resurrection, the apostles’ ministry and church’s evangelizing, even the rebellious nations and kings may belong to the New Jerusalem in the New Creation in order to fill the total number of God’s church. Here ‘particularism’ and ‘universalism’ are applied to the membership of the New Jerusalem without conflict.⁸⁶ The above argument is further corroborated by the fact that the major MSS prefer λαοί rather than λαός in vs. 3b.⁸⁷ That is to say, adoption of λαοί exposes John’s intention to emphasize the “internationality of the church, made up as it is of the redeemed from the pagan nations as well as from Israel.”⁸⁸

The second problem is caused by vs. 25, which describes the ceaseless ingathering of the nations and the kings into the New Jerusalem: ‘Its gates will never be shut by day -- and there will be no night there’. Vogelgesang understands this ingathering of the nations and the kings as “a constant flow of the former outsiders and enemies of God from the lake of fire into the New Jerusalem after the final judgment of Rev. 20:11-15.”⁸⁹ However, this understanding is found to be incorrect, after examination of how John uses his material. As far as the reference to the pilgrimage of the nations to the New Jerusalem is concerned, “John has taken over verbally from the prophets’ language and figures of speech which presuppose the continuance of Gentile peoples on the earth after the establishment of the eschatological era.”⁹⁰ John’s way of

single person of all nations. While some of them will be judged and thrown into fire, some of them will be saved and belong to the total number of church.

⁸⁵ It is not necessary to understand ‘the coming and worshipping of the nations’ merely as a metaphor of victory as R. H. Mounce does (*idem, Revelation*, 288), but as G. R. Beasley-Murray’s view suggests, it should be taken “at face value”: “it looks forward to the willing subjection of the nations to God in the kingdom of God” (*idem, Revelation*, 236).

⁸⁶ J. M. Vogelgesang insists that the universalism of the New Jerusalem in Revelation is in conflict with the particularism of the Temple in Ezek. 40-48 (*idem, The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation*, 102 ff.). However, R. J. Bauckham argues that “... the deliberate mixing of particular and universal imagery throughout the account is a way of maintaining the perspective given in 21:3” (*idem, The Climax of Prophecy*, 313).

⁸⁷ λαός: p051^s. 1006. 1841. 1854. 2062^{com}; λαοί: A, O46. 2030. 2050. 2053. 2062. The external evidence obviously shows that the latter is prevalent. The internal evidence supports this as well.

⁸⁸ R. H. Gundry, “The New Jerusalem People as Place, not Place for People,” 254. R. J. Bauckham also suggests that “The history of the covenant people -- both of the one nation Israel and of the church which is redeemed from all the nations -- will find its eschatological fulfillment in the full inclusion of all the nations in its own covenant privileges and promises” (*idem, The Climax of Prophecy*, 313).

⁸⁹ J. M. Vogelgesang, *The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation*, 114.

⁹⁰ R. H. Mounce, *Revelation*, 385; I. T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 769-770. According to T. F. Glasson, “... at times he (John) retains words not entirely appropriate to this new setting” (*idem, The Revelation of John*, CBC [Cambridge: University Press, 1965], 120).

dealing with the traditions in the OT and the early Jewish literature is intended to emphasize the full fulfillment of the eschatological expectation in them.⁹¹ If this is so, the problem as to the presence of the nations outside the New Jerusalem can be easily solved. Here, it is also noteworthy that John intends to show the existence of the numberless throng in the New Jerusalem, which was shown in advance in 7:9-17.⁹²

The preceding verse (21:25) is the interpretation of Isa. 60:11 ('Your gates shall always be open; day and night they shall not be shut, so that nations shall bring you their wealth, with their kings led in procession').⁹³ John emphasizes the relationship between the ceaseless opening of the gates and the nations' bringing glory and honor by placing this verse (vs. 25) between the references (vs. 24 and vs. 26)⁹⁴ to the bringing of glory and honor by the nations and kings. Here it is important how John in his context understands the meaning of the 'glory' and 'honor' brought by the nations and kings in Isaiah 60:11. Bauckham properly explains their meaning as having "a doxological sense."⁹⁵ In other words, "The nations no longer claim glory and honor independently for themselves, in idolatrous rejection of the divine rule, but acknowledge that they come from and should be given back in worship to God, to whom all glory and honor belong."⁹⁶ Therefore, that the nations (people) and kings bring the glory and honor into the New Jerusalem indicate their abandonment of allegiance to the beast and their commitment to God. Consequently, from this it becomes clear that "Babylon's universal dominion is here transferred to the New Jerusalem."⁹⁷

4.5.2.6 *New Paradise (22:1-5)*

First of all, in Rev. 22:1-2 the New Paradise is characterized by the river of the water of life and the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, the fruits of which are produced each month and the leaves of which are for the healing of the nations. They can be regarded as belonging to the blessing of the New Jerusalem because the Paradise, whether the Heavenly Paradise or the (eschatological) New Paradise, always coexists with the New/Heavenly Jerusalem in the OT (Ezek. 47) and particularly in the early Jewish literature.⁹⁸

⁹¹ The continuing opening of 12 gates in the New Jerusalem adopts the setting of Isa. 60:11.

⁹² This is a similar issue to that of the wall and gates. See the discussion about them.

⁹³ This text is translated by Ibn Ezra as follows: "the gates will be opened continually day and night, by those that will bring in the abundance of nations" (See 1.3.3.3).

⁹⁴ These two verses are John's interpretation of Isa. 60:3 in combination with Isa. 2:2-5: "that in the last days not only Israel, but also all the nations will be instructed in the will of Yahweh and live according to it" (R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 315).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid. According to R. J. Bauckham, the terms, glory and honor are regularly used in the doxologies of Revelation (4:11; 5:11, 13; 7:12; cf. 19:1) (ibid., 316).

⁹⁷ Ibid., 314.

⁹⁸ In 2 Enoch, the cosmic and the seasonal orders are controlled in the fourth (ch. 11), and the sixth heaven (ch. 19), while the Heavenly Paradise is described in the third heaven (chs. 8-9; ch. 42), and the Heavenly Temple, in the seventh (ch. 20) and tenth heaven (ch. 22). The controlling of the seasonal and the cosmic order in

John creatively distinguished his descriptions about the New Paradise from that of Ezekiel and Genesis. In Genesis, the river starts from Eden and is divided into four branches, and in Ezekiel a stream comes from its source in the Temple-rock and runs to the Dead sea, in which it converts all the water into fresh water and swarms of living creatures can live wherever it flows. However, in Rev. 22:1-5, the river issues from the throne of God and the Lamb which has taken the place of the Temple building (21:22, 22:3),⁹⁹ and runs down the middle of the great street of the city (cf. 11Q18 24:4). In other words, it flows through the very heart of the glorified church. In Revelation, this stream of the river is symbolic of “a constant flow of life of the kingdom of God as perfected in Christ.”¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the life of the perfected kingdom of God fills all God’s people, and it is experienced and consciously appropriated by the glorified saints.¹⁰¹ This idea is paralleled to 1QH 14:15-17, in which the sectarian community at Qumran as a Temple is likened to the great and glorious branches which have grown into the everlasting plantation which is watered by ‘all the streams of Eden’ (cf. Sibylline Oracles 5:281-285).¹⁰²

This kind of life is also emphasized by the description of the tree of life. John vividly reminds readers/audiences of the Garden of Eden by the existence of the tree of life (Rev. 2:7; Gen. 2:9, 3:21-22) and the crops of monthly fruit (cf. Gen. 3:3) with a river (cf. Gen. 2:9-10).¹⁰³ Here, the existence of the tree of life in the New Jerusalem does not simply mean the recovery of the original condition but an enhancement beyond that. In the garden of Eden, Adam and Eve lived under probation to test their obedience to God, and after they were dismissed from the garden because of their disobedience, they were never allowed to eat the fruit on the ‘tree of life’. By contrast, in the New Jerusalem, God’s people will live without any probation because of Christ’s vicarious perfect obedience so that they cannot be dismissed from the New Jerusalem, and so they are allowed to eat the tree of life anytime and anywhere so that they may live forever (cf. Gen. 3:22). Moreover, the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations (22:2). Here, the healing of the nations does not exist only in the age to come,

the fourth and the sixth heaven implies the faithful maintenance of the Noahic covenant for the New Creation as the eschatological event. Moreover, the third heaven is demonstrated as the dwelling place as well as the inheritance of the righteous, which is assumed to be transferred into the eschatological Paradise as the eternal residence of the righteous (65:10). Moreover, it is noteworthy that in 2 Enoch, the Heavenly Paradise functions not only as the residence of the righteous but also as the cultic place or God’s resting place or the Heavenly Temple (chs. 8-9), though the Heavenly Temple is purely shown in chs. 20-22 again. Accordingly, the above shows that the Heavenly Paradise, the New Creation and the Heavenly Temple/Jerusalem coexist.

⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that the Temple as the origin of water in Ezek. 47 is changed into the throne of God and of the Lamb, who is the Temple itself, in Rev. 22:1-2.

¹⁰⁰ H. Hoeksema, *Behold He Cometh*, 710.

¹⁰¹ The Gospel of John (7:37-39) shows that this kind of life is related to the work of the Holy Spirit.

¹⁰² For more information, see 2.12.2.1.

¹⁰³ R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 256.

but as Hendriksen comments correctly, in the present age.¹⁰⁴ However, the participation of the nations in the blessings of the New Paradise in the New Jerusalem is ultimately emphasized here. In the above, the tree of life in the New Jerusalem is described on the basis of the trees in Ezek. 47:12,¹⁰⁵ and is also backed by 1 Enoch 24:3-5 and 25:4-6, which is placed beside the eschatological Temple (God's mountain throne), giving benefits such as longer life, no more tortures, no pains, no labors and no blows (belonging to the New Creation) to the eschatological life of the righteous/the elect.

The reference to the healing of the nations by the tree of life in 22:2 is followed by a significant statement in 22:3a: 'and there shall no longer be any ban of destruction' (καὶ πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι).¹⁰⁶ Here, the Greek word κατάθεμα does not mean the thing which is cursed but the curse itself.¹⁰⁷ This word is the translation of the Hebrew word חרם, which includes "the sense of the sacred ban placed by Yahweh on enemies of his rule, requiring that they be utterly destroyed" in the OT, particularly, in Zech. 14:11.¹⁰⁸ From this, moreover, the clause 'καὶ πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι' is the literal translation of 'וְחָרָם לֹא יִהְיֶה-עוֹד' ('there shall never again be a ban of destruction') in Zech. 14:11.¹⁰⁹ John applies the meaning of Zech. 14:11 to the nations healed of their idolatry and other sins by the leaves of the tree of life: they 'will never again be subject to the destruction which God decrees for those nations who oppose his rule'.¹¹⁰ God's name on their forehead in 22:4b confirms this blessing. This meaning of 22:3a is smoothly connected with 22:3b. The nations will be no more resistant to God's rule and thus there will be no more ban of destruction in the New Jerusalem; only God's throne will be there and only God will be worshipped by the nations healed of idolatrous sins. They will reign with God and will even see God's face (22:4a). R. J. Bauckham concludes his argument about 22:3-4 as follows:

Thus Revelation 22:3a recalls the judgment of the nations that worshipped the beast and opposed God's kingdom, but declares that, with the coming of God's kingdom, the nations which have been converted to the worship of God and the acknowledgment of his rule need never again fear his judgment. In this way the vision of the New Jerusalem supersedes all the visions of judgment and brings to

¹⁰⁴ W. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors*, 206.

¹⁰⁵ R. J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 316. Bauckham detects the difference between Ezek. 47:12 and Rev. 22:2 as follows: "... whereas in Ezekiel the trees bear fruit every month, John has taken this to mean that they bear twelve kinds of fruit, and whereas in Ezekiel the leaves of the trees are simply said to be for healing (cf. also 4 Ezra 7:123), John specifies 'the healing of the nations'" (ibid.). In addition to them, in Ezek. 47:12, the tree does not necessarily refer to the tree of life but general kind of trees. In this sense, John combines 47:12 with 1 Enoch 24:3-5 and 25:4-6, which are subsequently mentioned.

¹⁰⁶ This is R. J. Bauckham's translation (idem, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 316).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. With Zech. 14:11, Isa. 34, Isa. 63:1-6, Ezek. 39:17-20 and Jer. 50-51 are used by John as imagery of the judgment against Babylon in Rev. 17-18 and the nations in Rev. 19:15-18 (ibid., 317-318).

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 317.

fulfillment the theme of the conversion of the nations which was set out in 11:13; 14:14-16; 15:4.¹¹¹

On the other hand, seeing God's face and reigning with God can be considered in terms of the reversal of the curse in the first Paradise. First, seeing God's face (vs. 4a) is the reversal of Adam and Eve's shameful hiding from God's face (Gen. 3:9-11), and of "God's curse of Cain, who was banished not only from the land but from God's presence (Gen. 4:10-14)."¹¹² From that time on, human beings have never been allowed to see God's face because of their sins (Exod. 33:20, 23). However, in the New Jerusalem God's people, particularly the nations will be allowed to see His face. This idea is a hint of full recovery from the fall caused by the disobedience of Adam and Eve (cf. Ps. 24:6; 4 Ezra 7:98). Second, the phrase, 'they will reign for ever and ever (vs. 5b)', reminds the reader of "the ultimate value" given to the human beings by God in the Paradise of the first creation: "let (humanity) rule ... over all creatures" (Gen. 1:26).¹¹³ The human beings' rule over God's creation has been corrupted by their evil while the Noahic Covenant (Gen. 9:8-17) seeks "to reestablish humanity's rule over creation (Gen. 9:1-7)."¹¹⁴ Yet in the New Jerusalem, the nations as full members of God's people will rule over the New Creation forever without any corruption (1:6, 5:10; cf. 1 Pet. 2:5, 9-10) so that they will completely accomplish God's original goal for human beings.

In conclusion, by this Eden motif, John intends to show that God's redemption finally returns the New Jerusalem/the New Creation to "the Garden of Eden and to the Creator's intentions for humanity."¹¹⁵ However, God's redemption is not simply a return to the condition of the first creation but a perfect improvement of it.

4.5.2.7 *Brightness in the New Jerusalem (21:23, 22:5a)*

In the New Jerusalem, the bright motif in 21:23 and 22:5 should be noteworthy.

And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine on it, for the glory of God is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb (21:23).

And there will be no more night; they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light ... (22:5a)

The preceding references look like nullifying the necessity of the cosmological system such as sun and moon. However, the New Creation in the New Jerusalem is the consummation of the Noahic Covenant, which emphasizes the establishment of a universal framework. Therefore,

¹¹¹ Ibid. 318.

¹¹² R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 257.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. O. P. Robertson, *The Christ of the Covenant*, 109 ff. In this sense, Robertson calls the Noahic Covenant 'the Covenant of Preservation.'

¹¹⁵ R. W. Wall, *Revelation*, 256; G. Caird, *The Revelation*, 280; M. E. Boring, *Revelation*, 218.

the above passages emphasize the brightness of the New Jerusalem illuminated by the glory of God rather than the redundancy of the sun and moon.

This has a background in Isa. 30:23-26, which reports that ‘... the light of the moon will be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be sevenfold, like the light of seven days’ (30:26a). This exceptional brightness is connected with the healing in 30:26b. Moreover, in Isa. 60:19-20, it is emphasized through the relation with sun and moon that God is the everlasting light in the New Jerusalem, which surpasses the capacity of the sun by day and the moon by night: on the one hand, the everlasting light will make the light of sun or moon useless because it functions to replace the light of the sun and the moon day and night (60:19); on the other hand, the sun and the moon appear to remain in the sky because the glory of the Lord as the everlasting light always shines on the New Jerusalem day and night (60:20) (cf. 60:1-2; Zech. 14:7).

In the above, there is no indication that the sun and the moon will disappear in the New Jerusalem but rather that God’s glory surpasses the capacity of the sun by day and the moon by night. In 1 Enoch 14:20-21, the same idea is shown:

20) And the Great Glory was sitting upon it -- as for his gown, which was shining more brightly than the sun, it was whiter than any snow. 21) None of the angels was able to come in and see the face of the Excellent and the Glorious One; and no one of the flesh can see him

In the preceding passage, the brightness of God’s glory in the Heavenly Temple is emphasized in comparison with the sun and the angels who cannot see God’s face (cf. 1 Enoch 50-51).¹¹⁶ In addition to this, in 2 Enoch 20:1, the seventh heaven is characterized by ‘an exceptionally great light’. Moreover, 2 Enoch 65:10 demonstrates that in the New Jerusalem, the righteous will have ‘a great light’, and ‘a great indestructible light’ (J) (‘a great light for eternity, [and] an indestructible wall’ in A).¹¹⁷ In 1QM 17:6, the expression, ‘Michael in the everlasting light’ is used; in 4Q427 7:4, light is described as one of the heavenly blessings in the Heavenly Temple; ‘the splendidly shining firmament of God’s holy sanctuary’ is one architectural feature of the Heavenly Temple in 4Q403 1:42; the twelve inner members are shining ‘like the sun in all its light’ in 4QIsaiah^d. ‘Good light’ is the eschatological blessing in the Sibylline Oracles 5:262 (cf. 5:421). Finally, in Pseudo-Philo 26:13c, the eschatological blessing is described as follows:

the just will not need the light of the sun or the brightness of the moon, for the light of those most precious stones will be their light,

In the above, the light characterizes the Heavenly Temple as well as the New Temple. Moreover, the light is described as one of the heavenly blessings as well as the eschatological

¹¹⁶ It is noteworthy that believers in the New Jerusalem in Revelation can see God’s face in spite of such a brightness.

¹¹⁷ For information in greater detail, refer to the full discussion of the passage in section 2.3.1.2.

blessings. In these cases, the light functions to connect the New Temple (earthly dimension) with the Heavenly Temple (heavenly dimension). If this is so, the light/brightness motif demonstrates that the magnificence of the Heavenly Temple is transferred to the New Temple.

This principle may be applied to the interpretation of the present texts in Rev. 21:23 and 22:5. Those texts do not say that the sun and the moon are not necessary any more but that the heavenly splendor is actualized in the New Jerusalem, which is transferred from the Heavenly Jerusalem. Here, it is necessary to note again that the New Jerusalem indicates the church, God's people. The church will have glorious light as one of its eschatological blessings. This is backed by the exegetical tradition in which the righteous will have 'a great light' in 2 Enoch 65:10, and the twelve inner members (and thus the whole community) are shining 'like the sun in all its light' in 4QIsaiah^d (cf. Pseudo-Philo 26:13).

4.5.3 Summary

Rev. 21:1-22:5 mostly focuses on the descriptions of the New Jerusalem. However, the New Jerusalem includes various motifs since the New Jerusalem is traditionally regarded as the ultimate fulfillment of the whole redemptive history. John recognizes this fact, and therefore, he describes the New Creation, the New Paradise, the New Temple, the pilgrimage of the nations, the jewelry motif, the brightness and the New Covenant as accompanied by the New Jerusalem.

The New Creation is the setting of the New Jerusalem; the New Jerusalem is the center of the New Creation. The New Jerusalem itself is characteristic of the New Temple by its cubic shape and the immediate presence of God and the Lamb, who are the true Temple. In this case, the New Jerusalem is the ultimate fulfillment of the expectation of the rebuilding of the New Temple and the New Covenant. Every nation is included in the New Covenant people. The nations and kings are healed of the idolatrous sins so that they may turn their commitment from the beast to God alone, and thus give Him their glory and honor. As a result, the New Jerusalem consists of the total number of God's people, which is symbolized by the 12 gates (which are always open day and night) and 12 foundations, on which twelve names of the OT tribes and twelve names of the New Testament apostles are written. The wall as the most important architectural element, to which the 12 foundations and the 12 gates are attached, symbolizes that the New Jerusalem is the safest place than ever.

Most importantly, the New Jerusalem descends from heaven. This demonstrates that the New Jerusalem is the transference of the Heavenly Jerusalem. This says that the New Jerusalem has exceptionally bright light so that the sun and the moon are not necessary. Moreover, the descent of the New Jerusalem is preceded by her perfect preparation in heaven as a bride of the Lamb (cf. 19:7). The preparation of the bride is shown by the magnificent

adornment of the New Jerusalem with manifold jewels. Finally, the New Paradise is granted as the indication of full recovery from the sinful condition of the universe caused by Adam and Eve in the first Paradise. God's people, including the nations, will live forever by eating the fruits of the tree of life as well as being healed by the leaves of the tree.

In the above, the New Jerusalem is different in some points from that in the early Jewish literature. The following table shows general differences between them.

	Early Jewish Literature	Revelation
Temple	building	God/Christ/church
Rebuilding of the Temple	expected	never expected
The New Jerusalem	building	Christ's bride: church
Security of the NJ	protection from the enemies outside	no enemies outside the NJ
Architectural Structure of the NJ	literal meaning	symbolic meaning
Wall and Foundations	simply architectural elements (except sectarian works at Qumran)	names of 12 tribes and 12 apostles, symbolizing the New Jerusalem's being God's whole people with the perfect unity
Function of Wall	protection from enemies outside	not necessary but only emphasis of the perfect and eternal invulnerability of the NJ
Function of Gates	accessibility of the nations for the pilgrimage	abundant opportunity to enter into fellowship with God
Precious Stones	decoration of the New Temple or NJ	preparation for the church's being the bride of Christ
Pilgrimage of the Nations	not always their commitment to God	doxological sense: the nations' abandonment of allegiance to <i>the beast</i> and their commitment to God

Here, it is noteworthy that John uses the early Jewish tradition creatively in terms of his Christological viewpoint. This differentiates John from other Jewish interpreters. Above all, it is remarkable to see that the New Jerusalem does not have the New Temple building (21:22), but God and Jesus as the New Temple.¹¹⁸ Here, if God and Jesus the Lamb can be rightly regarded as the New Temple, then God and Jesus should be the consummate fulfillment of Ezek. 40-48 and other OT references to the rebuilding to the New Temple. Here reference to Jesus shows that John christologically interprets the Old Testament messages differently from other Jewish writers. Therefore, it is possible for him to say that the Temple building will not be there but that God and the Lamb will be the true Temple.

Most of the early Jewish sources propose the New Temple building except 3 Baruch, whether the rebuilding of the New Temple or appearance of the New Temple from heaven. Even Yohanan ben Zakkai in the Yavnean movement proposes the rebuilding of the New

¹¹⁸ For further discussion about the juxtaposition of God and Jesus as the New Temple, see 4.5.2.3.

Temple, though he temporarily suggests prayer, acts of love and study of the Torah as the alternatives to the Temple, while there is no Temple. Therefore, John's brief announcement of the absence of the New Temple building and 'God and Jesus' as the New Temple must be intentional for the purpose of differentiating his view of the New Jerusalem from those of others in the Jewish tradition and it must be sensational in the contemporary apocalyptic milieu.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ M. Baker refers to "the hostility between the first Christians and the Judaism," which was allegedly caused by the hostility to the throne tradition as a threat to monotheism (idem, *The Gate of Heaven*, 176). However, the early Christians, particularly, John, the author of the Revelation is not always hostile to the throne tradition but rather very familiar to it, as shown in this study.

4.6 Thematic Analysis: The Relation of the Heavenly Temple and the New Jerusalem in Revelation

The observation in Contextual Analysis and Exegetical Analysis shows that there is no reference to the Heavenly Jerusalem in terms of a city before chs. 21-22 but only to the Heavenly Temple, which is always described in terms appropriate to a Temple (e.g. altar, etc.). Conversely, the description of the New Jerusalem in chs. 21-22 is very explicitly of a city (protective wall, city gates and street, etc), as well as being called a city. Here, granted the close association, even interchangeability, of the Temple and Jerusalem in much of the literature, this discrepancy is still questionable. Therefore, this phenomenon in Revelation needs systematic explaining in order to understand rightly the descent of the New Jerusalem from heaven, though it is sporadically explained in Contextual Analysis and Exegetical Analysis.

Here, one question is raised: Why does not John adopt the direct references to the Heavenly Jerusalem as the pre-form of the New Jerusalem in terms of a city before chs. 21-22? Why is it rather the Heavenly Temple, in terms appropriate to a Temple, that is so prevalent? This is because in Rev. 4-15, John designs to represent God or Jesus as the One who controls world history from his Temple throne which is intensively described in chs. 4-5 (cf. 1 Enoch 41:1). Jesus is described as the only One who can open the scroll as God's secret purpose for establishing His kingdom on earth. The process of opening the scroll ranges from ch. 6 to ch. 10. Moreover, events in chs. 11-15 are also included within the range of the process of opening the scroll. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Heavenly Temple as God's throne room is dominant in this part.¹

However, the contextual analysis has shown that references to God's people, the church, both in heaven and on earth, *which the New Jerusalem theme symbolizes*, are also spread throughout the whole book of Revelation ([A]: chs. 2-3, 7:1-8, 8:3-5, 11:3-13, and ch. 12; [B] chs. 4-5, 6:9-11, 7:9-17, 13:6; 14:1-5, 15:2-4, and 19:7-9). In (B), the church is described as being in heaven, while in (A) she is described as being placed on earth. Though in none of these texts, except 3:12, is the image of the New (Heavenly) Jerusalem directly specified, other images are used instead, such as 24 elders (chs. 4-5), martyrs (6:9-11), 144,000 (7:1-8), innumerable throng (7:9-17), two witnesses (11:3-13), woman (ch. 12), 144,000 (14:1-5), victors (15:2-4) and bride (19:7-9) according to each context. Surely, they indicate the church with the complete number on earth, and in heaven as the pre-existent condition of the New Jerusalem which descends from heaven in 21:2. In particular, the imagery of the bride in 19:7-9 is much more advanced towards the final stage than any of the other images.² Eventually, the

¹ According to M. Chyutin, "The image of the throne as a metaphor for the rule of God and for the seat of the Godhead appears in the Bible and in ancient cultures" (cf. Ps. 47:9; Ezek. 43:7; 1 Enoch 14:18 etc.) (idem, *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran*, 51).

² See Contextual Analysis II.

church, Christ's bride in heaven, which is described as the New Jerusalem is depicted as descending to the New Creation in 21:2, causing the perfect integration of both A and B. This organic relation between the church in heaven and the New Jerusalem at the end of times is further corroborated by the verbal parallels between 7:9-17/14:1-5/15:2-4 and 21-22 (21:4, 6 and 22-23).³ Consequently, the above argument evidences that the New Jerusalem is also portrayed even before chs. 21-22 in different manners.

Moreover, the church in the images in B is mostly represented as being *in the Heavenly Temple*. From this, therefore, it becomes clear that the New Jerusalem is not the descent of the Heavenly Temple itself as a place, but that of God's people with the complete number who are regarded as being placed in the Heavenly Temple. However, by the descent of the New Jerusalem, the Heavenly Temple as God's throne in heaven is not separated from God's dwelling place on earth any more, and the heavenly blessings in it are actualized as the eschatological blessings in the New Jerusalem.

On the other hand, possibly the church in A and B has some connection with the New (or Heavenly) Temple because in 3:12a, the church is described as the prospective New Temple. Moreover, the New Jerusalem in Rev. 21-22 has features in common with the New Temple such as the cubic shape and God's perfect presence.⁴ This assumption is further supported by other NT writings such as 1 Cor. 3:16 and 1 Pet 2:4-6. If this is so, the following question is raised: why does John portray the church as the New Jerusalem in Rev. 21:2 rather than the New Temple, as in other New Testament writings? There are three possibilities which are not exclusive of one another. First, this may be because of John's particular polemic against other Jewish traditions, which oppose the rebuilding of the New Temple from his Christological viewpoint in 21:22-23. Second, this may be because of the interaction with the transference of the Heavenly Zion to the New Zion as in 4 Ezra (7:26; 8:52, 53-54; 10:27, 42-44, 53-55; 13:6; cf. 2 Baruch 4:1-7), texts which were written as the response to the Temple destruction in AD 70. Third, and most certainly, this is because of his deliberate rhetorical technique to establish a parallel between the New Jerusalem, the bride of the Lamb and the Babylon, the great harlot, both of which indicate city. Accordingly, though the descent of the New Jerusalem can be described on some level as that of the New Temple in Rev. 21:2, John adopts the New Jerusalem according to his own purpose. Here, flexibility in John's use of the Temple idea and the idea of Jerusalem is exhibited (cf. 3:12).

The church as the New Temple or the New Jerusalem is in the Heavenly Temple which functions as God's throne room. The church being the New Temple, by the ministry of Christ and the presence of the Holy Spirit, makes it possible for her to participate in the heavenly

³ Here, John uses the rhetorical interplay between the spatial transcendence and the temporal transcendence.

⁴ See 4.5.2.3.

worship in the Heavenly Temple (cf. Rev. 4-5) as well as continue to function as the Temple after the descent as shown in Rev. 21-22. This is parallel to the sectarian idea in which the sectarians as a Temple regard themselves as being in the Heavenly Temple. Their status as a Temple qualifies themselves as worshippers of God with the angelic group in the Heavenly Temple.⁵ The function of the Community Temple will not be suspended even after the rebuilding of the New Temple but continue in the New Temple.

In sum, the Heavenly Temple as God's throne room is predominantly shown in chs. 4-16. However, the church which New Jerusalem symbolizes is also displayed through the various images before chs. 21-22. The use of the New Jerusalem motif instead of the New Temple in 21-22 is made for John's own particular purpose in this context. Finally, the New Jerusalem is not the descent of the Heavenly Temple as a place where the church is placed, but that of the church as the Community Temple in the Heavenly Temple.

⁵ See the study of the sectarian works at Qumran.

4.7 Conclusion

In Revelation, the church is described by manifold symbols such as 7 churches, 24 elders, two witnesses, the woman who begets a son, 144,000, the innumerable throng, the bride of the Lamb and finally the New Jerusalem. Here, the church has three kinds of dimension. The first one is that on earth; the second is that in heaven; the third one is that on earth at the end of time. Chs. 2-20 describe the first two cases; chs. 21-22, the last one. The first two cases belong to the present situation; the last one, to the future. These three are organically connected to one another. While the church exists in this world, she also dwells in heaven with and in Christ Jesus. In heaven, the church experiences the eschatological blessings in advance. The New Jerusalem in chs. 21-22 expresses the eschatological blessings in detail, which the church will ultimately inherit.

How does the above idea of the church help early Christians overcome severe sufferings caused by the Roman Empire's persecution? It is not difficult to find an answer. The above summary shows that they could see not only their real status in heaven but also their perfect protection even on earth by God's divine power. Above all, it is surely their most encouraging promise that they will descend from heaven at the end of days after they have been kept in heaven. However, this does not mean exemption of the church from death but the perfect gathering of God's people into His final destiny without losing anyone among them. But, rather, John emphasizes faithfulness to death. John represents martyrdom as the mark of the church. This is the most radical way of overcoming the crisis they faced. In this sense, Revelation is different from the early Jewish literature, the problem of which is the defilement and destruction of the Temple.

CONCLUSION

This study has investigated the New Jerusalem in Revelation 21-22 in the light of the early Jewish sources. The first chapter shows that the OT restoration messages provide a great deal of relevant background to the New Jerusalem theme in Revelation. However, it is also shown that the OT messages lack some elements which the New Jerusalem in Revelation contains: the dynamic interconnection between the Heavenly Jerusalem and the New Jerusalem.

Moreover, the second chapter has shown that the early Jewish tradition interprets the issue of the rebuilding of the New Temple/Jerusalem in the OT according to each text's own context variously. While the differences between Revelation and the early Jewish tradition are detected, it is also shown that the latter contributes to the understanding of the New Jerusalem in Revelation, what the OT prophetic messages do not show clearly, whether parallels or antithetical parallels between them. The two representative examples are:

First, some (not all) of the early Jewish tradition understands the rebuilding of the New Temple as the transference of the Heavenly Temple. For this reason, the Heavenly Temple is emphasized. This is understandable because during the second Temple period, the Temple was regarded by some devout Jews as seriously corrupted, and after the Temple destruction, they attempted to find a solution to the crisis by proposing the Heavenly Temple idea, which will be disclosed as the New Temple at the end of days. This is a very important point in understanding the New Jerusalem in Revelation, because she is described as descending from heaven in Rev. 21:2.

Second, the Community Temple idea in sectarian works at Qumran is parallel to the New Jerusalem as the church in Revelation. Just as the community as Temple is placed in the Heavenly Temple with the angelic group in the former, so the church is placed in the Heavenly Temple with the angelic group in the latter. The sectarian community in the Heavenly Temple is the foretaste of the New Temple, guaranteeing the rebuilding of the New Temple; the church is also described as equivalent to the New Jerusalem, experiencing the eschatological blessings in the Heavenly Temple.

Furthermore, more significantly, there will be no Temple building in the New Jerusalem but only the true Temple, God and Christ (and His church which is also symbolized by the New Jerusalem) as the consummate fulfillment of the OT expectation. This is one of main points in chapter 4. Here, John differentiates his view from other Jewish exegetes by interpreting the OT messages in terms of the Christological viewpoint, which he shares with the idea of early Christian texts such as John's Gospel, 1 Corinthians and 1 Peter, as shown in chapter 3.

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