

religious specialist who could deliver divinely inspired messages from God to the people (e.g. the classical Israelite prophets) is too narrow and confining to be an accurate description of the eschatological prophet or messiah of Jewish apocalyptic movements. The eschatological prophet/messiah has a distinctive social function in that both what he says and what he does form a unity which provides supernatural legitimation for himself and for the group which has crystallized about him. In other words, prophecy and wonder-working go hand in hand. Before discussing the types of millenarian movements which arose in Palestine during the late Second Temple period (and shortly thereafter), we shall first sketch the various images of eschatological prophets and messiahs current during that period.

## B. IMAGES OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DELIVERERS

### 1. Messianic Deliverers.

One of the central features of apocalyptic eschatology was the programmatic belief that God would climactically intervene in human affairs to defeat and punish the wicked (pagan oppressors and reprobate Jews) and deliver the righteous (Israel or a group within Israel). He would also restore and purify Jerusalem and the temple, gather the scattered people together, and inaugurate a golden age. This eschatological program could be effected directly by God himself or indirectly through a specially chosen human agent called a "messiah" (from *mashiah*), which means "anointed one." This title was derived from the ancient Israelite practice of installing kings and high priests in office with a ritual which included an anointing with oil. The phrase "Yahweh's anointed" is applied to Samuel the prophet-priest (1 Sam. 24:6, 10; 26:16; 2 Sam. 1:14, 16), to David (2 Sam. 19:21; 23:1), and to his royal successors (Lam. 4:20), but never to an eschatological deliverer. Prophets could also be anointed, though not within the framework of official institutions (1 Kgs. 19:16; Sir. 48:8), and referred to as "anointed ones" (Ps. 105:15; CD 2:12; 6:1; 1QM 11:7-8; 11QMelch 18).

When the eschatological program of divine intervention is effected by God himself, his tasks are usually conceived in terms of ancient Canaanite and Israelite combat myths in which Yahweh is depicted as a divine warrior.<sup>134</sup> When Yahweh's role is taken over by a human agent who is a descendant of the Davidic house, elements of the divine warrior myth are assimilated to the expectation of an eschatological restoration of the greatness of Israel under the leadership of an ideal heir of David.<sup>135</sup> In yet a third type of eschatology, Yahweh's role is taken over by a transcendent deliverer (e.g. "one like a son of man," Dan. 7:13-14). In such instances a greater degree of assimilation has taken place between the divine warrior pattern and the national hope for the restoration of the people of Israel through the Davidic monarchy, with an emphasis on the former. The image of the transcendent deliverer, a relatively rare image in Judaism, may have been popular in antimonarchical or anti-Hasmonean circles (e.g. Daniel), or as a response to the apparent impossibility of the prospects of a national restoration (4 Ezra 13; 1 Enoch 37-71).

The royal messianic ideology arose in response to the Davidic covenant, regarded as unconditional and eternal (2 Sam. 7; Ps. 89; 132:11-12; cf. 1 Macc. 2:57), in combination with the religious and political idealization of the Davidic reign that had already taken place by the ninth century in Judah (Isa. 7:10-16; 9:1-7; 11:1-9; Mic. 5:2-4). Davidic dynasts were expected to conform to the example set by David himself, and when they did not the desire for such model rulers was projected into the future

(Jer. 23:5-6; 33:14-22). Ezekiel even expressed the hope that David himself would appear (Ezek. 34:20-31). At the end of the sixth century, two generations after the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians in 587 B.C., the theocratic hopes of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah were quickened by the prospect of the restoration of the Davidic monarchy through Zerubbabel and the possibility of rebuilding the temple (Hag. 2:23; Zech. 3:8-10; 4:7; 6:9-14). However, the first of these expectations was disappointed. By the late Second Temple period the expectation of an eschatological Davidic messiah had permeated Palestinian Judaism.<sup>136</sup> The Davidic messiah of popular expectation was conceived as a military figure whose primary tasks were the defeat of Israel's enemies, the purification of Jerusalem and the temple, and the ingathering of dispersed Israelites as a prelude for a golden age. This messianic figure did not function as a prophet, a preacher of repentance, or a miracle worker.<sup>137</sup>

The expectation of a priestly or Levitical messiah may have had its origin in Zech. 4:14, where Joshua the high priest and Zerubbabel are called "sons of oil," i.e. "anointed ones."<sup>138</sup> These figures played a joint role in Haggai and Zechariah's eschatological vision of restoration. Following that model, the figures of the priestly messiah and the royal messiah are found side by side in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs (e.g. Test. Reub. 6:5-12; Test. Levi 18:2-9)<sup>139</sup> and in the literature produced by the Qumran community (1QS 9:10-11; 1QSa 12-17; cf. CD 19:10-11; 20:1).<sup>140</sup> In these contexts the priestly messiah is consistently accorded a superior position. This combination of two quite different messianic types functions to bring more purely religious ideals into conjunction with nationalistic and political hopes. If the Qumran community originated in a secession of a group of Hasidim from the Hasmoneans, the idealized relationship between the eschatological deliverers may reflect not only an anti-Hasmonean stance, but also a projection into the future of the actual leadership structure of their community.

Two conceptions of the nature of eschatological deliverers were formerly carefully distinguished by scholars. The earthly, human, Davidic messiah, whose role was primarily military, nationalistic, and political, was contrasted with the transcendent, heavenly, messianic deliverer commonly designated as the "Son of man."<sup>141</sup> Yet these two messianic types are not really separable, for the Son of man traditions in Jewish apocalyptic represent a "transcendental transformation" of Davidic messianic traditions.<sup>142</sup> The designation "Son of man" (Heb. *ben-'adam*; Aram. *bar-'enash*) is first applied to a transcendent eschatological redeemer figure in Dan. 7:13-14:

I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man, and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him. And to him was given dominion and glory and kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed.

During the last quarter of the first century A.D. the designation "son of man" is used as a messianic title in the canonical gospels (ca. A.D. 70-100) and in the sixth vision of the apocalypse of Ezra (4 Ezra 13, after A.D. 70).<sup>143</sup> The designation is also used of a heavenly redeemer figure in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37-71, possibly after A.D. 70), but not in a titular sense.<sup>144</sup> In spite of the fact that each of these sources makes use of the Son of man tradition found in Dan. 7:13-14,<sup>145</sup> it is likely that they were also influenced by a transcendent Son of man tradition which emerged



between the composition of Daniel (ca. 168-165 B.C.) and the formation of the Christian and Jewish apocalyptic Son of man traditions during the first century A.D.<sup>146</sup>

## 2. Prophetic Deliverers.

While the images of messianic deliverers focus on the task of the restoration of Israel and the inauguration of a golden age, the various conceptions of prophetic deliverers either minimize or ignore that task. Distinctions between the eschatological prophet and the Davidic messiah were often vague,<sup>147</sup> though at times they could be sharply contrasted (as in the Qumran community's distinction between the prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel in 1QS 9:10-11). Generally, however, these eschatological deliverers are assigned distinct functions, though these functions are combined by placing various eschatological deliverers in relationship with each other. While the Davidic messiah was rarely if ever connected with prophesying (i.e. predicting the future), preaching repentance and reconciliation, and performing miracles, those tasks form the basic functions of the eschatological prophets. From the perspective of late Second Temple Judaism the functions of the eschatological prophets corresponded to those of the ancient Israelite prophets. OT prophecy was regarded as having two functions: prediction of the future and rebuke.<sup>148</sup> The classical OT prophets were not miracle workers, yet in legends about the prophets, such as those in the *Vitae Prophetarum* ("The Lives of the Prophets"), a collection of thumbnail biographies (first century A.D.) Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah are depicted as miracle workers.<sup>149</sup> Earlier OT prophets such as Moses, Elijah, and Elisha are described as both inspired spokesmen for Yahweh and miracle workers. In Rabbinic Judaism prophecy was subordinate to the Torah,<sup>150</sup> a view which was common during the late Second Temple period. The OT depicts Moses as both lawgiver and prophet, and later prophets such as Elijah (1 Macc. 2:58) and Jeremiah (2 Macc. 2:1-9) are considered zealots for and guardians of the Torah. Eschatological prophets were consequently regarded as specially gifted for the interpretation of the Torah (1 Macc. 4:46). Ancient prophets were also regarded as effective intercessors between man and God (Jeremiah in 2 Macc. 15:14; Elijah in Jas. 5:17; Rom. 11:2-4), and eschatological prophets were expected to play a similar role.

Several places in the gospels refer to popular opinions on the true identity of John the Baptist and Jesus. John is asked if he is Elijah or *the* prophet (John 1:19-23), and Jesus is variously regarded as John the Baptist *redivivus*, Elijah, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets (Mark 6:14-15; 8:27-30; Matt. 16:13-16). In the Fourth Gospel Jesus is thought by some to be *the* prophet, a probable reference to the expectation of a Mosaic eschatological prophet (John 6:14-15; 7:40-41). These references, together with those in 1 Macc. 4:46; 14:41; Philo *De spec. leg.* i.65, indicate that the expectation of various types of eschatological prophets was widespread in Palestine during the late Second Temple period. In the Fourth Gospel John the Baptist's identity as an eschatological prophet is tied to his baptizing activity (John 1:24).<sup>151</sup> Jesus is regarded as a prophet on the basis of the miracles which were attributed to him (Mark 6:14-15; Luke 7:16; 24:19; John 6:14), as well as on the basis of the message he proclaimed (Luke 24:19; John 7:40).

The return of the "shamanistic" Israelite prophet Elijah was one very popular form of the expectation of the eschatological prophet.<sup>152</sup> Even in modern Jewish passover celebrations a cup of wine is poured for Elijah and the door opened for his arrival; a popular song sung during such seders is "Eliyahu ha-Nabi" ("Elijah the