

BRANT PITRE

Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*
204

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

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204



Brant Pitre

Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile

Restoration Eschatology
and the Origin of the Atonement

Mohr Siebeck · Tübingen
Baker Academic · Grand Rapids

BRANT PITRE, born 1975; Ph.D. University of Notre Dame; currently teaching Scripture and Theology at Our Lady of Holy Cross College in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Distributors

For the United States and Canada

Baker Academic
P.O. Box 6287
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49516-6287
USA

For Europe

Mohr Siebeck
Wilhelmstraße 18, Postfach 2040
72010 Tübingen
Germany

All other countries are served by both publishers.

ISBN 3-16-148751-6 978-3-16-157488-7 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019
ISSN 0340-9570 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is on file at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
ISBN 0-8010-3162-1

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Printed in Germany.

*O come, O come, Emmanuel,
And ransom captive Israel
That mourns in lonely exile here ...*

For the one who loved me and gave himself for me.

Preface

Several years ago, during a doctoral seminar on eschatology, I committed myself to an in-depth study of the works of Albert Schweitzer, which had fascinated me for some time. In the course of reading, I came across a tiny little gem of a book of his, entitled *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God: The Secret of Jesus' Messiahship and Passion*.¹ In the final chapter of this work, a translation of the second half Schweitzer's doctoral dissertation, I read these words:

Before the Kingdom could come the Affliction must arrive... The concept of the final Affliction contains the thought of atonement and purification... But now God does not bring the Affliction to pass. And yet the atonement must be made. Then it occurred to Jesus that he as the coming Son of Man must accomplish the atonement in his own person. He who one day shall reign over believers as Messiah now humbles himself under them and serves them by giving his life as a ransom for many, in order that the Kingdom may dawn upon them. That is his mission... That is the secret of his Passion. Jesus did actually die for the sins of men, even though it was in another sense than that which Anselm's theory assumes.²

This struck me as an extremely intriguing proposal; I had never before seen the atonement approached from the viewpoint of *eschatology*. However, at the time, I had done just enough reading to know that the expectation of "the final Affliction" was in fact an important part of late Second Temple Judaism and that scholars of the historical Jesus were not spending a great deal of time discussing it. And yet here was one of the most famous intellectual figures of the last century, proposing over a hundred years ago that the eschatological tribulation was the historical key to the origin of the doctrine of the atonement. Moreover, he was suggesting that it was inextricably tied to Jesus' understanding of the coming of the kingdom of God. Schweitzer's proposal fascinated me, and had a ring of truth to it. This put me on the path of investigation, and I eventually set out to study the matter as fully as possible in the form of a doctoral dissertation.

Below I offer the fruits of my research. First and foremost, they are a contribution to the study of early Jewish eschatology and the historical Jesus. However, I also hope that they might be an invitation for

¹ Albert Schweitzer, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God: The Secret of Jesus' Messiahship and Passion* (trans. Walter Lowrie; 1914; repr., Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1985 [German original, 1901]).

² Schweitzer, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 147-48.

theologians to revisit the question of the ancient Jewish and biblical roots of the atonement. If so, I will consider this work to have played a small part in the important task of bridging the lamentable gulf that currently exists between biblical studies and dogmatic theology. May Dr. Schweitzer rest in peace, and may young scholars such as myself never underestimate the value of old ideas and old books!

I would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge those who have helped me bring this project to completion. First, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my director, David E. Aune, who has been extremely supportive of the project from its inception and very helpful in his criticisms. His incisive mind, insatiable curiosity, and intellectual openness continue to inspire me. He has truly been both *magister et amicus*. Second, I would like to thank the other members of my committee, Professors John Meier, James VanderKam, and Brian Daley, S.J. In particular, I am indebted to Father Meier; it was his work on the historical Jesus that originally inspired me to pursue doctoral studies in this area. Along these lines, I should also mention: Professor Amy-Jill Levine, whose support of my early interest in Jesus and eschatology led me to Notre Dame, for which I am eternally grateful; and Professor Dale Allison, whose openness to discussing the thesis in person was greatly appreciated, and whose outstanding work has proven particularly helpful to me. Third, I would like to acknowledge those colleagues of mine from the University of Notre Dame who not only supported me with friendship but patiently listened to me rattle on about my latest discovery regarding Jesus and the tribulation. I am especially indebted to Brian Gregg, John Bergsma, Jonathan Lawrence, Rodrigo Morales, Steve Schweitzer, Dan Machiela, Father Brad Milunsky, Bill Wright, Eric Stewart, and Amy Donaldson. A special thanks goes out an old friend, Aaron Shileny, who years ago first insisted that I read the works of Albert Schweitzer and E. P. Sanders. Thanks for the tip!

Fourth and finally, the only people who will be happier than I am to see this project brought to completion are my lovely wife Elizabeth and our three beautiful children, Morgen, Aidan, and Hannah. They have been nothing less than saints throughout this process, as well as my constant source of strength and joy when my spirits were low. Words in a preface simply cannot express how deeply indebted I am to them for both their time and their love. Every time I look back at this book I will think of the season when we discovered my dissertation in our Advent hymns sung round the dinner table. *Veni, veni, Emmanuel, captivum solve Israel, qui gemit in exilio, privatus Dei Filio...*

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Abbreviations

This work follows the abbreviations set out in Patrick H. Alexander et al., ed., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999). Titles and abbreviations of various Dead Sea Scrolls follow those found in Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Thesis Statement

“Lead us not into *peirasmos*” (Q: Matt 6:13//Luke 11:4). This petition from the Lord’s Prayer refers to one of the more neglected topics in the study of the historical Jesus: the “Messianic Woes” or “the Great Tribulation”¹ – i.e., the ancient Jewish expectation of an eschatological period of tribulation that will precede the age of salvation.

Scholars of the historical Jesus have studied other aspects of the Lord’s Prayer in great detail, such as Jesus’ use of “Father” language, his understanding of the kingdom of God, his message of forgiveness of sins, etc. – often with the impression that the prayer contains themes central to the message of Jesus. Yet no major monograph has been written on Jesus and the *peirasmos* – the “testing” or “time of trial” – and its relation to the early Jewish expectation of an eschatological tribulation and to other Gospel texts that appear to describe such a period (e.g., Q: Matt 11:12-13//Luke 16:16; Q: Matt 10:34-36//Luke 12:49-53; Mark 13:1-27; Luke 23:27-31, *Gos. Thom.* 16, etc.). Most scholars agree that the Lord’s Prayer is authentic – i.e., it originated with the historical Jesus – and several argue that the petition in question does indeed refer to the Jewish concept of the eschatological tribulation.² Despite this, Jesus’ own understanding of the tribulation, although considered important by a handful of scholars, has garnered relatively little attention in the realm of historical Jesus research.

One possible explanation for this situation is that study of the eschatological tribulation in early Judaism itself has been minimal and is plagued by terminological, textual, and conceptual confusion. To date no detailed, monograph-size study of the topic exists, despite the fact that many scholars agree that the general expectation of a final period of

¹ See the “Note on Terminology” below for a brief discussion of these terms.

² See, e.g., N. T. Wright, “The Lord’s Prayer as a Paradigm of Christian Prayer,” in *Into God’s Presence: Prayer in the New Testament* (ed. Richard N. Longenecker; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 144-47; John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume Two: Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 289-302; Joachim Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 100-105; Raymond E. Brown, “The Pater Noster as an Eschatological Prayer” *TS* 22 (1961): 175-208.

tribulation before the dawn of the age of salvation was common in early Judaism.³ They do not, however, agree on what to call the tribulation, how to define it, and even what texts are representative of it. To compound the problem, even ancient authors themselves use many different terms to describe what is arguably the same basic expectation.⁴

The overarching objectives of this study will therefore be two. First, it will attempt to trace the development and shape of the concept of eschatological tribulation in *late Second Temple Judaism*. In doing so I hope to bring some conceptual, chronological, and terminological clarity to the current discussion. Several questions still need answering in this regard. First and foremost, can the expectation of eschatological tribulation even be attributed to Judaism before and during the time of Jesus? If so, what are the common elements, and what are the varieties of its expression? What terms do ancient authors use to refer to this expectation?

³ The fullest, most recent surveys of the expectation in Jewish literature are found in works dealing with the tribulation in the New Testament. See C. Marvin Pate and Douglas W. Kennard, *Deliverance Now and Not Yet: The New Testament and the Great Tribulation* (SBT 54; New York: Peter Lang, 2003); Mark Dubis, *Messianic Woes in First Peter: Suffering and Eschatology in 1 Peter 4:12-19* (SBT 33; New York: Peter Lang, 2002); and the chapter entitled "The Great Tribulation in Jewish Literature" in Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The End of the Ages Has Come. An Early Interpretation of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 5-25. Apart from these, the fullest older study can be found in Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (repr.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 147-63. Despite the ubiquity of the tribulation in Jewish literature, these chapter-length examinations exhaust the attempts to treat the subject in a detailed manner. The more common occurrence is that the tribulation is noted as a common and constitutive element of Jewish eschatology but nevertheless only treated briefly. See, e.g., N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 277-79; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols., vol. 3 in two parts; rev. and ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, Matthew Black, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-1987), 2.514-15; Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 157-60; Kaufmann Kohler, "Eschatology" in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (12 vols.; ed. Isidore Singer; New York: Ktav, 1964), 5.211-12; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 271-76; Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3d ed.; ed. H. Gressmann; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1966), 250-51; Hermann L. Strack, and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (4 vols.; 3d ed.; München: C. H. Beck, 1961), 4.977-986; Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel From Its Beginnings to the Completion of the Mishnah* (trans. W. F. Stinespring; New York: Macmillan, 1955), 278-82, 325-65, 372-79, 440-50; George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2.360-76.

⁴ For more details, see below.

Does the tribulation always include the advent of a Messiah,⁵ or should scholars speak of “messianic” tribulation only when there is such a figure and “eschatological” tribulation when there is not? What is the function of the tribulation? Does it function differently in different texts (e.g., judgment, punishment, testing of the righteous)? Who suffers the tribulation? Do the righteous survive this period, or is the martyrdom of the righteous part and parcel of the final time of trial? What is the relationship between the eschatological tribulation and the restoration of Israel? These and other questions will be raised in an attempt to make a serious and sustained contribution to the study of this expectation in early Jewish eschatology.

The second primary objective of the project will be to determine whether *the historical Jesus* ever spoke of or acted on the basis of his own expectation of a period of eschatological tribulation. This will involve answering a series of important questions. First, exactly which Gospel texts refer to the tribulation, and which have been mistakenly associated with this expectation?⁶ Do those traditions that are concerned with the tribulation originate with Jesus himself, or are they creations of the early Church? Does the passage cited above from the Lord’s Prayer really refer to the time of trial? If so, was this expectation central to Jesus’ message and teaching? What is the relationship between the eschatological tribulation in the Lord’s Prayer, which many regard as authentic, and the Great Tribulation described in the Olivet Discourse (Mark 13:1-27), which many scholars reject as inauthentic? If Jesus did embrace the expectation of a final period of tribulation, did he think it was already present, or did he predict a time of future suffering, or both? Did he expect his disciples to suffer in the tribulation? What would it mean for him to teach his followers to pray to be delivered from it? Finally, and perhaps most intriguingly, did Jesus understand his own death in terms of the tribulation, as a number of scholars have proposed?⁷ In this regard, what was his view, if any, of his own role in the eschatological drama? Did he expect to suffer and die in the tribulation, or did he think by dying to unleash such a period, or both? Or did he see his death as putting an end to the time of trial and ushering in

⁵ For what I mean by “Messiah,” see the “Note on Terminology” below.

⁶ The mention of this somewhat obvious objective is made necessary by the fact that Jesus scholars do not agree on precisely which Jesus traditions refer to the tribulation. Interpreters tend either to ignore the fact that some Gospel texts refer to this expectation, or they draw questionable connections between the tribulation and sayings of Jesus which probably are not related. Both tendencies arise out of the lack of detailed study of the expectation in Jewish literature.

⁷ See below.

the time of salvation? If so, does this mean, as some have suggested, that he understood his death as something that would bring about eschatological atonement? Or does all this material stem from the theology and eschatology of the early Church?⁸

Clearly, the answers to these and other questions regarding the tribulation have the potential to make a significant contribution to the study of early Jewish eschatology, and more directly, to the overall project of understanding the message and mission of Jesus in his historical context.

As we will see, on the basis of the evidence surveyed herein, the basic thesis of this study is that Jesus did in fact speak and act on the basis of the Jewish expectation of the eschatological tribulation. Moreover, his understanding of the tribulation was inextricably tied to the ancient Jewish hope for the End of the Exile: i.e., the ingathering of the twelve tribes of Israel from among the nations.⁹ In short, Jesus taught that the tribulation had in some way begun with the death of John the Baptist as “Elijah” and that it was Jesus’ own mission to set in motion the “Great Tribulation” that would precede the coming of the Messiah and the restoration of Israel. In fact, he even taught that he would die in this tribulation, and that his death would function as an act of atonement that would bring about the End of the Exile, the return of the dispersed tribes from among the nations, and the coming of the kingdom of God.

2. *Status Quaestionis*

2.1. *The Tribulation in Jewish Literature*

In his study of the imagery of birth pangs of the Messiah, Conrad Gempf notes that “it is certainly time for more research on ‘birth pangs of the Messiah’.”¹⁰ In similar fashion, Mark Dubis correctly contends that “biblical scholars have heretofore neglected serious study of the Jewish eschatological concept of the ‘messianic woes’.”¹¹ As remarked above, a possible explanation for this lack of serious study is that scholarly writing

⁸ For a sustained argument that the early church interpreted Jesus death in terms of the Great Tribulation, see Allison (*The End of the Ages has Come*, passim). This conclusion does not deter Allison from affirming that this interpretation originated with the historical Jesus.

⁹ For further details, see discussion below regarding “N. T. Wright and the End of the Exile.”

¹⁰ Conrad Gempf, “The Imagery of Birth Pangs in the New Testament,” *TynBul* 45 (1994): 119-35.

¹¹ Dubis, *Messianic Woes in First Peter*, 5.

on the tribulation in Jewish literature is riddled with confusion and disagreement regarding the definition of the concept, scholarly terminology, and the delineation of textual representatives. Any newcomer attempting to enter this fray is immediately faced with these three rather daunting problems, coupled with a relative dearth of sophisticated reflection on the issue.

Before sketching some of the more problematic assessments of this aspect of early Jewish eschatology, it should be noted that what is the most perhaps the fullest and most knowledgeable definition has been recently given by Mark Dubis in the recent *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*. Dubis defines the “Messianic Woes” (or “the Great Tribulation”) as:

A tumultuous period of eschatological distress and tribulation that, according to early Judaism, was to precede the coming of the Messiah. Characteristic features include apostasy, war, earthquakes, drought, famine, pestilence, familial strife and betrayal, cosmic signs, increasing wickedness, and the scarcity of truth and wisdom. Otherwise known in the rabbinic literature as the ‘birth pangs of the Messiah,’ these woes lead inexorably to the birth of the final state of blessedness.¹²

Although this explication is problematic in that the coming of the Messiah is *not* always a postlude to the eschatological tribulation,¹³ Dubis’s attempt at a definition is a model of clarity and precision when compared with other interpreters.

Examples of scholarly disorder regarding definition, terminology, and textual representatives of the tribulation abound, and the comparison of their different viewpoints serves to illustrate the somewhat chaotic state of the question. For instance, Emil Schürer uses the category of “the final ordeal and confusion” to describe the Jewish belief “that a period of special distress must precede the dawn of salvation.”¹⁴ He locates this expectation in a relatively small number of early Jewish works, primarily 2 *Baruch*, 4 *Ezra*, and *m. Sotah* 9:15.¹⁵ In similar fashion, R. H. Charles finds examples of “the Messianic Woes” – a term which he does not define – primarily in the books of *Jubilees*, 2 *Baruch*, and 4 *Ezra*.¹⁶ By contrast, Joseph Klausner uses the category of the “birth pangs of the Messiah” or “the Messianic travail” to refer to “the prelude to the Messianic age” and

¹² Mark Dubis, “Messianic Woes,” in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. D. N. Freedman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 890-91.

¹³ As his catalogue of supporting texts reveals: cf. *Jubilees* 23.

¹⁴ Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, 2.514.

¹⁵ Revised Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, 2.514-15. The additions of IQM 1:11-12 and IQH 3:16-18 as indicative of “the Qumran doctrine of the final pre-messianic upheaval” are obviously not from Schürer but from the revisers of the work.

¹⁶ R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism, and Christianity: A Critical History* (New York: Schocken, 1963), 237, 329, 344, 382 n.1.

“the sufferings that must precede the Messiah’s advent.”¹⁷ Like Charles and Schürer, he locates the Messianic Woes in *Jubilees*, 2 *Baruch*, and 4 *Ezra*. Klausner, however, casts his net much wider and also finds examples of the Messianic Woes in Daniel 9 and 12, the Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1), the Epistle of Enoch (*1 En.* 99-100), *Sibylline Oracles* 3, the *Assumption of Moses*, and later rabbinic literature (e.g., *m. Sotah* 9:15; *b. Sanh.* 97a-98b).¹⁸ Wilhelm Bousset uses the terminology of “the Messianic Woes/birth pangs” (*die messianischen Wehen*) to describe the “death throes and birth pangs” of the end of one age and the birth of another. He cites many of the same texts as Klausner while adding the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 30 and Revelation 6-9 to the mix.¹⁹ D. H. Russell employs the language of “the travail pains of the Messiah” – which he defines as “a period of distress before God’s final triumph” – and finds the notion present in many of the texts catalogued thus far, adding Zechariah 14 to the list.²⁰ Lars Hartman categorizes the period of the “pangs of the Messiah” as “The Preliminary Time of Evil.”²¹ Hartman examines many of the documents mentioned so far, but also finds examples of the tribulation in Daniel 7 and *Psalms of Solomon* 17, two very important texts in the study of early Jewish eschatology.²² Finally, with regard to the Dead Sea Scrolls, John Collins speaks of “the time of testing” as a phase that would precede the coming of the Messiah. He locates this expectation both in *4QFlorilegium* and *4QCatena*^a, and even holds that *1QHodayot*^a 11:3-18 “provides the earliest occurrence of the motif of the ‘birth pangs of the Messiah’.”²³ Thus, the early Jewish expectation of the tribulation can also be found in the literature of Qumran. Clearly, from the perspective of the secondary literature on early Judaism, the Jewish expectation of

¹⁷ Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 325, 400, cf. 441.

¹⁸ Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 278, 282, 306-7, 325, 332-48, 350-54, 372, 440-50.

¹⁹ Bousset, *Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 250-51.

²⁰ Russell, *Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 272-75.

²¹ Lars Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted. The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and the Eschatological Discourse of Mark 13 par.* (trans. Neil Tomkinson and Jean Gray; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1966), 28-34.

²² Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, 57-8, 66-7.

²³ John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 57, 60-1, 71. Cf. also James VanderKam’s comments on the importance of the “time of trial” and “epoch of wickedness” – arguably technical terms for the final tribulation – for the eschatology and self-understanding of the Qumran community. James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 113.

eschatological tribulation is in need of a precise definition, conceptual clarification, and textual delineation.²⁴

To add to the complexity of the issue, the modern terminological disorder surrounding the tribulation has ancient roots. Apparently, early Jewish and Christian writers could not agree on what to call the final time of tribulation either. They speak of a “time of distress/tribulation” (עַתַּת צָרָה; καὶ τὸς θλίψεως),²⁵ a “day of tribulation” (*‘elata mendabêhomu* or *יום צרה*),²⁶ a “time of wickedness” before the coming of the Messiahs (קֶץ הַרְשָׁעָה),²⁷ a “time of the refining” (עַתַּת הַמְצָרָה),²⁸ a “time of affliction” (מִוֶּעַד הַתְּעִנִּית),²⁹ a “time of trial/testing” (πειρασμός),³⁰ the beginning of the “birth pangs” (ὠδίνες),³¹ a time of unparalleled “tribulation” (θλίψις),³² the “great tribulation” (θλίψις μεγάλη),³³ a time of “distress” or “necessity” (*‘nnq’* = ἀναγκή),³⁴ the “footprints of the Messiah” (מְשִׁיחַ עֲקֵבוֹתָה),³⁵ and, of course, the “travail/birth pangs of the Messiah” (חֲבָלוֹ שֶׁל מְשִׁיחַ).³⁶ Thus, another of the problems facing any study of the tribulation is that the terminology used to denote the expectation does not abide by modern scholarly predilections for neatly defined word-studies and tidy conceptual categories. Ancient descriptions of this expectation do not consist of a single “motif” or “idea,” but rather a complex of motifs that can be employed in extended scenarios or referred to by pithy formulae. It is only by means of a careful analysis of these scenarios and the terminology used to describe them that we can begin to understand the various forms and functions of the expected tribulation.

Thus, as stated above, one of the main objectives of this study will be to trace carefully the development of the eschatological tribulation in early Jewish literature up to and during the time of Jesus, while giving adequate

²⁴ Similar disagreement regarding textual representatives can be found in New Testament surveys as well: see Pate and Kennard, *Deliverance Now and Not Yet*, 29-92; Allison, *The End of the Ages Has Come*, 5-25.

²⁵ Dan 12:1 (MT and LXX); cf. 1QM 1:12-15.

²⁶ *1 En.* 96:2; cf. Zech 1:15. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 465.

²⁷ CD^a 12:23.

²⁸ 4Q174 frag. 1, col. 2:1; 4Q177 1:3; 4QpPs^a 2:19; cf. 1QS 1:17-18; 8:4.

²⁹ 4QpPs^a 2:9-10.

³⁰ Rev 3:10; 1 Pet 4:12.

³¹ Mark 13:8.

³² Mark 13:19, 24; cf. 1 Thess 3:3-5.

³³ *Sib. Or.* 3:187; Matt 24:21; Rev 7:14.

³⁴ 2 Bar. 26:1.

³⁵ *m. Sotah* 9:15.

³⁶ *b. Shab.* 118a; *b. Pes.* 118a; *b. Sanh.* 98b.

attention to the varieties of expression amid the ancient documents. This will be carried out both in the initial survey of the tribulation in Jewish literature³⁷ and in the discussion of particular themes and motifs that arise during the examination of various Gospel texts.

2.2. *The Tribulation in Historical Jesus Research*

Many (if not most) reconstructions of the historical Jesus either neglect the tribulation altogether or flatly reject those Gospel texts which describe a period of tribulation as inauthentic. Although some works on the historical Jesus do discuss the topic in passing,³⁸ the tribulation is typically quite simply ignored as a topic worthy of discussion.³⁹ This is true even of scholars who embrace the reconstruction of Jesus as an eschatological prophet, from Johannes Weiss to Bart Ehrman.⁴⁰ Other interpreters, such as Werner Kümmel and John A. T. Robinson, reject the authenticity of the eschatological discourse of Mark 13, which contains several of Jesus'

³⁷ chapter 2; see below.

³⁸ E.g., Scot McKnight, *A New Vision for Israel: The Teachings of Jesus in National Context* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 115-18; Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2.289-302; Ben Witherington, *The Christology of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 123-24.

³⁹ For example, there is no discussion of the tribulation in Geza Vermes, *The Changing Faces of Jesus* (New York: Viking Compass, 2000); idem, *The Religion of Jesus the Jew* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); *Jesus and the World of Judaism* (London: SCM, 1983); idem, *Jesus the Jew. A Historian's Readings of the Gospels* (London: Collins, 1973); Paula Fredriksen, *Jesus of Nazareth. King of the Jews* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999); Ben Witherington III, *Jesus the Seer. The Progress of Prophecy* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999); idem, *Jesus, Paul, and the End of the World. A Comparative Study in New Testament Eschatology* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1992); Jürgen Becker, *Jesus of Nazareth* (trans. James E. Crouch; New York and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998); Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (trans. John Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998); Joachim Gnilka, *Jesus of Nazareth. Message and History* (trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997); David Flusser, *Jesus* (trans. Ronald Walls; New York: Herder and Herder, 1969); Günther Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* (trans. Irene and Fraser McLuskey with James M. Robinson; New York: Harper, 1960); Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word* (trans. L. P. Smith and E. H. Lantero; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958); Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth. His Life, Times, and Teaching* (trans. Herbert Danby; New York: Macmillan, 1925).

⁴⁰ Johannes Weiss, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (trans. Richard Hyde Hiers and David Larrimore Holland; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971 [1892 orig.]); Bart D. Ehrman, *Jesus. Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). To be fair, Ehrman's book is intended for popular as well as scholarly audiences and does not attempt to be comprehensive. It is nevertheless noteworthy that a book on the "apocalyptic" Jesus can be written with no discussion of his understanding of the final time of tribulation and catastrophe.

sayings regarding future tribulation.⁴¹ In this case there is often no attempt made to address other sayings from the Q tradition or elsewhere that might have to do with the time of trial; the subject appears closed when the verdict on Mark 13 as a whole is rendered. Other exegetes, such as Rudolf Bultmann and Gerd Lüdemann, attribute almost all of the sayings regarding the tribulation to the early Church with little or no sustained argument.⁴² Still other scholars, such as Marcus Borg, John Dominic Crossan, Stephen Patterson, and members of the Jesus Seminar, do not even seriously consider the possibility that Jesus may have spoken of eschatological tribulation because they work under the hypothesis of a non-eschatological Jesus.⁴³

Finally, E. P. Sanders, one of foremost scholars of both early Judaism and the historical Jesus, also appears to reject the significance of the tribulation for Jesus. This is important because Sanders is often viewed as one of the most formidable proponents of the reconstruction of Jesus as an eschatological prophet, in the tradition of Albert Schweitzer. Yet Sanders actually jettisons the heart of Schweitzer's proposal, Jesus' expectation of what Schweitzer called "the final Affliction":⁴⁴

What is wrong with Schweitzer's reconstruction is immediately clear: he used the material in the Gospels too arbitrarily, his hypothesis does not arise naturally from the study of the texts but seems to be imposed upon them, and the dogma which he ascribes to Jesus [i.e., the 'dogma' of the messianic tribulation] may not in fact even be

⁴¹ Werner G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfillment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus* (Studies in Biblical Theology 23; Naperville: Allenson, 1957), 88-104; John A. T. Robinson, *Jesus and his Coming* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957), 59-82. See also T. Francis Glasson, *The Second Advent. The Origin of the New Testament Doctrine* (London: Epworth, 1963). On the whole issue of the "Little Apocalypse" theory and the eschatological discourse, see George R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Last Days: The Interpretation of the Olivet Discourse* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993).

⁴² Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. John Marsh; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 115-16, 120-30, 154-56, 164-66; Gerd Lüdemann, *Jesus after Two Thousand Years. What He Really Said and Did* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM; Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2001), loc. cit.

⁴³ Marcus Borg, "A Temperate Case for a Non-Eschatological Jesus" *Forum* 2 (1986): 81-102; Reprinted in Marcus Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1994), 47-68; John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus. The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1991); *Jesus. A Revolutionary Biography* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994); *The Birth of Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1998); Stephen J. Patterson, *The God of Jesus. The Historical Jesus and the Search for Meaning* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 164-84; idem, "The End of Apocalypse: Rethinking the Eschatological Jesus" *ThTo* 52 (1995): 29-48; Robert W. Funk, Roy W. Hoover, and the Jesus Seminar, *The Five Gospels. The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* (New York: Macmillan, 1993).

⁴⁴ See below on Schweitzer for references.

thoroughly grounded in the contemporary Jewish expectation. *The expectation of sufferings before the Messiah comes, for example, which is absolutely crucial to Schweitzer's hypothesis, may not precede the two wars with Rome....*⁴⁵

Sanders repeats the sentiment later on in his work and goes even further, stating that the notion that the tribulation must precede the coming of the Kingdom of God cannot be dated before A.D. 135.⁴⁶ Here he is drawing on T. Francis Glasson's attempt to discredit the eschatological framework of Schweitzer by arguing that it had no grounding in the Judaism of Jesus' time.⁴⁷ Sanders's rejection of the messianic tribulation as a contemporary aspect of early Jewish eschatology levels the serious charge of anachronism against any historical reconstruction that would give this expectation any place – much less a central place – in the message of Jesus. Thus, two major objectives of this study will be (1) to test the veracity of the claim that the notion of the pre-messianic tribulation does not arise until after the time of Jesus, and (2) to ascertain if those scholars who have ignored or rejected the study of Jesus and the tribulation are justified in doing so.

Despite the fact that there is no book-length study of Jesus and the eschatological tribulation, the subject has by no means been totally ignored in Jesus-of-history research. In fact, the tribulation has played a key role in several of the major works on the historical Jesus. In order to highlight this often-overlooked thread of discussion, we will now briefly survey those major reconstructions in which the tribulation has a central place, beginning with the work of Albert Schweitzer. The goal of this survey is not to deal with the individual Gospel texts which gave rise to each scholar's conclusions – these will be dealt with later – but rather to summarize the conclusions of each scholar regarding the overall significance of the tribulation in the eschatology of Jesus.

2.3. Albert Schweitzer

Although it is rarely noted, the concept of the messianic tribulation was the eschatological foundation of Albert Schweitzer's classic reconstruction of

⁴⁵ E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1985), 23 (emphasis added).

⁴⁶ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 124. Compare the similar statements of J. Christiaan Beker: "The Jewish doctrine of the Messianic Woes ... is not documented in Jewish literature until A.D. 135." See Beker, *Paul the Apostle. The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 146.

⁴⁷ T. Francis Glasson, "Schweitzer's Influence – Blessing or Bane?" in *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (ed. Bruce Chilton; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 107-20.

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