

CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND

»By an Immediate
Revelation«

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
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473*

Mohr Siebeck

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473



Christopher Rowland

“By an Immediate Revelation”

Studies in Apocalypticism,
its Origins and Effects

Mohr Siebeck

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Cambridge and Oxford, May 2021

Christopher Rowland

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Abbreviations

For the use of B, CHL, E and K to denote collections of Gerrard Winstanley's and William Blake's works, see below, p. 783.

AB	The Anchor Bible
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGSU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des späteren Judentums (Spätjudentums) und Urchristentums
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
ANRW II	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. II: Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974ff.
AOS	American Oriental Series
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BK	Biblischer Kommentar
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly. Monograph Series
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
ConBNT	Coniectanea neotestamentica/Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>EBR</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception</i> . Edited by Hans-Josef Klauck et al. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1.2009ff
EKK	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FKDG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Hermeneia	Hermeneia – A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies

<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments
<i>IDBSup</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume.</i> Edited by Georg Arthur Buttrick and Keith R. Crim. New York: Abingdon, 1976
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KJV	King James Version
LD	Lectio divina
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i>
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NKZ</i>	<i>Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
PL	Patrologia Latina
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha veteris testamenti graece
RGVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
RSV	Revised Standard Version
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RTL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies: Monograph Series
SR	<i>Studies in Religion</i>

<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StJ	Studia Judaica
StPatr	Studia Patristica
StPB	Studia post-biblica
StUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TEH	Theologische Existenz heute
<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. 10 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973–2000
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism/Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i> (Basel)
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZKT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

By an Immediate Revelation: Studies in Apocalypticism, Its Origins and Effects. Rationale and Retrospect

My adult intellectual life had three distinct, though overlapping phases. To begin with, after school, there was my undergraduate degree at Cambridge, after which I continued with graduate study. That culminated in my doctoral dissertation submitted in 1974 on the New Testament and Jewish mysticism. Secondly, the impact of my various visits to Latin America, especially Brazil, the first of which was in 1983 and was life-changing. The final, and most recent phase, is characterised by a growing interest in the reception history of the Bible and particularly the Apocalypse. The character of ancient apocalypticism and the reception history of apocalypticism, particularly the Book of Revelation, as well as radical Christian writings, ancient and modern, have dominated my research and writing.

Writings on the nature of apocalypticism and its reception history have governed the contents of this volume, though the effects of what I learnt in Brazil opened my eyes to the rich reception history of the Apocalypse, in particular, two of the greatest apocalyptic interpreters of the Bible, William Blake (1757–1827) and Gerrard Winstanley (1609–1676), a figure whose texts and images have occupied my attention in the latest stage of my research and writing. Much of the latter's writings arose when he was part of a movement, which began to 'dig the common land' as a prophetic sign that the earth was 'a common treasury' in the aftermath of the end of monarchy. His mission is said to have been 'shewed us by Voice in Trance, and out of Trance, which words were these, "Work together, Eat Bread together, Declare this all abroad"'.¹ 'Performing the Scriptures' (see essay no. 44) is an apt way of describing his social activism. Similarly, the engagement with the texts of the Bible among the groups influenced by liberation theology had *praxis* as the key to their hermeneutics. Also, the importance attached to the land is as much an issue for many in Brazil in the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries as it was for Winstanley in the seventeenth century. The

¹ T. Corns, A. Hughes and D. Loewenstein, eds., *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2:14–15 (abbreviated in this volume as CHL).

Apocalypse and its visions of hope have provided a crucial part of the social critique of liberation theology and the apocalyptic epistemology which pervades their pedagogy, where experience and the Bible often converge to offer ‘apocalyptic moments’ (in my preferred understanding of the word ‘apocalyptic’!) about self and the world. All these elements of my work have complemented each other, mutually informing the significant role of the apocalyptic and eschatological as formative themes in Christian intellectual and ethical history.

1. The Genesis and Evolution of My Intellectual Journey

My introduction to the subject matter of my research came in two ways. First of all, through John Bowker’s Cambridge lectures on ‘The Jewish Background to the New Testament’, which included a couple of remarkable lectures about *merkabah* mysticism and its possible impact on Paul.² Later, I was asked by William Horbury to write an essay on the cosmology of the New Testament Letter to the Ephesians, when I was taking a graduate course in New Testament (Part III, a course which no longer exists). As a result, I immersed myself in the work of Gershom Scholem, the great pioneer of the study of Jewish mysticism down the centuries, and for many years professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and Hugo Odeberg, professor of Theology at Lund, who wrote a short essay on the cosmology of the Letter to the Ephesians as well as edited a Jewish mystical text which he called 3 Enoch. But it was Gershom Scholem who introduced me to *merkabah* mysticism and the origins of the Kabbalah. But there was much more, the claims to heavenly ascents, the formulae needed to achieve celestial bliss, the angelic attendants and their names, the seven heavens through which the mystic ascends, the qualities needed to engage in such dangerous religious activity, and above all else, the vision of the anthropomorphic deity. After reading Scholem, especially I recall *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* and *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* with its chapter on 2 Cor. 12:2–4, the New Testament has never seemed the same again – and never will. It became obvious that what had opened up for me had wider ramifications than just the cosmology of Ephesians and Colossians, and the Letter to the Hebrews, for it determined my view of the apocalyptic milieu from which Revelation arose. This acquaintance with early Jewish mysticism rather than immersion in the study of ‘apocalyptic in biblical scholarship’, coloured my subsequent reading of apocalyptic texts. During my undergraduate career, the Book of Revelation featured less than might have been expected. This is

² E.g. J.W. Bowker, “‘Merkabah’ Visions and the Visions of Paul’, *JSS* 16 (1971): 157–173.

strange given that my supervisor in New Testament throughout my time as an undergraduate, John Sweet, was at that time in the middle of writing a commentary on Revelation.³ In my doctoral dissertation the focus on Revelation was only extended to those parts influenced by Ezek. 1, hence discussions of the vision of Christ in Rev. 1 and the vision of the heavenly throne and its environs in Rev. 4–5.

From the start of my graduate career, what I now know as reception history has been a thread running through so much of what I have read, researched and written about. My doctoral thesis supervised by Ernst Bammel (*The Influence of the First Chapter of Ezekiel on Jewish and Early Christian Literature*⁴) was never published in its original form, though it inspired *The Open Heaven* and some of it is reflected much later in *The Mystery of God*.⁵ Several of the articles in this book arise directly out of the doctoral thesis and were published before, or shortly after, *The Open Heaven* (e.g. essays no. 1, 4, 10, 11). The pervasiveness of apocalyptic and mystical elements in the New Testament, and the possible link with the major source of the early Jewish mystical tradition, the first chapter of Ezekiel, formed the central part of my doctoral research. The discrete parts of it are: a detailed study of the account of Enoch's heavenly ascent in 1 En. 14, and related texts, such as the Apocalypse of Abraham, the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and Rev. 4; a consideration of the possible connections between Ezekiel's vision of the one that resembled a human figure on the throne of glory in Ezek. 1:26–27 and Jewish angelology and angel Christology; a detailed study of rabbinic traditions about R. Yohanan ben Zakkai and Eleazar ben Arak's exposition of the *merkabah* chapter of Ezekiel, and the Four who entered *pardes*; and finally a consideration of the possibility that the problem combatted in the Epistle to the Colossians had much to do with the preparation for visionary experience and communion with the angels.

While challenges have been made to Scholem's thesis that there is an unbroken mystical tradition linking the apocalypses of the Second Temple period and the mystical interests of the tannaitic and amoraic periods to the Hekaloth literature in the work of Urbach, Schäfer, Halperin and others, an apocalypse like Revelation is, I believe, a prime testimony to such visionary appropriation. It is, of course, possible that Revelation is itself a fiction, a deliberate attempt to exploit the apocalyptic genre in order to offer a veneer of authority. Such a possibility cannot be excluded; I cannot prove that Revelation's claim that it offers a visionary report is credible. But, notwith-

³ J.P.M. Sweet, *Revelation* (London: SCM, 1979).

⁴ C. Rowland, *The Influence of the First Chapter of Ezekiel on Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1975).

⁵ C. Rowland and C.R.A. Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament*, CRINT 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

standing the occasional evidence of reflection in the text itself (e.g. 4:5 and 17:9–14), I continue to believe that this text, which ended up in the Christian canon, offers at least one example of Ezekiel’s words inspiring a later visionary appropriation – what David Halperin has characterised as follows: ‘When the apocalyptic visionary “sees” something ... we may assume that he is seeing the ... vision as he has persuaded himself it really was, as [the prophet] would have seen it, had he been inspired wholly and not in part’.⁶ A simple distinction between scriptural exegesis and visionary experience, which I presupposed when I wrote both *The Open Heaven* and *The Mystery of God*, I now doubt. A decade or so ago I discovered the work of Mary Carruthers on memory and rhetoric in the medieval period and in antiquity, which showed me how the exercise of imagination, including visualisation, has been an important part of the engagement with Scripture.⁷

Ezekiel’s vision and the way in which it affected early Christian seers, who in their turn passed on that ‘visionary mode’⁸ to their successors, is a consistent thread of interest which continues through to my more recent work, influencing my understanding of ‘apocalyptic’ and explaining the interest in the texts and images of William Blake. Ever since reading Gershom Scholem’s work I have been convinced that there was a visionary experiential dimension to engaging with biblical visionary texts, which persisted for centuries. Whatever one makes of Scholem’s hypothesis, that there was a vibrant tradition of visionary experience in ancient Judaism based on Ezekiel’s *merkabah*, the rabbinic tradition indicates that there was great suspicion of the negative theological, psychological and physical effects that engagement with this chapter could engender (e.g. m.Hag. 2:1 and b.Hag. 13a–16a). Nevertheless, engage with it they did. In the rabbinic passage already mentioned (see also t.Hag. 2:2) Eleazar ben Arak expounds the *merkabah* before Rabban Yohanan b. Zakkai, the great teacher of the late first century CE. What Eleazar says evokes praise from Yohanan for ‘performing the scripture’ well (‘Eleazar ben Arak expounds well and performs well’, further essay no. 44). Indeed, in other versions of the story Yohanan’s approbation seems to be confirmed by the presence of the angels who have come to listen to the divine mysteries from Eleazar’s lips.

That winding thread links my original research concerning the influence of Jewish mysticism on the New Testament and my most recent writing on the

⁶ D.J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel’s Vision*, TSAJ 16 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988), 71.

⁷ E.g. M.J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁸ M. Lieb, *The Visionary Mode: Biblical Prophecy, Hermeneutics, and Cultural Change* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).

English visionary, artist and poet, William Blake (1757–1827). Not only do visions play an important part in Blake’s output, but also he was inspired by the first chapter of Ezekiel in both his art and his writing. Indeed, he implied that John on Patmos already saw the kinds of things that feature in Blake’s illuminated books *The Four Zoas* (Night 8:597–620, E385–386⁹). Elsewhere, in one of the versions of his early works, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, over the words ‘As a new heaven is begun, and it is now thirty-three years since its advent’,¹⁰ Blake has written ‘1790’ immediately above the words ‘new heaven’, which, because of the words ‘it is now thirty-three years since its advent’ in all probability draws attention to the year 1757, the year of Blake’s birth. If this is correct, for Blake it is the moment when there is opened up ‘the return of Adam into Paradise’ (*Marriage of Heaven and Hell* 3, E34) and the eschatological age is initiated, just as for Jesus after his call and testing (Mark 1:15), ‘the time (καιρός) is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand’ (cf. John 13:1; 7:6). Such prophetic actualisation is found throughout the New Testament, and this seems to be the way in which Blake sees his own role. In the New Testament, Jesus is the eschatological Son of Man, John the Baptist is Elijah who is to come, Paul believes himself to be the messiah’s agent of salvation to the nations in the Last Days, and John on Patmos saw in his day the heavens opened, just as Ezekiel had seen by the rivers of Babylon.

Co-directing a research project (The Prophecy Project in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Oxford) for ten years with Jane Shaw (now Principal of Harris Manchester College, Oxford) during the last decade of my time in Oxford (1991–2014) acquainted me with an important period of English history significant in the annals of apocalypticism.¹¹ The project’s focus was the remarkable archive of The Panacea Society in Bedford (as the charity was originally called, now it is The Panacea Charitable Trust). The archive was a veritable treasure-trove for the simple reason that members of The Panacea Society never threw anything away and knowledge of the varied movements, which the life of Joanna Southcott (1750–1814) set in train, had never been catalogued! The founder of the Society, Mabel Barltrop, otherwise known as Octavia because she was the eighth and final member of a prophetic line, looked back to the extraordinary life of Joanna Southcott who believed herself to be the ‘Woman Clothed with the Sun’ of Rev. 12 and was

⁹ E plus page number(s) in this volume refers to D.V. Erdman’s edition of Blake’s works: *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, newly rev. edn. by D.V. Erdman, with a new foreword and commentary by H. Bloom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

¹⁰ W. Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* 3 (E34), in Copy F, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1794.

¹¹ J.F.C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

convinced that she was pregnant with the messiah (whom she named Shiloh, cf. Gen. 49:10 in the King James Version, ‘The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh comes’). She died in the course of her pregnancy.¹² Joanna was one of a number of prophets held in esteem by the Society. For example, Richard Brothers (1757–1824) saw himself with Shiloh in Gen. 49:10 and the *nasi*, the ‘prince’, mentioned in the prophecy of Ezekiel (chs. 37, 44 and 45). A younger contemporary of Brothers, Southcott and Blake was John Ward, alias ‘Zion’ Ward (1781–1837). ‘Zion’ was a follower of Joanna Southcott who believed himself to be her successor. He claimed that Southcott had visited him in a vision and given instructions to pass on to her surviving followers that they should accept him as their leader. He asserted that God was present in himself as he identified himself with the messianic child born to Southcott in 1814.¹³ Octavia (Mabel Barltrop) also believed that she was the messianic figure promised by Joanna. She attracted adherents to Bedford and on a daily basis received divine communications which were shared with the small community.

My primary task on the project was less to engage in research in the archives myself but more to oversee a research project consisting of devoted and able young scholars, who focused on different aspects of this remarkable archive, and the movements to which they bear witness. They and my co-director colleague, Jane Shaw, have published the results of what they have discovered.¹⁴ The many opportunities to talk with researchers on the project about the millenarian and apocalyptic ideas, offered an important backdrop to my apocalyptic research.

2. Defining ‘Apocalyptic’

As already indicated, acquaintance with the study of Jewish mysticism, rather than the study of apocalypticism, had been my entry point for the study of the

¹² J.K. Hopkins, *A Woman to Deliver Her People: Joanna Southcott and English Millenarianism in an Era of Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 20, 33; S. Juster, *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 246–258.

¹³ P. Lockley, *Visionary Religion and Radicalism in Early Industrial England: From Southcott to Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹⁴ J. Shaw, *Octavia, Daughter of God: The Story of a Female Messiah and Her Followers* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2011); Lockley, *Visionary Religion and Radicalism*; D. Madden, *The Paddington Prophet: Richard Brothers’s Journey to Jerusalem* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); M. Niblett, *Prophecy and the Politics of Salvation in Late Georgian England: The Theology and Apocalyptic Vision of Joanna Southcott* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015); J. Shaw and P. Lockley, *The History of a Modern Millennial Movement: The Southcottians* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017).

apocalypses including Revelation. It will come as no surprise that from an early stage I had found one of the Oxford English Dictionary's definitions of 'mystic' as one which helped me to understand not only the mystical but also apocalyptic: a mystic is 'one who believes in the possibility of the spiritual apprehension of truths that are inaccessible to the understanding'. That definition and the importance of the opening word of Revelation as an apocalypse, in other words a writing whose form is revelatory, have been important for me throughout my study.

Over the last two hundred years commentators have pointed to the way in which 'apocalyptic' was taken up and used to describe a particular development of prophetic eschatology at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As Michael Stone and others have reminded us, when we cast our net wider in the literature of antiquity, we find an emphasis on a revelatory idea of wisdom, which embraces eschatology as well as protology, and much else. 'Apocalyptic' is widely seen as a particular development of prophetic eschatology.¹⁵ This understanding of 'Apokalyphtik' was characterised by the following: imminent expectation, contrast between present and future, the hope for another world breaking into and overtaking this world, the doctrines of angels and demons, as well as complex visionary imagery.¹⁶

In the light of the apocalypses from antiquity, John Collins offered a concise definition of 'apocalypse', which embraced both their form and their content and the apocalyptic and the eschatological:

'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.¹⁷

This definition has become a reference point for scholarship and is one with which I agree. The definition gives full recognition to that aspect of the apocalypses that concerns revelations of the heavenly world as well as the

¹⁵ J.M. Schmidt, *Die jüdische Apokalyphtik: Die Geschichte ihrer Erforschung von den Anfängen bis zu den Textfunden von Qumran* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969).

¹⁶ Succinctly outlined e.g. in P. Vielhauer, 'Apocalyptic in Early Christianity', in *New Testament Apocrypha*, eds. E. Hennecke et al., vol. II: *Writings Relating to the Apostles, Apocalypses and Related Subjects* (London: SCM, 1965), 608–642

¹⁷ J.J. Collins, 'Introduction: Toward the Morphology of a Genre', in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre = Semeia* 14 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979): 1–20; cf. D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*, 2nd edn. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989); M.E. Stone, 'Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature', in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, eds. F.M. Cross et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 414–452; Rowland, *The Open Heaven*.

eschatological aspect, which may be transcendent in that it transcends the present state of the world in this age but is not necessarily otherworldly (I am grateful to Richard Bauckham for this construal). But I remain convinced that the eschatological elements in apocalyptic texts, whether transcendent or otherwise, are not the determining feature of what constitutes apocalyptic. Nevertheless I do understand why it is that ‘apocalyptic’ is used as a generic term, because of the character of the *contents* of the Book of Revelation. But that needs to be complemented by an understanding of apocalyptic which attends to the *revelatory form* of apocalyptic texts such as Revelation and any visionary experience to which it bears witness.

3. The Relationship of the Present Book to My Other Books

This collection of articles and lectures indicates the ongoing apocalyptic dimension of my research and writing over the years, most of which has found its way into books, which have been the major vehicle for the dissemination of my views. Three books relate to biblical apocalypticism and eschatology.¹⁸ There are three commentaries on Revelation. The first was written for preachers and includes half tone images relating to the Apocalypse specially created for the volume by the Cambridge master printer and artist, Kip Gresham; then there was a more conventional commentary in *The New Interpreters Bible* Volume XII (1998) and finally an explicitly reception historical commentary on *Revelation*, written with Judith Kovacs (2004). The two books on liberation theology contain material on apocalypticism,¹⁹ and there are chapters in books on Christian radicalism which manifest the importance of apocalypticism.²⁰

Two of the volumes presented to me on my retirement explicitly focused on apocalypticism.²¹ A third, on Christian radicalism includes significant essays on apocalypticism in the context of a discussion of Christian

¹⁸ Rowland, *The Open Heaven*; idem, *Christian Origins: The Setting and Character of the Most Important Messianic Sect of Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985 [rev. edn. 2002]); and Rowland and Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God*.

¹⁹ C. Rowland and M. Corner, *Liberating Exegesis: The Challenge of Liberation Theology to Biblical Studies* (London: SPCK, 1990); and C. Rowland, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [rev. edn. 2007]).

²⁰ C. Rowland, *Radical Christianity: A Reading of Recovery* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); idem and A. Bradstock, eds., *Radical Christian Writings: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); and Z. Bennett and idem, *In a Glass Darkly: The Bible, Reflection and Everyday Life* (London: SCM, 2016).

²¹ J. Ashton, ed., *Revealed Wisdom: Studies in Apocalyptic in Honour of Christopher Rowland* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); J. Knight and K. Sullivan, *The Open Mind: Essays in Honour of Christopher Rowland*, LNTS 522 (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

radicalism.²² As essays in this volume indicate, my growing interest in Christian radicalism has always gone along hand in hand with, and indeed has in many ways been dependent on, my more long-standing interest in apocalypticism; the one fed the other. This is best exemplified in my most recent book, which, as already indicated, embraces many of the themes of essays contained in this collection.²³

As already mentioned, Scholem's work inspired my approach to apocalypticism. He pointed to the New Testament but it was to Paul, and the strange allusive account of his heavenly ascent in 2 Cor. 12:2–4. But from that day to this Scholem's description of Jewish mystical tradition suggested to me that it was Revelation to which I should turn as well as the contemporary Jewish apocalypses. That was the start of a long journey of discovery, which has occupied my attention for the last fifty years.

The Open Heaven is my first book and the major outcome of my doctoral dissertation.²⁴ It is a study of Jewish and early Christian apocalypticism, which extended the research of my doctoral dissertation into the study of apocalypticism. *The Open Heaven* has a simple thesis, which in many ways mirrors Michael Stone's work²⁵ and is in effect an extended exposition of Martin Hengel's brilliant encapsulation of apocalyptic as 'higher wisdom through revelation'.²⁶

The 1982 volume is characterised by two major strands within the Bible, vision and hope, and the primacy given to experience, from which visions of hope emerge. When I wrote *The Open Heaven*, part of what I wanted to achieve was to bring together all I had learnt from Scholem about Jewish mysticism with the discussion of apocalypticism. My contribution to *The Mystery of God* in many respects represented a sequel to *The Open Heaven*, tying up loose ends in the earlier book, seeking to keep to the survey character of the earlier volumes of the 'Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum' series, and including material from my unpublished doctoral dissertation on the Letter to the Colossians. Underlying the book is the conviction that the Jewish apocalyptic and mystical writings have much to offer to the interpretation of the New Testament. What I tried to do was to offer a survey of the impact of apocalyptic ideas (using my preferred way of using the word 'apocalyptic') on New Testament texts, with an occasional glance in the direction of later Jewish mystical sources. My approach was

²² Z. Bennett and D. Gowler, eds., *Radical Christian Voices and Practice: Essays in Honour of Christopher Rowland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²³ C. Rowland, *Radical Prophet: The Mystics, Subversives, and Visionaries who Strove for Heaven on Earth* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017).

²⁴ Rowland, *The Open Heaven*.

²⁵ E.g. Stone, 'Lists of Revealed Things'.

²⁶ M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. J. Bowden, 2 vols. (London: SCM, 1974), 1:210.

more synthetic in its attempt to sketch a New Testament theology viewed through the lens of apocalypses written roughly speaking contemporaneously with the New Testament. A significant part of the survey in *The Mystery of God* concerned the visionary elements in the New Testament, particularly the Book of Revelation, and the extent to which its distinctive elements have echoes in other parts of the early Christian literature. There is also interest in the ways in which the divine is mediated to the world in human lives and the contribution of the cosmological ideas of the visionary texts to the developing theology of early Christianity, as well as the visionary or apocalyptic elements.

There is a direct link between my graduate study and doctoral research and my writing on apocalypticism in *The Open Heaven* and *The Mystery of God*. *The Open Heaven* has a simple thesis which I would summarise as follows: it challenged the notion that apocalypse/apocalypticism was about the end of the world; and that the way in which the term ‘apocalyptic’ may be understood by reference to the confusion between a definition of ‘apocalyptic’ which concentrates on the revelatory form of the Book of Revelation and one which concentrates on its awesome contents (e.g. cataclysmic events, angelic beings, the symbolism, numerology and pre-determined series of disasters which had to precede the new age). Such a re-appraisal not only enabled a link between that which had hitherto been categorised as apocalyptic, that is a particular form of eschatology, and that categorised as mystical. In the process, I also questioned whether apocalyptic texts were primarily about eschatology and should rather be considered a peculiar form of theological epistemology alongside other ways of discerning the divine will.

Despite my approach to apocalypticism I have never ignored the fact that for many, then and still, apocalyptic and eschatology are closely related. By the time I wrote *Christian Origins* I had immersed myself in the study of early Christian eschatology and its Jewish antecedents, so ably expounded by my friend, Andrew Chester²⁷ and accepted Schweitzer’s and indeed Martin Werner’s expanded theses that eschatology (and indeed angel Christology) were the motor of early Christian intellectual thought, and without it one could not comprehend Christian origins or the succeeding development in Christian theology. I have always questioned Scholem’s differentiation between Jewish and Christian messianism on the grounds of its political character.²⁸ The more I explored Christian texts, the more convinced I became of the political importance of Christian hope.

²⁷ A. Chester, *Future Hope and Present Reality*, Vol. 1: *Eschatology and Transformation in the Hebrew Bible*, WUNT 293 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

²⁸ Cf. J. Taubes, ‘The Price of Messianism’, in *Essential Papers on Messianic Movements and Personalities in Jewish History*, ed. M. Saperstein (New York and London: New York University Press, 1992), 551–558; Rowland, *Radical Prophet*.

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