ANDREW CHESTER

Future Hope and Present Reality

Volume I
Eschatology and Transformation in the Hebrew Bible

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
293

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Eschatology and Transformation
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e-ISBN 978-3-16-152282-6
ISBN 978-3-16-152196-6
ISSN 0512-1604 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at *http://dnb.dnb.de*.

The book was typeset and printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

For David and Stephen

Preface

This book began life as the Speaker's Lectures at Oxford for 1999–2000. It was the first of two series of these lectures; the second followed in 2000–2001. I am deeply grateful to the Electors to the Speaker's Lectureship for giving me this extended opportunity to develop my ideas. The two sets of lectures, although (being given a year apart) not simply one continuous whole, belonged integrally together. Hence it was important to me that the two volumes that are based on these lectures should also be seen to belong together in this way, and appear in close conjunction with each other. In fact this first volume, with its focus almost entirely on the Hebrew Bible, may not seem very obviously to belong to the WUNT series. But, with the New Testament volume (based on the second series of lectures) to follow, Jörg Frey, as Editor of WUNT, very kindly agreed to accept both of them together; I am deeply grateful to him, and to Henning Ziebritski, at Mohr Siebeck, as well for his great help in facilitating the process of publication.

As the overall title (Future Hope and Present Reality) for the lectures, and now these two volumes, suggests, my main concern throughout has been with aspects of eschatology; and for the lectures, each week, I took a different main theme, related to the overall topic. One advantage of this was that I was able to range more widely than is usually the case with academic work. The disadvantage, of course, was that I addressed large and complex issues in relatively short space, and in an area (for the first series) that has not been my main speciality academically. That is partly why I decided to delay publishing them at the time, so that I could read and think further in these areas. Even so, of course, I am all too well aware that in developing my overall argument in relation to these specific themes, I have touched on several contentious areas in scholarly debate, without being able to treat them at all fully. Along with this, in trying to keep the footnotes and bibliography to reasonable length, I have had to eschew reference to much that I have read.

Within those limits, I hope that I have opened up at least some areas of interest (and will do so in the second volume as well), and that these will stimulate some worthwhile discussion. Although I have revised the original text of the lectures substantially, I have still retained something of the lecture style, and its contemporary reference, in places. And reflection on this also revives for me very happy memories of the original lectures, and the great

encouragement (and wonderfully kind hospitality) I was given by those who faithfully attended them – above all Paul Joyce, Bob Morgan, Chris Rowland and Christopher Tuckett. In the case of two of those who gave me constant support, those happy memories have now sadly become more clouded. Both Carol Smith and Christopher Jones came week by week, and not only gave me generous encouragement, but also very helpful ideas to ponder; and this, despite Carol already being seriously ill, and Christopher's specific academic expertise being in a quite different area of Theology. Carol died about a year later, and Christopher earlier this year (both after a long struggle with cancer); both were held in great esteem and warm regard by all who knew them. They are missed enormously; their many friends treasure their memories of them.

The process of publication of this book has been wonderfully helped by all at Mohr Siebeck. I have already mentioned the great kindness Jörg Frey has shown in accepting both volumes for WUNT; but I must as well make clear my gratitude to him for his extremely helpful and shrewd advice, and even more than that, the constant friendship, kindness and encouragement he has given me. So also, Henning Ziebritski has been not only superbly efficient, but also extremely friendly and helpful in all my dealings with him. The main work, at Mohr Siebeck, of bringing this book to published form, has been undertaken by Ilse König; and she has been magnificent in this. She has been exceptionally efficient and helpful throughout, and also extremely kind and encouraging at every stage. I wish also to express my gratitude to others at Mohr Siebeck who have helped – including Kendra Sopper, as also the printer and binder – who have all been friendly and helpful as well. It has, again, been a very pleasant experience for me in publishing with Mohr Siebeck.

In Cambridge, I have again been marvellously aided, in the process of producing camera-ready copy, by David Goode, who has solved every problem with his customary superb skill, and has gone out of his way to help me; I am enormously grateful to him. My very grateful thanks also go to Jim Aitken, Graham Davies, Robert Gordon, Diana Lipton and Andrew Mein, who all very kindly read the text of the lectures, and gave me helpful advice and encouragement. I have benefited from their suggestions, but have gone my own way at times; and none of those named here can be blamed for any of the failings in this work, for which I alone am responsible. My wife, Susan, has again endured me being preoccupied with all this, over quite a long period, and has helped, supported and sustained me wonderfully throughout. The book is dedicated to my two sons, who have helped me greatly in coping with computers, and have very much enriched my life in other ways as well.

Cambridge, 2012 Andrew Chester

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Preoccupation with the End

The opening lines of the Dies Irae, in one English version of it at least,[1] run as follows:

> That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
> When heav'n and earth shall pass away!
> What pow'r shall be the sinner's stay?
> How shall he meet that dreadful day?
>
> When shriv'ling like a parched scroll,
> The flaming heav'ns together roll;
> When louder yet, and yet more dread,
> Swells the high trump that wakes the dead,
>
> Lord, on that day, that wrathful day,
> When man to judgment wakes from clay,
> Be Thou the trembling sinner's stay,
> Tho' heav'n and earth shall pass away.

The *Dies Irae* was composed probably in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century,[2] and as well as forming an integral part of the Gregorian Chant was also incorporated into the Mass for the Dead in the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, it remained an obligatory part of this until a generation or so ago. By this stage, it seems, it was seen as belonging too much to a very different age, especially in its remorseless emphasis on the Final Judgment.

In fact, however, it seems in many respects extraordinarily contemporary, particularly in the way that its central theme can resonate for our own world. It is doubtful that the emphasis on the Final Judgment will connect with the popular consciousness today as it will have done in the twelfth or thirteenth century. But the powerful way in which it depicts the scenario of the end of the world (with heaven and earth passing away) would certainly seem very

[1] That is, the version written by Walter Scott, in 1805.

[2] It has, traditionally, been ascribed to Thomas of Celano (c. 1190–1260), a Franciscan monk. More probably, however, it originated as a rhymed prayer from within the Benedictine tradition. It may well then have been added to by a Franciscan (possibly Thomas, but no real weight can be attached to this tradition) in the early thirteenth century, especially in order to enhance the sense of eschatological urgency.

much to catch the mood of our times. In fact the English version I have cited above is something of a paraphrase of the original Latin; a rendering closer to the original of the first verse goes thus:[3]

> That day of wrath, that dreadful day
> Shall heaven and earth in ashes lay,
> As David and the Sibyl say.

Nevertheless, this too would seem contemporary enough. For it certainly appears that the world of the early twenty-first century, as also that of the late twentieth century, is preoccupied, if not indeed obsessed, with doom, catastrophe and the final end. As far as our present world is concerned, that impression has probably been exaggerated by the whole phenomenon of the millennium in 2000 (or, for purists, 2001) and its aftermath. Or perhaps it would be better to say that this evident tendency was undoubtedly given impetus, and indeed exacerbated, for the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, by the onset of the millennium.

Indeed, for a long while before 2000, it seemed to me impossible, for example, to go into a bookshop without being confronted by a whole spate of books with the title 'The End of Time', or something very similar[4]. A few at least of these appeared to provide some serious and considered reflection, although they were certainly vastly outnumbered by others, but all (it would seem) were shamelessly jumping on the millennium bandwagon. And that is to say nothing whatever of the very much greater number still that I did not see: many of these, apparently, emanating from an extreme fundamentalist perspective (and especially from North America), and concerned above all with predictions of precisely how the world would end, and how to prepare for it. It all reflected, it was said, a condition that was wittily labelled PMT (Pre-Millennium Tension).

Yet, despite the year 2000 having come and gone, by well over a decade now, the sense of almost obsessive preoccupation with the end still seems to persist, and to have abated very little. Not only that, but both at a popular and

[3] This translation comes from the 1962 Roman Missal. The very striking Latin text, which forms the opening stanza of the *Dies Irae*, and on which this translation is based, is: *Dies irae, dies illa, / solvet saeculum in favilla, / teste David cum Sibylla*.

[4] Thus e.g. R.K. Fenn, *The End of Time* (London: SPCK, 1997); D. Thompson, *The End of Time: Faith and Fear in the Shadow of the Millennium* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996). A variant on this title (but not on the main focus and emphasis) is provided by e.g. E. Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (London: Hutchinson, 1999). In this context, it would seem appropriate to congratulate authors such as J.M. Court, *Approaching the Apocalypse: A Short History of Christian Millenarianism* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2008), for showing deliberate restraint in waiting until, as he says, the fervour of excitement and the threat of fanaticism associated with the dawn of the new Millennium has practically subsided. I am less sanguine than Court, however, about the fervour and fanaticism having abated as much he implies.

also a more serious, reflective level, it seems almost completely doom-ridden, and weighed down with a sense of foreboding. It would appear, and not just superficially, that we see ourselves as living in a very dark age indeed (although in a rather different sense, it has to be said, to that of the so-called Dark Ages, which had come to an end probably only a short time before the *Dies Irae* was written). Certainly it is hard to imagine now, just as it was in the approach to 2000, anything of the optimism for the future (for both the world and the human race) that characterized a great deal of the 'fin-de-siècle' literature at the end of the nineteenth century. As Richard Bauckham has remarked,[5] it is altogether improbable that a book published in 1998 could have had the title *The Wonderful Century*, to describe the previous century, as did the work by A.R. Wallace in 1898. And just as the spirit of (progressivist) optimism then looked forward as well as back, so it seems does the spirit of pessimism now.

There are in fact very good reasons, and at a reflective level, to take very seriously preoccupation with threatening scenarios of the end – thus, for example, global warming and the threat of nuclear war are merely two of these. Indeed, Michael Meacher, when he was Environment Minister in the last Labour Government (and using focus on the Millennium to advantage) wrote a piece for a newspaper under the title 'The End of the World is Nigh – Official', in which he argued that, in light of the evidence now available, the end of the world, from enviromental causes at least, was not as near as had been predicted, but much nearer. Yet the vast majority of what we find in the whole pile of books published for the Millennium, and at a popular level more generally, is very much not of this kind. Instead, it is simply obsessed with the end, with predicting the end, and with decoding the signs of the end. It is extraordinarily easy, of course, to mock and ridicule all this, and the failed predictions, and some at least of the books from around this time did not resist doing so. In fact, however, it hardly seems worth the time reading either books by the obsessed or books about them; apart from anything else, there is a tedious predictability and sense of déjà vu about both genres.

Indeed, as some of the critical accounts point out, there is nothing new in any of this: we have been here many times before. From very early on in the Christian tradition, but already indeed well before that, predictions of the end of the world regularly recur. Again, therefore, it would appear that we can simply be dismissive of all this. We should, however, pause a little before doing so. Thus, for example, this kind of world-view has been evident with some of those in positions of enormous (and potentially destructive) power. As Frank Kermode has noted, the USA for eight years in the 1980s had a president (Ronald Reagan) who believed he was living in the end time, and

[5] R. Bauckham, 'Approaching the Millennium', *Anvil* 16 (1999), 255–267.

rather hoped it might arrive during his administration.[6] To which it could be added that not only did Reagan once say 'We may be the generation that sees Armageddon!', but also that his Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger, remarked: 'I have read the book of Revelation, and yes, I believe the world is going to end – by an act of God I hope – but every day, I think time is running out'. It is indeed difficult to imagine that, in the USA and elsewhere, a similar sort of scenario will not recur.

2. Biblical Traditions and The End

This, then, brings us to further considerations, and indeed back to the *Dies Irae*. For this twelfth- or thirteenth-century composition (or at least the haunting opening of it that I cited) is based on a biblical text – Zephaniah 1.14–16. And it is all too evident that the vast majority of predictions of the end (as already with Ronald Reagan and Caspar Weinberger), which came in the run-up to the Millennium and have followed since, are indeed specifically rooted in *biblical* texts. The basis, it should be said, is not so much Zephaniah, but above all Daniel and Revelation, which have provided an endless quarry for predictions of doom and the end; but it is easy enough to find examples of biblical texts more widely being used in this way. Hence any of us who take seriously, in whatever way, the biblical tradition (as well as the world we live in) will find pause for thought in this, however much we may simply want to say that this kind of use of biblical texts is such a travesty as not to be worth spending time on.

The Speaker's Lectures (or at least, the first series of these) on which this book is based were given in Oxford in January and February 2000. With that context for them, I deliberately chose to focus on biblical traditions concerning the end. Equally, however, I also deliberately chose *not* to focus on Daniel (as also indeed Revelation, for the second series of lectures the following year – and which will be represented in the second volume of this present work, under the overall title of *Future Hope and Present Reality*). It is indeed the case that I shall bring Daniel (as also Zephaniah, and Revelation!) briefly at any rate, into my discussion, but the main focus lies elsewhere. Negatively, I suppose I would see it as a thankless, and pretty much useless, task to try to address this kind of use, or abuse, of Daniel and other texts, although I do indeed recognize the importance of trying to counteract, as far as possible, the influence of the kind of books written on this basis.[7]

[6] F. Kermode, 'Waiting for the End', in M. Bull (ed.), *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World* (Oxford & Cambridge, Ma.: Blackwell, 1995), 250–263 (253).

[7] One such attempt, in a North American context and at a lay and accessible level, is provided by R. Stackhouse, *The End of the World?: A New Look at an Old Belief* (New York & Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1997).

My main focus, however, as I have said, lies primarily elsewhere. That is, and more positively, I have tried to go more deeply and widely into what an understanding of the end – or more especially, indeed, the future – may be concerned with, in the Hebrew Bible. I was brought to this, in particular, through thinking about another text – and one that is, in its own way, just as haunting as Zephaniah1 (and perhaps even more so) – that is, Jeremiah 4.23–26. It was only when I had already virtually finished the text of this book (and the lectures were a good way further in the past) that I belatedly came to an interesting book by Bernhard Anderson.[8] Notably, in addressing the theme of *chaos*, he begins with precisely this text from Jeremiah; he discusses it only very briefly, but nevertheless shows a better and deeper appreciation of what it is essentially about, I think, than much scholarly treatment of this text in more detail.

For what I find in this Jeremiah text is an attempt to portray, and to wrestle with the prospect of, the *end of the world*; precisely, indeed, in the way that Daniel is *not*! This then leads me on, in chapters 2 and 3, to consideration of other traditions from within the Hebrew Bible that can plausibly be seen as speaking of the 'end'. Here, as throughout (and as the overall title for these two volumes would suggest), I am concerned to raise the question – although I can go only a very limited way towards dealing with it – of how these doom-laden visions are related to the situation in which the writer, and those he addresses, find themselves. What I am also concerned with here is consideration of some at least of the disturbing theological questions that these traditions raise. Then, however, in chapter 4, I move to consider traditions that, in complete contrast, are concerned with promises of an idyllic future, but here again I have to take account of the fact that these also appear equally problematic. That is, it seems, the consequences can be disastrous in either case – both with predictions of the end, when they lead to despair, and also with predictions of paradise, when they are not realized.

This engagement with predictions that are not realized, and that can lead to disaster, then brings me (in chapter 5) to consideration of the question of prophecy, and the problems that are apparently inherent in it. From this, wider questions are opened up, and I argue that it is clearly important to take account of traditions within the Hebrew Bible that are variously central to maintaining hope for the future (within the prophetic tradition, but also beyond it): that includes traditions concerning both kingship (in chapter 6: especially in the idealized form it takes on in some traditions), and also (in chapters 7 and 8) hope for a messiah, or similar figure, to come in the future. Then (in chapter 9) I take up a further question that inevitably looms large, and examine traditions that deal with death, and various forms of hope beyond death.

[8] B.W. Anderson, *Creation versus Chaos: The Reinterpretation of Mythical Symbolism in the Bible* (2nd edn; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987).

Finally (in chapter 10), I come back to the question of whether future hope *can* have a sustainable basis, one, that is, that does not create more problems than it could ever resolve.

3. Eschatology

It will be obvious that, with this focus on the end, and various facets of the future, and ultimate hope, I am caught up with questions that are related especially to *eschatology*. Before going further into all this, however, it is worth noting that John Barton has helpfully drawn attention to the kind of potential confusion that can arise when 'eschatology' is variously used to mean rather different things, and the distinctions between them are not made clear.[9] He distinguishes three different possible uses: first, eschatological belief that sees history having an end, or goal, that will eventually arrive, after the passing of various distinct phases and epochs. Thus it differs crucially from a cyclical interpretation of history (or indeed one that sees no pattern, consistency or purpose in the historical process). The second type also sees history as having a clear end, or goal, but differs in expecting this to arrive at any moment, and thinks that it has read the signs that show it as about to arrive.[10] The third type does not involve seeing God as having a plan for the whole of human history at all, but does see certain events as crucial or heavy with meaning: that is, specifically, it denotes a decisive new action by God, in relation to his people and the consummation of his purpose, which thus stands out from other events in helping disclose God's longer-term intentions and attitude to his people.

Since, as I have said, I shall speak of 'eschatology', directly and indirectly, a good deal in this book, I ought to make my own understanding clear at this stage. It does not in fact correspond precisely to any of Barton's three categories, at least if I have understood them properly. At any rate, what I mean by 'eschatology' is the final decisive divine action, or intervention, beyond which nothing else is needed, and thus, in this sense at least, inaugurates the final age. Where this is looked for in the future, it may well be the near future, and indeed the very near future, but that is not necessarily the case (although it has to be borne in mind that the perspective for the future would not usually be more than a few generations anyway). It is final and decisive, but it does

[9] J. Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: DLT, 1986), 218–220.

[10] We can note in passing here that it will be evident enough what kind of 'eschatology' is espoused by those who write the kind of books, and hold the kind of world-view, that I referred to earlier in relation to the Millennium, and expectations of the end of the world in context of that.

not mark the 'end of the world'; there will be continuity between the before and after, but the final, decisive act has already taken place.[11]

It will also be evident that, with a focus not simply on the 'end', but more widely on various forms of hope (or fears) for the future, and the questions these involve, I have set myself to address a number of topics that are each large and complex in themselves, and could easily each on their own have a whole book addressed to them. Inevitably, therefore, although throughout I have raised a number of questions, there are many more I have had to eschew; equally, although I have taken account of a range of texts from the Hebrew Bible, there are many more that are potentially relevant but which I have had to leave out of consideration. And even so, at times, I have had to pass all too quickly over some large and complex issues. I would hope, nevertheless, that this approach, despite its inevitable shortcomings in these respects, can be seen to be helpful in bringing these important issues together and probing into the deeper questions that lurk within them.

[11] The issue raises itself in a particular way in relation to the discussion of messianic hope in chapters 7 and 8; it is there also especially that we encounter the marked differences in understanding of 'eschatology' between Gressmann and Mowinckel, and I explore those a little further in the Excursus to Chapter 7.

Chapter 2

The End of Time

1. Introduction

As I have noted in chapter 1, there would appear to be a strong focus on the 'time of the end' in the Hebrew Bible, just as there was in our modern (or postmodern) world around the time of the millennium in 2000, and as indeed there continues to be. In this and the following chapter, I will focus primarily on *negative* facets of this theme in the biblical tradition; then in chapter 4, I will explore some much more *positive* aspects.

2. The Threat of an Absolute End

2.1 Jeremiah 4

Initially, however, I want to focus on a text that does not usually feature at all prominently in discussion of this theme in the biblical tradition. This is the remarkable vision we find in Jeremiah 4 (vv. 23–26).[1] Not only is the vision itself remarkable, but so also, I think, is its poetic form; hence I will give my own version of it, which in one or two places represents a slight paraphrase of the Hebrew, in order to try to convey something of its force and effect:

> I looked on the earth, and lo, it was chaos,
> And up to the heavens, and there there was no light.
> I looked on the mountains, and saw they were shaking,
> And all of the hills moved this way and that.
> I looked and I looked, and still there was no-one,
> And all of the birds of the air were gone.
> I looked and I saw, the fruitful land was a desert,
> And all of its cities had been laid to waste,
> Because of Yahweh, and because of his anger.

What we are confronted with here, then, is a stark portrayal of chaos, of nothingness, of a bleak, empty world. We are thus confronted as well, it would seem, with the end of creation and the end of history. For there can

[1] For fuller discussion of this passage in Jeremiah 4 (and reference to further work on it), see Chapter 3, sections 2.1 and 4.

be no more human history beyond this, since there will be no humans left to write or be written about. And along with this, the whole divine act of creation has now collapsed back into chaos. So also it would seem that this passage goes even further, and confronts us not simply with the time of the end, but with the end of time. For what has happened is that the sun and moon have been completely blotted out and extinguished, and thus the fundamental distinction, established at creation, between light and dark and day and night, has been destroyed as well. But in that case, the basic means of calculating time have also been destroyed: there would no longer be any way of working out when days and months and years begin and end. Complete darkness is all that is left.

2.2 Isaiah 24

The picture we gain from the much longer, sustained description in Isaiah 24 may not be quite so utterly stark and absolute, but it is not far short of it.[2] Thus for example vv. 1, 4, 6, 19, 20:

> Now Yahweh is about to lay waste the earth and make it desolate,
> And he will twist its surface and scatter its inhabitants ...
> The earth dries up and withers, the world languishes and withers;
> The heavens languish together with the earth ...
> Therefore a curse devours the earth,
> And its inhabitants suffer for their guilt;
> Therefore the inhabitants of the earth dwindle,
> And few people are left ...
> The earth is utterly broken,
> The earth is torn asunder,
> The earth is violently shaken.
> The earth staggers like a drunkard,
> It sways like a hut;
> Its transgression lies heavy upon it,
> And it falls, and will not rise again.

At the very least, it would appear, there is utter devastation on a cosmic scale. I will return to this whole theme later in the chapter (and discuss both Jeremiah 4 and Isaiah 24 more fully in the following chapter). For the moment, however, I note simply that the concluding part of Isaiah 24 (vv. 21–23)[3] begins:

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[2] For a fuller treatment of Isaiah 24, and reference to further discussion of it, see chapter 3, sections 2.2 and 5.

[3] It is probable that vv. 21–23 do not belong to the original oracle: cf. e.g. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27* (BKAT X/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 898–899. That does not affect the point of the argument here; as Wildberger notes, the addition at this point continues the logic of the original oracle, and enhances its scope by taking it further and deeper.

> On that day, Yahweh will punish the host of heaven, in heaven,
> and the kings of the earth, on earth ...

This has clear affinity with the whole 'Day of Yahweh' tradition in the Hebrew Bible. It is a tradition that has an importance of its own within the Hebrew Bible more generally, even though it is difficult to delineate or to define precisely. Indeed, it is a tradition that is of potential importance for the main theme that I am concerned with in this chapter. Hence from this basis within Isaiah 24 (specifically 24.21), it is worth moving outwards to consider the 'Day of Yahweh' tradition more widely, even though it will be possible to do so only briefly, and to take account of only a limited number of the relevant passages from the Hebrew Bible.

3. The Day of Yahweh

Not only does the 'Day of Yahweh' tradition have an intrinsic importance of its own; it is also a theme that has attracted an enormous amount of scholarly attention.[4] This is not least because it has been seen as crucial for the understanding of *eschatology* in the Hebrew Bible.[5] Thus Gressmann saw the 'Day of Yahweh' as above all eschatological, and closely bound up with Ancient Near Eastern (especially Babylonian) imminent cosmic catastrophe.[6] For Mowinckel as well, the 'Day of Yahweh' was crucial and central to the whole of eschatology in the Hebrew Bible;[7] but for him, it

[4] Hence also, inevitably, there has (over a long period) been a great deal of published work devoted to it. For discussion and review of some of the more important contributions to this debate, along with further bibliography, cf. e.g L. Černý, *The Day of Yahweh and Some Relevant Problems* (Prague: Nákladem Filosofické Fakulty Univ. Karlovy, 1948); J. Wilch, *Time and Event: An Exegetical Study of the Use of* 'ēth *in the Old Testament in Comparison to Other Temporal Expressions in Clarification of the Concept of Time* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 92–95; H.M. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos: Studies in the Preaching of Am. 2,7b–8; 4,1–13; 5,1–27; 6,4–7; 8,14* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 89–93; J.D. Nogalski, 'The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve', *SBLSP* 38 (1999), 617–642 (617).

[5] The issue of eschatology (and the different understanding each has of it) is also central to the ways in which Gressmann and Mowinckel depict messianic hope, and why they have conflicting positions on this as well. I take up this point more fully in chapter 7, and especially in the Excursus at the end of it. On the various different ways in which 'eschatology' is used in relation to the Hebrew Bible (and beyond), with reference especially to Barton. *Oracles*, 214–226, and the sense in which I use it, see the brief outline I give in chapter 1.

[6] H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der jüdisch-israelitischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), 142–144.

[7] S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* (6 vols; Kristiania: Dybwad, 1921–24), vol. 2, *passim*, especially 226–229; cf. also S. Mowinckel, 'Jahves dag', *NTT* 59 (1958), 1–56, 209–229.