

SHAKEN POWERS AND THE COMING OF THE SON OF MAN: THE USE OF ISAIAH
AND DANIEL IN THE ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSE OF MATTHEW 24

by

JOSEPH ALLEN PENNINGTON

(Under the Direction of WAYNE COPPINS)

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the synchronic usage of passages from the Old Testament—both direct quotations and implied “echoes”—as they occur in chapter 24 of Matthew’s Gospel. The goal of the project is not necessarily to attempt to discern the writer’s intent by including an eschatological discourse in this gospel, but to understand how the writer’s selection and use of biblical passages reflect his understanding and interpretation of Scripture, and the implications of Matthew’s interpretation for his faith, community practice, and worldview. Hence, this study examines passages of Isaiah and Daniel found in Matthew 24 in light of: 1) Jewish apocalyptic as understood by Matthew and Jewish communities in the time of Matthew’s writing; 2) backgrounds to early Christianity as found in the writings of Josephus and Eusebius; 3) the meanings of the passages in question as understood by the Matthean community.

INDEX WORDS: Apocalyptic literature, Biblical exegesis, Daniel, Echoes in Scripture, Early Christianity, Eschatology, Eusebius, Hebrew Bible, Isaiah, Josephus, Matthew’s Gospel, Septuagint

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved wife Sybil Brand Pennington who encouraged me to complete this project and has exhibited so great a level of patience as to be found among only the Saints.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	x
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The Problem and an Overview of the Study	1
1.2 The Matthean Community	4
1.3 Previous Studies	6
1.4 Methods	7
1.5 Texts	9
2 THE USE OF ISAIAH IN MATTHEW 24	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Matthew 24.7/Isaiah 19.2	13
2.3 Matthew 24.7/Isaiah 26.9	16
2.4 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.7	18
2.5 Matthew 24.8/Isaiah 13.8; 21.3	19
2.6 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.8	21
2.7 Matthew 24.9/Isaiah 66.5	21
2.8 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.9	23
2.9 Matthew 24.22/Isaiah 65.9, 15	24

2.10 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.22	26
2.11 Matthew 24.29/Isaiah 13.10.....	26
2.12 Matthew 24.29/Isaiah 34.4; 13.10.....	28
2.13 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.29	31
2.14 Matthew 24.30/Isaiah 11.10, 12.....	32
2.15 Matthew 24.30/Isaiah 66.19.....	34
2.16 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.30	36
2.17 Matthew 24.31/Isaiah 27.13.....	37
2.18 Matthew 24.31/Isaiah 27.12, 13.....	38
2.19 Matthew 24.31/Isaiah 43.5; 49.5.....	40
2.20 Matthew 24.31/Isaiah 56.8.....	42
2.21 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.31	44
2.22 Matthew 24.35/Isaiah 40.8.....	45
2.23 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.35	47
2.24 Conclusion	48
3 THE USE OF DANIEL IN MATTHEW 24.....	50
3.1 Introduction.....	50
3.2 Matthew 24.5/Daniel 7.8, 25; 8.9, 10	53
3.3 Matthew 24.5, 11/Daniel 8.24; 11.32	56
3.4 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.5, 11	58
3.5 Matthew 24.6/Daniel 7.21; 8.24; 9.26; 11.4-27; 2.39, 40.....	59
3.6 Matthew 24.6/Daniel 2.29; 8.19	62
3.7 Matthew 24.6/Daniel 11.27; 9.26; 11.35	64

3.8 Matthew 24.6/Daniel 7.25.....	66
3.9 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.6.....	67
3.10 Matthew 24.7/Daniel 11.25.....	69
3.11 Matthew 24.7/Daniel 2.40.....	71
3.12 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.7	73
3.13 Matthew 24.9/Daniel 7.25.....	74
3.14 Matthew 24.9/Daniel 11.33.....	75
3.15 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.9.....	76
3.16 Matthew 24.13/Daniel 11.32; 12.1, 12	77
3.17 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.13	80
3.18 Matthew 24.14/Daniel 6.12.....	81
3.19 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.14.....	82
3.20 Matthew 24.15/Daniel 11.31; 12.11; 9.27	83
3.21 Matthew 24.15/Daniel 9.27.....	86
3.22 Matthew 24.15/Daniel 9.23, 25.....	87
3.23 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.15	89
3.24 Matthew 24.21/Daniel 12.1.....	92
3.25 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.21	94
3.26 Matthew 24.22/Daniel 12.1; 9.24	95
3.27 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.22.....	98
3.28 Matthew 24.24/Daniel 8.24.....	99
3.29 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.24.....	100
3.30 Matthew 24.30/Daniel 7.14.....	101

3.31 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.30.....	103
4 CONCLUSIONS.....	105
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	110

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 2.1: References from Isaiah in Matthew 24.....	11
Table 3.1: References from Daniel in Matthew 24.....	52

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem and an Overview of the Study

All four canonical Gospels quote or allude to the Hebrew Scriptures in order to buttress claims about Jesus. New Testament scholars interested in the sub-field of the New Testament's use of the Hebrew Bible have grappled with the problem of which text from the Hebrew Bible is the basis for a New Testament quote. Any New Testament text that corresponds well in vocabulary, syntax, and morphology with a comparable text from the Septuagint provides strong evidence for taking the Greek of the Septuagint as the basis, and not the Hebrew of the Masoretic Text.

However, in cases where the correspondences of the Greek texts are not as strong, the issue is more problematic in that a New Testament text may be either paraphrasing the Septuagint, rendering a free translation of the Masoretic Text, or quoting from a text (either Greek or Hebrew) known to the author of the particular New Testament text but no longer attested.

This study, out of the need to further the dialogue concerning this problem of New Testament scholarship, attempts to contribute modestly to the comparative analysis of the Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic texts of the TaNaK as they relate to the New Testament's use of them. I make no claim to total originality, though I hope that any insights that I may have made will perhaps incite others to explore the issue more deeply.

To investigate *every* quote, allusion, or echo from *every* Hebrew Bible source occurring in *every* New Testament text would constitute the best of all possible worlds. However, such a study would require an enormous amount of time to conduct, perhaps even a lifetime. That

being the case, I have limited this study to one Gospel and one particular text within that Gospel: Matthew 24, sometimes designated as the “Matthean Apocalypse.”¹ In addition, I have limited the texts from the Hebrew Bible to two: Isaiah and Daniel.

It is fitting that a rationale be given as to 1) why an example of apocalyptic literature has been chosen as the subject, and 2) why references from Isaiah and Daniel (and not other texts, such as Ezekiel, Zechariah, or *I Enoch*) are to be compared with the Matthew text. First, in regard to the second question, the selection of Isaiah is based upon its being one of the three most quoted Hebrew Bible texts in the New Testament (the other two being the Psalms and Deuteronomy).² In addition, Isaiah was an important text in the development of Second Temple Judaism and was a text apparently influential among the communities associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls. Daniel, on the other hand, offers a different set of perspectives. For example, it is the only fully-composed apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible and one of only two Hebrew Bible texts that contain substantial portions written in Imperial Aramaic. Hence, a language in addition to Hebrew and Greek adds more complexity to an already complex and somewhat perplexing problem: which text did Matthew use?

In regard to the first question, since I have chosen Daniel as one of the texts for comparative analysis, Matthew’s apocalyptic discourse appears to be a text that will yield most pertinent and fruitful findings. However, I need to dispense a word of clarification concerning

¹ Francis W. Beare, *The Gospel According to Matthew: Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1981), 461. Here, Beare calls Matthew 24 “The Apocalypse.” See also Kurt Aland, ed., *Synopsis of the Four Gospels* (Freiburg: German Bible Society, 2007), 255. The English of this text is titled “The Eschatological Discourse,” but the German reads “Die Synoptische Apokalypse” (i.e., “the Synoptic Apocalypse”).

² Steve Moyise and Maarten J.J. Menken, eds, *Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 1.

the terms “apocalypse,” “apocalyptic,” and “apocalypticism,” lest there arise unnecessary confusion. I have adopted Collins’ position that these terms are not interchangeable.³

- 1) apocalypse – refers to a genre of literature in which a divine being (often an angel) reveals secrets of the ages to a “human recipient” through visions, primarily in the context of good vs. evil, the consummation of the ages, and “eschatological salvation.”⁴
- 2) apocalyptic – used to describe a particular eschatological viewpoint that may occur in other genres besides an apocalypse.
- 3) apocalypticism – refers to a movement that heavily incorporates into its worldview ideas taken from apocalypses and apocalyptic literature.

With these terms defined, we may say that Daniel is an apocalypse, Isaiah contains apocalyptic passages, and Matthew 24 is apocalyptic literature written in the context of the movement of early Christian apocalypticism. For the purposes of this study, however, we will refer to Matthew 24 as the Eschatological or Apocalyptic Discourse.

The main argument of the study concerns whether Matthew 24 alludes to or echoes a particular version of the Hebrew Bible text, namely, either the Septuagint, Masoretic Text, an unattested version of one of these, or (perhaps remotely possible) some Aramaic version, such as a Targum. In addition, the study approaches issues such as what is Matthew’s exegesis of a particular Hebrew Bible text, and whether the text in Matthew is a direct quote or echo from the Hebrew Bible. Chapter 2 has been devoted to the study of Isaiah in Matthew 24, in which the several comparable passages are given in their original tongues accompanied by my own translations. The verses are compared to determine relevance and exegetical employment in the

³ John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (BRS; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 1-14.

⁴ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 5.

light of linguistic similarity and cultural/historical contexts. In chapter 3 (devoted to Daniel), the process and content is *mutatis mutandis*, though there appears to be a great richness of discussion based upon the fact that Daniel is an apocalypse, whereas Isaiah primarily is not. The final chapter concludes the study, with recommendations/proposals for possible further investigation into the problem of New Testament use of the Hebrew Bible.

1.2 The Matthean Community

If the cultural and historical contexts have any relevance to the study of Matthean apocalyptic exegesis and the Gospel's use of the Hebrew Bible, then the geographical setting of Matthew's Gospel is important to the study as well. Hence, not only is it relevant to know *when* Matthew was written, but also *where*. Knowledge of both the *time* and the *place*, then, can present clues as to the *reason*, i.e., the *why*, for its having been composed.

Most scholars believe that the Gospel of Matthew was written in or near Syrian Antioch within a community of both Jews and Gentiles.⁵ Mitch and Sri give the following reasons to support this claim:

(1) Antioch is known to have had a sizeable Jewish population living alongside native Gentiles...(2) Matthew's Gospel displays a marked interest in the person and authority of Simon Peter...This is significant insofar as Peter not only ministered in Antioch (Gal. 2:11-17) but...served as bishop in the city before making his way to Rome. (3) St. Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch in the early second century, is one of the first postapostolic authors to allude to the Gospel of Matthew in his writings. Allusions to passages in Matthew are also found in another early document, called the *Didache*, which many scholars trace to the Syrian city of Antioch. (4) It is curious that when the synoptic Gospels narrate Jesus' inaugural mission in Galilee, only Matthew tells us that his fame spread throughout "all of Syria" (4:24).⁶

The time in which the Gospel of Matthew was composed, or concerning the events of which it may have described, is a controversial issue that leaves too much in the realm of

⁵ Curtis Mitch and Edward Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew* (CCSS; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2010), 18.

⁶ Mitch and Sri, *Matthew*, 18-19.

speculation to be fruitful in the study of Matthean exegesis. For example, scholars disagree on whether a specific event or events can be the determining factor(s) in the break between Judaism and Christianity.⁷ In spite of this particularly difficulty, the majority of scholars agree that Matthew most likely wrote his gospel after 70 AD.

In regard to the ethnic composition of the Matthean community, Hagner appears to disagree with the position of Mitch and Sri that it was a mixture of Jews and Gentiles. Rather, he contends that Matthew's community consisted of Jewish Christians torn against their non-Christian Jewish brethren *and* their non-Jewish (Gentile) fellow Christians.⁸

Not all scholars, on the other hand, agree with the communis opinio concerning the location of Matthew's community. For example, consider Saldarini's argument below.

Recent research into the development of Second Temple and early rabbinic Judaism suggests a city near Galilee or Judea. The legal discussions and arguments developed in Matthew's narrative correspond to the legal agenda found in Second Temple Jewish writings such as the Dead Sea Scrolls and *Jubilees* and in the early layers of the Mishnah isolated by Jacob Neusner. The author of Matthew knows and participates in late-first-century Jewish discussions of law, so he probably had contact with the early rabbis who a century later (c. 200) produced the Mishnah, a detailed exposition of Jewish law. Since the rabbis were only a small, local Judean and Galilean group in the late first century and had not become widely influential yet, Galilee or an area contiguous with Galilee or Judea becomes a more probable home for the Gospel of Matthew than Antioch.⁹

Saldarini assumes that Jewish legal interpretations were not influential enough to percolate beyond the region of Galilee until later in the century. However, I find this argument unconvincing in that the legal discussions in Matthew do not appear to be limited to what one might find in the Mishnah, nor can it be said that any perceived commonalities/correspondences

⁷ See J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology of the Fourth Gospel* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 36; Andrew T. Lincoln, *The Gospel According to Saint John* (BNTC; London: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005), 83-84; and Louis H. Feldman, "Judaism," EB, Macropædia 22: 416

⁸ Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13* (WBC 33A; ed. Bruce M. Metzger; Nelson Reference and Electronic/Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1993), lxix-lxxi.

⁹ Anthony J. Saldarini, "Matthew," in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (ed. James D.G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 1000.

between Matthew and late-first-century Jewish legal arguments prove that Matthew's Gospel stems from the very locale where such Jewish writings might be perceived to be prevalent.

1.3 Previous Studies

This section is not meant to contain an exhaustive discussion of the scholarship on the New Testament use of the Hebrew Bible, but rather is a cursory treatment of a number of works that I have consulted in order to gain some sense of how a number of scholars have grappled with this particular problem.

One of the more important works in this area has been R.T. France's 1966 PhD thesis.¹⁰ France gives a thorough exposition of the topic in a surprisingly readable text. Since the subject matter is Jesus' use of the Hebrew Bible, the discussion is limited to the Gospels.

Richard B. Hays, on the other hand, has done substantial work on Paul's writings, in particular the Epistle to the Romans. In his *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, he applies literary theory and criticism to Pauline hermeneutics. Hays' approach is to understand the *agōn*, or struggle, that a writer has with the "phenomena of intertextuality—the imbedding of fragments of an earlier text within a later one."¹¹ He has also composed a collection of essays, in one of which he responds to the critics of his previous work.¹²

¹⁰ R.T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* (Vancouver, B.C.: Regent College Publishing, 1988).

¹¹ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 14, 17.

¹² Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005).

Steve Moyise has written two short introductory volumes, one on Jesus,¹³ another on Paul.¹⁴ In addition, along with Maarten J.J. Menken, he has edited an outstanding collection of essays on Isaiah.¹⁵

Beale has written a useful text, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*,¹⁶ which gently leads the reader into the current issues and approaches to this endeavor of study. He also has written an insightful text on theology relative to the subject,¹⁷ and has edited—with D.A. Carson as co-editor—an outstanding commentary.¹⁸

Finally, two important works on Mark have contributed significant insights into the problem of New Testament use of the Hebrew Bible: Watts' *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*,¹⁹ and Marcus' *The Way of the Lord*.²⁰

1.4 Methods

In order to conduct a comparative analysis of the Hebrew Bible passages with those purported allusions/echoes found in Matthew, I first appealed to Mann's commentary on Mark,²¹ from which I drew information from his table containing data on references from Hebrew Bible texts in the synoptic Eschatological Discourses. I subsequently recorded the pertinent texts on index

¹³ Steve Moyise, *Jesus and Scripture: Studying the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2010).

¹⁴ Steve Moyise, *Paul and Scripture: Studying the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2010).

¹⁵ Steve Moyise and Maarten J.J. Menken, eds., *Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: T&T Clark, 2005). A collection of essays in the same series has been published on the Psalms and on Deuteronomy, though I have not examined those two works.

¹⁶ G.K. Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2012).

¹⁷ G.K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2011).

¹⁸ G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2007).

¹⁹ Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 1997).

²⁰ Joel Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).

²¹ C.S. Mann, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27; Garden City, NY.: Doubleday & Company, 1986), 500-504.

cards for ease of comparison. I then examined linguistic as well as possible contextual similarities and referred to commentaries, Josephus, Philo, and the Isaiah Targum for possible further insights.

It must be stated, however, that the appeal to Mann's commentary on Mark for data concerning echoes/allusions in Matthew 24 has created problems in analysis, primarily in regard to the strength or likelihood of the correspondences. Although Mann has arranged his collected references into two columns, with one column containing (according to Mann) texts from the Hebrew Bible that are direct references or echoes/allusions, and the other indicating passages that have a *notable bearing* on the synoptic Eschatological Discourses, nevertheless a number of these passages clearly have little (if any) direct correlation with the Gospels. What he perceives as correspondences frequently represent examples of a broad discourse taking place during the Second-Temple era, among which the notion of apocalypticism being one of the most influential and important. That being the case, I have designated each correspondence according to one of three categories:

- 1) *Passages which are clear cases of direct references or echoes/allusions.* This category is based on strong lexical connections between the passages in question.
- 2) *Passages which are plausible or likely.* This category is based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignored.
- 3) *Passages which are uncertain or unlikely.* These passages contain little (if any) connection with one another.

Categories 1) and 2) display examples of various degrees of saliency in their echoic relationship. Therefore, assigning a set of correspondences to a particular category, whether 1) or 2), is not an

exact science, though identical or near identical correspondence justifies the the assigning of a particular reference to the first category. On the other hand, one may ask why passages of dubious connection should be included in this study. The answer, though simplistic, is because Mann included them. Hence, in this regard, the discussion of passages with unclear connections is an exercise in exploring Mann's possible motive in including such weakly or loosely connected passages.

1.5 Texts

I have employed as the basis of study what the majority of biblical scholars would consider to be the standard critical texts. For the Masoretic Text, I have consulted the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*; for the Septuagint, Rahlfs' *Septuaginta*; for the New Testament, the 4th edition of the UBS *Greek New Testament*. In addition, I have consulted the Isaiah Targum, both in Aramaic²² and in English.²³

²² J.F Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).

²³ Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus, Notes* (The Aramaic Bible, vol. 11; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1990).
Eliyahu ben David, *Targum Isaiah in English with Parallel Jewish and Christian Texts* (College Station, Tx.: Zarach, 2012).

CHAPTER 2

THE USE OF ISAIAH IN MATTHEW 24

2.1 Introduction

The majority of biblical scholars currently view the Book of Isaiah to have been composed in three periods and, hence, by at least three different authors, being designated as “First-Isaiah,” “Second-Isaiah,” and “Third-Isaiah” (or, “Proto-, Deutero-, Trito-Isaiah,” respectively).²⁴ Those affirming the tripartite division of the book have assigned chapters 1-39 to “First-Isaiah,” chapters 40-55 to “Second-Isaiah,” and chapters 56-66 to “Third-Isaiah,” the conclusion being that the three Isaiahs reflect severally the context stemming from three historical periods: the pre-exilic, exilic, and post-exilic, respectively. Although this view is important to the study of the Isaiah text, no evidence exists that the first-century Jews (or early Christians, for that matter) knew or commonly accepted such a compositional arrangement of this prophetic book,²⁵ being arguably the biblical text most influential and formative to the development of early Christianity. Hence, for the purposes of this study in understanding Matthew’s use of Isaiah, it is important to recognize that Matthew views Isaiah as the work of a single author and as a unified text, which means that it is not necessary to distinguish between first, second, and third Isaiah when discussing his narrative aims.

Furthermore, the contemporary Jewish thought, whether that of the various communities—particularly those holding apocalyptic world-views—or that of the more

²⁴ Jacob Stromberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Isaiah* (London: T & T Clark, 2011), 2-4.

²⁵ A minority of scholars continues to defend the position that Isaiah is a unified composition of a single author. See Bryan E. Beyer, *Encountering the Book of Isaiah: A Historical Theological Survey* (EBS; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2007), 157-58.

prominent thinkers/philosophers or historians (namely Philo and Josephus), as it pertains to Matthew's understanding and use of Isaiah, is a potential focus of study and exploration as well. This is not to say that Matthew's community definitely knew of or used Philo or Josephus, but the point is that these authors may shed some light on early Christian thinking and experience. In addition, the church historian Eusebius may also give some insights, though he is several generations removed from the events in question, namely, the destruction of the second Jewish temple in 70 AD.

Finally, given the assumption that Matthew belonged to a community of predominantly—if not exclusively—Jewish believers in Jesus as Messiah,²⁶ the focus of the chapter is the probing into the Matthean community's unique use and understanding of Isaiah in the eschatological context of Matthew 24.

With respect to the aforesaid foci, therefore, below are listed the relevant passages from Matthew 24 with their comparable passages given from Isaiah. These data have been taken and adapted from Mann²⁷ and France.²⁸

Table 2.1 *References from Isaiah in Matthew 24*

Matthew 24	Direct References	Allusions/Echoes	Description
7	19.2		"kingdom against kingdom"
7		29.6	Earthquakes
8		13.8; 21.3	Birth-pains

²⁶ Ulrich Luz, *The Theology of the Gospel of Matthew* (New Testament Theology; trans. J. Bradford Robinson; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 14; trans. of *Die Jesugeschichte des Matthäus* (Neukirchen: Neukirchen Verlag, 1993).

²⁷ C.S Mann, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27; Garden City: Doubleday, 1986), 500-04.

²⁸ R.T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* (Vancouver, B.C.: Regent College Publishing, 1998), 259-63.

9		66.5	“hated for his sake”
22		65.9, 15	“if the Lord had not cut short”
29	13.10		Sun, moon
29	34.4	13.10	“stars will fall, powers in the heavens”
30	11.10	11.12	“ensign of the Son of Man”
30		66.19	“ensign of the Son of Man”
31	27.13		“sound of a trumpet”
31		27.12, 13	“gather the chosen”
31		43.5; 49.5	“farthest bound...of earth”
31		56.8	“farthest bound of heaven”
35		40.8	“Heaven and earth shall pass away”

A number of Mann’s references/echoes have been omitted in that they seemed either irrelevant to this study or simply too difficult to be substantiated as clear citations or echoes. However, in the chapter on Matthew’s use of Daniel, I have engaged and challenged Mann’s positions on certain passages with a greater exuberance.

This chapter contains a comparative analysis of the Greek New Testament of Matthew 24 with corresponding passages in Isaiah from 1) the Septuagint and 2) the Hebrew Bible. In light of the aforesaid foci, I will grapple with and attempt to answer the following questions:

1) What are the similarities and differences between the language of Matthew and Isaiah?

This question will be answered by comparing the language of Matthew with that of Isaiah by underscoring the extent of the echoes/allusions from Isaiah in Matthew and by examining Isaiah’s influence upon Matthew’s understanding of apocalyptic experience.

2) How did Matthew and his community employ the passage in question? How does this use differ from Isaiah's probable intent? To answer this question, we will examine a) whether the Isaiah passage is an echo or direct quote, and b) whether Matthew's use of Isaiah is symbolic or literal.

3) How did Matthew likely understand/interpret a particular reference from Isaiah?

- a. What contemporary Jewish thought may have influenced Matthew's understanding? (e.g., Philo, contemporary Jewish sects, such as the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes)
- b. What social, economic, and political factors may have been at work in Matthew's use of Isaiah?
- c. Might the Isaiah Targum (or some document related to it) have influenced Matthean hermeneutics? Although this question is not explored in depth, it is a legitimate field of investigation with the potential for fruitful insights.

2.2 Matthew 24.7/Isaiah 19.2

2. 2. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED²⁹

a) Matthew 24.7

ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καὶ ἔσονται λιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους

“For there will arise nation against nation and kingdom against kingdom, and there will be famines and earthquakes in (various) places.”

²⁹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek are my own.

b) Isaiah 19.2

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ἐπεγεθήσονται Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτους, καὶ πολεμήσει ἄνθρωπος τὸν

ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ, πόλις ἐπὶ πόλιν καὶ νομὸς ἐπὶ νομόν

“And Egyptians will rise up against Egyptians, and a man will make war with his brother and a man with his neighbor, city against city and district against district.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəsiḵsaktî miṣrayim bə miṣrayim wənilḥāmû ’iš-bə’āḥîw wə’iš bərē’ēhû ‘îr

bə’îr mamlākāh bə mamlākāh

“And I will provoke Egypt against Egypt, and they will battle, a man against his brother, and a man against his neighbor, city against city, kingdom against kingdom.”

2. 2. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.7* AND *ISA. 19.2*

The similarities between Matthew 24.7 and Septuagint Isaiah 19.2 lie in that both passages describe the rising of entities against one another. In Matthew, this uprising is limited to nations and kingdoms, and only in an unspecified, general sense. Isaiah, however, mentions specifically the nation that will arise, and this revolution will be against itself, namely, the expression of civil war. The verbiage is similar, but only in one particular: the expression “will arise.” In both Matthew and Septuagint Isaiah, the future passive of ἐγείρω is used with Isaiah employing the form of ἐγείρω with the preverb ἐπὶ (ἐπεγείρω). Another important difference is that the passage in Septuagint Isaiah contains the verb πολεμέω and mentions the pitting of man against brother, city against city, district against district.

We may conclude that Matthew follows the Septuagint more closely than he does the Masoretic Text (at least in regard to the verb) in that both Greek texts show the future passive of ἐγείρω, whereas the Hebrew exhibits a transitive verb. However, both Matthew and Hebrew

Isaiah contain “kingdom,” whereas the Septuagint has “district” (νομός). Since this verse in Matthew contains points of contact with both texts, it is inconclusive as to whether Matthew is weaving both texts into his narrative here, or employing a Hebrew or Greek text closer to his rendering that is non-extant.

2. 2. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF ISA. 19.2

War is the common theme. Matthew directly quotes Isaiah’s phrase “kingdom against kingdom” from the Masoretic Text, not from the Septuagint. Hence, I have assigned this correspondence to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignored) because this passage in Matthew could be considered as a possible direct reference. However, Matthew uses this passage from Isaiah as both a direct reference and an echo. The direct reference appears to be from the Masoretic Text (ממלכה בממלכה “kingdom against kingdom”), whereas the Septuagint contains νομὸς ἐπὶ νομόν (“district against district”). Since both the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint contain the phrase “Egypt against Egypt/Egyptians against Egyptians,” we may see this as echoing in Matthew in the phrase “nation against nation.” Matthew uses the non-specific term “nation” instead of the specific “Egypt/Egyptians,” perhaps because Egypt was not the superpower persecuting the Matthean community at the time; rather, it was Rome. However, this echo clearly stems from the Septuagint in that both Matthew and Septuagint Isaiah use the verb ἐγείρω (Septuagint ἐπεγεροῦνται, Matthew ἐπεγεροῦσεται), but in the Masoretic Text we observe וסכסכתי (“I will provoke”).

Although Isaiah’s tirade is against a literal Egypt, Matthew seems to be employing Isaiah literally *and* symbolically by taking Isaiah’s literal account of Egypt (the known oppressing

power in this passage from Isaiah)³⁰ as the symbol of oppressing power, and substituting “nation” for “Egypt/Egyptians.” However, Matthew does not state that “nation against nation” signifies persecution against his community. Instead, this event (among others, such as “earthquakes and famines”) is the “beginning of sorrows” (KJV). On the other hand, these “sorrows” do not preclude persecution, for we see in Matt. 24.9, which follows v. 7 closely, clear elements of persecution against the Matthean community.

2.3 Matthew 24.7/Isaiah 29.6

2. 3. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.7

...καὶ ἔσονται λιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους

“...and there will be famines and earthquakes in (various) places.”

b) Isaiah 29.6

(1) *Septuagint*: ἐπισκοπή γὰρ ἔσται μετὰ βροντῆς καὶ σεισμοῦ καὶ φωνῆς μεγάλης

“For there will be a visitation with thunder and an earthquake and a loud voice.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: mē‘im Yahweh šəbā’ôt tippāqēd bəra‘am ūbəra‘aš wəqôl gādôl

“You/she³¹ will be visited by Yahweh of Hosts with thunder and with an earthquake and a loud noise.”

2. 3. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF MATT. 24.7 AND ISA. 29.6

Although both Greek passages here contain the lexical item “earthquake” (σεισμός), nevertheless the Greek in Matthew shows a nominative plural, that in Septuagint Isaiah a genitive singular and object of the preposition μετά. In addition, both passages contain the future of the verb εἶμι,

³⁰ Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39* (AB 19; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 313.

³¹ *Tippaqēd* here could be a feminine 3rd singular referring to Jerusalem.

but the subjects are notably different. In Matthew, we see λιμοί and σεισμοί (“famines” and “earthquakes”); in Isaiah, we find ἐπισκοπή (visitation, with the negative connotation of “punishment”). Both passages indicate a cataclysmic upheaval of the natural order.

The Hebrew Bible and Septuagint are very close, save for the inclusion of the tetragrammaton in the Hebrew. Matthew echoes both by exhibiting “earthquakes.”

2. 3. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF ISA. 29.6

Since this passage contains little correspondence in phraseology except for one word, “earthquakes” (σεισμοί), this is at best an echo. Therefore, I have assigned this correspondence to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignored). Note that the Septuagint passage shows the phrases μετὰ βροντῆς and φωνῆς μεγάλης. In regard to the comparable Hebrew, Blenkinsopp describes this as “the conventional language of theophany,”³² hence indicating a divine appearance and intervention. Even so, Matthew uses Isaiah to describe indicators of the soon-to-occur appearance of God through the agency of the “coming of the Son of Man.” In other words, Isaiah shows divine visitation accompanied by signs upon the earth (earthquakes, thunder, loud noise); Matthew, on the other hand, demonstrates that earthquakes are signs of what is yet to come with a different kind of theophany, one in which “the Son of Man” will appear rather than thunder and loud noise (though loud noise does occur at the appearing of the “Son of Man”). There does not appear to be any symbolic meaning added to these events, whether in Isaiah or Matthew. However, this does not preclude Matthew’s community from interpreting them symbolically in reference to other cataclysmic events.

³² Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 402.

2.4 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.7

The advent of Roman power, despite its brutality, brought a measure of stability to those conquered regions under its hegemony. Matthew appeals to Isa. 19.2 to substantiate the warning of coming disaster, first from human elements, then from nature.³³ As we have examined before, Isa. 29.6 may also be an echo of the coming natural catastrophes. The declaration of political upheaval (“nation against nation...kingdom against kingdom”) may be a prediction of a relapse into the often unstable conditions of the Hellenistic period,³⁴ when Palestine experienced Seleucid occupation, the turmoil of the Maccabean revolt, and the political intrigues of the Hasmoneans.³⁵

In addition to perceiving changes in the political landscape (likely with the onset of the Jewish War), Matthew discerned through his reading of Isaiah a connection to the famines and earthquakes that were recently occurring in the Palestinian region, as described by both Josephus and Tacitus.³⁶ Such disasters were not limited to Palestine, but occurred in Antioch as well,³⁷ though that does not preclude those events that occurred locally but were not recorded in historical documents.³⁸ Scholars disagree concerning Matthew's purpose in warning his community about wars, earthquakes, and famines. Carson sees the passage's aim as not a prediction of the future, but as the signs warning against the coming of false Christs.³⁹ That the

³³ W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *Matthew 19-28* (ICC; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 340.

³⁴ Francis W. Beare, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1981), 464-65.

³⁵ Helmut Koester, *History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age* (Intro. to the NT, vol. 1; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 200-210.

³⁶ John A. Broadus, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (American Commentary on the NT, vol. 1; Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1886), 483.

³⁷ “Antioch, the most frequently cited origin of Matthew's Gospel, experienced earthquakes in AD 37, 42, and 115, and famine in 46-47.” Frederick D. Bruner, *Matthew* (vol. 2; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1990), 481.

³⁸ R.T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 904.

³⁹ D.A. Carson, “Matthew,” in *Matthew, Mark, Luke* (EBC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1984), 498.

community viewed the threats as imminent and not as events to be fulfilled in some remote future is indicative of apocalyptic literature, a genre that has clearly influenced Matthew 24.⁴⁰

2.5 Matthew 24.8/Isaiah 13.8; 21.3

2. 5. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.8

πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων

“But all these things are the beginning of birth-pains.”

b) Isaiah 13.8; 21.3

(1) *Septuagint*: a. καὶαραχθήσονται οἱ πρέσβεις, καὶ ὠδῖνες αὐτοὺς ἔξουσιν ὡς γυναῖκός
τικτούσης

“And the elders will be troubled, and birth-pains will have them as of a woman giving birth” (13.8).

b. διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεπλήσθη ἡ ὀσφύς μου ἐκλύσεως, καὶ ὠδῖνες ἔλαβόν με ὡς τὴν τίκτουσαν
“Because of this, my loins were satiated with feebleness, and birth-pains took me as
[though I were] the one giving birth” (21.3).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. wəṇibhālû šîrîm waḥăbālîm yô’hēzûn kayyôlēdāh yəḥîlûn

“And they will be horrified; spasms and labor pains will seize them; as the one giving birth,
they will writhe in pain” (13.8).

b. ‘al-kēn mālô’û mātəṇay ḥalḥālāh šîrîm ’ăḥāzûnî kəšîrê yôlēdāh

“Therefore, my loins are full of trembling, spasms have seized me as spasms of one giving
birth” (21.3).

⁴⁰ Anthony J. Saldarini, “Matthew,” in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (ed. James D.G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 1052.

2. 5. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.8* AND *ISA. 13.8; 21.3*

Both Matthew and Isaiah employ the term ὠδίνες (“birth-pains”). In Matthew, on the one hand, these ὠδίνες indicate the beginning of the previous events: war, famine, and earthquakes. On the other hand, in Isaiah they take hold of the elders and cause them to tremble (Isa. 13.8) and they take με (Isa. 21.3), referring to the prophet. The Masoretic Text indicates צירים וחבליים (“spasms and labor pains”) in Isa. 13.8, and in Isa. 21.3 we see the same word צירים (“spasms/labor pains”). The Septuagint is clearly not a literal translation of the MT, being perhaps more like a paraphrase or commentary.

2. 5. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *ISA. 13.8; 21.3*

The shared theme of these passages is birth-pains. The context of the ὠδίνες in Matthew differs from what we find in the two passages in Septuagint Isaiah. For instance, the wars, uprisings, famines, and earthquakes signal further pains that will occur before the *Parousia*. In Isaiah, “birth-pains” is a metaphor for the troubles that the elders will experience (Isa. 13.8) or is the sorrow the prophet himself felt (21.3).

Matthew and Septuagint Isaiah appear to echo little from the Hebrew text. Whether the Septuagint is a free rendering of the Hebrew or based upon a different Hebrew textual tradition is speculative and difficult to determine. From the evidence given above, Matthew appears to appeal to the Septuagint, at least in the use of certain vocabulary. This is obviously an echo at best and not a direct quotation. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignore).

2.6 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.8

This passage concerning “labor pangs” echoes Isa. 13.8 and 21, both passages depicting the destruction of Babylon. Matthew’s use of Isaiah here indicates that the events taking place (or about to take place) are negative, that the birth pangs indicate the beginning of great stress upon the world.⁴¹ In spite of this negativity, members of the Matthean community are to take heart, for the Messianic Kingdom is about to be inaugurated.⁴² That “woes” indicate the bursting into history of the Messianic Kingdom constitutes further evidence that the Matthean community saw the events occurring round about them as *apocalyptic*.⁴³

2.7 Matthew 24.9/Isaiah 66.5

2. 7. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.9

...καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου

“...and you will be hated by all the nations because of my name.”

b) Isaiah 66.5

(1) *Septuagint*: ...εἶπατε, ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ βδελυσσομένοις...

“...say, our brothers, to those hating and loathing us...”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: ’āmārû ’āhêkem šōnā’êkem mənaddêkem lōma’an šəmî

“Your brothers—hating you, excluding you for my name’s sake—have said...”

⁴¹ John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 963.

⁴² Carson, “Matthew,” 498.

⁴³ Benedict Viviano, “The Gospel According to Matthew,” in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy; Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1990), 667.

2. 7. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.9* AND *ISA. 66.5*

The key word in both Matthew and Septuagint Isaiah is μισέω “hate.” Matthew, however, states the “hating” as a prediction that will befall the faithful. Septuagint Isaiah, on the other hand, employs the term as a description that occurs in his own experience.

Here, Matthew is closer to the Hebrew text in that both contain the prepositional phrase “because of my name/for my name’s sake” (διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου; ləma‘an šəmî), whereas the Septuagint exhibits a subordinate clause (ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου δοξασθῇ: “that the name of the Lord might be glorified”). The Septuagint has merged into one thought two parts of the Hebrew passage: יכבד יהוה and למען שמי (“Let Yahweh be glorified”). Since Matthew’s passage shows no merger here, we may conclude that he was likely using a source from either the Hebrew text or a Greek one very close to it.

2. 7. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *ISA. 66.5*

Matthew uses what appears to be a loaded word—“hated” (Gr. μισούμενοι). This echoes the comparable Isaiah Septuagint passage, where we get μισοῦσιν. The forms in Matthew and Isaiah are participles, though not in the same voice (Matthew—present passive; Isaiah, present active). There seems to be no clear indication as to which text—Septuagint or Masoretic Text—Matthew is echoing. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection with one another). By “loaded,” I mean the nuances of this word, which can denote “to detest/have an aversion towards,” or simply “disfavor.” It is clear, however, that Matthew employs the former meaning. According to Blenkinsopp, the Isaiah passage concerns expulsion of certain Jews from the community and the term “hate” is a legal term that

implies active dissociation rather than a merely emotional state; for example, the verb occurs in the legal phrase for marital separation in use in the Jewish military colony on the island of Elephantine at the first cataract of the Nile in the Persian period (“I hate my wife/my husband”).⁴⁴

Hence, a major difference between Matthew and Isaiah here is that the source of Matthew’s “hating” is generalized to “all nations,” not just to fellow Jews. Finally, in regard to Isaiah, “hatred” is an indication of separation or excommunication; in Matthew, it is the reason for the persecution of the community.

2.8 Matthean Community’s Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.9

Although Matthew here echoes Isa. 66.5, the passage in Isaiah concerns the hatred of “brethren,” i.e., fellow-Jews. Hatred here in Isaiah probably indicates some form of legal separation and exclusion from the community or societal institution, such as marriage.⁴⁵ (See previous section.) However, Matthew describes a hatred expressed—not by brethren—but by “all nations,” which perhaps includes Jews alongside Gentiles.⁴⁶ The motivation for the hatred seems to be “because of my name.” One could speculate that this phrase signifies the preaching of Jesus as the Christ to be the impetus for the hatred, and that (ironically) the nations are the specific target of Christian missions.⁴⁷ However, Tacitus cites as the motive for Christian hatred the Roman perception of Christian wicked acts.⁴⁸ Regardless, Matthew expands Isaiah’s particularized usage to a universal and broader application, namely, that the community can expect hatred, not only from their “brethren,” but also from the whole world.

⁴⁴ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66* (AB 19B; New Haven: Yale UP, 2003), 299-300.

⁴⁵ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 299-300.

⁴⁶ Nolland, *Matthew*, 965.

⁴⁷ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 342.

⁴⁸ Broadus, *Matthew*, 484.

2.9 Matthew 24.22/Isaiah 65.9, 15

2. 9. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.22

καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθην πᾶσα σὰρξ· διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐλεκτοὺς
κολοβωθήσονται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι

“And if those days had not been cut short, there would not have been any flesh saved; but on account of the chosen those days will be cut short.”

b) Isaiah 65.9, 15

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ἐξάξω τὸ ἐξ Ἰακώβ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ἐξ Ἰουδα, καὶ κληρονομήσει τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου, καὶ κληρονομήσουσιν οἱ ἐλεκτοί μου καὶ οἱ δοῦλοί μου καὶ κατοικήσουσιν ἐκεῖ...καταλείψετε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν εἰς πλησμονὴν τοῖς ἐλεκτοῖς μου, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀναλεῖ κύριος

“And I will produce the seed from Jacob and that from Judah, and it will inherit my holy mountain; and my chosen and my slaves will inherit and they will dwell there...For you will leave behind your name for a satisfaction to my chosen, but the Lord will destroy you.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəhōṣē’ tî miyya’ āqōb zera’ ûmîhûdāh yôreš hārāy wîrēšûāh bəhîray wa’ābāday yiškənû-šāmmāh...wəhinnaḥtem šimkem lišbû’ āh libhîray wehēmîtekā ’ādōnāy Yahweh wəla’ābādāyw yiqrā’ šēm ’aḥēr

“And I will bring out from Jacob a seed, and from Judah the possessor of my mountains; and my chosen ones shall possess it, and my servants shall settle there...and you shall place your name for a curse to my chosen ones, and Lord Yahweh will put you to death, but he will call his servants by another name.”

2. 9. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.22* AND *ISA. 65.9, 15*

Here, Matthew and Septuagint Isaiah mention “the chosen” ἐκλεκτοί. Who these “chosen ones” are is unclear. In Matthew, it is implied that the salvation of the world is dependent upon them. (The days will be cut short for the chosens’ sake.) One cannot but think that Matthew has his own community in mind by referring to the ἐκλεκτοί. These are those choice souls selected out of the world and Israel in order to form the Matthean *ecclesia*.

In the comparable passages in Septuagint Isaiah, however, the ἐκλεκτοί come from the seed of Jacob and Judah (65.9), and the Lord will destroy those who would offend these “chosen” (65.15).

2. 9. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *ISA. 65.9, 15*

Mann considers this passage from Isaiah to be an echo. If it is, it certainly is a faint one.

Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another). The “shortening of days” does not occur in passages comparable to Isaiah, nor is there anything specific about “all flesh” being saved.”

However, although Matthew directly quotes neither the Hebrew text nor the Septuagint, the Gr. word ἐκλεκτοί (“elect”) does occur in both Isa.65.9 as ἐκλεκτοί, and in Isa. 65.15 as ἐλεκτοῖς.

Hence the phrase “chosen ones” can be considered to be a possible echo. We may, then, perceive a correspondence, however remote it may seem. In addition, one may perceive a notion of the “shortening of days,” for without the survival of the elect, there would be no one to “inherit...[the] holy mountain” (Isa. 65.9). Hence, Matthew has possibly derived from Isaiah the certainty that the elect will overcome the trials that will be set before them.

2.10 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.22

The “chosen” found in Isa. 65.9, 15 are those of Jacob who have not abandoned God. Hence, in this sense third Isaiah presents a conditional election, one not based solely upon lineage from the fathers. Matthew appears to employ this term as an epithet for this community, one that he likely saw as a continuation of the true Israel. However, since this community most likely included Gentile converts (or at least supported a Gentile mission), the term τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς “the chosen” as employed within the Matthean community denotes a broader attribution.

Furthermore, one should perceive the term “chosen/elect” as an apocalyptic designation and an indication of the shortness of the time until the consummation of the age.⁴⁹ In addition, the extent of the horror of the age, with its wars, famines, and plagues, necessitates God's imminent intervention in order to save even the very elect.⁵⁰ Finally, Matthew may be referring to the Roman capture of the city of Jerusalem after a five-month siege as the means of bringing relief from the famine therein.⁵¹ In this light, the cutting short of days is a sign perhaps of the end, but is not the very end itself.

2.11 Matthew 24.29/Isaiah 13.10

2. 11. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.29

Εὐθέως δὲ μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς

“But immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light.”

⁴⁹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 351.

⁵⁰ Carson, “Matthew,” 502.

⁵¹ France, *Matthew*, 915.

b) Isaiah 13.10

(1) *Septuagint*: ... καὶ σκοτισθήσεται τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς

“And when the sun arises, it will be darkened; and the moon will not give its light.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: ḥāšak haššemeš bašē’ tō wəyārēaḥ lō’-yaggāah ’ôrô

“The sun will grow dark when it goes forth, and the moon will not cause its light to shine.”

2. 11. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.29* AND *ISA. 13.10*

In Matthew, ἥλιος is the subject of the verb σκοτισθήσεται. In Septuagint Isaiah, the verb is used as an impersonal passive and ἥλιος is in a genitive absolute modified by the participle ἀνατέλλοντος. On the other hand, Matthew has quoted Isaiah nearly word-for-word in the “moon” passage, the only difference being the presence of φέγγος in Matthew, φῶς in Isaiah. The essential meaning, however, has not been altered by Matthew’s use of a different word for “light.” In spite of this fact, nevertheless, there exists a slight difference in nuance between these two Greek terms for “light.” For example, φέγγος denotes light as radiating from a source;⁵² φῶς, as light opposed to darkness.⁵³

2. 11. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *ISA. 13.10*

Matthew seems to be directly referring to the Septuagint, Isa. 13.10, for Matthew indicates nearly the exact phraseology that we see in the corresponding text. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #1 (passages which are clear cases of direct references or echoes/allusions, based on strong lexical connections). The Septuagint and not the Masoretic Text is clearly Matthew’s basis, for Matt. 24.29 shows a number of words (including identical

⁵² W. Bauer et al., “φέγγος,” BAGD: 1051.

⁵³ W. Bauer et al., “φῶς,” BAGD: 1072-73.

forms) common with the Isaiah passage. For example, the similarity in the language of the two Greek passages (“the moon will not give its light”) compared to the Hebrew expression (“the moon will not cause its light to shine”) seems to point to this conclusion. Furthermore, consider Septuagint σκοτισθήσεται τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος compared to Matthew ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, Septuagint καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς and Matthew καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς.

Both passages share an apocalyptic theme: Matthew’s concerns the end of the age in light of the destruction of the second temple during the time of the Roman Empire; Isaiah’s concerns the end in light of the destruction of Babylon. Hence, Matthew has used the theme of Babylon’s sure destruction (at the hand of the Medes) as the basis for his account of the destruction of the temple at the hands of the Romans. Therefore, he sees Babylon as a representation of the world of his time that will face God’s retributive judgments for the persecution of the righteous.

2.12 Matthew 24.29/Isaiah 34.4; 13.10

2. 12. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.29

καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται

“And the stars will fall from the sky, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken.”

b) Isaiah 34.4; 13.10

(1) *Septuagint*: a. καὶ ἐλιγήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται ὡς φύλλα ἐξ ἀμπέλου καὶ ὡς πίπτει φύλλα ἀπὸ συκῆς

“And the sky will be rolled up as a scroll, and all the stars will fall as leaves from a vine, and as leaves fall from a fig tree” (34.4).

b. οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ Ὠρίων καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ φῶς οὐ δώσουσιν

“For the stars of the sky and Orion and every ornament of heaven will not give [its] light” (13.10).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. wənāmaqqu kol-šəbā’ haššāmayim wənāgōlū kassēper haššāmayim wəkol-šəbā’ām yibbōl kinbōl ‘āleh miggepen ūkənōbelet mittə’ēnāh

“And all the host of heaven shall melt away and the heavens shall be rolled up as a scroll, and all their host will wither as the withering of foliage from a vine, and as withering from a fig tree” (34.4).

b. kī-kōkəbē haššāmayim ūkəsîlēhem lō’ yāhēllū ’ôrām

“Because the stars of the heavens and Orion and their constellations will not flash forth their light” (13.10).

2. 12. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.29* AND *ISA. 34.4; 13.10*

The Matthew passage is succinct: stars fall and the powers of heaven are shaken. The passages in the Septuagint are more descriptive, indicating *how* the stars fall (“as leaves from a vine...and from a fig-tree”) and giving a clue as to what might entail the shaking of the heavenly powers (“sky is rolled up as a scroll”/“every ornament of heaven will not give its light”).

The corresponding word for star in Matthew 24.29 and Septuagint Isaiah 13.10 differs from that found in Isaiah 34.4. Matthew and Isaiah 13.10 use the masculine plural form ἀστέρες, whereas Isaiah 34.4 contains ἄστρα a neuter plural. If Matthew used the Septuagint in this instance, surely his copy may have contained a variation or, recognizing that two genders of the word occurred in Isaiah, he chose the masculine form over the neuter.

The Septuagint and Hebrew texts are very similar in thought and expression, and it is difficult to determine which of these texts Matthew may have employed in his construction of his eschatological discourse for this particular verse. However, it is clear that Matthew appealed to a textual tradition influenced by several factors and numerous texts (Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic), as we shall see.

2. 12. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF ISA. 34.4; 13.10

The passage in Matthew is an echo. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #1 (passages which are clear cases of direct references or echoes/allusions, based on strong lexical connections). Isaiah speaks of “stars” that “will fall as leaves from a vine, and as leaves from a fig tree” (Septuagint, Isa. 34.4). The Masoretic Text mentions “withering” rather than “falling,” but the image is the same: upheaval in the cosmos. Although Matthew does not mention Orion (Isa. 13.10) or that “the heavens will be rolled up as a scroll,” he does imply the concept generally by stating, “The powers of the heavens will be shaken.” Hence, one might view this portion from Isaiah is being echoed in Matthew.

Matthew's usage does not appear to be symbolic, albeit the imaging of heavenly bodies often holds symbolic significance. Perhaps both Matthew and Isaiah see a close connection between the heavenly order and that of the earthly realms. If the powers of the heavens will be shaken, then maybe this is a portend of the shaking of earthly ones.

2.13 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.29

Matthew here employs echoes from Isa. 13.10—concerning the destruction of Babylon—and 34.4—a diatribe against Edom. The destruction of the wicked in these two civilizations coincides with the upheaval of the heavens themselves, perhaps the events being the punishment sent upon the “morally reprobate.”⁵⁴ On the other hand, the “Hebrew prophets also associated heavenly bodies with spiritual rulers of nations, whose powers would be thrown into chaos by the divine judgment.”⁵⁵ By extension or clarification, the “spiritual rulers” are likely the gods worshipped by the people in these kingdoms.⁵⁶ Hence, when the Matthean community witnesses the cosmic upheavals of the heavens themselves, the new age has arrived.⁵⁷ Unlike the darkness experienced by the Israelites in Egypt where a distinction was made between the Egyptians and Israelites, no such separation is made at the time of the end, as “both pagan and Israelite” suffer judgment,⁵⁸ the real distinction being the elect and damned, those within the Matthean community of believers in Jesus as Messiah, and those outside of it.

Scholars differ as to whether these heavenly portents are to be taken literally or metaphorically. Carson seems convinced that the community saw these signs as literal occurrences;⁵⁹ Allison opts for a symbolic understanding.⁶⁰ Regardless of the degree of literalness, the Matthean community perceived judgment as imminent and viewed these pertinent passages from first Isaiah as prophecies closely relating to their own era.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 279.

⁵⁵ Bruner, *Matthew*, 509.

⁵⁶ Nolland, *Matthew*, 982.

⁵⁷ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 358.

⁵⁸ France, *Matthew*, 922.

⁵⁹ Carson, “Matthew,” 505.

⁶⁰ Dale C. Allison, “Matthew,” in *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (ed. John Barton and John Muddiman; Oxford: OUP, 2000), 877.

⁶¹ “If interpreted literally, as seems to be the case in a text like 2 Pet. 3:10, 12, then it would mean that God has finished with this age, he has abandoned ordering the heavens. If understood symbolically, it may reference the

2.14 Matthew 24.30/Isaiah 11.10, 12

2. 14. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.30

καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ

“And then there shall appear the sign of the son of man in heaven...”

b) Isaiah 11.10, 12

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν

ἐθνῶν, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ τιμὴ... καὶ ἀρεῖ σημεῖον εἰς
τὰ ἔθνη καὶ συνάξει τοὺς ἀπολομένους Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοὺς διεσπαρμένους τοῦ Ἰουδᾶ συνάξει
ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων πτερύγων τῆς γῆς

“And there will be on that day the root of Jesse, even the one arising to rule the nations; in
him the nations will trust, and his rest will be honor...And he will lift up a sign unto the
nations and he will gather the lost of Israel and will gather the scattered of Judah from the
four extremities of the earth.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəhāyāh bayyôm hahû’ šōreš yišay ’āšer ‘ōmēd lənēs ‘ammîm ’elāyw

gôyim yidrōšû wəhāyātāh mənūhātô kâbôd...wənāšā’ nēs laggôyim wə’āsap nidhê yisrā’el
ûnəpūšôt yəhūdāh yəqabbēš mē’arba‘ kanpôt hā’āreš

“And there shall be on that day the root of Jesse, which—standing—is for an ensign of the
people; to him nations will seek and his resting place will be glory...And he will raise an
ensign to the nations and he will gather the banished of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah
he will collect from the four corners of the earth.”

notion of theophany, the coming of God...Either way, Matthew employs the passage with eschatological intent, assuming Isaiah is writing concerning the end of days.” Richard Beaton, “Isaiah in Matthew’s Gospel,” in *Isaiah in the New Testament* (ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J.J. Menken; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 75.

2. 14. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.30* AND *ISA. 11.10, 12*

In Matthew, “the sign of the Son of Man” indicates a time of mourning for the tribes of the earth. In Septuagint Isaiah, on the other hand, it indicates that the nations are prepared to trust in the “root of Jesse” and be ruled by him/it. In addition, the root of Jesse gathers Israel and Judah. In Matthew 24.31, the Son of Man gathers “the elect,” which ingathering likely includes both Jewish and Gentile believers in Messiah.

Neither the Hebrew nor Septuagint texts overtly indicate a “Son of Man” gathering his elect. What all three passages (Matthew, Septuagint, and Hebrew Bible) do indicate is the sign that will mark the beginning of this ingathering.

2. 14. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *ISA. 11.10, 12*

Although Mann lists Isa. 11.10 as a direct reference, it is more likely an echo, for in Isaiah the term “Son of Man” does not occur nor does the given sign appear in heaven. However, it is very possible that Matthew has equated the “root of Jesse” with “the Son of Man,” since both phrases point to a messianic, Davidic ruler (for an explanation of “the root of Jesse,” see Blenkinsopp).⁶² Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, and semantically to be ignored). In addition, just as “the root of Jesse” will lift up a sign to gather the “lost of Israel,” so will “the Son of Man” gather his elect (Matt. 24.31). The “raising of the sign” in Isaiah seems to be a literal phenomenon. In Matthew, however, it is unclear as to whether the sign is a real standard or a representation of something

⁶² Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 267.

else. Is the genitival phrase “of the Son of Man” subjective and, hence, the Son of Man *employs* the sign, or is it attributive, namely that the Son of Man himself *is* the sign?

2.15 Matthew 24.30/Isaiah 66.19

2. 15. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.30

καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ

“And then there shall appear the sign of the son of man in heaven...”

b) Isaiah 66.19

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ καταλείψω ἐπ’ αὐτῶν σημεῖα καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σεσωσμένους εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, εἰς Θαρσίς καὶ Φουδ καὶ Λουδ καὶ Μοσόχ καὶ Θοβέλ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ εἰς τὰς νήσους τὰς πόρρω, οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν μου τὸ ὄνομα οὐδὲ ἐώρακασιν τὴν δόξαν μου, καὶ ἀναγγελοῦσιν μου τὴν δόξαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν

“And I will leave upon them signs, and from them I will send to the nations those having been saved, unto Tharsis and Phud and Lud and Mosoch and Thobel and unto Greece and unto the islands beyond, who have not heard my name nor have seen my glory, and they will announce my glory among the nations.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəśamtî bāhem ’ôt wəšillaḥtî mēhem pələṭîm ’el-haggōyim taršîš pûl wəlûd mōšəkê qešet tûbal wəyāwān hā’iyyîm hārəḥōqîm ’āšer lō’-šāmō’û ’et-šəm’î wəlō’-rā’û ’et-kəbôdî wəhiggîdû ’et-kəbôdî bāggōyim

“And I will put among them a sign, and I will expel from them fugitives to the nations: Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, drawers of the bow, (to) Tubal and Javan, the distant islands from afar who have neither heard of my fame, nor seen my glory; but they will declare my glory among the nations.”

2. 15. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.30* AND *ISA. 66.19*

In this passage of Isaiah, the sign marks the commencement of the world's conversion through the *σεσῳσμένους* who will declare the glory and name of God unto the nations. In Matthew, God declares his glory through an apocalyptic revelation—not in order to convert the world—but to judge it. Hence, conversion takes place prior to the sign of the coming of the Son of Man, heightening the urgency in preaching the saving truths to the world before the probationary state has ended.

The Septuagint shows a close affinity with the Hebrew. Hence, it is unclear as to whether Matthew's source stems from the Greek or Hebrew text.

2. 15. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *ISA. 66.19*

Although this passage is similar to that of Isa. 11.10, 12, nevertheless I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection with one another). However, instead of “the root of Jesse” lifting up a sign, God Himself “will leave signs upon them.” The purpose of the signs in the two passages, however, is different. In Isa. ch. 11, the aim is to gather the “banished of Israel,” whereas in Isa. ch. 66 the mission seems to be to proselytize.⁶³ By contrast, Matthew's sign does not indicate the salvation or proselytizing of the nations, but rather the gathering of the elect, just as in Isa. 11.10, 12 the sign is for the gathering of Israel.

According to Blenkinsopp, “signs” could indicate “miracles” and be “the signal for convergence on Jerusalem.”⁶⁴ If the sign of the Son of Man also represents in Matthew a

⁶³ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 313.

⁶⁴ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 314.

miracle, it is not evident as to what that miracle might be. Perhaps God's very intervention into history is perceived as a great "miracle."

2.16 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.30

Three key concepts here echo the corresponding passages in Isaiah: 1) sign, 2) nations or "tribes," and 3) glory. However, in Isaiah 11.10, 12, the σημεῖον marks the gathering of scattered Israel from among the nations, whereas in Isa. 66.19 it signals the nations of the world to gather to Jerusalem. Matthew views the sign as the indicator of the apocalyptic coming of the Messiah.

Although Matthew does not specify the type or nature of this σημεῖον, nevertheless we may infer possibilities based upon the cultural phenomena taking place at that time and within the region of the community. For example, the *War Scroll* from Qumran describes military banners of the angelic hosts.⁶⁵ If that is the case, perhaps Matthew is telling the community to look for a military standard, likely raised by the Messiah himself.⁶⁶ Luz argues that the sign is "the Son of Man himself."⁶⁷ The Isaiah Targum corroborates this position: דִּיקוּם אֶת לַעֲמַמֵּיָא "who will arise as a sign to the nations" (Targum Isa. 11.10). Concerning the sign's meaning theologically, one may speculate that it indicates the consummation of the old age and the beginning of the Kingdom of God.⁶⁸ The apocalyptic emphasis of the entire discourse supports this view.

⁶⁵ Saldarini, "Matthew," 1052. See also Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 359.

⁶⁶ Allison, "Matthew," in Barton and Muddiman, OBP, 877.

⁶⁷ Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21-28* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 202.

⁶⁸ Carson, "Matthew," 505.

2.17 Matthew 24.31/Isaiah 27.13

2. 17. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.31

καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης

“And he will send his angels with a loud⁶⁹ trumpet.”

b) Isaiah 27.13

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ σαλπιοῦσιν τῇ σάλπιγγι τῇ μεγάλῃ...

“And it shall come to pass on that day that they will trumpet with the great trumpet...”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəhāyāh bayyôm hahû’ yittāqa’ bəšôpār gādôl

“And it shall come to pass that on that day there shall be a blowing with a great trumpet.”

2. 17. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.31* AND *ISA. 27.13*

Notice that Matthew uses a preposition governing the genitive (μετά), whereas Septuagint Isaiah employs the dative of means without a preposition. In addition, we find in Isaiah a cognate construction (σαλπιοῦσιν τῇ σάλπιγγι τῇ μεγάλῃ) in which a denominative verb appears with its base substantive, the construction probably employed for vividness and emphasis.

All three texts contain the phrase “great trumpet,” leaving little indication of which text Matthew employed in his composition for this passage.

⁶⁹ Greek μέγας can denote “loud” when used with the word connoting sound, as in μεγάλη φωνή “in a loud voice” (cf. Latin *magnā voce* and Hebrew *bəqol gadol*). In the case pertaining to Mt. 24.31, however, the trumpet may be either an instrument for making a loud noise or one that is large. In either view, the emphasis is on the universality of the event, namely, all will hear the approach of the apocalyptic consummation; it will not be a secret hidden from the world.

2. 17. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF ISA. 27.13

This passage is an echo in Matthew. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignored). The themes from the two passages are similar: the sounding of a trumpet to announce a pivotal event in world history. For Matthew's community, it is the signal that the end has come, that the elect are being gathered, and that judgment is nigh. For Isaiah, on the other hand, the trumpet blast indicates that those of Israel scattered abroad will be gathered again. Neither passage should be construed as symbolic.

2.18 Matthew 24.31/Isaiah 27.12, 13

2. 18. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.31

καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἅπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως
[τῶν] ἄκρων αὐτῶν

“And they will gather his elect from the four winds, from the extreme limits of the heavens unto their extreme limits.”

b) Isaiah 27.12, 13

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ συμφράξει κύριος ἀπὸ τῆς διώρυγος τοῦ ποταμοῦ
ἕως Ῥινοκοροῦρων, ὑμεῖς δὲ συναγάγετε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ ἓνα ἓνα... καὶ ἤξουσιν οἱ
ἀπολόμενοι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ οἱ ἀπολόμενοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν
τῷ κυρίῳ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ

“And it shall come to pass on that day that the Lord will hem in from the channel of the river unto Rhinocorura, but you—gather together the sons of Israel one by one...and those lost in the village of the Assyrians and those lost in Egypt will come and fall down to worship the Lord upon the holy mountain in Jerusalem.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəhāyāh bayyôm hahû’ yaḥbōṭ Yahweh miššibbōlet hannāhār ‘ad-naḥal mišrayim wə’attem təluqqəṭû lə’aḥad ’eḥad bənê yiśrā’ēl...ûbā’û hā’ōbədîm bə’ereṣ ’aššûr wəhanniddāḥîm bə’ereṣ mišrayim wəhištaḥāwû l’Yahweh bəhar haqqōdeš bîrûšālāim

“And it shall come to pass that on that day Yahweh shall beat out from the flowing stream of the river as far as the torrent valley of Egypt, and you shall be collected, each one, o sons of Israel...And those perishing in the land of Assyria will come, and those being scattered in the land of Egypt, and they shall bow down to Yahweh in the holy mountain in Jerusalem.”

2. 18. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.31* AND *ISA. 27.12, 13*

In Matthew, the Son of Man sends angels (or messengers) to gather the elect “from the four winds.” Matthew 24 does not elaborate concerning the manner or purpose of this gathering, only that angels perform it and “the elect” experience it. In Septuagint Isaiah, on the other hand, no mention is made of messengers, but rather Israel themselves will gather “the sons of Israel one by one” (τοὺς υἱοὺς κατὰ ἓνα ἓνα). Specifics are given as to when this gathering takes place and how (“one by one”), as well as its purpose: to worship the Lord.

The Septuagint follows generally the Hebrew. The emphasis in all three texts is upon gathering. Only in Matthew here do we see a direct reference to elect/chosen. Such is but implied or inferred in the Isaiah tradition here.

2. 18. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF ISA. 27.12, 13

The usage in this passage is similar to that of the previous section. It is an echo in that few direct references (if any) occur in the Matthew passage, but the themes are similar enough to warrant the inclusion of this passage in Isaiah as an echo in Matthew. However, since the connections are so faint, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection with one another).

2.19 Matthew 24.31/Isaiah 43.5; 49.5

2. 19. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.31

καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἅπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως [τῶν] ἄκρων αὐτῶν

“And they will gather his elect from the four winds, from the extreme limits of the heavens unto their extreme limits.”

b) Isaiah 43.5; 49.5

(1) *Septuagint*: a. μὴ φοβοῦ, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ εἰμι· ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἄξω τὸ σπέρμα σου καὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν συνάξω σε

“Do not fear, because I am with you; from the east I will bring your seed, and from the west I will gather you” (43.5).

b. καὶ νῦν οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ πλάσας με ἐκ κοιλίας δοῦλον ἑαυτῷ τοῦ συναγαγεῖν τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς αὐτὸν—συναχθήσομαι καὶ δοξασθήσομαι ἐναντίον κυρίου, καὶ ὁ θεός μου ἔσται μου ἰσχύς...

“And now thus speaks the Lord who has molded me a slave from the womb for himself in order to gather together Jacob and Israel to him—I will be brought and glorified before the Lord, and my God will be my strength...” (49.5).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. 'al-tîrā' kî 'ittākā 'ānî mimmizrāḥ 'ābî' zar'ekā ūmimma'ārāb 'āqabbāsekā

“Do not fear, because I am with you. From the east I will bring your seed, and from the west I will gather you” (43.5).

b. wə'attāh 'āmar Yahweh yōṣərî mibbeten lə'ebed lô lə šôbēb ya'āqōb 'ēlāyw wəyiśrā'ēl
lō' yē'āsēp wə'ekkābēd bə'ênê Yahweh w'ēlōhay hāyāh 'uzzi

“And now Yahweh spoke, fashioning me from a womb as a slave unto himself, to bring back Jacob to himself, and Israel will be gathered unto him, and I will be glorified in the eyes of Yahweh, and my God will be my strength” (49.5).

2. 19. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.31* AND *ISA. 43.5; 49.5*

Matthew 24.31 and Septuagint Isaiah 43.5 describe a spatial gathering. Isaiah limits the process to east and west; Matthew, on the other hand, expands it to “the four winds” and “the farthest extremities of heaven.” Septuagint Isaiah 49.5, however, shows the gathering to be personal (συναχθήσομαι), perhaps based upon the Lord’s intimate knowledge of the individual ἐκ κοιλίας (“from the womb”). Note that the verb πλάσσω (here, in its aorist participial form) echoes Genesis 2, where the Lord God “moulded” (ἔπλασεν) man out of clay, the point being that God will restore His people and gather them across both space and time.

Since this is poetic prophecy, the rules for narrative sequence in the Hebrew text do not always apply. Hence, though I have attempted to translate the above Hebrew passage (Isa. 49.5) as closely as possible in accordance with the narrative rules, with the translation indicating an

English future, nevertheless one could argue for a translation in the past tense: “and my God was my refuge.” Since the conjunction *wə* does not immediately precede the verb *hāyāh*, the verb is not governed by the rules of *waw* conversive and, hence, may be translated as a past tense.

2. 19. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF ISA. 43.5; 49.5

The previous passage in Matthew leads to this culmination: the gathering in of the elect. This passage, then, is an echo from Isaiah, connoting the bringing in from various points throughout the land. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #1 (passages which are clear cases of direct references or echoes/allusions, based on strong lexical connections). Isaiah states that the event will occur “from east to west,” whereas Matthew mentions “from the four winds,” denoting all directions. Hence, Matthew has taken Isaiah’s gathering passage and intensified it.

The passages are indicative of hyperbole. Both Matthew and Isaiah probably are attempting to convey one notion: that wherever the elect may be, they will be brought in. None will be forgotten or left out. Hence, although the use in each passage appears—to a certain extent—to be literal, nevertheless each must be understood in its historical context.

2.20 Matthew 24.31/Isaiah 56.8

2. 20. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.31

καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἅπ’ ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως
[τῶν] ἄκρων αὐτῶν

“And they will gather his elect from the four winds, from the extreme limits of the heavens unto their extreme limits.”

b) Isaiah 56.8

(1) *Septuagint*: εἶπεν κύριος ὁ συνάγων τοὺς διεσπαρμένους Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι συνάξω ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ συναγωγὴν

“The Lord, who gathers the dispersed of Israel, said, ‘I will gather to him an assembly.’”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: nə’ūm ’ādōnāy Yahweh məqabbēš nidhê yisrā’ēl ’ôd ’āqabbēš ’ālāyw ləniqbāšāyw

“The utterance of Lord Yahweh, who is gathering together the scattered of Israel: ‘Yet I will gather to him in addition to his gathered ones.’”

2. 20. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.31* AND *ISA. 56.8*

Again, this gathering concerns the elect in Matthew, but Israel in Septuagint Isaiah. In Matthew, the apocalyptic “Son of Man” sends his angels to perform the in-gathering; in Isaiah, God Himself performs this function.

The comparable Septuagint passage appears to be a rather free rendering of the Hebrew. However, the Septuagint text could be based also upon a Vorlage different from the Masoretic text.

2. 20. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *ISA. 56.8*

This passage is an echo in Matthew. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignored). The shared themes, then, are the gathering of the elect (Israel, Matthean community). The passages appear to be literal. See above sections for further discussion.

2.21 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.31

Matthew divides this passage into two phases:

- a) the sending of angels with a trumpet (Isa. 27.13);
- b) the gathering of the elect from the farthest extremities of the world (Isa. 27.12, 13; 43.5, 49.5; 56.8).

Blenkinsopp considers the trumpet pericope from Isa. 27.13 to be one of the most obscure and difficult to translate in Isaiah, but also unequivocally apocalyptic in worldview.⁷⁰ The fact that “the dead” will come at the sounding of the trumpet blast implies a notion of the resurrection.⁷¹

Matthew clearly interprets Isa. 27.13 apocalyptically and eschatologically. If Matthew is an observant Jew who believes in Jesus as the promised Messiah, he most likely is familiar with the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, especially the tenth benediction:⁷²

Sound the great horn for our freedom; raise the ensign to gather our exiles, and gather us together from the four corners of the earth.⁷³

Is Matthew echoing Isaiah in light of this ancient Jewish prayer? If this be so, why is a trumpet blast so closely connected with the gathering of Israel? i.e., why does the sound of a trumpet accompany the gathering? The significance of the trumpet (or shofar), which is actually an instrument used “to announce the beginning of the Sabbath (*t. Sukk.* 4. 11-12), to muster and direct armies...⁷⁴ is “an eschatological figure.”⁷⁵ This blast will be heard by all⁷⁶ to announce

⁷⁰ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah*, 1:376, 379.

⁷¹ John Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1986), 499.

⁷² Beare, *Matthew*, 471-72.

⁷³ Joseph H. Hertz, *Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1975), 143.

⁷⁴ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 362-63.

⁷⁵ Carson, “Matthew,” 506.

⁷⁶ Nolland, *Matthew*, 985.

the consummation of the age.⁷⁷ Hence, Matthew views the trumpet in Isa. 27.13 as an apocalyptic signal.

In addition to being announced by the blast of the trumpet, the end will coincide with the gathering of the elect. In Isa. 27.12, those gathered are the בני ישראל. In Isa. 49.5, they are “Israel,” and in 43.5, it is “your seed.” Matthew considered his community to be the continuation of the ancient faith, the loyal and faithful remnant that remained true to the covenant by accepting Jesus as Messiah. Hence, he redefines the terms “sons of Israel,” “your seed,” and “Jacob” as “the elect” and applies the term to his own community, the *ecclesia*. The *ecclesia* is the elect, and the elect are the *ecclesia*, whether by lineage or adoption.⁷⁸ Although in Isaiah God Himself regathers His people, in Matthew God delegates this activity to “angels,” who are likely the agents of the “Son of Man.”⁷⁹ It is unclear as to whether these agents are divine beings or human “messengers,” since the Greek word ἄγγελος can refer to a human agent. However, the fact that Matthew has written here an apocalyptic discourse supports the identity of the angels as being divine,⁸⁰ namely, that they are perhaps otherworldly, non-human beings.

2.22 Matthew 24.35/Isaiah 40.8

2. 22. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.25

ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσεται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν

“The sky and the earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away.”

⁷⁷ Luz, *Matthew*, 202.

⁷⁸ Unlike the situation within Rabbinic Judaism, where one becomes a Jew either by birth or by choice, in the Matthean community birth seems to be inconsequential; he who enters the community and remains faithful to the end is the faithful Jew (Matt 10.22). See also Bruner, *Matthew*, 515.

⁷⁹ Viviano, “Matthew,” 667.

⁸⁰ France, *Matthew*, 927-28.

b) Isaiah 40.8

(1) *Septuagint*: Ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσε· τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

“The grass has withered, and the bloom of the flower has fallen off; but the word of our God remains forever.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: yābēš ḥāšîr nābēl šîš ûdābar-’ēlōhēnû yāqûm lə’ôlām

“Grass withers, the flower decays, but the word of our God will stand forever.”

2. 22. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.35* AND *ISA. 40.8*

In Matthew, Jesus assures his disciples that his words are eternal; in Septuagint Isaiah, it is the word of the Lord God. To suggest that Jesus and God are to be equated because both speak words without end seems presumptuous. Rather, Matthew’s purpose here is to assure the community that they can be sure that Jesus’ prophecy is certain. Hence, the Matthean community needs to prepare for the coming apocalypse.

Since the Septuagint and Hebrew texts are very close in their rendering, Matthew may have used either text or even possibly both.

2. 22. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *ISA. 40.8*

This passage is an echo in Matthew. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignored). The shared theme is the permanency of the word, though the source of the word is different, it being in Isaiah God’s and in Matthew Jesus’. This is not to say that

the Matthean community equated Jesus with God. The connection is mainly that the words of both speakers are sure.

Matthew and Isaiah are using hyperbole. Neither passage is stating that once grass withers, flowers decay, and heaven and earth pass on that *then* God's or Jesus' words will have no effect. Rather, what is being stated in both passages is that the efficacy of the words remains, even if the cosmos should go into oblivion. Hence, neither passage is about what is an actual event, but rather each conveys an assurance to the respective communities that the promises or prophecies made will be fulfilled.

2.23 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Isaiah in Matthew 24.35

Matthew emphasizes to his community the surety of Jesus' words spoken in the discourse. He appeals to Isa. 40.8, which states,

Grass withers, the blossom decays, but the word of our God will stand forever.

The permanence and validity of Jesus' words are closely connected to the permanence and validity of the words of God.⁸¹ In addition, as the words of the Torah determine a man's fate, so do the words of Jesus.⁸² However, this permanence is not dependent upon the continued existence of the earth and sky. Jesus is not saying that the heavens and earth *will* pass away as a matter of necessity, but rather that as the heavens and earth possess an indeterminate existence, so do Jesus' words.⁸³

⁸¹ Carson, "Matthew," 507. See also Viviano, "Matthew," 668.

⁸² Luz, *Matthew*, 208.

⁸³ France, *Matthew*, 930.

2.24 Conclusion

Since Matthew 24 is an apocalyptic, eschatological discourse, the community's reading of the echoes/allusions from Isaiah is interpreted strongly in this light. The Matthean community sees Isaiah as largely an apocalyptic work, or at least one that contains significant portions conveying apocalyptic ideas and themes. Evidence suggests, furthermore, that the community might have been familiar with traditions that came to be expressed in the Isaiah Targum apart from the Masoretic Text or Septuagint. For example, the Matthean community may have used Isaiah Targum 43.5, 49.5 as an exegetical source for Matt. 24.30-31 to the exclusion of the Septuagint or Masoretic Text. In these two passages, the Targum uses the Aramaic term *mēmārî* "my Word" where the Septuagint and Masoretic Text do not include this term, but indicate a first person singular pronoun in reference to the Deity. The reasons for this circumlocution in the Targum are unclear. Some scholars have surmised that the writers/translators of the text from Hebrew to Aramaic simply were avoiding direct references to God out of respect to His divinity and to avoid anthropomorphisms. Jastrow supports this conclusion, stating that "*memra*" as defined means "word, command," and is used in the Targum "to obviate anthropomorphism."⁸⁴ Although Chilton accepts that such a motive in the translation process certainly existed, nevertheless he challenges this view's absoluteness by indicating a number of passages in the Isaiah Targum in which direct references to God and His intimate activities occur.⁸⁵ In addition, ben David argues that the use of "*memra*" indicates a theophany:

We begin with this fact: No man can see the invisible God face-to-face and live... Yet, we have a number of places in Scripture wherein men have seen YHWH, i.e., the LORD. Such appearances of God to men are called *theophanies*. There are many theophanies in Scripture. Theophanies indicated to the ancient

⁸⁴ Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006), 775.

⁸⁵ *The Isaiah Targum*, xvi.

sages that another personal expression of YHWH exists Who appears to man. In Aramaic they called Him the *Memra*, or *WORD*, Who shares the very nature of God, while also being God's Messenger. In the Targums, *Memra* is used in the case of each and all theophanies.⁸⁶

Whatever might have been the intent of the compilers of the Isaiah Targum in the use of the term "memra," members of the Matthean community who may have read it would without doubt have been impressed with such phraseology and perceived some relevance of its meaning to their own understanding of the work and mission of Jesus in reference to his preaching concerning the Kingdom of God. Of course, the term "word" would have held greater relevance and import to the Johannine community. Yet, no evidence exists that would preclude the Matthean community's knowledge of the term (see Matt. 4.4; 13.19-23), though members of that community would likely have understood it differently from those in the Johannine community. It is difficult to determine whether the "memra" in the Isaiah Targum somehow is related to the "sign of the Son of Man" in Matthew's Gospel, or whether the "memra" signifies God's intervention into Israel's history. Regardless, God's *word* as an embodiment of divine revelation and comfort would have strongly resonated with Matthew's community that apparently was in need of consolation. Another point to make is the fact that the phrase "my words" occurs in Matthew 24.35 and appears to be a faint echo at best from these verses from the Targum. Could Jesus' *words* be equivalent to God's "memra"? Finally, the use of the term "elect" in Matthew, where the echoes in Isaiah show "Israel," demonstrates a more inclusive community, containing a significant number of Gentile converts.

⁸⁶ *Targum Isaiah in English*, xi.

CHAPTER 3

THE USE OF DANIEL IN MATTHEW 24

3.1 Introduction

If early Christianity can be said to have been an apocalyptic faith, then the New Testament is indeed an apocalyptic book. The worldview that it presents, however, did not arise in a vacuum, but rather from the movement (or collection of movements) that was already “in the air,” so to speak. Although apocalypticism underlies early Christian thought, it does not surface with equal saliency within the Christian sacred texts, a limited number of which indicate more evident examples of the genre by drawing more heavily from the Jewish apocalyptic texts (primarily *I Enoch* and Daniel) that preceded them. Of the canonical Gospels, only the Synoptics contain a section that clearly fits an apocalyptic eschatology, which portion is relatively brief but packed with echoes from/allusions to the Jewish tradition. On the other hand, Paul exhibits but few passages in his letters that can be thusly deemed, whereas 2 Peter and Jude are primarily apocalyptic works, with Revelation being an example of the genre of apocalypse.⁸⁷

Of the various references to the Hebrew sacred written tradition found in the New Testament apocalyptic passages, only the apocalyptic works of *I Enoch* and Daniel are mentioned by name. Only Jude quotes a passage directly from *Enoch*, whereas Matthew and Mark specifically mention Daniel’s “abomination of desolation,” with Matthew alone mentioning Daniel by name (Luke, surprisingly, does neither). In this comparative study of

⁸⁷ John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (BRS; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998). See also Chapter 1, section 1.1 of this thesis for a brief discussion on the terms “apocalypse,” “apocalyptic,” and “apocalypticism.”

Daniel and Matthew 24, therefore, the apocalypticism shared by both texts is far more evident than in the comparison of Matthew 24 with Isaiah.

That being stated, then, the approach to the study in this chapter follows a methodology similar to that found in the chapter on Isaiah, though (of course) the findings in the two chapters stand apart from one another. The focus of this chapter, then, is to highlight and investigate the Matthean community's use and interpretation of Daniel in the Matthean Eschatological Discourse. This study sets forth the following rubric:

- 1) a comparison of the language employed in Daniel and Matthew 24. The purpose of this portion of the study is to underscore the extent of the echoes/allusions from Daniel as an indication of the book's influence upon Matthean eschatology. Hence, this is the window through which we are to view the two following inquiries.
- 2) an examination of Matthew's use of Daniel. By the term "use," one is to understand the common theme(s) running through the passages in question. We will attempt to answer the questions of a) whether the Daniel passage is an echo or direct quote/allusion, and b) whether Matthew's use of Daniel is symbolic or literal. This examination of "use" is part of the chain that leads to the third inquiry below.
- 3) an exploration into probable exegesis of the relevant passages from Daniel. "Exegesis" in this context denotes how the echo or allusion most likely was understood and interpreted by the Matthean community in accordance with the community's probable experiences and worldview.

As in the case of the study of Isaiah, so in this study on Daniel the data have been drawn from that assembled by Mann in his commentary on Mark, with the relevant passages given in the table below. It must be noted, however, that Mann's correspondences may be open to

question. Yet, I shall discuss the pertinent passages in order to explore the extent to which a connection may be possible.

Table 3.1 *References from Daniel in Matthew 24*

Matthew 24	Direct References	Allusion/Echoes	Description
5		7.8, 25; 8.9, 10	“I am”
5, 11		8.24; 11.32	mislead many
6	7.21; 8.24; 9.26; 11.4-27	2.39, 40	“wars and rumors of wars”
6	7.25		“do not worry”
6	2.29; 8.19		bound to happen
6	11.27	9.26; 11.35	end of the age
7		11.25	“nation against nation”
7	11.25		“kingdom against kingdom”
7	2.40		earthquakes
9	7.25		“deliver you up”
9	11.33		“put to death”
13	11.32; 12.1, 2		“he who endures will be saved”
14	6.12		testimony
15	11.31; 12.11	9.27	“abominable desecration”
15	9.26		“in the holy place”
15		9.23, 25	“(let the reader understand)”
21	12.1		distress
22	12.1	9.24	If the Lord had not cut short
24		8.24	mislead
30	7.14		“great power and glory”

The scholarly view of Daniel is that the text is relatively late (in comparison to other Jewish sacred texts) and expresses the worldview of Palestinian Jews of the Hellenistic age who were suffering intense persecution under the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes. What makes Daniel an interesting study for comparison with the apocalypse in Matthew lies in its perceived relevance to a community somewhat removed from the events described within the text itself.

Yet, the events are not so far removed as to make them *irrelevant*. The question that we shall attempt to answer, then, is *why* the Matthean community perceived Daniel to be so relevant to their own experiences that in their own apocalyptic text he is the only prophet mentioned specifically by name.

3.2 Matthew 24.5/Daniel 7.8, 25; 8.9, 10

3. 2. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.5

πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός

“For many will come in my name saying, ‘I am the Christ.’”

b) Daniel 7.8, 25; 8.9, 10

(1) *Septuagint*: a. καὶ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα... καὶ λόγους πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον λαλήσει

“and a mouth speaking great things...and he will speak words against the Most High”

(7.8, 25). [Theodotion]⁸⁸

b. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν ἐξῆλθεν κέρας ἓν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη περισσῶς πρὸς τὸν νότον καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν... ἐμεγαλύνθη ἕως τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄστρον, καὶ συνεπάτησεν αὐτά

“And from one of them there came out one strong horn and it grew excessively great towards the South and towards the East and against the might army...It grew great up to the mighty army of the sky, and it fell upon the earth from the mighty army of the sky and from the stars, and it tread them down” (8.9, 10).

⁸⁸ Unless otherwise noted, examples from the Septuagint are taken from the Theodotion text.

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. ûpum məmallil rabrəban...ûmillîn ləṣad ‘illā’āh yəmallil

“and a mouth speaking great things...and he will speak words against the Most High” (7.8, 25).

b. ûmin–hā’aḥat mēhem yāṣā’ qeren–’aḥat miṣ’irāh wattigdal–yeter el–hannegeb
wə’el–hammizrāḥ wə’el–haṣṣebî...watigdal ‘ad–ṣəbā’ haṣṣāmāyim wattappēl ’arṣāh
min–haṣṣābā’ ûmin–hakkôkābîm wattirməsēm.

“And from one of them there went forth one horn of small size, and it became excessively great toward the south and toward the east and toward beauty...And it became great against the host of heaven and fell to the earth from the host and from the stars, and it trampled them down” (8.9, 10).

3. 2. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.5* AND *DAN. 7.8, 25; 8.9, 10*

The parallels in these passages are suspect. The most obvious similarity here is that of “speaking/saying,” though the Septuagint and New Testament use different Greek verbs. Greek Daniel uses the verb λαλέω (“I speak”), whereas Matthew exhibits λέγω (“I say”). Although this discrepancy might appear trivial, it could indicate the Vorlage from which Matthew might have been working, at least in this particular passage. Since the activity of speaking by the “false messiah” is described in different Greek terms, the question is whether Matthew is referring to the Aramaic instead of the Greek. As the Septuagint uses the same Greek root, so does the Masoretic Text use the same Aramaic one. This is an interesting correspondence, for one might expect Matthew to use the same Greek root as given in the Septuagint if he were quoting or echoing that text. If Matthew is actually *translating* the Aramaic, then this would explain the possible discrepancy. Another solution is that Matthew is echoing Daniel, not quoting him.

Finally, the most glaring difference is that Matthew contains the simple phrase Ἐγώ εἰμι, whereas Daniel gives a somewhat detailed description of the mysterious entity's activities, leading to the question, "Are these two passages actually in correspondence?"

3. 2. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *DAN.* 7.8, 25; 8.9, 10

Since there are no lexical, structural, or semantic correspondences from these Daniel passages, they should be classified at best as echoes. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another). What may be echoed here are the common themes, in this case that of a false claim. According to Matthew, the false claim pertains to those who declare that they are the Messiah by invoking the authority of Jesus himself. Seeing that the claim is false and without authority, it is a bold declaration and can be said to be an affront to the real Messiah. Daniel, too, relates bold statements which are made by the mysterious "little horn," who speaks "against the Most High." This entity increases in power and boldness, even to the point of exalting himself to heaven, from which he eventually falls (8.10), though he tramples stars beneath his feet. Both Matthew's false messiahs and Daniel's little horn challenge divine authority; hence, these opponents of God have set the stage for an apocalyptic struggle.

Daniel's little horn passage is part of an apocalyptic vision describing an actual event: the despotic rule of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hence, the vision contains symbols of an experienced reality. Matthew, on the other hand, is not describing a symbolic vision, but rather is giving a warning of what (most likely) was taking place within the experiences of the community, some of whom may have been claiming to have been the Messiah. To the members of Matthew's community, such claims cannot have been authoritative since 1) Jesus warned about and

denounced such falsities, and 2) the Messiah had already come in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

3.3 Matthew 24.5, 11/Daniel 8.24; 11.32

3. 3. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.5, 11

καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν... καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐγερθήσονται καὶ πλανήσουσιν πολλοὺς
 “and they will lead many astray...And many false prophets will arise and will lead many astray.”

b) Daniel 8.24; 11.32

(1) *Septuagint*: a. καὶ κραταιὰ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ, καὶ θαυμαστὰ

διαφθερεῖ καὶ κατευθυνεῖ καὶ ποιήσει καὶ διαφθερεῖ ἰσχυροὺς καὶ λαὸν ἅγιον

“And powerful is his strength, but not by his strength, and he will destroy wonderful things, and he will prosper and perform, and will destroy the strong and the holy people” 8.24).

b. καὶ ἀνομοῦντες διαθήκην ἐπάξουσιν ἐν ὀλισθήμασιν, καὶ λαὸς γινώσκοντες θεὸν αὐτοῦ κατισχύσουσιν καὶ ποιήσουσιν

“And those acting lawlessly will bring in a covenant by slips, and a people knowing their God will prevail and act” (11.32).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. wəʿāšam kōḥō wəlōʾ bəḵōḥō wəniplāʾōt yašḥîṭ wəhišlîaḥ wəʿāsāḥ

wəhišḥîṭ ʾāšûmîm wəʿam-qəḏōšîm

“And his power will be mighty, but not by his own power; and he will destroy marvelous things, and he will prosper and accomplish, and destroy mighty ones and a holy people” (8.24).

b. ûmaršî'ê bərîṭ yaḥănîp baḥālaqqôt wə'am yōdə'ê 'elōhāyw yaḥāziqû wə'āsû

“And he will make profane with flatteries those making themselves guilty against the covenant, but the nation knowing its God will be strong and will act” (11.32).

3. 3. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.5, 11* AND *DAN. 8.24; 11.32*

The parallels in these passages are suspect. Matthew contains the Greek word *πλανάω*, which has no direct correspondence in the presumed comparable passages in Daniel. The main description in Matthew is that “they/false christs will deceive many.” The closest comparable phrases we find in Daniel are *διαφθερεῖ ἰσχυρούς* (“he will destroy the strong”) and *ἀνομοῦντες διαθήκην ἐπάξουσιν ἐν ὀλισθήμασιν* (“the lawless will bring about a covenant with slips” [i.e., slippery deeds]). Although “false christs” and “deceiving” are not literal translations of “lawless ones” or “slippery deeds,” one can perhaps still perceive some connection, even though it be somewhat remote.

In regard to the Masoretic Text, Daniel shows the Hebrew root *חנף* (in the Hiphil), meaning “destroy,” and the root *הקדש* (also in the Hiphil), meaning “make profane” in conjunction with the noun *לשון* (“flattery”). The evidence does not appear to be conclusive as to which of the texts, if any, Matthew has employed.

3. 3. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 8.24; 11.32*

These passages in Daniel are at best echoes in Matthew 24. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another). However, the common theme portrayed here is that of the attempted destruction of the people of God by the forces of evil. In Matthew’s case, evil attempts to destroy through deception. In Daniel, “lawless ones” use “slippery deeds,” or deceit, as well as overt power

(“mighty is his power”). Both Matthew and Daniel describe literal events and there does not appear to be an example of symbolism in either case. The specific means of bringing about deception and destruction, as well as a timeline when the events will occur is lacking. However, such is the nature of warnings and prophecies, the purpose of which is not to write a future history, but rather to prepare a people for what presumably lies ahead.

3.4 Matthean Community’s Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.5, 11

Matthew warns his community concerning those who would make false claims to messianic authority and/or identity in order to deceive. To declare presumptuously “I am the Christ” is equivalent to speaking “great things” (Dan. 7.8), and to make such a proclamation in order to deceive is to act “against the Most High” (Dan. 7.25). Matthew does not give details as to the nature of the deception (save it be the declaration of messiahship), yet he could perhaps be simplifying Daniel’s details and assuming his community’s knowledge of that prophetic text. Hence, part of the deception as described in Dan. 11.32 is the bringing about a covenant “by deceits.” In addition, the evil power “will destroy” and “prosper,” even to the point of destroying “the holy people.” However, Daniel also gives hope in that, although the “lawless ones” deceive, the elect (“those knowing God”) “will prevail.” Perhaps Daniel’s pessimism has impacted Matthew’s thinking, and he (Matthew) perceives the urgency in warning his community of those who would lead them astray, while—at the same time—Daniel’s optimism gives Matthew confidence that, in the end, his community will overcome the evil forces set against them.

If one accepts the premise held by the majority of scholars that Matthew 24 was written after the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in 70 AD, then the question remains as to why Matthew would give a warning about false messiahs and false prophets.

The mention of such charlatans (false prophets and false messiahs) assumes that 1) a situation has existed in which their presence was real and 2) there is the possibility that they may return. Around the time of the siege of Jerusalem, Josephus confirmed that such a problem indeed existed.

Now, there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose upon the people, who denounced this to them, that they should wait for deliverance from God: and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes.⁸⁹

The “hopes” to which Josephus refers were the false expectations of deliverance from Rome. Matthew’s warning, then, was an actual prediction of the coming of false prophets in conjunction with the fall of Jerusalem, *or* perhaps he is using this occurrence—as recorded in Josephus’ account—as a means to warn the community of possible *future* dangers. Hence, we see that Josephus corroborates what Matthew himself describes, though the Gospel writer never attributes his prophetic warning to Josephus, but rather appeals to the authority of Jesus himself, who alludes to the prophet Daniel.

3.5 Matthew 24.6/Daniel 7.21; 8.24; 9.26; 11.4-27; 2.39, 40

3. 5. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.6

μελλήσετε δὲ ἀκούειν πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων

“And you are about to hear of wars and reports of wars.”

⁸⁹ Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*, 6:286, in *The Works of Josephus* (trans. William Whiston; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1987) 543-772.

b) Daniel 7.21; 8.24; 9.26; 11.4-27; 2.39, 40

(1) *Septuagint*: a. καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἐποίει πόλεμον

“And that horn was making war...” (7.21).

b. καὶ διαφθερεῖ ἰσχυροὺς καὶ λαὸν ἅγιον

“...and he will destroy the strong and the holy people” (8.24).

c. καὶ ἕως τέλους πολέμου συντετμημένου τάξει ἀφανισμοῖς

“...and until the end of the war which is completed he will appoint [it] to exterminations” (9.26).

d. [These verses describe wars between the Ptolemy’s and the Seleucids.]

e. [This is a description of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, i.e., the image composed of various stones (gold, silver, bronze, iron, part iron and part clay).]

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. wəqarnā’ dikkēn ‘ābdāh qərāb

“And this horn made war...” (7.21)

b. wəhišhîṭ ‘āšûmîm wə‘am–qəḏōšîm

“...and will destroy might ones and a holy people” (8.24).

c. wə‘ad qēš milhāmāh neḥerešet šōmēmôt

“...and until the end of battle what is determined is desolated” (9.26).

d. [See Septuagint above.]

e. [See Septuagint above.]

3. 5. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF MATT. 24.6 AND DAN. 7.21; 8.24; 9.26; 11.4-27; 2.39, 40

The parallels in these passages may not be true parallels. In this passage, Matthew predicts wars that will come upon the earth, at least within the knowledge/awareness of his community. In the

comparable passage in Dan. 7.21, the prophet *sees* a vision of war, and in Dan. 8.24 he sees the destruction of “the strong and the holy people.” Since here the Greek of the Septuagint corresponds literally with the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Masoretic Text, Matthew might well have drawn from either text, both, or neither. Although Dan. 8.24 mentions no war, the notion of “he will destroy” could imply such an event and, hence, qualify as a correspondence in Matthew.

3. 5. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF DAN. 7.21; 8.24; 9.26; 11.4-27; 2.29, 40

Except for Dan. 8.24 and Dan. 2.29, 40, these passages from Daniel contain identical or near identical comparable lexical items in Matthew 24. Both Daniel and Matthew employ the Gr. πόλεμος (“war”) to describe the state of armed conflict between opposing forces. Although the word is not unique to these two writings, it cannot be purely coincidental that they share this concept of apocalyptic conflict. In Daniel, it is a contest of good vs. evil, of the right of self-determination, preservation of cultural identity, and destruction of the wicked. In Matthew, “wars” are depicted as barometers indicating the proximity of the beginning of woes (commencement of the end of the age), perhaps even that the end itself has now come. Although these passages share a common lexeme (“war”), nevertheless I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another).

Daniel uses symbolism (“horn”) to portray real events (persecution under the Seleucids). Matthew might possibly have drawn his notion of apocalyptic war here from Daniel, and then adapted these passages to fit his community’s own experiences of surrounding wars, while ignoring the actual events that Daniel intends to describe. In addition, Matthew (according to Mann) has drawn indirectly from Dan. 8.24 and 2.29, 40. On the surface, this conclusion seems

to be an overextension, unless one views “he will destroy the strong and the holy people” as well as Nebuchadnezzar’s dream of the image whose legs were iron as apt descriptions of war.

3.6 Matthew 24.6/Daniel 2.29; 8.19

3. 6. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.6

δεῖ γὰρ γενέσθαι...

“for it [or, these] must occur...”

b) Daniel 2.29; 8.19

(1) *Septuagint*: a. σὺ βασιλεῦ, οἱ διαλογισμοί σου ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου ἀνέβησαν τί δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια ἐγνώρισέν σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι

“O you king, your thoughts upon your bed have ascended [to] what must occur after these things, and the one revealing mysteries has made known to you what must occur” (2.29).

b. Ἴδοῦ ἐγὼ γινώριζω σοι τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῆς ὀργῆς. ἔτι γὰρ εἰς καιροῦ πέρας ἡ ὄρασις

“Behold, I am making known to you the things about to be at the last things of the wrath; for the prophetic vision is yet unto the end of time” (8.19).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. ’anth malkā’ ra’yōnak ’al-miškebāk səliqû māh dī lehēwē’ ’aḥārê dənāh wənālē’ rāzayyāh hōdā’āk māh-dī lehēwē’

“You, o king, your thoughts upon your bed have gone up to what will be after this, and the revealer of the secrets has made known to you what will be” (2.29).

b. hinənî mōdî’āka ēt āšer-yihyeh bə’aḥrīt hazzā’am kî ləmō’ēd qēš

“Behold, I am making known to you what will be at the end of the indignation, because the end is for an appointed time” (8.19).

3. 6. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.6* AND *DAN. 2.29; 8.19*

Matthew and the LXX show a direct correspondence: δεῖ γενέσθαι (*Dan. 2.29*). Here, we see a defective verb δεῖ with a complementary infinitive. The corresponding Aramaic from the Masoretic Text shows a single verb (no infinitive) in the precative (להוֹא), perhaps indicating some notion of compulsion, necessity, or inevitability. In *Dan. 8.19*, inevitability is shown through the Greek words τὰ ἐσόμενα (“the things that will be”) and εἰς καιροῦ πέρας ἢ ὄρασις (“the vision is unto the end of time”), and in Hebrew אֲשֶׁר־יִהְיֶה (“what will be”) and לְמוֹעֵד קֵץ (“unto the appointed time of the end”).

3. 6. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 2.29; 8.19*

Matthew here uses the phrase δεῖ γενέσθαι (“it must occur”), which one finds precisely so in *Daniel 2.29*. Although one may presume that such an expression is common throughout the Septuagint and, therefore, an unlikely direct reference, let alone a legitimate allusion, nevertheless the word δεῖ is not a common verb in the Septuagint, and never occurs in conjunction with γενέσθαι except in *Daniel*. In addition, of the four times that the phrase occurs in *Daniel*, three are in chapter 2 alone, primarily in verses 28-29. It is reasonable, then, to hold this phrase in *Matt. 23.6* as a probable direct reference to *Dan. 2.29* (as well as 2.28, 45 and 6.15). Therefore, I have classified this particular correspondence as belonging to category #1 (passages which are clear cases of direct references or echoes/allusions, based on strong lexical connections).

Although Mann considers Matthew to be drawing directly from *Dan. 8.19* (and I have tabulated his position as such), this passage from *Daniel* is more likely an echo since there is no direct reference to the phrase “it must occur,” though the phrase τὰ ἐσόμενα certainly denotes

eventuality. Hence, we see a shared theme. Furthermore, Matthew does not employ Daniel here in a symbolic way, nor has he taken a symbolic image in Daniel and transformed it into an element of symbolism. Rather, he draws from Daniel in order to demonstrate the surety of what is to come.

3.7 Matthew 24.6/Daniel 11.27; 9.26; 11.35

3. 7. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.6

ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐστὶν τὸ τέλος

“...but the end is not yet.”

b) Daniel 11.27; 9.26; 11.35

(1) *Septuagint*: a. ὅτι ἔτι πέρας εἰς καιρόν

“because still the end is unto a time” (11.27).

b. καὶ ἥξει ἡ συντέλεια αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας [Old Greek]

“And his conclusion will come with wrath even until the time of conclusion” (9.26).

c. καὶ τοῦ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, ἕως καιροῦ πέρας · ὅτι ἔτι εἰς καιρόν

“and [that they may] be revealed until time's end; because it is still for a time” (11.35).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. kî-ʿôd qēš lammôʿēd

“because still there is an end unto the appointed time” (11.27).

b. wəqīṣṣô bašetep wəʿad qēš milḥāmāh neḥerešet šōmēmôt

“And its end is by the flood, and until the end of battle what is determined is desolated”

(9.26).

c. wəlalbēn ʿad-ʿēt qēš kî-ʿôd lammôʿēd

“and to whiten until the time of the end, because it is yet for the appointed time” (11.35).

3. 7. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.6* AND *DAN. 11.27; 9.26; 11.35*

The concept of “end” or “completion” is employed in both the New Testament and Septuagint/Masoretic Text. Matthew uses the word τέλος, denoting a termination or conclusion, often of time. In Dan. 9.26, the Septuagint exhibits a derivation of τέλος, συντέλεια, the two words being practically synonymous. In Dan. 11.27 and 11.35, the Septuagint uses a different expression: πέρας εἰς καιρόν (“an end unto the appointed time”). The Hebrew in the Masoretic Text consistently shows in all three relevant passages the same substantive: קץ. It is unclear as to why the Septuagint employs different words for the same corresponding Hebrew word. This point, however, has no bearing upon the term employed in Matthew, for τέλος could indeed be a rendering of any of the Greek or Hebrew words found in Daniel.

3. 7. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 11.27; 9.26; 11.35*

Mann classifies Dan. 11.27 as a direct quote, and Dan. 9.26 as echoes/allusions. This claim is valid *if* one accepts the Hebrew to be the immediate Vorlage, for the Hebrew word קץ occurs in all three relevant passages from Daniel, and would correspond with Gk. τέλος in Matthew. However, since the Septuagint uses two different Greek words for “end,” i.e., πέρας and συντέλεια, the better correspondence in this case would be Daniel’s συντέλεια with Matthew’s τέλος. That being the case, Dan. 9.26 from the Septuagint would be the direct reference, whereas 11.27, 35 would be (at best) an echo. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another).

The common theme here is the “time of the end,” though in Matthew the emphasis is on its absence of full realization. There is a hint of this delayed culmination in Dan. 11.35, stating:

“and that it be revealed until the end of the time, because it is yet for a time.” Those who understand will not be revealed (or is it the understanding) until the “end of the age.”

It appears that Matthew, in the context of his worldview, accepted the notion of the “end of the age” as a literal phenomenon. Daniel does not seem to view this “end” as the end of time in which the events he describes occur.⁹⁰

3.8 Matthew 24.6/Daniel 7.25

3. 8. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.6

ὁρᾶτε μὴ θροεῖσθε

“See that you are not alarmed.”

b) Daniel 7.25

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ δοθήσεται ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἕως καιροῦ καὶ καιρῶν καὶ ἡμισυ καιροῦ

“And it will be given in his hand until a time and times and half of a time.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəyityahăbûn bîdēh ‘ad–‘iddān wə‘iddānîṯ ūpəlag ‘iddān

“And they will be given in his hand until a time and times and half a time.”

3. 8. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF MATT. 24.6 AND DAN. 7.25

The proposed parallels in these passages are quite weak. Mann makes the claim that there is a relationship between these two verses. Seeing that Matthew’s Greek concerns being alarmed, whereas the Septuagint and Masoretic Text describe a length of time (“a time, times, and a half of time”), a direct linguistic correspondence is non-existent. However, we may perhaps perceive some conceptual relationship as will be covered in the following section.

⁹⁰ John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia, Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1993), 337-338.

3. 8. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *DAN.* 7.25

If this passage is any type of allusion at all, as Mann maintains, then it is an echo. However, it is difficult to conceive any relationship, whether direct or indirect, between Matt. 24.6 and Dan. 7.25 without taking a significant measure of interpretative liberty. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another). Seeing that Mann gives no explanation as to why he has paired these two in correspondence, I will attempt to speculate upon his reasoning in this case:

Matt. 24.6 is a response to what immediately precedes in his text ("wars") and is a word of encouragement in the face of what follows, namely ("nation against nation"). Matthew is drawing from the "little horn" passage in Daniel and equating the persecution done by that power with the commotions and persecution of his community during his time. Daniel uses powerful symbolism to reflect this reality. Matthew draws from this symbolism to reflect his own community's reality (namely, persecution under despotic power).

3.9 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.6

The "wars" of which Jesus speaks here are the chaotic struggles of the Jewish Revolt of 66-70 AD. As conflict is a recurring theme in apocalyptic literature, so is it in both Daniel (7.21; 8.24; 9.26; 11.4-27; 12.39, 40) and Matthew 24. Although the meaning of "reports of wars" seems unclear, and the phrase rather vague, Daniel's description of a city's destruction seems fitting to Matthew's prophecy:

...and he will destroy the city and the sanctuary with the leader who is coming...and to the end of the war which has been cut short he will appoint [it] with destructions (Dan. 9.26).

To solve the problem of “wars and reports of wars,” one might interpret “wars” as those conflicts that are immediate, and “reports of wars” as those occurring at remote locations. At the time of the Jewish Revolt, Lower Germany and Gaul also were in rebellion.⁹¹

By stating, “Do not be troubled,” Matthew could be appealing to the deterministic view expressed in Dan. 7.25, for the very time has been calculated and set. As the evil power’s time is limited and determined in Daniel, so are the time of the wars according to Matthew. In addition, once a prophecy had been decreed, its fulfillment is unavoidable and irrevocable.

Nebuchadnezzar’s prophetic dream will and must (δεῖ) occur. Furthermore, Daniel receives a prophetic vision that is “unto the end of an appointed time” (8.19). Likewise, for Matthew the prophecy given by Jesus to his disciples will occur. In reference to the Jewish Revolt, then, the event *did* occur because Jesus (in the mind of his devoted followers) said it would. If such events as wars are being “predicted/prophesied” after the fact, one might assume that the purpose of prophetic discourses is to bring comfort to the community by showing that history is ultimately in the hands of the Almighty. The forces of evil may prosper for a time, but in the end, all will receive their just deserts.

Like Daniel, Matthew predicts/teaches a delayed fulfillment of the end: “but the end is not yet.” According to Daniel, at the end of the appointed time, those who understand “will be revealed” (Dan. 11.35). Matthew in this case is not concerned with a particular type of people (“understanding ones”), but rather is interested in the events themselves. However, even though the revelation in Dan. 11.35 is to occur “unto the end of the appointed time,” nevertheless it is ἔτι εἰς καιρόν (“yet unto the appointed time”). This determinism coupled with the apocalyptic notion of dualism (forces of evil vs. forces of good) has been described by André LaCocque as

⁹¹ William G. Sinnigen and Arthur E.R. Boak, *A History of Rome to AD 565* (6th ed.; New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1977), 296.

standing in a contradictory position,⁹² for though “all is written in the heavens,”⁹³ nevertheless “all depends on the faithfulness of Israel.” Hence, the outcome of the battle between good and evil is predetermined, but men are free to choose on which side to wage the struggle (at least this seems to be the view in Daniel, whereas Matthew’s position is unclear).

3.10 Matthew 24.7/Daniel 11.25

3. 10. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.7

ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν

“For nation will rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom...”

b) Daniel 11.25

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ νότου συνάγει πόλεμον ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ καὶ ἰσχυρᾷ σφόδρα

“And the king of the south will join battle with a great and very strong host.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: ûmelek hannegeb yitgāreh lammilhāmāh bəḥayil–gadôl wə‘āšûm

“And the king of the south will prepare for battle with a great and mighty army.”

3. 10. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF MATT. 24.7 AND DAN. 11.25

The parallels in these passages may not be true parallels. Matthew describes ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος (“nation against nation”), whereas both the Septuagint and Masoretic Text mention war/battle (πόλεμον/מלחמה). Very little seems to correspond linguistically, though the notion of ubiquitous war in Matthew shares some element of correspondence with a powerful army being gathered for

⁹² André LaCocque, *Daniel in His Time* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 95-102.

⁹³ LaCocque, *Daniel*, 101.

war in Dan. 11.25. However, the Greek word βασιλεύς does appear in Dan. 11.25 (מלך in Hebrew), being of the same lexical root as Matthew's βασιλεία ("kingdom").

3. 10. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *DAN. 11.25*

This passage in Matthew contains two relevant but parallel parts: "nation against nation" and "kingdom against kingdom." These two phrases can be seen together as an example of literary parallelism,⁹⁴ a device commonly employed in Semitic poetry that contains six different identifiable forms, one frequent one being that of synonymous parallelism, in which the thought is repeated.

Ex. But let judgment run down as water,

And righteousness as a mighty stream (Am. 5.24). (Authorized Version)

Although this parallelism in Matthew demonstrates questionable correspondence to the same passage in Daniel, nevertheless we might perhaps consider "nation against nation" and "kingdom against kingdom" to be synonymous. Hence, Dan. 11.25 echoes down simultaneously into two different but synonymous phrases in Matthew. However, as close as the two phrases in Matthew might be semantically, they are not so close to what we find in the comparable passage in Daniel. If a relationship exists between the two texts, it is most likely an echoic one. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another).

The common theme is the chaos of war in what once was a stable societal structure (though war itself can be, and often is, highly structured). In Daniel, the war is between the mysterious king of the south pitted against the equally mysterious king of the north, with their respective identities left undisclosed. In Matthew, the identity of the nations/kingdoms is also

⁹⁴ George W. Anderson, "Characteristics of Hebrew Poetry," in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha* (ed. Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger; New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 1523-1529.

left a mystery. Presumably, the readers of the respective texts recognized the identity of the mysterious foes.

3.11 Matthew 24.7/Daniel 2.40

3. 11. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.7

καὶ ἔσονται...σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους

“and there will be...earthquakes in various places.”

b) Daniel 2.40

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ βασιλεία τετάρτη ἔσται ἰσχυρὰ ὡς ὁ σίδηρος ὃν τρόπον ὁ σίδηρος

λεπτύνει καὶ δαμάζει πάντα, οὕτως πάντα λεπτυνεῖ καὶ δαμάσει

“And a fourth kingdom will be strong as iron; in respect to the manner that iron grinds to powder and subdues all things, thus it will grind to powder all things and subdue them.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: ûmalkû rəbî‘āyāh tehēwē’ taqqîpāh kəparzəlā’ kol–qōbēl dî parzəlā’

məhaddēq wəḥāšēl kōlā’ ûkəparzəlā’ dî–mərā‘a’ kol–’illên taddiq wəṭēra’

“And a fourth kingdom will be mighty as iron, because iron breaks in pieces and crushes everything, and as the iron that shatters all these will break in pieces and shatter.”

3. 11. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.7* AND *DAN. 2.40*

No direct lexical or syntactic correspondence exists here between the New Testament and the Septuagint/Masoretic Text. Matthew exhibits σεισμοί (“earthquakes”), which notion can but cursorily be said to relate to λεπτύνει (“crushes”) or δαμάζει (“overpowers”). The Aramaic in the Masoretic Text sheds little further light with corresponding מַהֲדֵק וְחָשַׁל (“crushes and shatters”). Although an earthquake certainly can crush and shatter (as well as overpower),

nevertheless Daniel is describing a kingdom as strong as iron, not one as powerful as an earthquake.

3. 11. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *DAN. 2.40*

Although Mann claims that this passage is a direct reference, it is at best an echo because the term “earthquakes” does not occur in *Dan. 2.40*. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another).

However, the Greek verbs λεπτόνει and δαμάζει, with their accompanying futures λεπτονεῖ and δαμάσει, can be construed as descriptive of earthquake-like activity. Hence, a common theme is the destructive force of earthquakes (as in Matthew) described in light of a kingdom whose power is *as* an earthquake (possibly the interpretation of Daniel). Another possibility is that Matthew is not describing actual earthquake phenomena at all, but rather political and/or military forces whose powers are as destructive and inevitable as those of earthquakes. In that sense, Matthew would have taken a symbolic account in Daniel, described it as literal (earthquakes), but with symbolic significance (i.e., earthquakes = political/military upheaval). Hence,

<u>Daniel</u>	<u>Matthew</u>
4th kingdom = iron legs	earthquakes can crush and subdue
iron crushes and subdues	wars and reports of wars will occur
4th kingdom crushes and subdues	wars are destructive
	earthquakes are destructive
	earthquakes synonymous with war

3.12 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.7

Matthew here gives an explication of what is meant by “wars.” Here, wars are “nation against nation” and “kingdom against kingdom.” The “famines” and “plagues” are the result of these destructive conflicts. It is unclear, however, as to how earthquakes relate to these previous disasters, if they do in fact relate to them at all.

Matthew may have applied Daniel's prophecy of the war of the “king of the south” (the Ptolemies) against the “king of the north” (the Seleucids) to his own current and recently worked-out events, namely, the Jewish Revolt and other rebellions/skirmishes throughout the Roman Empire. Josephus records the occurrence of a severe famine during the siege of Jerusalem:

Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the marketplaces like shadows, all swelled with famine.⁹⁵

Although Josephus gives no direct reference to a plague striking the city at the time,⁹⁶ one can assume that where there is famine, there usually are the accompanying diseases.

In spite of the fact that no direct reference to earthquakes can be found in *Daniel*, Matthew might have been employing the term σεισμοί as a metaphor for the destructiveness of war, similar to the manner in which Daniel describes the war making powers of a kingdom as “iron,” which “grinds to powder and subdues all things” (Dan. 2.40). The Mediterranean world is known for its earthquake activity, and the ancients attributed this force often to the gods

⁹⁵ Josephus, *Wars*, 5.12: 512-13 (Whiston).

⁹⁶ However, Eusebius mentions “countless other forms of death” during the city siege (*The Church History*, 3.5 [trans. by Paul L. Maier; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Kregel Publications, 1999]).

(among the Greeks, particularly to Poseidon).⁹⁷ Earthquakes are portrayed in apocalyptic literature as indicative of cataclysmic cosmic events (see Rev. 11.19). Hence, Matthew's "earthquakes" are likely to be taken literally, but a metaphoric interpretation drawn from Dan. 2.40 cannot be ruled out since the term is used closely in connection with "wars."

3.13 Matthew 24.9/Daniel 7.25

3. 13. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.9

τότε παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς θλίψιν

"Then they will hand you over to suffering."

b) Daniel 7.25

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ λόγους πρὸς τὸν ὑψίστον λαλήσει καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ὑψίστου παλαιώσει

"And he will speak words against the Most High and will wear out the holy ones of the Most High."

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: ûmillîn ləšad 'illāyā' yəmallil ûləqaddîšê 'elyônîn yəballē'

"And he will speak words against the Most High and will wear out the holy ones of the Most High."

3. 13. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF MATT. 24.9 AND DAN. 7.25

The parallels between these passages are weak. Matthew shows no linguistic correspondences with the Septuagint (παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς θλίψιν ≠ τοὺς ἁγίους ὑψίστου παλαιώσει). The Aramaic in the Masoretic Text has an excellent correspondence with the Septuagint. The question is, "What relationship does Mann perceive to be in these verses?"

⁹⁷ Paul Anthony Cartledge and J. Robert Sallares, "earthquakes" in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed.; ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 501.

3. 13. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF DAN. 7.25

Since Matthew is not directly quoting Daniel here, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to on another). However, Matthew certainly is directly referring to ideas that are the relevant to the Daniel passage, for Daniel's account specifically relates to the persecuting power, as does Matthew's. The key relevant phrases are "he will wear out the holy ones of the Most High" (Dan. 7.25) and "they will hand you over to tribulation" (Matt. 24.9). Nothing seems to be symbolic in either of these passages, and they share the same theme: persecution of the chosen community by evil outside forces.

3.14 Matthew 24.9/Daniel 11.33

3. 14. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.9

καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς

"and they will kill you."

b) Daniel 11.33

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν φλογὶ καὶ ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ καὶ ἐν διαρπαγῇ ἡμερῶν

"And for days they will fall by sword and by flame and by captivity and by plundering"

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wənikšəlû bəḥereb ûbəlehābāh bišbî ûbəbizzāh yāmîm

"And for days they will fall by sword and by flame and by captivity and by confiscation."

3. 14. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.9* AND *DAN. 11.33*

The proposed parallels here seem to be more indirect than direct. Matthew shows a transitive verb with a direct object (“they will kill you”). The Greek of the Septuagint and the Hebrew of the Masoretic Text show intransitive verbs with prepositional phrases of instrumentality.

Although the actual linguistic structures involved are quite different, the general concept of death and destruction is common to both Matthew and Daniel.

3. 14. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 11.33*

Direct references, as seen in the previous example, are not always direct quotes. Thus is the situation that we may find in *Dan. 11.33* in comparison with *Matt. 24.9*. As Matthew gives the blunt statement “they will kill you,” Daniel gives a brief catalogue of means by which death occurs (“by sword, by fire”). Hence, one may say that Matthew has *generalized* the specifics of Daniel. In spite of this possible thematic connection, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection with one another).

Neither text appears to relate concerning symbolic matters. Both Matthew and Daniel envision a point of near total eradication of the people of God, only through Whose intervention does salvation come.

3.15 Matthean Community’s Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.9

Matthew presents two important elements common to apocalyptic persecution: 1) betrayal, and 2) extirpation. He does not specify the “they” who are doing the persecuting, though he does identify the persecuted: “you,” likely meaning the community. The Greek word παραδώσουσιν can mean either “they will hand over” or “they will betray.” If he is drawing from *Dan. 7.25*, then “hand over” probably fits best here. In addition, Daniel identifies specifically the persecutor

(a horn that arises after the ten horns of the fourth [i.e., iron] kingdom, likely representing Antiochus Epiphanes) and the persecuted (the holy ones, referring to the Hasidim in rebellion against forced Hellenization). If Matthew indeed has referred to Dan. 7.25 in this context, then the “ἁγιοὶ” in Matt. 24.9 can also be identified with “holy ones” in Dan. 7.25, or at least share in the apocalyptic struggle that the saints in *Daniel* experience.

The slaughter of the godly is not an unusual theme in apocalyptic literature, for often such works arise particularly out of persecution as a means to bring meaning to the struggles faced by the persecuted community. Admittedly, then, it is difficult to justify Mann’s position that there is some connection here between Matthew and Daniel. Yet, if some connection can be made, we may observe that Matthew gives a blunt summary of “they will kill you,” whereas Daniel catalogues the instruments/methods involved: sword, fire, captivity, plunder (Dan. 11.33) (see section 3.14.3 above). In regard to Christian persecution, Eusebius relates concerning Nero’s “imperial sword rage” as a never-before experience of the early Church.⁹⁸ In *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, we see that “the fire of their cruel torturers had no heat for them” [i.e., the martyrs].⁹⁹ Such then is often the case with the persecution of “the elect.”

3.16 Matthew 24.13/Daniel 11.32; 12.1, 12

3. 16. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.13

ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται

“But the one having endured unto the end, this one will be saved.”

⁹⁸ Eusebius, *Church History*, 2.25 (Maier). Maier explains that since Eusebius incorrectly quoted Tertullian’s Latin into Greek, he (Maier) has given a literal translation taken directly from Tertullian and not from Eusebius.

⁹⁹ *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, 2.3 (Lake, LCL).

b) Daniel 11.32; 12.1, 12

(1) *Septuagint*: a. καὶ ἀνομοῦντες διαθήκην ἐπάξουσιν ἐν ὀλισθήμασιν καὶ λαὸς γινώσκοντες θεὸν αὐτοῦ κατισχύσουσιν καὶ ποιήσουσιν

“And those acting lawlessly will bring in a covenant by slips, and a people knowing their God will prevail and act” (11.32).

b. καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ σωθήσεται ὁ λαὸς σου, πᾶς ὁ εὐρεθεὶς γεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ... μακάριος ὁ ὑπομένων καὶ φθάσας εἰς ἡμέρας χιλίας τριακοσίας τριάκοντα πέντε

“And at that time your people will be saved, everyone having been found written in the book...Blessed is the one remaining and having reached unto the thousand three hundred and thirty-five days” (12.1, 12).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. ûmaršî'ê bərîṭ yaḥănîp baḥālaqqôt wə'am yôdə'ê 'ēlohāw yaḥāziqû wə'āšû

“And he will make profane with flatteries those making themselves guilty against the covenant, but the people knowing their God will be strong and will act” (11.32).

b. ûbā'ēt hahî' yimmālēt 'amməka kol-hannimšā' kātûb bassēper... 'āsrê hamḥakkeh wəyaggîa' ləyāmîm 'elep šəlōš mē'ôt šəlōšîm waḥāmiššāh

“And at that time your people will be delivered, all who are found written in the book...Blessed is the one who is patient and has reached to the thousand three hundred thirty and five days” (12.1, 12).

3. 16. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.13* AND *DAN. 11.32; 12.1, 12*

The proposed parallels here are more indirect than direct. Matthew appears to have drawn from two verses in Dan. 12 in order to construct v. 13 in ch. 24. He and Daniel use the word

σωθήσεται in reference to the chosen people (Daniel specifically mentions ὁ λαός σου). In addition, the verb ὑπομένω occurs in Matt. 24.13 and Dan. 12.12, Matthew showing a nominative singular aorist participle, Daniel a nominative singular present one. Although Dan. 11.32 does not appear to correspond with Matt. 24.13, one could make the case for a relationship between Matt. σωθήσεται and Dan. κατισχύσουσιν (“they will prevail”). The Septuagint follows the Masoretic Text quite closely, except in 12.12 where Gk. ὑπομένων (“remaining”) corresponds with Heb. הַמַּחֲמֵה (“the one being patient/waiting”). This seems to indicate here a closer lexical and semantic connection between Matthew and the Septuagint.

3. 16. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 11.32; 12.1, 12*

I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another). Matthew might be combining thoughts from Dan. 12.1 and 12.12 into one phrase. From Dan. 12.1, he perhaps derives the Gr. σωθήσεται, and from 12.12 Gr. ὑπομένων. Both Daniel and Matthew see salvation as not yet fully experienced, but to be realized only at the last day (Dan. 12.1 ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ; Matt. 24.13 εἰς τέλος). Perhaps this explains why Daniel declared “blessed is the one remaining steadfast and having attained unto the one thousand, three hundred and thirty-five days” (12.12).

By drawing from Dan. 11.32, Matthew applied “the people knowing their God” and “prevailing” to his own community. “Prevail” here (κατισχύσουσιν) can indicate that the people who are faithful will overcome, and Matthew seems to have equated this notion in Daniel with the concept of “remaining steadfast unto the end.” One important difference between the two texts, however, is that where Daniel states that the “one remaining steadfast” will be blessed (or, is blessed), Matthew specifies that it is unto salvation that one has remained faithful (“having remained steadfast”).

3.17 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.13

The assurance of salvation to the faithful embodies the central purpose of apocalyptic literature. Although Matthew 24—on the surface—is primarily a prophecy concerning the destruction of the Jewish temple, an event seen by early Christians as God's judgment upon the old religious order, it can be argued that the crux of the chapter lies in “enduring unto the end.” Matthew's soteriology, then, is one of *conditional* salvation, for he who would be faithful must endure—not for a time—but until “the end,” what “end” here means is not exactly clear. Matthew's notion is a reflection of Dan. 11.32, where those “knowing their God will prevail.” In addition, Daniel relates the importance of being “found written in the scroll,” which obviously is a register of those who “will be saved at that time” (Dan. 12.1). Furthermore, Daniel, like Matthew, emphasizes the importance of “enduring,” but presents the reward as a blessing, not necessarily as salvation. Finally, we see that Daniel gives an exact number of days that one *must attain to* in order to be “blessed”: 1,335 (Dan. 12.12). The significance of this number is debatable (see Redditt for a discussion of the various theories on this).¹⁰⁰ Matthew might have been perplexed at this number or felt that it bore no relevance to his own apocalyptic discourse.

One notable detail from Daniel that Matthew leaves out of his discourse is the concept of the “scroll of salvation.” We see a similar account of such a scroll in Ex. 32.32-33, where Moses pleads with God to blot him out of His book. Likewise, the New Testament contains a scroll of salvation called the “Book of Life,” found in Rev. 17.8; 20.15. To propose that Matthew was aware of such a concept, let alone considered such a book's importance to his notion of apocalyptic, is speculative. The only book mentioned in his Gospel is the “book of genealogy” found at the very beginning of his record. The other synoptic Gospels mention “the book of

¹⁰⁰ Paul L. Redditt, *Daniel* (TNCBC; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 195.

Moses,” but no other book, at least not a “scroll” of the saved, or a “book of life.” Perhaps the description of such a scroll had become in Matthew’s community a metaphor for stating that God keeps an account of the faithful. Propp notes that the “Mesopotamians held that the gods kept a ‘tablet of destiny.’”¹⁰¹ Hence, views of a deity holding a book of fate or of the faithful/elect is not unusual. Regardless of this point, both texts highlight the importance of “remaining steadfast.”

3.18 Matthew 24.14/Daniel 6.12

3. 18. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.14

καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν

“And this gospel of the kingdom will be preached in all the world for a witness to all the nations.”

b) Daniel 6.12

(1) *Septuagint*: τότε οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι παρετήρησαν καὶ εὗρον τὸν Δανιηλ ἀξιοῦντα καὶ δεόμενον τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ

“Then those men watched closely and they found Daniel praying and beseeching his God.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: ’ēdayin gubrayyā’ ’illēk hargišû wəhaškahû ləḏānîyē’l bā’ē’ ûmithannan qōdam ’ēlāhēh

“Then those men came thronging and found Daniel requesting and imploring before his God.”

¹⁰¹ William H. Propp, *Exodus 19-40* (AB 2A; New York: Doubleday, 2006), 565.

3. 18. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.14* AND *DAN. 6.12*

There is little commonality to be drawn here, whether lexically or syntactically. Perhaps some semantic inference can be constructed in that Daniel's act of "praying and beseeching (Ara. "seeking and imploring") might indeed be construed as a "witness."

3. 18. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *DAN. 6.12*

It is difficult to substantiate Mann's position that Matthew has used Dan. 6.12 as a direct reference. If this passage from Daniel is an echo, it is a faint one. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection with to another). Although the term "witness" (Gk. μαρτύριον) does not occur in Daniel, leaving it difficult to perceive a direct correspondence, Daniel's acts of "praying and beseeching," though contrary to the command of the king, underscores his "testimony" or "witness" of his faithfulness to his God. Hence, we see, albeit faintly, a shared theme between that of Matthew's "witness to the nations" and Daniel's acts of witness unto the Medes and Persians. Finally, no symbol is discussed in either text.

3.19 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.14

The Greek word μαρτύριον, from which is derived the English word "martyr," often has legal connotations and can mean "proof" or "evidence." Therefore, Matthew's use of the word in conjunction with the proclamation of the gospel throughout the world appears to indicate that the gospel itself is "evidence" or "proof," but of what is unclear. Notice that Matthew describes the preaching of the gospel as a "witness to the nations," but not necessarily the means of their salvation. It appears that salvation is only for the "elect." If the gospel, or "good news," of the kingdom is the apocalyptic message that Jesus (or, in this case, the Matthean community) has

declared, then the “witness” unto the nations is the declaration that the apocalyptic age has arrived.¹⁰²

If the above be an accurate assessment of Matthew’s understanding of the gospel’s purpose, namely, to be a witness, this is a far cry from the notion of witness in Dan. 6.12. Here, Daniel’s “witness unto the nations” is not an apocalyptic message of the coming kingdom where all wrongs will be made right, but rather it is the prophet’s simple act of prayer to God, even in the face of certain death under royal decree. Although Daniel’s faithfulness leads to his being cast into a den of lions, God is faithful to deliver him. Daniel in this account could be a representation of the apocalyptic community that is vindicated “on the last day.”

Just as Daniel’s prayers to God three times a day were a witness to and condemnation of the governors and satraps, even so the gospel through its witness will condemn “the nations” of the world while saving “the elect” drawn from them.

3.20 Matthew 24.15/Daniel 11.31; 12.11; 9.27

3. 20. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.15

Ὅταν οὖν ἴδετε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως

“Therefore, whenever you see the abomination of desolation...”

¹⁰² Of course, the purpose of witnessing to the nations is to “make disciples,” as Jesus states in Matthew chapter 28. However, the fact that the elect are called from the nations does not mean that the nations themselves participate in the salvation offered through apostolic preaching. “Teaching/discipling all nations” does not equal “saving” all nations. Otherwise, Matthew’s soteriology would be universalist and create problems of interpreting passages regarding the destruction of the wicked in Gehenna (Matt. 5.20, 22, 29, 30; 7.13, 19; 8.12; 13.41-42, 49-50; 18.8, 9; 22.13).

b) Daniel 11.31; 12.11; 9.27

(1) *Septuagint*: a. καὶ μεταστήσουσιν τὸν ἐνδελεχισμόν καὶ δώσουσιν βδέλυγμα ἡφανισμένον

“And they will remove the continual [sacrifice] and they will give the desolate abomination” (11.31).

b. καὶ ἀπὸ καιροῦ παραλλάξεως τοῦ ἐνδελεχισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δοθῆναι βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως...

“And from the time of the change of the continual [sacrifice] and [when] the abomination of desolation has been given” (12.11).

c. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων, καὶ ἕως συντελείας καιροῦ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν

“And upon the temple [is] the abomination of desolations, and until the end of time an end will be given to the desolation” (9.27).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. wəhēsîrû hattāmîd wənātənû haššiqqûš məšômēm

“And they will remove the continual (offering), and they will establish the detested thing causing horror” (11.31).

b. ûmē’ēt hōsar hattāmîd wəlātēt šiqqûš šômēm

“And from the time the continual (offering) has been removed and unto the establishing of the detested thing causing horror...” (12.11)

c. wə’al kənap šiqqûšîm məšômēm wə’ad-kālāh wəneḥērāšāh tittak ‘al-šômēm

“And upon a wing of detested things is one causing horror, even until complete destruction, and the determined end will gush forth upon one causing horror” (9.27).

3. 20. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.15* AND *DAN. 11.31; 12.11; 9.27*

Matthew exhibits direct correspondence both lexically and syntactically with Dan. 12.11 and 9.27 in the Septuagint (βδέλυγμα...ἐρημώσεως). In the Septuagint, the genitive appears either in the singular, just as in Matthew (ἐρημώσεως) or in the plural (ἐρημώσεων). Daniel lacks the definite article in the singular, but displays it in the plural, corresponding with Matthew's use of the definite article in the singular. Septuagint Dan. 11.31 also contains the term βδέλυγμα, but employs a perfect passive participle instead of a substantive in the genitive (ἡφανισμένον, "having been blotted out"). It does not appear, then, that Matthew likely drew from the Hebrew of the Masoretic Text in this case, though similar expressions are indeed found in the Heb.:

(שְׂקוּצִים מְשֻׁמִּים; שְׂקָץ שׁוּמָם; הַשְׂקוּץ מְשֻׁמָּם)

3. 20. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *DAN. 11.31; 12.11; 9.27*

Mann classifies Dan. 11.31 and 12.11 as direct references in Matt. 24.15, with Dan. 9.27 as an echo. Although Dan. 11.31 shows the Gr. βδέλυγμα, the passage lacks the word ἐρήμωσις, showing the participle ἡφανισμένον instead. Both Dan. 12.11 and 9.27 display nearly verbatim the Greek phrase appearing in Matthew: βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως. Hence, I would classify all passages from Daniel here as direct references, or Dan. 11.31 at least as a strong echo.

Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #1 (passages which are clear cases of direct references or echoes/allusions, based on strong lexical connections).

The mere presence of the word βδέλυγμα in Matthew does not necessitate correspondence with Dan. 11.31, for this word occurs in a number of places in the Septuagint (namely, in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, 1-2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Malachi). The context and the fact that

Matthew mentions Daniel by name as well as the phrase itself is a compelling factor. However, how Daniel understood this phrase differs significantly from how Matthew understood it. The common theme here is the temple's status as a holy place.

3.21 Matthew 24.15/Daniel 9.27

4. 21. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.15

ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ

“in a [or, the] holy place”

b) Daniel 9.26

(1) *Septuagint*: τὸ ἅγιον διαφθερεῖ

“he shall destroy the sanctuary...”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəḥaqqodeš yašḥîṭ

“and he shall ruin the sanctuary...”

3. 21. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.15* AND *DAN. 9.27*

Matthew and the Septuagint show some correspondence, but primarily lexically rather than syntactically. In addition, they both use the word ἅγιος, though the Septuagint uses it as a substantive, whereas Matthew uses it as an adjective. Furthermore, the Septuagint here is a literal translation of the Masoretic Text. Hence, Daniel appears to be closer to the Hebrew than Matthew's Greek is to the Greek of the Septuagint.

3. 21. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *DAN.* 9.27

Matthew employs the Greek word ἅγιος with a notable addition: τόπος (“place”). Daniel’s lack of this word does not prevent the phrase τὸ ἅγιον from referring to the temple. However, by adding τόπος to his account, Matthew leaves no doubt as to what “the holy thing” mentioned in Daniel is. Daniel states specifically that “the holy thing” (often translated as “sanctuary”) will be destroyed. Matthew indicates that “the holy place” is where the “abomination of desolation” will stand. Hence, both see an unbearable disaster occurring to what a number of scholars have considered historically to be Israel’s most sacred place. Because of the use of similar vocabulary, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignored).

3.22 Matthew 24.15/Daniel 9.23, 25

3. 22. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.15

ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω

“Let the one reading understand.”

b) Daniel 9.23, 25

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ἐννοήθητι ἐν τῷ ῥήματι καὶ σύνες ἐν τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ... καὶ γνώση καὶ συνήσεις

“And consider the word and understand the vision...and you will know and understand.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: ûbîn badābār wəhābēn bamar’eh...wəṭēda’ wətaškel

“And discern the word and understand the vision...and know and understand.”

3. 22. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.15* AND *DAN.9.23, 25*

The language employed in Matthew and the Septuagint shares the lexeme meaning “understand.” In Matthew, this shows up as the word νοέω; in Daniel, it contains the preverb/prefix ἐν- and means “consider.” In addition, although Matthew’s ἀναγινώσκω does not mean the same as Daniel’s γινώσκω (9.25), the base forms are identical. Could Matthew be reflecting this in the form containing the preverb ἀνά? Semantically speaking, σύνες and συνήσεις in Daniel are synonymous with νοεῖτω in Matthew. Unlike the Greek in the Septuagint, the Masoretic Text employs in Dan. 9.23 the same lexeme, but in different derivational forms, with בִּן being a Qal imperative, meaning “discern,” and הִבֵּן being the same root, but in the Hiphil and meaning “understand.” In addition, the Masoretic Text uses a different root in Dan. 9.25, exhibiting תִּשְׁכַּל, the Hiphil 2nd person jussive here meaning “understand.” Matthew, then, appears to be drawing from the Septuagint rather than from the Masoretic Text.

3. 22. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 9.23, 25*

Mann rightfully classifies this passage from Daniel as an echo. Hence, because of sufficient similarities, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #2 (passages based upon lexical and grammatical structures that are not necessarily identical in form or construction, but are too similar lexically, morphologically, or semantically to be ignored). However, the common theme of “understanding” is essential to Matthew’s warning. In addition, Matthew’s exhortation to read with understanding is an aside from the main text of the Matthean eschatological discourse, just as the comparable passage from Daniel is an aside in which Gabriel commands Daniel to understand the revelation of the seventy weeks. Since both passages (of course) employ apocalyptic language, perhaps the exhortation/imperative to “know

and understand” (Dan. 9.25), or to “let the one reading understand” (Matt. 24.15) indicates that the information is exclusionary, fit for only those belonging to the “in-community.”

3.23 Matthean Community’s Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.15

Here we have the most salient, obvious reference to Daniel with the clearest example of Matthew’s exegesis of the Daniel passage. Both Matthew and Daniel use the phrase τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως in relation to the second Jewish temple: the former text being in regard to its destruction, the latter in regard to its desecration. Furthermore, both texts view the demise of the temple to be at the hands of a foreign, oppressive power. The causes of the oppression in each case, however, have been understood by a number of scholars to be different. For example, according to Helmut Koester, the Maccabean Revolt (concerning which Daniel apocalyptically writes) was initially due to the Seleucid response to the rebellion of the Jewish people and not *strictly* because of religious intolerance.¹⁰³ Peter Green corroborates Koester’s position by stating

There was not, as yet, any hint of interference with Jewish religious practices (except insofar as the sale of the high priesthood and the introduction of Greek fashion could be held, *per se*, to constitute offenses against the Jewish faith), and at the time of Antiochus IV’s famous letter rescinding his religious persecution the Jews were clearly still regarded as an autonomous, if tributary, *ethnos*. At the very most, it seems clear, what Jason envisaged was a privileged enclave, a Greek-style *politeuma* within the Jewish theocracy; and probably no more, in fact, than the creation of a specially favored cosmopolitan class dedicated to social and political self-advancement via the promotion of Hellenism.¹⁰⁴

The “abomination of desolation,” in which Antiochus Epiphanes transformed the temple dedicated to the Jewish deity unto the cult of Zeus Baal Shamayin (whose sacred rock was

¹⁰³ Helmut Koester, *History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age* (Introduction to the New Testament; 2nd ed.; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 204.

¹⁰⁴ Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 510.

brought into the temple) and, hence, desecrating it, did not initiate the rebellion, but rather was Antiochus' reaction to it.

On the other hand, Barrois states that Antiochus' act of dedicating the temple in Jerusalem to Zeus Olympus provoked the "pious" Jews to revolt, the event thus indicating that the major cause of the revolution was religious.¹⁰⁵ The book of I Maccabees corroborates this claim, and McEleney asserts that the author of this text is a "trustworthy witness of men and events."¹⁰⁶

However, the causes for the revolt were likely more complicated and nuanced than being simply either political or religious. For example Bailey and Kent appear to describe below a more complicated background for the conflict.

One Menelaus...now supplanted Jason by bribing Antiochus, using for the purpose not only taxes newly wrung from the people but some of the temple treasure. In reply to the protests of the pious he caused their leader, the exiled Onias, to be put to death. Jerusalem was now ablaze with anger. At that critical moment (172 B. C.), war broke out between Antiochus and Egypt, and Antiochus marched into the delta. When report came that Antiochus had been killed in battle, the opponents of Menelaus and all that he stood for rose in rebellion and put an end to the hated ones by wholesale murder. The report about Antiochus, however, proved to be false. On his return from Egypt, Antiochus turned aside to punish Jerusalem, and punish her he did most mercilessly. Not only were the tables turned and the pious slaughtered, but the temple was wholly looted of its treasure. The avenger polluted the Holy of Holies by entering it in person, stole the golden altar, the candlestick, the cups, the censers, and even scaled off all the gold plating on the face of the building.

Angered and embittered by later political event, Antiochus then decided to root out forever the Jewish religion that stood in the way of realizing his policy of Hellenizing the Jews. He made proclamation that all Jewish religious customs should cease: there should be no more Sabbath, no circumcision, no clean and unclean food, no sacrifice to Jehovah; and that whoever should be found to possess a book of the law should be put to death.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Georges A. Barrois, "Survey of the Geography, History, and Archaeology of the Bible Lands," in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha* (ed. Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger; New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 1544-45.

¹⁰⁶ Neil J. McEleney, "1-2 Maccabees," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 423.

¹⁰⁷ A.E. Bailey and C.F. Kent, *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth* (New York: Charles Scribener's Sons, 1935), 308.

Rappaport agrees with this view, and has given a more detailed description of this event,¹⁰⁸ as also has Bartlett.¹⁰⁹

The point, then, is that Matthew took an account of a complex, nuanced event and shaped it according to the relevance of his own community. Although the destruction of the temple in 70 AD was due to rebellion and not to religious persecution,¹¹⁰ nevertheless Matthew has interpreted Daniel's account in order to promote the apocalyptic worldview to the members of his community. His point in mentioning Daniel's "abomination of desolation" is not simply or solely to warn the community about Roman persecution (though he *does* warn them in other parts of the discourse "to endure" trials), but instead to give the community a "barometer" of the times and—perhaps—to use the events surrounding the temple's destruction as the decisive marker of the split of Pharisaic Judaism into Rabbinic Judaism and Messianic Judaism (later to develop into Christianity).¹¹¹

That the "abomination of desolation" has connections with the desecration/destruction of the temple is indicated by Matthew's use of the phrase ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ. Although Daniel does not specify "place" in conjunction with his use of the word "holy," nevertheless it is assumed that the temple is the referent. Matthew has simply clarified any possible ambiguity in Daniel and leaves no doubt as to what the term "holy" refers.

¹⁰⁸ U. Rappaport, "1 Maccabees," in *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (ed. John Barton and John Muddiman; Oxford: OUP, 2000) 713-714.

¹⁰⁹ John R. Bartlett, "1 Maccabees," in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (ed. James D.G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 809, 810.

¹¹⁰ M. Cary and H.H. Scullard, *A History of Rome* (3rd ed.; New York: Palgrave, 1975), 367.

¹¹¹ This is not to say that sharp divisions did not already exist among the various Jewish sects before the destruction of the temple. Pharisees were frequently at odds with Sadducees, and Essenes rejected the authority of both these main parties. Eusebius argues that the destruction of the temple was "God's punishment [for] their crime against Christ" (*Church History*, 3.5 [Maier]), hence an indication that he believed that the rift between Judaism and Christianity had likely occurred by the time the temple was destroyed.

Finally, in what seems to be an unusual aside, Matthew states: “Let the one reading understand.” Reading and knowing/understanding are important elements in apocalyptic literature. For example, in *Revelation*, “one like the Son of Man” tells John to write down his vision (1.19) (implying that what is written is to be read), and a blessing is promised to those who “read...and hear the words of this prophecy” (1.3). In *Daniel*, Gabriel tells the prophet to “consider the word and understand the vision” (9.23). For Matthew, “understand” likely means comprehension of truth in the light of his community’s hermeneutic, and that hermeneutic clearly is based upon a specific reading of *Daniel*. Therefore, when Matthew declares “Let the one reading understand,” is he referring to the reading of the *Book of Daniel* or to that of his own eschatological discourse? I argue that he probably means the reading of Daniel because 1) the “abomination of desolation” is a specific, direct reference to the *Book of Daniel* in light of Matthew’s temple discourse, 2) Matthew mentions Daniel by name in conjunction with the relevant quote, and 3) the phrase ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω occurs immediately after this reference.

3.24 Matthew 24.21/Daniel 12.1

3. 24. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.21

ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ γένηται

“For then there will be a great suffering, which has not occurred from the beginning of the world until now, nor will occur.”

b) Daniel 12.1

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ ἔσται καιρὸς θλίψεως, θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀφ’ οὗ γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου

“And there will be a time of suffering, a suffering which has not occurred from when there has existed a nation upon the earth until that time.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wəhāyətāh ‘ēt šārāh ’āšer lō’–nihyətāh mihyôt gôy ‘ad ha’ēt hahî’

“And there will be a time of distress that has not been from the existence of the nation until that time.”

3. 24. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.21* AND *DAN. 12.1*

Matthew and the corresponding Septuagint display the word θλίψις (“suffering, persecution, trial, tribulation”). The particularized nature of this “tribulation” is described in both passages with similar expressions: “such as has not occurred.” The Masoretic Text employs the term צָרָה, “distress,” a word semantically close to Greek θλίψις. In addition, the Hebrew conveys the same thought of intensity: no such stress will ever exist like the one coming:

לֹא־נִהְיָתָה מִהְיוֹת גּוֹי עַד הַעַתְּ הַהִיא

3. 24. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 12.1*

This passage from Daniel is clearly a direct reference in Matthew for the following reasons:

- 1) Both Daniel and Matthew use the word θλίψις to designate the strife or persecution that their respective communities will undergo.
- 2) The nature of the θλίψις is described in both passages in nearly the exact same words, namely that the θλίψις which the community must face is unlike any to occur in history. According to Matthew, this means from the beginning of the world until the present (i.e.,

Matthew's) time; according to Daniel, from the existence of the (or a) nation "upon the earth" until "that time" (ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου).

Hence, we see the theme of 1) persecution and 2) its unique intensity. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #1 (passages which are clear cases of direct references or echoes/allusions, based on strong lexical connections). Finally, there exists no indication that Daniel and Matthew intended their respective passages to be taken other than literally.

3.25 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.21

Matthew and Daniel refer to a future persecution (ἔσται...θλίψις), albeit it is unclear whether this is a prophecy after-the-fact or a real prediction. However, both texts could be warnings of worse things to come. Matthew has reanalyzed Daniel's ἀπ' οὗ γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς to denote the time ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου. Daniel limits the intensity and scope of his community's persecution to that experienced ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, which can mean "upon the earth"¹¹² or "upon the land." Because he includes the word ἔθνος in conjunction with ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, it is possible that Daniel means "upon the land," hence giving "since there has been a nation upon the land," namely, the land of Canaan, for this is the land where the persecution of Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes primarily takes place.

Matthew, on the other hand, expands this notion by interpreting ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς to mean "upon the earth" (see Matt. 6.10) and, hence, rendering it in his discourse as ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ("from the beginning of the world/universe"). Note that Matthew has left out ἔθνος in his reference from Dan. 12.1, for the Matthean community no longer is to be identified as a nation based strictly upon blood genealogy, but rather as a community of both Jews and Gentiles based

¹¹² This very phrase is used in the Lord's Prayer in Matt. 6.10 with the certain connotation that "upon the earth" means the entire cosmos, not limited to a specific geographic location.

upon faith in Jesus as the Messiah. Hence, Matthew's view of the persecution that his community must face is of such intensity that the like has not been experienced anywhere or anytime in the world, and this persecution will not be limited to experiences within the land of Israel/Judah.

Furthermore, whereas Daniel gives the phrase ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκεῖνου, indicating a time to come (namely, when the persecution itself is to be realized), Matthew goes further with ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται. In this regard, he attempts to outdo Daniel in vividness or description. Yet, when compared to Mark's passage on the eschatological discourse, Matthew's is somewhat less embellished. Compare the following:

Matthew 24.21	Mark 13.19
ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη	ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι θλίψις
οἷα οὐ γέγονεν	οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου	ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἧν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεός
ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται	ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ οὐ μὴ γένηται

If one accepts Markan priority, then it follows that Matthew has truncated and reinterpreted Mark's discourse with little nuance. If, on the other hand, Matthean priority is to be accepted, then Mark has by logic embellished Matthew. Regardless, we see that both Gospel accounts have quoted from and reinterpreted *Daniel* in such a manner as to make Daniel's text relevant, for both Matthew and Mark employ ἕως τοῦ νῦν in similar fashion, indicating the imminence and immediacy of the experience.

3.26 Matthew 24.22/Daniel 12.1; 9.24

3. 26. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.22

καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι

“and if those days had not been cut short”

b) Daniel 12.1; 9.24

(1) *Septuagint*: a. καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ σωθήσεται ὁ λαός σου, πᾶς ὁ εὑρεθεὶς γεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ

“And at that time your people will be saved, everyone having been found written in the book” (12.1).

b. ἐβδομήκοντα ἐβδομάδες συνετμήθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν σου τοῦ συντελεσθῆναι ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἀπαλεῖναι τὰς ἀνομίας καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν καὶ προφήτην καὶ τοῦ χρῖσαι ἅγιον ἁγίων

“Seventy weeks have been completed upon your people and upon your holy city in order to make an end to sin and to seal sins and to blot out lawless deeds and to purge unrighteousness and to bring eternal righteousness and to seal the vision and prophet and to anoint the holy of holies” (9.24).

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: a. ûbā‘ēt hahî’ yimmālēt ‘amməka kol–hannimšā’ kātûb bassēper

“And at that time your people will be delivered, all who are found written in the book” (12.1).

b. šābu‘îm šib‘îm neḥtak ‘al–‘amməka wə‘al–‘îr qodšeka ləkallē’ happeša’ ûləḥātēm ḥatṭā’ôt ûləkapēr ‘āwōn ûləḥābî’ šedeq ‘olāmîm wəlaḥtōm ḥāzôn wənābî’ wəlimšōaḥ qōdeš qādāšîm

“Seventy weeks have been imposed upon your people and upon your holy city to finish punishment for transgression and to complete the sin and to cover guilt and to bring in eternal righteousness, and to seal the vision and the prophet, and to anoint the holy of holies” (9.24).

3. 26. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.22* AND *DAN. 12.1; 9.24*

Matthew shares no linguistic structure or lexical items with the Septuagint, nor does there seem to be a relationship between Matthew 24.22 and the Masoretic Text of Dan. 12.1 or 9.24 in which Matthew has translated any portion therein from the Hebrew. These passages in question do not appear to be related, but as we shall see, there is a common theme running between the two.

3. 26. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY'S USE OF *DAN. 12.1; 9.24*

These passages above from Daniel are at best echoes, though Mann holds Dan. 12.1 to be a direct reference. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another). The concept of “cutting short those days” not only does *not* occur in Daniel, but it is not even implied in either of the passages therein. The question, then, is what the common theme (or themes) might entail. Let us assume that the implication lies, not in Daniel, but in Matthew. The conditional statement that we see in Matt. 24.22 is contrary-to-fact, meaning that those days *were* to be cut short and that flesh *was* saved (whether it will be some or all flesh is debatable). Now, we see that Daniel does not imply anything here, but specifically states that “at that time your people will be saved.” In addition, if Mann’s classification be correct, Dan. 9.24 give us further explication concerning “that day” and its events, stating:

Seventy weeks have been determined upon your people and upon your holy city.

Is Matthew equating the shortening of “those days” with the seventy weeks? Does the prophecy of “the seventy weeks,” in fact, have any bearing upon Matthew’s eschatology? This we will attempt to investigate in the following section on exegesis.

3.27 Matthean Community's Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.22

Matthew's "cutting short of days" does not appear verbatim as such in *Daniel* and, hence, appears to be a difficult phrase to draw out of Daniel's prophecies, if Daniel referred to such a concept at all. The passage from *Daniel* that most clearly corresponds in theme to Matt. 24.22 is Dan. 9.24, which in the Hebrew states

שבעים שבעם נחתך

The verb נחתך has been traditionally translated as "has been determined." However, it may also denote "to divide, cut off." This latter translation corresponds well with the Septuagint verb συνετμήθησαν ("have been cut off"). Although the verb in Matthew is of a quite different derivation, ἐκολοβώθησαν ("they had been cut short"), it is relatively close semantically to the Greek. Daniel's passage states that a certain number of days has been "cut off" or "determined" upon Daniel's people. Matthew goes further, stating that the number of determined days themselves must be (and will be) cut short; otherwise, no flesh would be saved (literally, "all flesh would not have been saved"). In Daniel's vision, a time comes for sins to be blotted out, atonement to be made, and for Daniel's vision to be "sealed." Is this passage in Daniel a description of a time of testing, or one of judgment and retribution upon the evil powers? In Matthew, such powers will become so evil and abusive that God will have to intervene and cut short the time of suffering (θλίψις) in order to save some of humanity. A tribulation similar to what Matthew describes occurred during the persecution under Nero, as related by Eusebius:

Once Nero's power was firmly established, he plunged into nefarious vices and took up arms against the God of the Universe. To describe his depravity is not part of the present work. Many have accurately recorded the facts about him, and from them any who wish may study his perverse and degenerate madness, which led him to destroy innumerable lives and finally to such indiscriminate murder that he did not spare even his nearest and

dearest...Despite all this, one crime still had to be added to his catalogue: he was the first of the emperors to be declared enemy of the Deity.¹¹³

Perhaps Nero's death at his own hands could be regarded as the act of fate (or of God) that cut short the days of terror in a manner not unlike that which Matthew relates.

3.28 Matthew 24.24/Daniel 8.24

3. 28 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.24

ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανῆσαι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς

“For there will arise false messiahs and false prophets, and they will give great signs and wonders so as to lead astray, if possible, even the chosen.”

b) Daniel 8.24

(1) *Septuagint*: καὶ κραταιὰ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ...καὶ θαυμαστὰ διαφθερεῖ καὶ κατευθυνεῖ καὶ ποιήσει

“And powerful is his strength...and he will destroy wonderful things, and he will prosper and act.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: wə'āšam kōḥô...wəniplā'ôṭ yašḥîṭ wəhišlîaḥ wə'āšāh

“And his power will be mighty... and he will destroy marvelous things, and he will prosper and accomplish.”

¹¹³ Eusebius, *Church History*, 2.25 (Maier).

3. 28. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.24* AND *DAN. 8.24*

These parallels are very weak. This passage is similar to the previous section on “deceiving” (see 3.3.2). Matthew may be drawing from the same passage as previously investigated.

Although the passages are not related by language, they are somewhat so by theme.

3. 28. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 8.24*

This correspondence is at best an echo in that no direct reference occurs, whether in verbal usage or synonymous phrases. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #3 (passages containing little, if any, connection to one another). The themes are somewhat related in that as the he-goat in Daniel shall prosper to destroy, false christs and false prophets shall destroy the lives of would-be converts, perhaps even the community of the truly faithful being subject to deception were it possible. Daniel gives a symbolic vision that reflects a core reality of suffering within his community. Matthew, on the other hand, describes a real suffering without symbolism.

3.29 Matthean Community’s Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.24

There are three verses in Matthew 24 that treat the concept of “deception”: 5, 11, and 24. Each of these verses clarifies and particularizes the preceding reference. For example, consider the following:

24.5 “For many will come in my name saying, ‘I am Christ,’ and they will deceive many.”

24.11 “And many false prophets will arise, and they will deceive many.”

24.24 “For there will arise false christs and false prophets and they will give great signs and wonders so as to deceive, if possible, even the elect.”

Hence, the account progresses from

“many”→”false prophets”→”false christs and false prophets,”

all practicing deception. In addition, Matthew mentions the “great signs and wonders” that these false prophets will perform, acts that correspond to Dan.8.24, where the evil power “will destroy wondrous things.” Here, we see an interesting difference between Daniel and Matthew:

Daniel’s evil power will *destroy* wondrous things, whereas Matthew’s “*will give*” (δώσουσιν) them.

3.30 Matthew 24.30/Daniel 7.13-14

3. 30. 1 PASSAGES TO BE EXAMINED

a) Matthew 24.30

καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς

“And they will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of the sky with power and much glory.”

b) Daniel 7.13-14

(1) *Septuagint*: ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος ἦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασε καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσηνέχθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ βασιλεία, καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι αὐτῷ δουλεύουσιν · ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἣτις οὐ παρελεύσεται, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οὐ διαφθαρήσεται

“I saw in the vision of the night and, behold, one as a son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and he came before the Ancient of Days and was brought into His presence. And to him there was given rule, honor, and a kingdom, and all the peoples,

tribes, tongues will serve him; his authority is an eternal authority, which will not pass away, and his kingdom will not be destroyed.”

(2) *Hebrew Bible*: ḥāzēh ḥāwēt bəḥezwê lēlōyā’ wa’ārū ‘im-‘ānānê šəmayyā’ kəbar ’ənāš ’ātēh

ḥāwāh wə‘ad-‘attīq yōmayyā’ məṭāh ūqədāmôhî haqrəbūhî: wəlēh yəhîb šolṭān wîqār

ûmalkû wəkōl ‘aməmayyā’ ’umayyā’ wəliššānayyā’ lēh yipləḥûn šolṭānēh šolṭān ‘ālam

dî-lō’ ye‘dēh ûmalkûtēh dî-lō’ titḥabbal

“I saw [lit. I was seeing] in the visions of the night and, behold, there was coming with the clouds of heaven one like a son of man, and he reached unto the Ancient of Days, and they presented him before Him. And to him there was given dominion and honor and a kingdom, and all peoples, nations, and tongues will pay reverence to him; his dominion is an eternal dominion that will not pass away, and his kingdom which will not be destroyed.”

3. 30. 2 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE LANGUAGE OF *MATT. 24.30* AND *DAN. 7.13-14*

Comparable to Matthew’s phrase μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς (“with power and much glory”), we see in Daniel the words ἐξουσία (“authority/power”) and βασιλεία (“kingdom”). In addition, Daniel includes other words presumably in reference to the divine figure: ἀρχή (“rule”) and τιμή (“honor”). The comparable Aramaic words in the Masoretic Text are: מלכו (“kingdom”), יקר (“dignity”), שלטן (“dominion”). The Aramaic repeats שלטן for Greek ἐξουσία. Though no real linguistic relationship is evident (at least in structure), the passages are semantically similar.

3. 30. 3 MATTHEAN COMMUNITY’S USE OF *DAN. 7.13-14*

This appears to be a direct reference, even though the words δύναμις and δόξα do not appear in the Septuagint. However, the terms βασιλεία, τιμή, ἀρχή, and ἐξουσία certainly convey these

notions found in Matthew 24.30. Hence, the themes are quite similar, particularly in regard to the contexts found in both texts. Therefore, I have classified this correspondence as belonging to category #1 (passages which are clear cases of direct references or echoes/allusions, based on strong lexical connections). The mysterious “son of man” occurs in both passages and receives these marks of kingly rule. Both the Book of Daniel and the Gospel of Matthew concern the coming Kingdom of Heaven/God. In Daniel, it is an important aspect of the entire apocalyptic work. In Matthew, it is realized in the apocalyptic community, but will also be fully realized at the time of the παρουσία. In Daniel, “the son of man” account is part of the vision that Daniel experiences; in Matthew, “the coming of the Son of Man” is part of the revelatory prophecy given the apostles on the Mount of Olives. Nevertheless, the common theme is clear: The person of the son of man will enter history at the final day of consummation in order to right all wrongs and bring about universal justice for all time.

3.31 Matthean Community’s Exegesis of Daniel in Matthew 24.30

Matthew describes a typical Jewish apocalyptic image: the climax of history in which God intervenes to vindicate the righteous and to destroy the wicked. Daniel’s account of his “visions of the night” in which he sees that “one as a son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven” (Dan.7.13) is a powerful image that resonates with the other synoptic Gospels. Matthew describes the coming of the Son of Man as a “sign” that “appears.” In Daniel’s account, the son of man is brought to the “Ancient of Days,” who awards him with kingly honors and authority. In Matthew, this event is described as “with power and much glory.” The other two synoptic Gospels give the same description. Daniel’s description in 7.14 is more detailed, listing ἀρχή, τιμή, βασιλεία, and ἐξουσία αἰώνιος as gifts given to the son of man by the Ancient of Days. This correspondence is an excellent example in which the embellishment (if we may call it such)

precedes the subsequent borrowing text, hence, a debunking of the notion that embellishments of a similar text must mean the embellished text is a later development. In addition to the Son of Man reception of these royal markers of authority, Daniel states that “all peoples, tribes, tongues will serve him.” This concept is echoed in Rev.10.11 and 17.15. It is not clear as to why Matthew does not specify this range of authority, nor does he echo Daniel’s sentiment: “His authority is an eternal authority, which will not pass away, and his kingdom will not be destroyed.” Perhaps Matthew was content to relate

ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσεται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν

“Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away.”

Hence, this passage equates Jesus’ words with his kingdom authority.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

If there is enough dynamite in the New Testament to blow up the whole world, then Matthew 24 lights the fuse. The materials used to create such a spiritual powder keg were not drawn from a vacuum, but have been woven craftily together from a number of sources, primarily the Old Testament, but not to exclude important factors such as geopolitical and cultural influences. Perhaps except for technology, few influences arguably have had a deeper, wider effect upon culture than have religion and language. Culture is an entity composed of essentials which, if altered or removed, profoundly affect any unique status that it may have had. Such a point we have observed in our examination of Matthew 24. To know what the text literally says is not necessarily to know what the text was intended to mean. Hence, Matthew 24 was not composed in a vacuum, but rather a number of factors have come together in complex ways to give us a very richly packed text. If we accept Markan priority, namely that Matthew knew Mark's Gospel and drew his Eschatological Discourse from Mark 13, then that is one important factor to consider when one attempts to understand the Matthean text. In addition, Matthew's identity, the demographics of his community, his worldview, his religious experiences, his cultural background, the languages he spoke (or did not speak), his place of residence, the books with which he was familiar, his knowledge of the Jewish tradition, all these are important elements that a scholar needs to consider in reading the New Testament text.

Furthermore, additional factors similar to those above are important if not essential to reading any seminal text. For example, consider the plays of William Shakespeare. The bard

from Stratford-On-Avon interwove masterfully in his works ideas and echoes/allusions from the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, Plutarch's *Lives*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Montesquieu's essays, British history, and late-medieval and early-renaissance worldviews. In addition, one cannot ignore other factors, such as the fact that he lived in England during the age of Elizabeth I and James I. Catholic dominance in England was at that time at its ebb. New philosophies and the new understanding of old texts (such as the Bible) were on the rise. The foundations for the next consequential intellectual, technological, and cultural movement—the Enlightenment—were beginning to be set in place, though its realization would not begin to be felt for about another century. Hence, in this light the reading of great works, or what have been traditionally labeled “classics,” often requires a familiarity with a particular literary tradition. Although authors while composing frequently draw upon previous texts, nevertheless they reshape the old into a text that is significantly new.

Therefore, we may recognize and examine factors similar to those above and apply them as a rubric in an investigation of Matthew 24. From the text alone, we can discern, then, a number of likely facts:

1) *The author was a Jew.* Of the synoptic eschatological discourses, only Matthew's contains the phrase μηδὲ σαββάτῳ “nor on the Sabbath,” implying Sabbath observance at least within the Matthean community. The question is whether a strictly or predominantly Gentile community would follow this practice, especially in light of Paul's counsels concerning observance of Mosaic Law. A community of Jewish believers, however, who identify themselves as observant Jews, would apparently be more inclined to continue a practice that they have been accustomed to keeping.

2) *The message is apocalyptic.* The numerous echoes from and allusions to Isaiah and especially Daniel demonstrate an apocalyptic worldview and message. The descriptions of cataclysms in nature (24.7), persecution of the righteous (24.9, 21), violation of the sacred (24.15), and vindication of the elect (24.30-31) are reminiscent of events in Daniel, *1 Enoch*, 4 Ezra, and Revelation.

3) *The Vorlage is debatable.* Passages that are echoes (and they make up the majority of references) could reflect either the Septuagint or Masoretic Text. Those that are direct references seem to correspond closer to the Septuagint, though the correspondence is not always strong. Consider the following:

Matt. 24.29	Isaiah 13.10 (LXX)
καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς	καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς

The above shows a strong correspondence, for the two passages differ in only one word (φέγγος/φῶς), though the meaning of the two words are essentially the same. However, the correspondence with the Hebrew text is arguably just as strong:

Isaiah 13.10 (MT)	
וירח לא־יגיה אורו	“And the moon will not cause its light to shine.”

The major difference between the correspondences, however, is that the verbal usage in Matthew lines up closer to that in the Septuagint than that in the Masoretic Text.

On the other hand, one reference leaves no doubt as to its source, as Matthew not only directly quotes Daniel’s “abomination of desolation” phrase, but also mentions Daniel by name. Although all the synoptic Gospels include this passage from Dan. 9.23, only Matthew tells the reader/hearer the source. By specifying Daniel as the source of his quote, Matthew adds validity

to his message, a necessity for credibility and authority if the hearers within the community are Jewish believers.

4) *The echoes/allusions are used in significantly new ways.* What I mean by “new ways” is that the texts are employed beyond their original meanings. As is often the case in the use of intertextuality, Matthew employs Isaiah and Daniel in manners that make these particular texts relevant to the experiences of his community. The beauty of Matthew’s composition is the skill he displays in interweaving a number of texts (e.g., Isaiah and Daniel) into a unified discourse. He has taken the few apocalyptic images in Isaiah and coupled them with certain images in the apocalypse of Daniel, all in a Christian context. It is interesting to see how little the echoes/allusions overlap, yet they seem to relate a unified message, which is apocalyptic, Jewish, yet also Christian.

Although this study has been limited to an investigation of the use of Isaiah and Daniel in Matthew 24, other topics in relation to this study have the potential to bear fruit. For example, Matthew 24 arguably draws from other sources, such as *1 Enoch*, especially the “Son of Man” passage in 24.30. In addition, a comparative analysis of Matthew 24 with Revelation could lead to insights into early Christian apocalyptic. (It would not be surprising if such a study has already been conducted on this topic)

In conclusion, we may note that just as Matthew reinterpreted texts and used them to come to terms with the trials that his own community was facing, even so his own text has demonstrated its importance and has been used (and continues to be used) in recent times to understand the challenges that a number of communities today must face in light of “modernity” (i.e., the modern and post-modern ages). Jim Jones and the People’s Temple, David Koresh and Waco, and Heaven’s Gate: these and like movements remind us of the powerful influence of

apocalypticism and the apocalyptic interpretation of texts. The very notion of apocalypticism “echoes” down into our present world and consciousness.

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