War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition

EDITED BY

Lawrence Schiffman
and Joel B. Wolowelsky

Robert S. Hirt, Series Editor

THE ORTHODOX FORUM

The Orthodox Forum, initially convened by Dr. Norman Lamm, Chancellor of Yeshiva University, meets each year to consider major issues of concern to the Jewish community. Forum participants from throughout the world, including academicians in both Jewish and secular fields, rabbis, *rashei yeshivah*, Jewish educators, and Jewish communal professionals, gather in conference as a think tank to discuss and critique each other's original papers, examining different aspects of a central theme. The purpose of the Forum is to create and disseminate a new and vibrant Torah literature addressing the critical issues facing Jewry today.

The Orthodox Forum Series
is a project of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary,
an affiliate of Yeshiva University

This book was typeset by Jerusalem Typesetting, www.jerusalemtype.com

*   *   *

Contents

War in Jewish Apocalyptic Thought

Lawrence H. Schiffman

Numerous Jewish texts speak of great battles that will inaugurate the messianic age. In general terms, we will see that these texts draw their inspiration from the biblical background of the Holy War, but they develop into full-fledged apocalypses[1] in the Second Temple period. Hints of such concepts can be found in Talmudic literature, and they emerge again in post-Talmudic apocalyptic texts that are connected with the transition from Byzantine, to Persian, to Moslem rule. In general, these texts are associated with the catastrophic form of Jewish messianism, but we will also see that the great rationalist Maimonides likewise expected that his naturalistic messianic era would only dawn after the final defeat of the enemies of Israel personified as Gog and Magog.

THE BACKGROUND IN HOLY WAR

To understand the role of war in Jewish apocalyptic thought, it is nec-

essary to understand the concept that modern scholars have termed "Holy War."[2] This concept overlaps to some extent with the Talmudic notion of *milhemet mitzvah* ("war of obligation"), but the term "Holy War" emphasizes certain concepts of messianic war as well. "Holy War" denotes a war declared, led, and won by God Himself, modeled after the war of conquest of the Promised Land in the time of Joshua. Later we find this concept in terms of prophetic oracles of divine judgment against His own people for their transgressions or against the nations who have tormented Israel. These concepts are intimately linked to the notion of the Day of the Lord, and in a variety of ways these ideas influenced later Jewish apocalyptic literature. In the Bible, God Himself is a warrior (Ex. 15:3) and has the power to be victorious (1 Sam. 17:47).[3] God must be consulted as a prelude to the battles, or the war can even be declared by God Himself (Ex. 17:16, Num. 31:3), often sanctioned by the Urim and Thummim. The commander is inspired by prophetic powers, and if God's spirit leaves him, he will be defeated. Priestly support for the war is a necessity (Deut. 20:2, 1 Sam. 10:1). Soldiers must be ritually pure in battle (1 Sam. 21:14, Isa. 13:3), as they are God's soldiers, and the camps must be ritually pure (Deut. 23:12–14). War becomes a fulfillment of the covenant with God and is essentially a sacrificial or ritual performance.

Most importantly, in a Holy War, God fights along with His armies (Deut. 20:4, cf. Ex. 14:14, Deut. 9:3, Jud. 4:14) and the war can be called the War of the Lord (1 Sam. 18:17, 25:28). This may be the origin of the term Lord of Hosts, referring to God at the head of His army.[4] After we hear of His cosmic powers to defeat the enemy (Jud. 5:4, 20–21; 2 Kings 6:15–19), God's power overcomes the enemy, and the usually smaller forces of Israel destroy them in what is pictured as a mop-up operation (Josh. 10:10, Jud. 4:15, 2 Sam. 5:24, 7:10). Battle can be seen as warfare between gods in which the God of Israel is victorious.

In theory, Holy War for conquest of the Land of Israel was supposed to result in destruction of the enemy and a full ban on his erstwhile property. Outside of Israel, enemy citizens are enslaved and their property is taken as booty. The Holy War is intended to lead to

peace for Israel in its land, and assumes the covenant of God with His people whom He delivers and preserves.

After the conquest of the Land of Israel from the Canaanites, these concepts were deemphasized as kings struggled to protect the kingdoms of Judah and Israel from foreign attackers. Holy War gave way to war as an instrument of diplomacy and foreign affairs, or as a means of national defense, and after the destruction of the First Temple, war would shift to an instrument of rebellion against foreign conquerors.

APOCALYPTIC CONCEPTS OF WAR

The concepts we have just described constitute the biblical heritage bequeathed to Second Temple Judaism. But the Second Temple period brought with it, through internal development or through foreign influence, an intensification of some of these ideas. To a great extent, these changes may be described as the creation of a full-blown apocalyptic tradition.

There are basically three elements in the concept of apocalyptic Holy War: (1) It assumes the present world order to be under the control of demonic powers that have to be overturned, (2) the eschatological war is a sign that the world order is soon to come to its end and, therefore, (3) a great Holy War will soon occur to usher in the messianic era of world peace and the kingdom of God.

The people of God are favorite objects of the demonic powers (Dan. 7:24–25, 8:23, 1 En. 91:5–19), and, hence, war and persecution test their faith. 1 En. 69:6–7 traces the very origins of war to Gader'el, one of the fallen angels (Nephilim), who showed human beings all the "blows of death," that is, how to kill other human beings. According to Jubilees, war originated when the rebellious sons of Noah began to fight one another and to teach their sons warfare (Jub. 11:2). Since history is in decline according to the outlook of these books, wars will not only multiply but will also increase in brutality. Uncontrolled warfare is an eschatological sign for the end of the period of history and the coming end time (Dan 8:23–26; 4 Ezra 9:1–3). The demonic powers, whether human or heavenly, take great pleasure in attacking the nation of God (Dan. 7:21–25; 8:23; 1 En. 91:5–19).

When the dawn of the messianic era approaches, the great battle between the forces of good and evil will cause the destruction of all the demonic forces ruling the world. God will initiate Holy War, reassert Himself as ruler over the cosmos, and subdue the powers of evil. His forces will march under the messiah (of David) against the pagan world and their demonic rulers.

This concept is first seen in the post-exilic prophets who expect a divine punishment of the nations as well as of Israel. It is fully expressed in Ezekiel's prophecy of the destruction of Gog (Ezekiel 38–39). Gog and his armies invade the Land of Israel, and God's anger burns against them. The divine call to war, the victory won by His power, and the sacrificial-ritual nature of the war are all elements that are combined with the apocalyptic imagery in which human forces play a minimal role. Such a picture shows how aspects of a Holy War are combined with prophetic and apocalyptic elements.[5]

In Daniel 7–12 we find that earthly powers and their struggles are mirrored by heavenly powers locked in struggle on high (cf. 10:13, 20–21). Princes of empires oppose angels (cf. Rev. 12:1–9). Such texts illustrate an important element in apocalyptic concepts of warfare. While battles may rage on the earth, God and his angels also fight on the side of Israel in heaven, and it is the heavenly forces that truly secure victory.

THE GENTILES AND THE ESCHATOLOGICAL WAR

At the end of the First Temple Period, a great change occurred with respect to the relationship of Israelite prophecy toward the nations of the world. Biblical literature includes prophecies against the Gentiles that are parallel in their specific contents to forms of curses (execration texts) known to us from Egyptian literature. At the beginning of the Second Temple Period, and perhaps before this, a new type of prophecy against the Gentiles developed in which the framework was eschatological – we might even say apocalyptic. In this type of prophecy, which was defined by an eschatological relationship between Israel and the nations of the world, these ideas were supposed to apply not only to the nations actually neighboring the Land of Israel, namely, those who actually came into contact with

the Jews, but rather, they also applied (perhaps at the very outset) to the great nations, Egypt and Mesopotamia. The platform for this type of prophecy was the known world at that particular time. In addition to the geographical broadening of the eschatological world, it is also possible to point to a chronological broadening since these texts flow easily from the historical framework to the meta-historical – the apocalyptic. The vengeance of Israel against its enemies is transformed into a trans-historical event in which the warrior God, already known from pre-Israelite literature and from the Bible as well, participates. God is the one who fights for Israel, with or without its help, and vanquishes its enemies in a final victory that brings about the utopian end of days.

In certain texts, these developments include the destruction of all the nations in the eschatological war. However, in contrast, we encounter many texts with a realistic and rational messianic outlook, which expect that the Gentiles ultimately will recognize the God of Israel and participate in the service in the Temple of Jerusalem, just as advocated by the prophet Isaiah (Isa. 2:1–4; cf. 56:7). For our purposes, it is fitting to emphasize that this motif is also used in apocalyptic literature in texts in which vengeance is taken against the wicked among the nations at the beginning of the eschatological war. Afterwards, however, the non-Jews who recognize God and His Temple remain. Likewise, the motif of the Holy War may appear both in texts assuming the complete destruction of the Gentiles as well as in those texts in which both Jews and non-Jews who recognize the kingdom of God enjoy the messianic era. There is no doubt that the relationship of the apocalyptic literature to the Gentiles, to a certain extent, grew out of the historical experience of the compilers and reflects the historical realities of their lives.

The adherents of the apocalyptic viewpoint thought that the world was under the dominion of demonic powers that utilized the idol-worshipping rulers of the world as their instruments. These, in turn, led the world toward massive destruction. The wars of these rulers, therefore, were evil and arose from the abuse of political power and wealth.

War and persecution are tests of faith for the covenantal com-

munity. When God acts to take control of the world, once and for all, the nation of God will march after the messiah from the house of David against the powers of the pagan world and the demonic princes (2 Ezra 12:31–39; 13:5–50; 2 Bar. 72; Pss. Sol. 17:23–24; T. Levi 18:11–12; T. Dan 5:10–12; T. Reuben 6:12; CD 9:10–10).[6]

ANCIENT APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

A good example of the mixture of the elements that we have summarized until now is Sib. Oracle 3, which was composed in Egypt between 160–50 B.C.E. For the most part, this text brings concepts from biblical literature and weaves them together into a unified picture.[7] This work speaks about wars between countries led by their kings (635–651). After God sends the savior, the nations will attack the Temple (652–668). All of them will be destroyed by God except for the chosen ones – the children of the great God, Who will fight for them and save them (669–731). There will be peace after the war and one law for the entire world (741–761). In this text, it is implicit that among those that survive there will also be Gentiles. Despite the fact that the text does not state this explicitly, only the evil ones from among the nations will die in the eschatological war.

According to Jubilees, which was composed in Hebrew around the period of the Hellenistic reform (or perhaps before or after) in the Land of Israel,[8] there is an expectation of a messiah from the tribe of Judah (31:18–19). Isaac's blessing to Jacob predicts that the Gentiles would fear him. The sins of the generation will be sufficiently severe to bring about natural catastrophes and conflicts between men until God punishes them (23:13–22). It appears that Jews who violate the laws of the Torah are intended here. After these troubles there is said to be an invasion by the "sinners of the Gentiles" (23:23–24). In these wars, many Jews will be killed. Afterwards, Israel will repent fully (23:27–29).

In Jubilees, the Gentiles are used as a goad to bring the Israelites to repentance. However, there is no trace of the destruction of the Gentiles. It is possible that the nations of the world will cooperate in the end of days during the period of peace (18:16; 20:16; 27:23).

According to this text, the war is a harbinger for the coming of the messianic era in which both the Jews and Gentiles will live in peace.[9] It is possible that 1 En. 90:9–18, 30 speaks not only of those Gentiles who repent and are redeemed but also about the destruction of the sinning Gentiles in the eschatological war.[10]

In 2 Bar. (Syriac), which was composed, so it seems, at the beginning of the first century c.e., apparently in Hebrew in the Land of Israel, Baruch receives a prophecy concerning the end of days. Great troubles will befall the Land – hatred and strife – and then the world war will begin (70:8–10). However, the Land of Israel will protect its inhabitants. At that time, the messiah will summon all the nations, sparing some and slaying others (72:4). He will not kill those who did not know or oppress Israel; however, all the enemies of Israel will be killed (72:6–73:4). Only after the destruction of the Gentile enemies of Israel will the end of days begin. In this text we also find that the Gentiles who do not fight against Israel will participate in the blessing of the messianic era together with the Jews.[11]

In the Syriac Baruch, as it is preserved today, sources outside of the principal body of the work are included. In one of them, there is no hope for the Gentiles, since it appears that they will be destroyed completely and that they will disappear from history (82:3–7).[12] In spite of the fact that in the majority of the works that arose in the period prior to the destruction of the Temple only the sinning nations – the enemies of Israel – perish in the eschatological war (2 Bar. 50:1–2; 72:4–6), in later works all the Gentiles stand to be destroyed with the exception of the converts to Judaism. In 4 Ezra, which is dated to the first century c.e., there is a hint (3:36) to the destruction of all the Gentiles. This notion is completely clear in Sib. Oracle 4:166–179. There it speaks about the destruction by God, in the beginning of the end of days, of all the Gentiles that do not return to God (apparently by converting). This text is also dated to the end of the first century c.e., after the destruction of the Temple.[13]

On the basis of all the material that we have summarized to this point, it is clear that attitudes like those that appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls, to which we turn presently, do not result from their

sectarian character alone. Rather, they represent part of the general theological-religious thought of the Second Temple period that was substantially widespread in Israel.

THE WAR SCROLL

The Dead Sea Scrolls embody an eschatological, apocalyptic outlook. The Qumran sect held an extreme dualism in which the demonic powers continuously fight for control of the world in opposition to the people of God. These sectarians further believed that they lived on the edge of the eschatological era that would end in a great war ushering in the messianic age.

Their dualism is expressed in the "Treatise of the Two Spirits," a section of the Rule of the Community (1QS).[14] The world is divided into two forces, truth and falsehood or light and darkness. Both heaven and earth are divided into these two camps. Supernatural beings representing good and evil, respectively, direct human forces. The righteous are eternally harassed by the Angel of Darkness and suffer sin and guilt. They may be tempted to vice by the forces of darkness. At the end of days, God will finally vanquish the Angel of Darkness, banish deceit forever, and reward the righteous and punish the guilty.

The dualism in the scrolls assumes that God built this structure into the world when He planned and created it. He purposely created the supernatural leaders of the forces of good and evil, and he planted in each person's heart a certain degree of each of these forces so that they vie with one another in a person's lifetime as well as on a cosmic scale. The forces of good, wisdom, proper conduct, and God's law are often led by the angel Michael or the heavenly priest Melchizedek. Names for their evil counterparts are Belial, Melchiresha, and Mastemah. The sect is led by the Teacher of Righteousness, while his opponent is the Wicked Priest or the Man of Lies.

In the present age, the Qumran texts acknowledge that the world is dominated by Belial. The Dead Sea sect awaited the end of days that, according to its own reckoning, was expected to begin immanently, in its own time.[15] Its apocalyptic messianic tendencies generated a literary corpus that portrays the eschatological war that

was expected to bring about the end of days.[16] From an investigation of the manuscripts of the Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness from caves 1 and 4 at Qumran (1QM, 4QM[a–f]), we discover that this text existed in a few recensions and related texts.[17] The apocalyptic tendency of the sect finds further evidence in other texts related to this subject matter. In truth, it appears that the War Scroll itself was gathered together and edited from disparate pre-existing sources by its compiler.[18] There is no doubt that this composition was in existence by 50 B.C.E. but that some of its sources date to before the Roman conquest in 63 B.C.E.[19]

Often, apocalyptic schemes assume definite, preordained time schedules for the unfolding of the end time, most of which are based on the book of Daniel and its exegesis. The War Scroll presents a schematized, ritualized war expected between the members of the Qumran sect and the nations. The Sons of Light are the men of the sect who will be victorious in the end of days. The Gentiles – the nations of the world – are included among the Sons of Darkness, or the Sons of Belial, together with those Jews who by means of their behavior demonstrate that they have been predestined to be among the Sons of Darkness. The place of the sect's exile is called "the wilderness of the nations" (*midbar ha-ammim*) because it is there that the Sons of Light dwell prior to this war. No remnant of these nations will remain in the end of days according to this perspective (1QM 1:1–7; 14:5; 4QM[a] frag. 8 8 9:3; cf. 1QpHab 4:3–5).

The war is to last forty years, with six cycles of battles, followed by God's intervention in the seventh. The battles are conducted in a planned, ritualized manner. Special prayers and sacrificial rituals based on biblical legislation accompany the war. The enemies are denoted with biblical-period names, including Kittim for the Romans (cf. Dan. 11:30).[20] The sect witnesses the destruction of the nations and the defeat of the sinful Israelites, after which the sect takes control of the Temple. Central to the vision of this apocalyptic war is the dualistic division between the Sons of Light and their opponents, the Sons of Darkness.

The compiler refers to the nations of the world by means of the names used in the Table of Nations that appears in Genesis 10.[21]

The most prominent among them are Assyria (Seleucid Syria) and the Kittim (Rome) because their destruction was among the most pressing exigencies of the compiler (1QM 1:4–6; 2:9–12; 11:11; 4QMᵃ frag. 2 11). The battles are said to take place in "all the lands of the Gentiles" (1QM 2:7; cf. 11:12–13). Indeed, as one of their standards proclaims, the sect anticipated the destruction of "every nation of vanity" by God (1QM 4:12). The final battle will wreak vengeance on these nations because of their wickedness (1QM 6:6; cf. 9:8–9) and all of them will be killed (1QM 19:10–11).

The songs scattered throughout the text, for the most part, belong to the liturgical-cultic raw material available to the compiler of the scroll. One song, which appears twice in the scroll, seems to contradict the assumption made by the complete scroll in its portrayal of the war that all the Gentiles will be destroyed in the end of days (1QM 12:9–15; 19:2–8; 4QMᵇ frag. 1 2–8). The song is directed toward God, requesting Him to fight the Gentiles, His enemies. The song then turns to the city of Jerusalem and says: "Open your gates forever in order that the spoils of the Gentiles may be brought to you and that their kings will come to serve you…and you will rule over the kingdom of the Kittim." There is no doubt that this section, which is based almost entirely on Isa. 60:10–14, expects that the Gentiles, including the Romans, will be present in the messianic era since then they will be subservient to Israel. That the Gentiles will continue to exist, but under the rule of the messiah, the son of David, is also the position of Pesher Isaiah (4QpIs 7 25). This outlook is perhaps to be understood as in accordance with the expression "to subdue the Gentiles" in the Rule of the Congregation (1:21); however, it is also possible that this expression points to their destruction. A similar idea appears in the reconstruction of the Rule of Blessings (3:18). It is possible that this phenomenon appears again in the same text, this time written as a blessing to the Prince of the Congregation – an eschatological figure: "All the nations will bow before you and all the Gentiles will serve you" (5:28–29).

However, the prevailing perspective in the War Scroll is that it has been decreed from Creation that the nations would be destroyed completely in the great war that is expected to take place in

the beginning of the end of days. The sectarians, with the help of heavenly powers, angels, will defeat and kill all the Gentiles. Similarly, all the Jews who do not belong to the sect will be destroyed. In the end of days, the world will only be populated by the members of the sect.[22]

It is worthwhile to reiterate here that these attitudes in the scrolls find their parallels in the writings of other apocalyptic Jewish groups in the same time period. They spring from the general eschatological tradition, not only from the sectarian outlook of the Qumran sect.

GOG AND MAGOG

For a variety of reasons, is clear that sometime in the amoraic period, apocalyptic traditions were the subject of renewed interest and discussion in rabbinic circles. No doubt, the same was the case among the common people in both the land of Israel and in Babylonia. But for some reason, the emphasis changed in the manner in which such apocalyptic traditions were represented. In some rabbinic texts and in the later apocalyptic material that developed within the Jewish community, great emphasis was given to the war of Gog and Magog as prophesied by Ezekiel,[23] and to other apocalyptic traditions from Second Temple times that were in various ways used to expand this prophecy.

These expansions on Ezekiel's prophecy of Gog of the Land of Magog came to the fore in Talmudic and medieval times in the form of the expectation of a great war, an Armageddon,[24] between the forces of Gog and Magog, now described as two separate kings, and the messiah.[25] Gog and Magog first appear as separate eschatological entities in the Sibylline Oracles (3:319, 512). Sib. Oracle 3 most probably dates to between 163–45 B.C.E.[26] Thereafter, this notion is found in the New Testament (Rev. 20:8–9) where the two, Gog and Magog, will ally themselves with Satan against the righteous.[27] These battles, to be fought at the end of days, carried on the tradition of apocalyptic war from the Second Temple period, and also involve the destruction of the Gentile enemies of Israel. The forces of the messiah are almost defeated by the forces of Gog and Magog,

joined by all the nations of the world, but God's miraculous, direct intervention brings about the victory of the messiah and the forces of good. These warlike ideas have been seen as simply the outlet for an oppressed population yearning for revenge,[28] but we need to remember that they are a direct continuation of trends formed in Second Temple times in a period in which the Hasmonean House was at its height of independent Jewish power. Later circumstances may have nourished these notions but do not account for their origins.

A number of sources indicate that the expectation of a great war of Gog and Magog was carried over into early Rabbinic Judaism. *M. Ed.* 2:10 speaks of the punishment of Gog and Magog as lasting for twelve months. *Sifrei* Deut. 357[29] speaks of God's showing Moses the Plain of Jericho where Gog and his armies will fall. Targum Yerushalmi to Num. 11:26 attributes a prophecy to Eldad and Medad to the effect that in the end of days Gog and Magog and their armies will fall to the King Messiah.[30] Targum to Song of Songs 8:8–9 speaks of Israel's victory as resulting not from superior force but from the merit of Torah study.

This theme is also taken up in the Babylonian Talmud. According to *Berakhot* 12b–13a, the war of Gog and Magog is hinted at in Isa. 43:19 and will be a greater tribulation than any Israel has experienced.[31] Similar is the theme of *Ex. Rab.* 12:2[32] that there will be a war such as that associated with the ten plagues (Ex. 9:18) in the days of Gog and Magog. *Lev. Rab.* 27:11[33] tells us that Gog and Magog will attempt to defeat God Himself even before they attack Israel.

All the notions we see here are in consonance with the general reentry of apocalyptic ideas into rabbinic tradition in amoraic times.[34] Post amoraic texts, most from late Byzantine or early Moslem times, lay out the future eschatological war in much more complex terms.

WAR IN MEDIEVAL ESCHATOLOGY

A variety of post-Talmudic texts expanded greatly on these ideas and converted them into full-scale apocalypses. These texts, or their sources, were composed in the years during which the Persian Empire was battling Byzantium in the early seventh century or in

the years immediately before and after the conquest of the Byzantine Empire by the Arabs. These events greatly stimulated apocalyptic messianism in the Jewish community.[35]

An important early example of this genre is Sefer Zerubbabel.[36] An angel, Michael or Metatron, reveals the eschatological secrets to Zerubbabel, including the expected war of Gog and Magog in which the messiah, son of Joseph (Cf. *Sukkah* 52a and Targum Ps. Jon. Exod. 40:11), is killed and the Davidic messiah, with the help of his mother Hephzi-Bah, eventually defeats the forces of evil headed by Armilus. This victory is essentially that of the Jewish people over the Christian Roman (Byzantine) Empire. This text, because of its early date, seems to have influenced many of the later medieval Jewish apocalypses, but the absence of some of its specific details in the other accounts argues against direct dependence.[37] The revelation of secrets by a heavenly being is typical of Second Temple apocalyptic literature. [38]

Aggadat Bereshit[39] pictures Gog as deciding that his only hope is to directly and initially attack the Holy One, blessed be He, but, of course, God defeated him easily. Midrash Tehillim[40] pictures a more systemic type of battle. Here, Gog and Magog are expected to attack Israel three times, and in the fourth battle to attack Jerusalem and Judah, but God will help the men of Judah to defeat them.

A full apocalyptic account appears in a small text entitled *Sefer Eliyahu u-Firqe Mashiah*.[41] This is truly an apocalyptic text involving the divulging of secrets of the future by a heavenly being, Michael, to the prophet Elijah. It also has the familiar ingredient of the heavenly guided tour, which typifies what scholars now call the apocalyptic genre.[42]

Here the last king of Persia will go up to Rome for three years and then rebel against Rome for an additional twelve months. He will defeat mighty warriors from the sea, and then another king will arise from the sea and shake the world. He will then come to the Temple Mount and burn it, leading to suffering and war in Israel.

A certain Demetrus, son of Poriphus, and Anphilipus, son of Panapos, will wage a second war, each with 100,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry. 300,000 soldiers will be hidden in ships. Then

the messiah, named Yinnon,[43] will come. Gabriel will descend, slay 92,000 men, and devastate the world. A third war will then take place, and many will be killed in the land of Israel. Then the messiah will come with the angels of destruction and later with 30,000 righteous men, destroying all Israel's enemies. This will bring an end to the rule of the four kingdoms and usher in a period of prosperity and rejoicing. Then God will bring Gog and Magog and their legions, and they and all the peoples will surround and attack Jerusalem, but the messiah, with God's help, will fight them and defeat them.

The notion of the 70 nations, that is, all the nations of the world, making war against Jerusalem is also found in Zohar 2:58b. But here God uproots them from the world. The text even suggests that in order to reveal His greatness, God will reassemble all the enemies of Israel and defeat them at the coming of the messiah.

A final, extensive example is Midrash Alpha Betot.[44] After the messiah gathers the exiles to Jerusalem and rebuilds the Temple, and all the nations recognize his rule, peace and security will reign for 40 years. Then, in order to destroy the forces of evil, God will bring Gog and Magog to attack the land of Israel and launch three wars against Israel, having spent seven years assembling a mighty, well-armed force. The invasion will be massive, entering the land from the north. Israel will soon be conquered, all cities and towns taken, and their riches despoiled.

Then the messiah and the pious will make war against them and a great slaughter will ensue. God will enter the battle bringing plagues like those of Egypt and heavenly fires will burn the forces of Gog and Magog. Along the way we learn that the messiah is called Ephraim, and so it appears that we deal with a messiah, son of Joseph, who appears to be victorious.[45] Then the inhabitants of Jerusalem will despoil their attackers and fill Jerusalem with the weapons and riches of Gog and Magog. The weapons will be burnt as fuel and the bodies of Gog and Magog and their armies will be eaten by animals, and their blood drunk. Then Israel will bury them and cleanse the entire land.

In various medieval texts, the evil king Armilus leads the forces of the nations against Israel and the messiah in the great battle of the

end of days.[46] His name seems to derive from Romulus, the legendary founder of ancient Rome.[47] He is mentioned in the Targum to Isa. 11:4, where "*rasha*" is defined as "the wicked Armilus." He appears also in Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan to Deut. 34:3, which also refers to the troops of Gog and to their battles with Michael.[48] In some texts, Armilus kills the messiah, son of Joseph, but is himself killed by the Davidic messiah. Tefillat R. Shimon ben Yohai[49] assumes that Nehemiah is equivalent to the messiah, son of Joseph, and that there will be a big battle occasioned by Armilus' messianic claims. A number of texts stress his ugly, deformed physical appearance.[50]

In this context, it is usual to assume that the notion of wars taking place at the onset of the end of days is consistent with the apocalyptic, catastrophic form of Jewish messianism and not with the naturalistic approach.[51] Yet this apocalyptic notion seems to have made its way into mainstream medieval Rabbinic thought. Sa'adya Gaon (*Emunot ve-De'ot* 8:5–6)[52] sets out the entire messiah, son of Joseph/Armilus battle myth[53] as an option that would take place if Israel did not repent on its own. If it did, however, the messiah son of David would destroy Armilus directly and then fight the battle of Gog and Magog. In any case, Sa'adya seems to assume a messianic battle.[54]

Even Maimonides, a member of the rationalistic, naturalistic school of Jewish messianism, fully expects wars to take place at the onset of the end of days. In describing the nature of the messianic era and of the process that will usher it in, Maimonides, *Hilkhot Melakhim* 11:4, after making clear that he espouses the gradualistic, natural form of Jewish messianism (11:3, 12:1–2), tells us that to attain the state of "presumptive messiah" (*hezkat mashiah*), the messiah will have to fight "the wars of the Lord."[55] Such wars clearly refer to the defeat of the enemies of Israel who oppose the fulfillment of God's will in the world. In 12:2, Maimonides tells us that the messianic era will be inaugurated with the battle of Gog and Magog, in accord with the prophecies in Ezekiel.[56] But clearly, for Maimonides these prophecies are understood to refer to the messiah's role as the deliverer of Israel from foreign domination. So we can expect that this is a reference to wars of a very different sort from the apocalyptic

battles that we have seen described in other texts. Here God is not a soldier, even if His help is hoped for and expected. It seems, therefore, that the expectation of war in the end of days in which the evildoers would be destroyed and in which the enemies of Israel would be defeated was actually common to both the apocalyptic and naturalistic forms of medieval Jewish messianism.[57]

CONCLUSION

The material we have studied here indicates a widespread notion, building on the biblical notion of Holy War, to the effect that the onset of the end of days would be accompanied by a war in which the enemies of Israel would be destroyed. In many of the more apocalyptic traditions, those stemming from the Second Temple period and those coming from the post-Talmudic period, these battles are described in an extremely apocalyptic way. These texts recall all the imagery of the Biblical battle (Ezekiel 38–39) of Gog, King of Magog (Gog and Magog), and include all kinds of additional elements based on other texts. An extremely important feature regarding these wars is combat against some or all the nations of the world who oppose God, his messiah and the people of Israel.

Regarding the Gentiles, in the material that we have summarized here we have found two tendencies. One expects the destruction of those Gentiles who do not accept the kingdom of God in the eschatological war. The second anticipates the destruction of *all* the Gentiles. Both of these perspectives are based upon the apocalyptic-catastrophic-utopian messianic idea that the end of days will usher in a completely new world that never existed in the past – a world of perfection without sinners and without sins.

For all the Jewish traditions that we have studied, there is no question that some form of war in which the enemies of God, Israel, and the messiah are destroyed is either necessary or, at the very least, justified, as part of the process that will lead to the ultimate redemption. War, therefore, in apocalyptic Jewish thought, was considered an instrument by which God would bring about the redemption of His people.

NOTES

1. See the separate and overlapping definitions of "apocalypse" in the multi-authored article "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism," *ABD* 1:279–92 by P.D. Hanson (p. 279) and J.J. Collins (p. 283). For our purposes, an apocalypse is a text devoted to revealing and setting out the details of the eschatological future. We use the adjective "apocalyptic" to refer to immediate forms of Jewish messianism, usually those assuming a catastrophic onset of the end of days leading to a time of utopian perfection.

2. L.E. Toombs, "War, Ideas of," *IDB* 4:796–800; cf. N. Gottwald, "War, Holy," *IDB* Suppl. Vol., 942–44.

3. F.M. Cross, "The Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult," in *Biblical Motifs,* ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 11–30.

4. See C.L. Seow, "Hosts, Lord of," *ABD* 3:304–7.

5. L.L. Grabbe, "Warfare, Eschatological Warfare," *EDSS* 2:963–65.

6. See D. Christenson, "Nations," *ABD* 4:1044–6. However, the continuation of the article points to the Christian perspective of the author.

7. See R.H. Charles, *Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Schocken, 1963) 207–8; J.J. Collins in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–85) 1:354–61.

8. Cf. O.S. Wintermute in Charlesworth, *OTP*, 1:43–44; J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 17–22.

9. Charles, *Eschatology*, 236–40.

10. See also Dan. 2:44; 7:11–12, 14; Charles, *Eschatology*, 246; see also Charles, idem., 296–97 concerning the Gentiles in Similitudes of Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon.

11. Charles, *Eschatology*, 324–32.

12. Charles, *Eschatology*, 331–2.

13. Charles, *Eschatology*, 361.

14. J. Duhaime, "Dualism," *EDSS* 1:215–20. Cf. J. Licht, "An Analysis of the Treatise of the Two Spirits in DSD," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ScrHier, 4, ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem (Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1958), 88–100.

15. See L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 317–50.

16. Cf. J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 126–33; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 330–3.

17. J. Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (London; New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 12–24.

18. P.R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History,* BibOr 32; Rome (Biblical Institute Press, 1977), esp. 121–4; Duhaime, *War Texts*, 45–63.

19. Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness,* trans. B. and C. Rabin; Oxford (Oxford University Press, 1962), 244–6; cf. Duhaime, *War Texts*, 64–102.

20. Cf. Yadin, *War Scroll*, 22–26; T.H. Lim, "Kittim," *EDSS* 1:469–71.

21. Yadin, *War Scroll*, 26–33.

22. Also relevant here is the Aramaic Apocalypse 4Q246, G.J. Brooke, et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 165–84, which seems to foretell that the messianic era will be preceded by international warfare.

23. For the biblical data, see B. Otzen, "Gog, Magog," TDOT 2:419–25. Note that in the Bible Gog is the king of Magog.

24. A term occurring in Rev. 16:16 meaning "the location of the final cosmic battle of the forces of good and of evil, according to the apocalyptic view of the writer" (R.S. Boraas, "Armageddon," *The HarperCollins Bible Dictionary*, ed. P.J. Achtemeier, New York (HarperSanFrancisco, 1996], 71).

25. R. Patai, *The Messiah Texts* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1979), 145–55. For a survey of Rabbinic sources, see "Gog and Magog," EJ 7:691–3.

26. Collins, OTP 1:355.

27. Cf. K.G. Kuhn, "Gog kai Magog," TDNT 1:789–91.

28. Patai, *Messiah Texts*, 146.

29. To Deut. 34:3, ed. L. Finkelstein, *Sifrei on Deuteronomy* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1969), 427.

30. Cf. *Aggadat Bereshit*, ed. S. Buber (Jerusalem, 1973), 5.

31. Cf. *b. Abod. Zar.* 3b.

32. *Midrash Shemot Rabbah: Parashot 1–14*, ed. A. Shinan (Tel Aviv; Jerusalem: Dvir, 1984), p. 246.

33. This is the text in ed. Vilna and in four MSS. Cited by M. Margaliot, ed., *Midrash Va-Yikra Rabbah* (Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1972), v. 3–4:646, to line 3. Other texts only mention Gog.

34. See L.H. Schiffman, "Messianism and Apocalypticism in Rabbinic Texts," in *Cambridge History of Judaism*, v. 4, forthcoming.

35. Y. Even-Shmuel (Kaufman), *Midreshei Geulah* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Mosad Bialik; 19542), 50–54.

36. The text was composed, most probably, c. 629 C.E. after the Byzantine victory over Persia and before the Arab conquests (Y. Dan, "Zerubbabel, Sefer," EJ 16:1002).

37. Cf. D. Biale, "Counter-History and Jewish Polemics against Christianity: The *Sefer Toldot Yeshu* and the *Sefer Zerubavel*," JSS 6 (1999): 137–42; Even-Shmuel, *Midreshei Geulah*, 56–89, 379–89.

38. Sefer Zerubbabel appears in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash* (6 pts. in 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 19673), 3:65–7; Even-Shmuel, *Midreshei Geulah*, 41–48. On the dating and background of this text, see Even-Shmuel, *Midreshei Geulah*, 31–40. We favor the 7–10th century dating suggested by Patai, *Messiah Texts,* 358.

39. Ed. Buber (Cracow: J. Fisher, 1902/3), 5–7. This text probably dates to c. 10th century (Patai, *Messiah Texts,* 348).

40. Ed. Buber (Vilna: Widow and Brothers Romm, 1890/91), 488–89, to Ps. 119:2.

41. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3:65–7; Patai, *Messiah Texts,* 150–52.

42. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 2–8.

43. Cf. Ps. 72:17 (*kerei*).

44. *Batei Midrashot*, ed. S.A. Wertheimer, 2nd ed. enlarged and amended by A.J. Wertheimer (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Ketav va-Sefer, 1967/8), 2:438–42. The text should be dated to c. 8–9th century (Patai, *Messiah Texts,* 354).

45. On the messiah son of Joseph, see Patai, *Messiah Texts*, 165–70; D. Berger, "Three Typological Themes in Early Jewish Messianism: Messiah Son of Joseph, Rabbinic Calculations and the Figure of Armilus," *AJS Rev* 10 (1985): 143–8; J. Heinemann, "The Messiah of Ephraim and the Premature Exodus of the Tribe of Ephraim," *HTR* 68 (1975): 1–16, although we cannot accept his thesis. The messiah son of Joseph is not found in Second Temple texts and may be a creation of the Talmudic period (Patai, *Messiah Texts,* 166), perhaps created in the image of the antichrist (Biale, "Counter-History," 141).

46. L. Ginzberg, "Armilus," *JE* 2:118–20; Patai, *Messiah Texts,* 156–64; Berger, "Three Typological Themes," 155–62.

47. On this and other etymologies, see Berger, "Three Typological Themes," 157–9. For the "Romulus" derivation see 157 n. 59. Berger gives serious consideration to the derivation from Greek *eremolaos*, "destroyer of a nation."

48. *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Usiel zum Pentateuh) nach der Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. Add. 27031)*, ed. M. Ginsburger, (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903), 365 (Armilgos) where n. 2 indicates that he was identified in the MS. as the antichrist, but these references may be later additions (Berger, "Three Typological Themes," 156; cf. Kohut, *Arukh ha-Shallem* 1.291–2).

49. Patai, *Messiah Texts*, 158–59; Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 4:124–6.

50. Cf. also *Midrash va-Yosha'*; Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:56.

51. Cf. G. Scholem, "Toward an Understanding of the Messianic Idea in Judaism," *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York: Schocken, 1971) and L.H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989), 1–8 for the application of this approach to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

52. Ed. Y. Kafah (Jerusalem: Sura, and New York: Yeshiva University, 1969/70), 245–52; trans. G.W. Buchanan, *Revelation and Redemption* (Dillsboro, NC: Western North Carolina Press, 1978), 45–54.

53. Cf. Sa'adya's discussion in a *teshuvah* in B.M. Lewin, *Otzar ha-Geonim* (Jerusalem: 1934), 70–72 (to B. Suk. 52a, sec. 193), trans. Buchanan, 131–3 and the similar account of Hai Gaon (E. Ashkenazi, *T'a'am Zekenim* [Frankfurt am M., 1854], 59a–61a), trans. Buchanan, 120–31.

54. Cf. J. Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1932), 41–50.

55. Cf. Num. 21:14, 1 Sam. 18:17, 25:28.

56. Cf. "*Iggeret Teman*" in *Iggerot ha-Rambam*, ed. Y. Shelat; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Ma'aliyot, 1986/87), 1:108 (Gog and Magog) and his trans. which only mentions Gog, p. 159, following some MSS. Cf. *Iggerot ha-Rambam*, ed. M.D. Rabinowitz; Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1980/81), 182 which mentions Gog and Magog.

57. See the discussion of Isaac Abravanel in Sarachek, *Doctrine of the Messiah*, 280–3.

Models of Reconciliation and Coexistence in Jewish Sources

Dov S. Zakheim

The concepts of "peace," "reconciliation," and "coexistence" have elicited far less discussion in halakhic literature than that of "war." The Talmud and subsequent rabbinic sources are replete with discussions regarding the various types of war Israel may conduct, the commandments relating to war and its participants, and the role of the king and others in carrying out military campaigns. Peace, on the other hand, tends to be discussed mostly in terms of relations between individuals, and, insofar as it relates to a Jewish state in its interactions with other nations, is seen more as a condition to be attained than as a practical policy objective. Peace as an ideal is best conveyed by the well-known dictum of Rabbi Elazar in the name of Rabbi Hanina that "[Torah] scholars foster peace in the world."[1]

Similarly, reconciliation and coexistence command relatively

little discussion in Jewish sources. In general, these concepts apply to relations between and among Jews. They are best exemplified by the reconciliation between Joseph and his brothers and the midrashic portrayal of Aaron, who reconciled estranged couples and feuding friends. "Peaceful co-existence," in the sense made famous by the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, or international reconciliation as exemplified by the European Union, which has bound such historic enemies as the United Kingdom, France and Germany into an integrated partnership, is discussed only tangentially in Jewish literature. In general, coexistence with non-Jews is framed in terms of dealing with the unpleasant reality that such people must be accommodated, particularly if they represent more powerful host nations. Reconciliation with non-Jews seems almost beside the point.

Yitzhak Rabin's observation regarding the 1993 Oslo agreement that "one makes peace with enemies, not with friends" likewise seems beside the point. Indeed, as an argument for compromise with non-Jewish claimants of historic Jewish patrimony, it appears to run counter to the norms of halakhic Judaism. This paper will nevertheless attempt to demonstrate that the assumptions that underlay Rabin's policy – peace, reconciliation, and coexistence with an erstwhile enemy – are not necessarily inconsistent with those norms, even as the details of his policy, which Rabin never fully fleshed out before his untimely passing, remain open to considerable interpretation and debate.

PEACE, HALAKHAH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The notion of "peace" has itself become a highly charged political term in Jewish circles. Although it is nominally the objective of all Israelis, and of Jews everywhere, "peace" as it applies to the Middle East conflict in particular – the major preoccupation of world Jewry – tends to be associated with the political Left in Israel. "Peace" stands in contrast to "land," when discussed in the context of the formula known as "land for peace." In turn, "land" has become increasingly identified with the political Right, most notably the religious politi-